START

The Emma Goldman Papers

REEL

47

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 47

Goldman Writings

October 25, 1890 to December 31, 1912

Edited by

Candace Falk
Ronald J. Zboray
and
Daniel Cornford

Goldman Writings Editorial Staff:

Research:	Barbara Loomis	Robert Cohen
	Sarah Crome	Rebecca Hyman
Production	Jessica Weiss	Françoise Vergès

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

Alexandria, Virginia — Cambridge, England

The Emma Goldman Papers Project

Editors

Candace Falk, Ph.D
Editor and Director

Ronald J. Zboray, Ph.D
Microfilm Editor

Daniel Cornford, Ph.D
Associate Editor, Correspondence Series

Alice Hall, J.D.
Associate Editor, Government Documents

Administrative Staff

Sally Thomas
Administrative Analyst

Ami Samuels
Administrative Assistant

Jennifer Collins
Administrative Assistant

Susan Wengraf
Exhibit Designer

Research Associates

Robert Cohen, Ph.D
Dennis McEnnerney

Sarah Crome

Barbara Loomis, Ph.D
Tom Peabody

Production Editors

Ellen Ratcliffe

Jennifer Smith

Kurt Thompson

Editorial Assistants

Brigida Campos
Christopher Gales
Leigh Anne Jones
Joanne Newman
Rachel Rivera

Colleen Cotter
Susan Grayzel
Michael Katz
Kristin Penner
Maxine Snow
Jessica Weiss

Oz Frankel
Marilynn Johnson
Sherry Katz
Julia Rechter
Françoise Vergès

International Search Coordinators

Brenda Butler

Karen Hansen

International Researchers

Henrik Berggren
Paul Durden
Professor Lu Zhe
Barry Pateman

Furio Biagini
Wolfgang Haug
Gaetano Manfredonia
Eleni Varikas

Maria José Del Rio
Miguel Flamarich I Tarrasa
Kazuko Ohta
Susumu Yamaizumi

Research Assistants and Translators

Elena Balashova
Sigrid Brauner
Yvette Chalom
Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi
Jeffrey Garrett
Catherine Houndshell
Gerd Horton
Susan Kahn
Rae Lisker
Nancy Mackay
Caroline Pincus
Naomi Seidman
Elizabeth Station
Lars Tragardh

Howard Besser
Leif Brown
Roger Cook
Karl Fields
Rose Glickman
Andrew Heinze
Yoshi Igarashi
Vivian Kleiman
Delfina Marcello
Mary Odem
Elizabeth Reis
Paola Sesia-Lewis
Tyler Stoval

Khojesta Beverleigh
June Brumer
Erik Ellner
Salvador Garcia
John Guo
Rebecca Hyman
Titch Jones
Liu Zi-Jian
Caroline Massee
Sheila O'Neil
Byron Schiffman
Daniel Soyer
Jennifer Terry
Marcia Yonemoto

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.
Alexandria, Virginia; Cambridge, England; Paris

Copyright © 1990 by
The Emma Goldman Papers

Documents included in this publication have been reproduced with the permission of the archives in which the original documents are located.

Documents from private collections have been reproduced with the permission of the successors and heirs of the collections. Every attempt has been made to contact all successors and heirs of the private collections.

The arrangement of the pages on microfilm is the property of Chadwyck-Healey Inc., and no copy of this complete reel of microfilm may be made without the written permission of Chadwyck-Healey Inc.

In memory of Brenda J. Butler (1953-1990)

who, from 1987 to 1990, coordinated the search for Goldman documents in Europe, Asia and the Soviet Union, thus expanding the Goldman Papers collection to reflect the international dimension of Goldman's life and work.

Contents

Reel 47

Goldman Writings:
October 25, 1890 to December 31, 1912

[Excerpt from Lecture] An Eloquent Woman / Emma Goldman. – 29 cm. *In* The Baltimore Critic. –(Oct. 25, 1890).

[Interview. Anarchy's Den] / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. –(July 28, 1892, fragment).

[Interview] A Talk with Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(July 28, 1892).

Who Will Thrash Mr. Most? / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. –(July 29, 1892).

Applaud Berkman / [Emma] Goldman. – p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(July 29, 1892).

[Interview] Reporters Attacked by Anarchists / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 28 cm. *In* Rochester Herald. –(July 29, 1892).

Eingesandt / Emma Goldman. – p. 4 ; 31 cm. *In* Der Anarchist [New York]. –(July 30, 1892).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Wild Anarchist Talk / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 44 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Aug. 2, 1892).

[Excerpt from Lecture] They Talked a Great Deal / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. –(Aug. 2, 1892).

[Attention! Comrades and friends! In German] Aufruf! Genossen und Freunde! / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 32 cm. *In* Der Anarchist [New York]. –(Aug. 13, 1892).

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Demonstration of the Unemployed / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1-2 ; 28 cm. *In* The World. –(Aug. 20, 1893).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Urging Men to Riot / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* The World. –(Aug. 22, 1893).

[Interview] Nellie Bly Again: She Interviews Emma Goldman and Other Anarchists / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 42 cm. *In* The World. –(Sept. 17, 1893).

[Excerpt from Lecture] "May Anarchy Live" / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. –(Oct. 5, 1893).

[Testimony] Here Is Oakey Hall / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 41 cm. *In* The World. –(Oct. 6, 1893).

[Testimony] Emma Goldman Testifies / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Oct. 6, 1893).

[Testimony] Emma Goldman on the Stand / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The Brooklyn Daily Eagle. –(Oct. 6, 1893).

[Testimony] Only the Moral Law / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 43 cm. *In* The World –(Oct. 7, 1893).

[Testimony] Anarchy Her Only Faith / Emma Goldman. – p. 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Oct. 7, 1893).

[Testimony] Emma Goldman's Beliefs / Emma Goldman. – p. 4 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Daily Tribune. –(Oct. 7, 1893).

[Testimony] Anarchy and Ignorance / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The Brooklyn Daily Eagle. –(Oct. 7, 1893).

[Testimony] No Room for Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The Brooklyn Daily Eagle. –(Oct. 16, 1893).

[Testimony] The Law's Limit / Emma Goldman. – p. 7 ; 44 cm. *In* The World. –(Oct. 17, 1893).

[Interview] Emma on the Island / Emma Goldman. – p. 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. –(Oct. 19, 1893).

"My Year in Stripes" / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1-2 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. –(Aug. 18, 1894).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Hailed Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. –(Aug. 20, 1894).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Howls for Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Aug. 20, 1894).

[Summary of Lecture] Apparently Tamed / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The Brooklyn Daily Eagle. –(Aug. 21, 1894).

[Friends of Alexander Berkman] / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 31 cm. *In* The Firebrand [Portland]. –Vol. 1, no. 24 (July 21, 1895).

[Interview, Th]e Red Queen Is Here / Emma Goldman. – 36 cm. *In* The Pittsburgh Leader. –[(Sept? 1895, fragment)].

Alexander Berkmann / Emma Goldman. – p. 54 ; 47 cm. *In* The Torch [London]. –Vol. 2, no. 4 (Sept. 1895).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in London / Emma Goldman. – pp. 173-174 ; 36 cm. *In* Liberty [London]. –Vol. 2, no. 22 (Oct. 1895).

The Condition of the Workers of America / Emma Goldman. – pp. 3-4 ; 36 cm. *In* The Firebrand [Portland]. –Vol. 1, no. 41 (Nov. 17, 1895).

Between Ourselves / Emma Goldman. –p. 53 ; 28 cm. *In* Liberty [London]. –Vol. 3, no. 5 (May 1896).

Eastern and European Propaganda / [Emma Goldman]. – p. 2 ; 40 cm. *In* The Firebrand [Portland]. –Vol. 2, no. 16 (May 24, 1896).

[Summary of Lecture] Propaganda in the East / [Emma Goldman]. – p. 2 ; 41 cm. *In* The Firebrand [Portland]. –Vol. 2, no. 18 (June 7, 1896).

The Berkman Fund Again / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 41 cm. *In* The Firebrand [Portland]. –Vol. 2, no. 29 (Aug. 23, 1896).

[Interview] Emma Goldman Here / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Leader. –(Nov. 20, 1896).

[Excerpt from Lecture] A Woman Anarchist / Emma Goldman. – p. 6 ; 44 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Leader. –(Nov. 22, 1896).

[Summary of Lecture] For Berkmann and Anarchism / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 44 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Post. –(Nov. 22, 1896).

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Again / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 44 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Leader. –(Nov. 23, 1896).

[Summary of Lecture] Another Talk on Anarchism / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Post. –(Nov. 23, 1896).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Goldman's Cry Against Society / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Post. –(Nov. 27, 1896).

Marriage / E[mma] Goldman. – p. 2 ; 40 cm. *In* The Firebrand [Portland]. –Vol. 3, no. 24 (July 18, 1897).

[Summary of Lecture] Joy at the Death of Canovas / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Aug. 17, 1897).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy in Spain and in New York / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-2 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. —(Aug. 17, 1897).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman: Rochester Anarchist Has Broken Out Once More / Emma Goldman.— p. 10 ; 29 cm. *In* The Rochester Union and Advertiser. —(Aug. 21, 1897).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Meeting of the Anarchists / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(Aug. 23, 1897).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Her Comrades Rebuke Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— p. 10 ; 28 cm. *In* The New York Tribune. —(Aug. 23, 1897).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* The Evening Bulletin [Providence]. —(Sept. 4, 1897).
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman, Anarchist / Emma Goldman.— p. 7 ; 44 cm. *In* The Boston Daily Globe. —(Sept. 6, 1897).
[Excerpt from Lecture] More Anarchy / Emma Goldman.—28 cm. *In* The Providence Daily Journal. —(Sept. 6, 1897).
[Interview] Told to Get Out / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1,9 ; 43 cm. *In* The Evening Bulletin [Providence]. —(Sept 8, 1897).
[Interview] Emma Goldman, the Anarchist / Emma Goldman.— p. 7 ; 43 cm. *In* The Boston Daily Globe. —(Sept. 9, 1897).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Advised Strenuous Measures / Emma Goldman.— p. 6 ; 43 cm. *In* The Boston Daily Globe. —(Sept. 13, 1897).
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— p. 324 ; 36 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Light-Bearer [Chicago]. —no. 680 (Oct. 13, 1897).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy Her Theme / Emma Goldman.— p. 22 ; 44 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. —(Oct. 17, 1897).
[Interview] Police Prevent the Anarchist Meeting at the Grant Statue / Emma Goldman.— p. 10 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. —(Oct. 20, 1897).
[Interview] What Is There in Anarchy for Woman? / Emma Goldman.— p. 9 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. —(Oct. 24, 1897).
[Summary of Lecture] "Reds" in a Calm / Emma Goldman.— p. 5 ; 43 cm. *In* The Chicago Tribune. —(Nov. 12, 1897).
[Interview] Emma Goldman: Rochester's Own and Only Anarchist... / Emma Goldman.— p. 7 ; 29 cm. *In* The Rochester Union and Advertiser. —(Dec. 3, 1897).
[Summary of Lecture] The Red Flag Was Waved / Emma Goldman.— p. 6 ; 32 cm. *In* The Rochester Herald. —(Dec. 6, 1897).
Various Voices / Emma Goldman.— pp. 423-4 ; 37 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Lightbearer [Chicago]. —no.692 (Jan. 5, 1898).
[Letters from a tour. In German] Reise-Briefe. Part 3 / Emma Goldman.— pp. 2-3 ; 36 cm. *In* Sturmvogel [New York]. —Vol. 1, no. 6 (Jan. 15, 1898).
[Interview] Free Speech? / Emma Goldman.— p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* The Evening Bulletin [Providence]. —(Jan. 22, 1898).
[Summary of Lecture] In Hedley Hall / Emma Goldman.— p. 5 ; 28 cm. *In* The Evening Bulletin [Providence]. —(Jan. 24, 1898).
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman's Address / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The Boston Daily Globe. —(Jan. 25, 1898).
[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika. [Part 1] / Emma Goldman.— p. 94 ; 25 cm *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. —(Feb. 5, 1898).
[Excerpt from Lecture] What Emma Goldman Thinks of Patriotism / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Post. —(Feb. 25, 1898).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Again / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Post. –(Feb. 26, 1898).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Again Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Post. –(Feb. 28, 1898).

[Summary of Lecture] Various Voices / Emma Goldman. – p. 71 ; 37 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Lightbearer [Chicago]. –(March 2, 1898).

[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika [Part 2] / Emma Goldman. – 31 cm. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. –(March 5, 1898).

[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika. Part 3 / Emma Goldman. – 25 cm. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. –(March 12, 1898).

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman in Philadelphia / Emma Goldman. – pp. 2-3 ; 43 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. –(March 13, 1898).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Commune Celebrated / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Leader. –(March 13, 1898).

A Letter from Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 28 cm. *In* Solidarity [New York]. –Vol. 1, no. 9 (March 15, 1898).

[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika. Part 4 / Emma Goldman. – 33 cm. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. –(March 26, 1898).

[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika. [Part 5] / Emma Goldman. – 32 cm. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. –(April 2, 1898).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Animal Instincts of Man / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* The Rocky Mountain News [Denver]. –(April 15, 1898).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Christian Idea Is False / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* The Rocky Mountain News [Denver]. –(April 16, 1898).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman, Anarchist / Emma Goldman. – p. 16 ; 34 cm. *In* The San Francisco Call. –(April 27, 1898).

A Short Account of My Late Tour / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 36 cm. *In* Solidarity [New York]. –(June 15, 1898).

Miss Emma Goldman. Replies to Questions Asked by Mr. F.B. Livezey / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The Sentinel [Detroit]. –(July 30, 1898).

New York Anarchist Leaders Denounce the Murder of Austria's Empress / Emma Goldman. – p. 20 ; 28 cm. *In* The World. –(Sept. 18, 1898).

An Undelivered Speech / Justus Schwab, Ed[ward] Brady and Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 35 cm. *In* Liberty [New York]. –Vol. 13, no. 9 (Jan. 1899).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Free Speech Suppressed in Barre, VT / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. –Vol. 5, no. 17 (March 5, 1899).

[Interview] An Interrupted Interview... / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The Evening News [Detroit]. –(March 14, 1899).

To My Friends and Comrades in New York / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 35 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 6, no. 21 (May 7, 1899).

[Excerpt from Lecture] An Anarchist Propagandist / Emma Goldman. – p. 5 ; 43 cm. *In* Oakland Enquirer. –(July 15, 1899).

[Excerpt from Lecture] From San Jose / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 5, no. 37 (July 23, 1899).

Emma Goldman in Oakland, Cal. / Emma Goldman. – pp. 2-3 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. –(July 23, 1899).

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman: The Woman Anarchist Talks to Stocktonians Two Evenings / Emma Goldman. – p. 5 ; 40 cm. *In* Stockton Daily Record. –(July 24, 1899).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in Stockton, Cal. / Emma Goldman. – pp. 2-3 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 5, no. 38 (July 30, 1899).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Farewell! / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 5, no. 40 (Aug. 13, 1899).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Socialist Idea of Marriage / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* The Rocky Mountain News [Denver]. – (Aug. 19, 1899).
The Effect of War on the Workers / Emma Goldman. – pp. 10-11 ; 40 cm. *In* Freedom [London]. – Vol. 14, no. 146 (March-April 1900).
The Propaganda and the Congress / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 6, no. 21 (April 8, 1900).
Observations and Suggestions / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1-3 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 6, no. 23 (April 22, 1900).
Some More Observations / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 6, no. 24 (April 29, 1900).
A Letter from Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 4 ; 34 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 6, no. 39 (Aug. 12, 1900).
Amérique / Emma Goldman. – pp. 189-190 ; 28 cm. *In* Rapports du Congrès Antiparlementaire International de 1900 / Les Temps Nouveaux [Paris]. – Vol. 3, nos. 23 & 31 (Sept. 20, 1900).
The Paris Congress / E[mma] Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 35 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 6, no. 49 (Oct. 21, 1900).
The Paris Congress / E[mma] Goldman. – p. 3 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 6, no. 50 (Oct. 28, 1900).
From the Paris Congress / [Emma Goldman]. – 35 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 6, no. 51 (Nov. 4, 1900).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Rented by Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. – (Dec. 12, 1900).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchists Made Furious / Emma Goldman. – p. 4 ; 25 cm. *In* New York Daily Tribune. – (Dec. 12, 1900).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Free Speech Strangled / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1-2 ; 43 cm. *In* Free Society [Chicago]. – Vol. 7, no. 12 (April 21, 1901).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Defends Acts of Bomb Throwers / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 43 cm. *In* The Cleveland Plain Dealer. – (May 6, 1901).
[Recently Comrade Emma Goldman Lectured in Lynn, ...] / Emma Goldman. – p. 5 ; 25 cm. *In* Free Society [Chicago]. – Vol. 7, no. 15 (May 12, 1901).
Gaetano Bresci / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* Free Society [Chicago]. – Vol. 7, no. 18 (June 2, 1901).
[Summary of Lecture] Report from Chicago / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 22 cm. *In* Free Society [Chicago]. – Vol. 7, no. 19 (June 9, 1901).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman, High Priestess of Anarchy, Whose Speeches Inspired Czolgosz to His Crime / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The Chicago Daily Tribune. – (Sept. 8, 1901).
[Interview] Emma Goldman in Jail Charged with Conspiracy / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. – (Sept. 11, 1901).
[Interview] Emma Goldman in Law's Grasp / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Chicago Daily Tribune. – (Sept 11, 1901).
[Interview] Emma Goldman's Own Story / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 28 cm. *In* The Chicago Daily Tribune. – (Sept. 11, 1901).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Speaks / Emma Goldman. – 26 cm. *In* The New York Times. – (Dec. 10, 1901).

To the Strikers of Paterson / Emma Goldman. – 43 cm. *In* La Questione Sociale [Paterson, NJ]. –(July 5, 1902).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Police Eyes on Anarchy / Emma Goldman.– p. 5 ; 43 cm. *In* The Chicago Tribune. –(Nov. 17, 1902).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Close Doors to Anarchy / Emma Goldman.– p. 15 ; 44 cm. *In* The Chicago Tribune. –(Nov. 24, 1902).

Free Speech in Chicago / Emma Goldman.– p. 377 ; 36 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Light Bearer [Chicago]. –no. 947 (Dec. 11, 1902).

A Card / Emma Goldman.– p. 4 ; 28 cm. *In* Free Society [Chicago]. –Vol. 9, no. 50 (Dec. 14, 1902).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Restrainment Versus Government / Emma Goldman.– pp. 387-388 ; 36 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Lightbearer [Chicago]. –(Dec. 18, 1902).

[Emma Goldman to the "Cronaca Sovversiva". In Italian] Emma Goldman alla "Cronaca Sovversiva" / Emma Goldman.– p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. –Vol. 1, no. 1 (June 6, 1903).

[For freedom. In Italian] Per la Liberta / Emma Goldman.– p. 1 ; 28 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. –no. 27 (Dec. 5, 1903).

[Anarchy. In Italian] Anarchia / Emma Goldman.– p. 1 ; 29 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. –no. 5 (Jan. 30, 1904).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchists' Big Rally / Emma Goldman.– p. 6 ; 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Sept. 12, 1904).

Voltairine de Cle[y]re / E[mma] G[oldman].– p. 213 ; 35 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Lightbearer [Chicago]. –(Dec. 8, 1904).

Mother Earth / Emma Goldman.– New York : Emma Goldman, [1906, advertisement].

"Mother Earth" / Max Baginski and Emma Goldman.– p. 3 ; 40 cm. *In* Freiheit [New York]. –(Feb. 3, 1906).

Mother Earth / Emma Goldman and Max Baginski.– pp. 1-4 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no.1 (March 1906).

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman.– pp. 9-18 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 1 (March 1906).

The Child and Its Enemies / Emma Goldman.– pp. 7-14 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 2 (April 1906).

A Sentimental Journey. –Police Protection / E[mma] G[oldman] and M[ax] B[aginski].– pp. 43-45 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 2 (April 1906).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Woman Anarchist Calls Our Flag a Sham / Emma Goldman.– p. 18 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(April 4, 1906).

Alexander Berkman / E[mma] G[oldman].– pp. 22-24 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 3 (May 1906).

[Interview] An Anarchist Honeymoon / Emma Goldman.– p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(May 26, 1906).

A Letter / Emma Goldman.– pp. 13-14 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 4 (June 1906).

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In German] Die Tragödie der Frauenemanzipation / Emma Goldman.– pp. 5-15 ; 17 cm. *In* Die Freie Generation: Dokumente der Weltanschauung des Anarchismus. – London : Varlagagruppe. Die Freie Generation, 1906.

Russell Sage / Emma Goldman.– pp. 1-3 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 6 (Aug. 1906).

To the Readers / Emma Goldman. – p. 30 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 7 (Sept. 1906).
Letters to the Editor in Prison / Alex[ander] Berkman, Emma Goldman and Carl Nold. – p. 590 ; 37 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Lightbearer [Chicago]. – no. 1075 (Sept. 27, 1906).
The Tragedy at Buffalo / Emma Goldman. – pp. 11-16 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 8 (Oct. 1906).
[The tragedy at Buffalo. In German] Die Tragödie in Buffalo / Emma Goldman. – pp. 2-3 ; 40 cm. *In* Freiheit [New York]. – (Oct. 27, 1906).
Police Brutality / Emma Goldman. – pp. 2-3 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 9 (Nov. 1906).
To the Readers of Mother Earth / Emma Goldman. – p. 55 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 9 (Nov. 1906).
Free Country! / A[lexander] Berkman, H[arry] Kelly, and E[mma] Goldman. – p. 3 ; 29 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. – Vol. 4, no. 45 (Nov. 10, 1906).
To My Readers / Emma Goldman. – pp. 7-8 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 10 (Dec. 1906).
As to "Crammers of Furnaces" / Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and H[arry] Kelly. – pp. 21-23 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 10 (Dec. 1906).
Police Education / E[mma] G[oldman]. – pp. 2-3 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 11 (Jan. 1907).
Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman. – p. 18 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 11 (Jan. 1907).
"Mother Earth" Sustaining Fund / E[mma] G[oldman]. – p. 34 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 11 (Jan. 1907).
Free Speech Defense Fund / Emma Goldman. – p. 34 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 11 (Jan. 1907).
[Excerpt from Lecture. Anarchism Is Not Necessarily Violence] / [Emma Goldman]. – 28 cm. – (Jan. 6, 1907, police transcript).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Arrested for Talking Violence / Emma Goldman. – p. 16 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. – (Jan. 7, 1907).
Among Barbarians / Emma Goldman. – pp. 10-11 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 12 (Feb. 1907).
Anent My Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman. – p. 31 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 12 (Feb. 1907).
Free Speech Defense Fund / [Emma Goldman]. – p. 32 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 12 (Feb. 1907).
Free Speech Fund Expenditures / Emma Goldman. – pp. 32-33 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 12 (Feb. 1907).
"Mother Earth" Sustaining Fund / E[mma] G[oldman]. – p. 33 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 12 (Feb. 1907).
Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman. – p. 30 ; 37 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Lightbearer [Chicago]. – no. 1085 (Feb. 14, 1907).
Anent My Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman. – p. 16 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 1 (March 1907).
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 4-8 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 1 (March 1907).
Notice / Emma Goldman. – 18 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 1 (March 1907).
Ernest Crosby / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 22 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. – no. 11 (March 16, 1907).

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 60-65 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 2 (April 1907).
On the Road / Emma Goldman. – pp. 65-71 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 3 (April 1907).
Anent My Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman. – p. 71 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 3 (April 1907).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy and Snuff at Goldman Meeting / Emma Goldman. – p. 4 ; 50 cm. *In* The Minneapolis Journal. – (April 7, 1907).
[Excerpt from Lecture] How "Anarchy's Queen" Would Train Children / Emma Goldman. – p. 6 ; 28 cm. *In* The Minneapolis Journal. – (April 8, 1907).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Goldman Extols Drama / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 23 cm. *In* The Minneapolis Journal. – (April 9, 1907).
[Interview] Anarchy Expounded by Woman Leader / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 11 ; 45 cm. *In* The Winnipeg Tribune. – (April 10, 1907).
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 119-123 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 3 (May 1907).
On the Road / Emma Goldman. – pp. 128-135 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 3 (May 1907).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Strike Viewed Through Emma Goldman's Glasses / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* The San Francisco Call. – (May 6, 1907).
[Summary of Lecture] Miss Emma Goldman Says Religions Are Curse to Humanity / Emma Goldman. – p. 14 ; 26 cm. *In* The San Francisco Call. – (May 17, 1907).
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 176-178 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 4 (June 1907).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Roosevelt Is Not Friend of Labor / Emma Goldman. – p. 12 ; 43 cm. *In* The Oregonian [Portland]. – (June 3, 1907).
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 205-211 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 5 (July 1907).
On the Road / Emma Goldman. – pp. 215-222 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 5 (July 1907).
Anent the Amsterdam Conference / Emma Goldman. – p. 222 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 5 (July 1907).
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 235-239 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 6 (Aug. 1907).
A Literary Nuisance / Emma Goldman. – pp. 250-253 ; 20 cm *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 6 (Aug. 1907).
Amsterdam Conference Fund / Emma Goldman. – pp. 259-260 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – (Aug. 1907).
Brief News and Comment / Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Hypolyte Havel. – p. 6 ; 28 cm. *In* The Demonstrator [Home, Wa.]. – Vol. 5, no. 4 (Aug. 21, 1907).
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 273-274 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 7 (Sept. 1907).
Our Amsterdam Letter / Emma Goldman. – pp. 274-275 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 7 (Sept. 1907).
To Our Comrades / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – pp. 292-293 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 7 (Sept. 1907).
[An appeal. In German] Ein Appell / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – p. 6 ; 38 cm. *In* Freiheit [New York]. – (Sept. 14, 1907).

[Anarchy. In Italian] Anarchia / Emma Goldman. – p. 276 ; 26 cm. *In* Il Pensiero [Rome]. – Vol. 5, no. 18 (Sept. 16, 1907).

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 295-302 ; 20cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 8 (Oct. 1907).

The International Anarchist Congress / Emma Goldman. – pp. 307-319 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 8 (Oct. 1907).

[Interview] "Can't Keep Me Out," Cries Red Emma / Emma Goldman. – p. 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. – (Oct. 8, 1907).

[Types, ideas and decisions from the Anarchist congress. In Yiddish] Tipen, Ideen un Beschliese funden Anarchistishen Kongres / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* Freie Arbeiter Stimme [New York]. – (Oct. 12, 1907).

Artists-Revolutionists / E[mma] G[oldman]. – pp. 357-359 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 9 (Nov. 1907).

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 360-366 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 9 (Nov. 1907).

"La Ruche" / Emma Goldman. – pp. 388-394 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 9 (Nov. 1907).

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman's Lecture / Emma Goldman. – p. 68 ; 28 cm. *In* Freedom [London]. – (Nov. 1907).

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. In Italian] Resoconto generale del Congresso Anarchico di Amsterdam / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – 26 cm. *In* Il Pensiero [Rome]. – no. 20-21 (Nov. 1, 1907).

[Summary of Lecture] Direct Action as the Logical Tactic of Anarchism / Emma Goldman. – 24 cm. *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." – (Nov. 19, 1907).

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 419-426 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 10 (Dec. 1907).

Reply / Emma Goldman. – pp. 447-449 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 10 (Dec. 1907).

Anent My Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman. – pp. 473-474 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 10 (Dec. 1907).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Trade Unionism / Emma Goldman. – 24 cm. *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." – (Dec. 12, 1907).

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Revolutionary Spirit in Modern Drama / Emma Goldman. – 24 cm *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." – (Dec. 14, 1907).

[Excerpt from Lecture. Misconceptions About Anarchism] / Emma Goldman. – 24 cm. *In* F.W.C. Maasch, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." – (Dec. 24, 1907).

Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty / Emma Goldman. – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908?].

[Interview] Conversation avec Emma Goldman et le D. Friedeberg [Conversation with Emma Goldman and Dr. Friedeberg. In French] / Emma Goldman. – 42 cm. *In* La Guerre Sociale [Paris]. – [1908?].

A Beautiful Ideal / Emma Goldman. – Chicago : J.C. Hart, [1908?].

What I Believe / Emma Goldman. – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908].

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908.

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 479-485 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 11 (Jan. 1908).

Anent My Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman. – pp. 534-535 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 11 (Jan. 1908).

Mother Earth Sustaining Fund / Emma Goldman. – pp. 535-536 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 11 (Jan. 1908).

Our Propaganda / Emma Goldman. – pp. 579-581 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 12 (Feb. 1908).

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman on Trades Unions. Declares Anarchy Is the Ideal State / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The Advertiser [London, Ont.]. – (Feb. 20, 1908).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Famous Anarchist Delivers Lecture / Emma Goldman. – p. 10 ; 28 cm. *In* The Free Press [London, Ont.]. – (Feb. 20, 1908).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Held Forth Again / Emma Goldman. – p. 6 ; 28 cm. *In* The Advertiser [London, Ont.]. – (Feb. 21, 1908).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchist Looks on Darker Side / Emma Goldman. – p. 10 ; 28 cm. *In* The Free Press [London, Ont.]. – (Feb. 21, 1908).

[Interview] Emma Goldman Rebukes Unions; Scores Church / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 42 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. – (Feb. 28, 1908).

[Interview] Would Banish Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 25 cm. *In* St. Louis Times. – (Feb. 28, 1908).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Meek As a Lamb in Her Harangue / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. – (Feb. 29, 1908).

Mother Earth / Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. – pp. 1-2 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 1 (March 1908).

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 5-11 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 1 (March 1908).

The Joys of Touring / Emma Goldman. – pp. 36-40 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 1 (March 1908).

[Interview] Emma Goldman, High Priestess of Anarchy, Sneers over Crime / Emma Goldman. – p. 4 ; 27 cm. *In* Chicago Daily Journal. – (March 3, 1908).

[Interview] Police Defied by Emma Goldman in Upholding "Reds" / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1-2 ; 43 cm. *In* Chicago Daily Journal. – (March 6, 1908).

[In Defense of Anarchy] / Emma Goldman. – 1908 March 6, draft.

[Interview] Goldman to Rap Society / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Chicago Daily Journal. – (March 7, 1908).

[Interview] Emma Goldman Clashes with Police on Meeting / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Inter Ocean [Chicago]. – (March 8, 1908).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Reds' Leader Flays Police / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* Chicago Daily Journal. – (March 17, 1908).

[Interview] Emma Goldman Blames Police / Emma Goldman. – 43 cm. *In* The Chicago Tribune. – (March 29, 1908).

En Route / Emma Goldman. – pp. 71-72 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 2 (April 1908).

[Summaries and Excerpts from Lectures] / Emma Goldman. – 25 cm. *In* Walter E. Carr, "[Report to] U.S. Commissioner of Immigration". – (April 9, 1908).

En Route / Emma Goldman. – pp. 132-134 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 3 (May 1908).

[Summary of Lecture] Wants "No Government" Society / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 28 cm. *In* Common Sense [Los Angeles]. – (May 2, 1908).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Goldman–Bauer Debate / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* Common Sense [Los Angeles]. — (May 16, 1908).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Wood Denounces Y.M.C.A. Directors / Emma Goldman. — p. 12 ; 43 cm. *In* The Morning Oregonian [Portland]. — (May 25, 1908).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Too Large an Army Now / Emma Goldman. — p. 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The Morning Oregonian [Portland]. — (May 27, 1908).
En Route / Emma Goldman. — pp. 189-190 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 3, no. 4 (June 1908).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in Oregon / Emma Goldman. — pp. 295-296 ; 26 cm. *In* The Public [Chicago]. — Vol. 11, no. 534 (June 26, 1908).
Defying the Gods / Emma Goldman. — pp. 223-226 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 3, no. 5 (July 1908).
"What I Believe," by Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. — p. 3M ; 28 cm. *In* The World. — (July 19, 1908).
Emma Goldman Leaves the Question of Violence Entirely Alone / Emma Goldman. — p. 388 ; 26 cm. *In* The Public [Chicago]. — Vol. 11, no. 538 (July 24, 1908).
George Pettibone / Emma Goldman. — pp. 253-254 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 3, no. 6 (Aug. 1908).
[What I believe. In Italian] Quello che io credo / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1-2 ; 29 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt]. — no. 32 (Aug. 8, 1908).
Labor Day / E[mma] G[oldman]. — pp. 297-299 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 3, no. 7 (Sept. 1908).
The Latest Police Outrage / Emma Goldman. — pp. 273-275 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 3, no. 7 (Sept. 1908).
To Our Readers / Emma Goldman. — pp. 279-280 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 3, no. 7 (Sept. 1908).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Berkman's Partner Abuses the Police / Emma Goldman. — p. 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. — (Sept. 14, 1908).
Apropos of My Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman. — pp. 318-319 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 3, no. 8 (Oct. 1908).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Says She Is Coming Back / Emma Goldman. — p. 5 ; 40 cm. *In* The New York Times. — (Oct. 17, 1908).
The Joys of an Agitator / Emma Goldman. — pp. 347-350 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 3, no. 9 (Nov. 1908).
[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Anarchism Will Mean Absolute Equality and Freedom for Women with No Dual Code / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. — (Nov. 1, 1908).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Devil Called a Benefactor by Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. — p. 16 ; 42 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. — (Nov. 2, 1908).
En Route / Emma Goldman. — pp. 351-355 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 3, no. 10 (Dec. 1908).
[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Everett Ought to Be Annexed to Russia / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 28 cm. *In* The Everett Morning Tribune. — (Dec. 15, 1908).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Married State Attacked / Emma Goldman. — p. 16 ; 28 cm. *In* The Oregonian [Portland]. — (Dec. 21, 1908).
The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1909].

The Drama: The Strongest Disseminator of Radical Thought / Emma Goldman. – pp. 19-23 ; 18 cm. *In* The Suppression of Free Speech / edited by Alden Freeman. – East Orange : East Orange Record Print, [1909].

A New Declaration of Independence / Emma Goldman. – New York : [Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n?], 1909.

The Joys of Touring / Emma Goldman. – pp. 370-379 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 11 (Jan. 1909).

Dear Friend / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – (Jan. 26, 1909, leaflet).

On Trial / Emma Goldman. – pp. 411-417 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 12 (Feb. 1909).

[Summary of Lecture] Mills and Goldman Debate the Question / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 22 cm. *In* The San Francisco Call. – (March 1, 1909).

[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Dawning Era Will Crush President / Emma Goldman. – 35 cm. *In* The San Antonio Daily Express. – (March 15, 1909).

The End of the Odyssey / Emma Goldman. – pp. 47-51 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 2 (April 1909).

[In the United States of America. In German] Vereinigte Staaten / Emma Goldman. – 33 cm. *In* Der Freie Arbeiter [Berlin]. – (April 10, 1909).

A Woman Without a Country / Emma Goldman. – pp. 81-82 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 3 (May 1909).

The Easiest Way / Emma Goldman. – pp. 86-92 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 3 (May 1909).

[Interview] Policemen Stop Emma Goldman; Clear the Hall / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1-2 ; 54 cm. *In* The World. – (May 24, 1909).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Mild Goldman Talk While Police Listen / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. – (May 25, 1909).

[Interview] An Interview with Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. – (May 30, 1909).

Our Friends, the Enemy / Emma Goldman. – pp. 110-111 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 4 (June 1909).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Talks in Barn / Emma Goldman. – pp. 9-12 ; 21 cm. *In* The Suppression of Free Speech in New York and in New Jersey... – [(June 1909)].

A New Declaration of Independence / Emma Goldman. – pp. 137-138 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 5 (July 1909).

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Speaks That Piece / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. – (July 3, 1909).

The Spanish Uprising / Emma Goldman. – pp. 174-176 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 6 (Aug. 1909).

Our Fight / E[mma] G[oldman]. – pp. 187-189 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 6 (Aug. 1909).

Adventures in the Desert of American Liberty / Emma Goldman. – pp. 210-215 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 7 (Sept. 1909).

[Interview] Emma Goldman Says She Will Fight to Finish, War with Chief Matthews and His Men / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 5 ; 43 cm. *In* The Worcester Telegram. – (Sept. 6, 1909).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Nineteen Cops Hear Lecture on Anarchy / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The Worcester Telegram. – (Sept. 9, 1909).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Talks on Pedagogy / Emma Goldman. – 24 cm. *In* The Telegram [Worcester, Ma]. – (Sept. 10, 1909).

[Interview] Police May Turn Hose on Anarchists / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Sept. 28, 1909).

In Justice to Leon Szolgosz / Emma Goldman. – pp. 239-241 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 8 (Oct. 1909).

In Defense of Free Speech / Emma Goldman. – pp. 241-243 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 7 (Oct. 1909).

[Testimony] Emma Goldman Talks Anarchy Before Judges / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Oct. 2, 1909).

[Interview] Miss Goldman Speaks Her Mind Quite Freely / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1-2 ; 37 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Oct. 2, 1909).

The Anarchist's Letter / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Oct. 3, 1909).

[Interview] Woman Anarchist Ready for a Test / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Oct. 4, 1909).

[Testimony] Emma Goldman's Case to Be Reheard / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Oct. 7, 1909).

Emma Goldman and M'Kinley's Death / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Oct. 8, 1909).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Goldman Meeting Without Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Oct. 9, 1909).

Miss Goldman's Views / Emma Goldman. – p. 7 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Oct. 16, 1909).

[Interview] Anarchists Not Allowed to Meet / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Oct. 17, 1909).

[Excerpt from Lecture] N.Y. Socialists Protest / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Oct. 18, 1909).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman, Raconteur / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Oct. 23, 1909).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchist–Socialist Parade for Ferrer / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Oct. 24, 1909).

Francisco Ferrer / Emma Goldman. – pp. 275-277 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 9 (Nov. 1909).

Adventures in the Desert of American Liberty / E[mma] G[oldman]. – pp. 292-297 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 9 (Nov. 1909).

A Tribute / Emma Goldman. – pp. 323-325 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 10 (Dec. 1909).

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Suffrage Quest a Wild Goose Chase / Emma Goldman. – p. 16 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Dec. 13, 1909).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Doesn't Like New Theatre / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Dec. 20, 1909).

Anarchism and Other Essays / Emma Goldman. – 2nd. rev. ed. – New York : The Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [between 1910 and 1919, advertisement].

Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman. – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1910?].

Appeal / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – New York : [Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n?, 1910, leaflet].

The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. – pp. 344-351 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 11 (Jan. 1910).

[Interview] Emma Goldman to Talk on the White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. – 27 cm. *In* The Milwaukee Daily News. –(Jan. 22, 1910).

Light and Shadows in the Life of Avant–Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 383-391 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 12 (Feb. 1910).

[Interview] Emma Goldman in St. Louis to Attack Clergy / Emma Goldman.– p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis-Post Dispatch. –(Feb. 1, 1910).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman's Talk As Heard by Miss Martyn / Emma Goldman.– p. 4 ; 28 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. –(Feb. 3, 1910).

[Interview] Drama Is Aid to Anarchy Emma Goldman Asserts... / Emma Goldman.– p. III: 7 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. –(Feb. 6, 1910).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Elite Peek at "Red" Emma, She Peeks at Them / Emma Goldman.– pp. III: 1, 5 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. –(Feb. 6, 1910).

[Summary of Lecture] Anarchist Leader Waves Red Flag / Emma Goldman.– p. 1 ; 29 cm. *In* The Michigan Daily [Ann Arbor]. –(Feb. 20, 1910).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Students Jeer Anarchy / Emma Goldman.– p. 1 ; 28 cm. *In* The Michigan Daily [Ann Arbor]. –(Feb. 22, 1910).

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant–Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 16-23 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 1 (March 1910).

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant–Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 45-50 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 2 (April 1910).

Goldman's Own Narrative of Her Visit and Reception in Madison / Emma Goldman.– 19 cm. *In* The State Journal [Madison]. –(April 1, 1910).

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant–Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 87-90 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 3 (May 1910).

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant–Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 124-130 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 4 (June 1910).

The End of the Odyssey / Emma Goldman. – pp. 159-163 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 5 (July 1910).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Comstock Heckled at Labor Temple / Emma Goldman.– 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Nov. 2, 1910).

Japanese Radicals Condemned to Die / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – 28 cm. *In* The New York Call. –(Nov. 12, 1910).

A Rejoinder / Emma Goldman. – pp. 325-328 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 10 (Dec. 1910).

[Marriage and Love. In Yiddish] Harat un Freie Liba / Emma Goldman.– translated by A.B.C.D. – New York : Isidor Schwartz, [between 1911 and 1940].

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman.– [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911.

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman.– [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911.

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman.– New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911.

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 352-354 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 11 (Jan. 1911).

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 386-391 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 12 (Feb. 1911).

Our Sixth Birthday / Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. – pp. 2-4 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1911).

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 17-22 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 3 (March 1911).

Are Kotoku Protests Justified? / Emma Goldman. – pp. 57-60 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1911).

[Against a one-sided class-propaganda. In German] Gegen einseitige Klassen–Propaganda / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* Der Sozialist [Berlin]. – (March 1, 1911).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Gracious! We're All Immoral, in Emma's Opinion / Emma Goldman. – p. 22 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. – (March 2, 1911).

[Interview] Anarchism and Socialism Defined / Emma Goldman. – p. 18 ; 44 cm. *In* The Herald of Revolt [London]. – Vol. 1, no. 5 (April 1911).

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 50-55 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 2 (April 1, 1911).

The Mexican Revolution / Emma Goldman. – p. 4 ; 22 cm. *In* The Agitator [Los Angeles]. – Vol. 1, no. 11 (April 15, 1911).

Emma Goldman in Hearty Sympathy / Emma Goldman. – 35 cm. *In* Regeneracion [Los Angeles]. – (April 22, 1911).

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – p. 84 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 3 (May 1911).

[Interview] Emma Goldman Comes to Preach "Anarchism" to I.W.W.'S / Emma Goldman. – p. 11 ; 28 cm. *In* The Fresno Morning Republican. – (May 14, 1911).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Talks at the I.W.W. Hall / Emma Goldman. – p. 10 ; 28 cm. *In* The Fresno Morning Republican. – (May 15, 1911).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in Kansas / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 28 cm. *In* The Industrial Worker [Spokane]. – (May 18, 1911).

No Factional Issue / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* Regeneracion [Los Angeles]. – (June 16, 1911).

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 151-157 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 5 (July, 1911).

[The masses. In German] Die Masse / Emma Goldman. – pp. 113-114 ; 33 cm. *In* Der Sozialist [Bern]. – Vol. 3, no. 15 (Aug. 1, 1911).

Special Offer / Emma Goldman. – p. 193 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 7 (Sept. 1911).

[Interview] Labor's Seeress Predicts a Commune If M'Namaras Die / Emma Goldman. – 30 cm. *In* The Globe and Commerce. – [(Oct.? 1911?)].

October Twenty-Ninth, 1901 / Emma Goldman. – pp. 232-235 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 8 (Oct. 1911).

Dear Friend / Emma Goldman. – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911 Oct. 2, leaflet.

The Crime of the 11th of November / Emma Goldman. – pp. 263-266 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 9 (Nov. 1911).

Observations and Comments / Emma Goldman. – pp. 290-292 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 10 (Dec. 1911).

The New Year / Emma Goldman. – pp. 322-323 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 11 (Jan. 1912).

The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman. – pp. 24-27 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 1 (March 1912).

The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman. – pp. 49-54 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 2 (April 1912).

[Interview] Sex Problem Talks Fill Hall to Doors, Says Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 12 ; 25 cm. *In* The Daily News [Denver]. – (April 17, 1912).

[Excerpt from Lecture] Pulpitless Preacher Creates Scene at Goldman Meeting / Emma Goldman. – p. 16 ; 43 cm. *In* The Denver Post. – (April 17, 1912).

Suffrage Dealt Blow by Women of Titanic / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 41 cm. *In* The Denver Post. – (April 21, 1912).
Chantecler Most Talked of Play of Age, as Viewed by F.W.W. and Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 5 ; 43 cm. *In* The Denver Post. – (April 23, 1912).
Nation Seethes in Social Unrest—Goldman / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1,11 ; 42 cm. *In* The Denver Post. – (April 26, 1912).
Woman Center of Social Storm Which Is Sweeping Us Along / Emma Goldman. – p. 6 ; 43 cm. *In* The Denver Post. – (April 28, 1912).
Greed of Capital Basis of Social Unrest Today / Emma Goldman. – p. 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The Denver Post. – (April 30, 1912).
The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman. – pp. 87-92 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 3 (May 1912).
[Excerpt from Lecture] Threats Made by Woman "Red" / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The San Francisco Call. – (May 12, 1912).
[The Outrage of San Diego] / [Emma Goldman]. – [1912 May 16, draft].
Are We Really Advancing? / Emma Goldman. – [1912 June?, draft].
The Outrage of San Diego / Emma Goldman. – pp. 115-122 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 4 (June 1912).
A Tribute to Mikolasek, Murdered in San Diego / Emma Goldman. – pp. 123-125 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 4 (June 1912).
The Power of the Ideal / E[mma] G[oldman]. – pp. 125-131 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 4 (June 1912).
1840 to 1912 / Emma Goldman. – p. 2.; 43 cm. *In* Solidarity [Newcastle]. – (June 1, 1912).
[The outrage of San Diego. In Italian] Contro la Vandea! / Emma Goldman. – 29 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. – (June 1, 1912).
[Interview] Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman Tell of San Diego Experience / Emma Goldman. – p. 4 ; 43 cm. *In* The Industrial Worker [Spokane]. – (June 6, 1912).
The San Diego Outrages / Emma Goldman. – 36 cm. *In* Freedom [London]. – (July, 1912).
The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman. – pp. 164-168 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 5 (July 1912).
The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman. – pp. 190-193 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 6 (Aug. 1912).
Ross Winn / Emma Goldman. – pp. 208-211 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 7 (Sept. 1912).
[The drama: a powerful disseminator of radical thought. In Japanese] Kindaigekiron / Emma Goldman. – pp. 19-27 ; 22 cm. *In* Kindai Shisó[Tokyo]. – (Oct.-Nov. 1912).
Peter Kropotkin / Emma Goldman. – pp. 325-327 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 10 (Dec. 1912).
Comrades and Friends / Emma Goldman. – p. 358 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 10 (Dec. 1912).

Introduction to Reels 47 through 55

The Goldman Writings Series is a collection of Goldman's published essays, essay drafts, and lectures, as well as summaries of (and excerpts from) speeches as they appeared in newspaper articles and interviews from 1890 to 1940.

The collection emphasizes Goldman's lesser-known essays and previously unpublished drafts. Essays available in recent editions or published in book form have not been included. Where possible, various editions of popular essays are part of the collection.

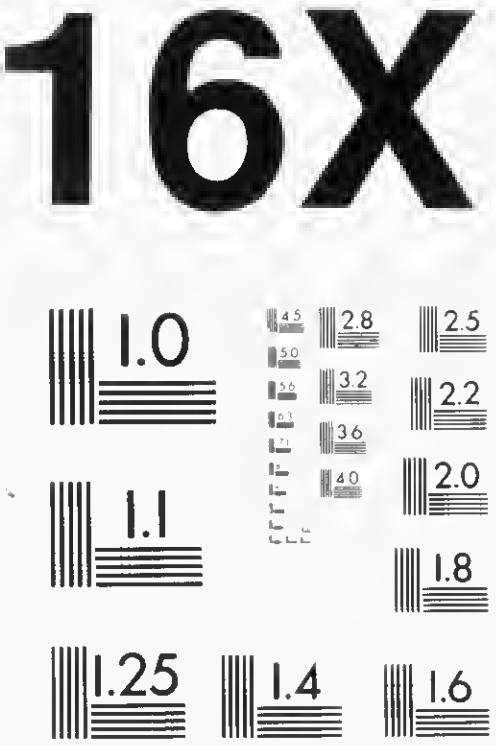
This document series also includes drafts of articles and lectures. Selected translations of Goldman's writings in French, Italian, German, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Spanish, Japanese, Chinese, Russian, and Yiddish, illustrate the international influence of Goldman's ideas during her life.

The newspaper articles reveal the public Emma Goldman as she was portrayed by the contemporary press. The articles underscore her wit, humor, and intellectual curiosity as well as her composure when confronted with hostility and sexism.

The Goldman Writing Series follows the public life of Emma Goldman from 1890 to 1940. Four periods stand apart in terms of both her activity and the attention focused on her: the years she published, edited, and wrote for *Mother Earth*, with the lively narratives of her lecture tours across the United States; her return from the Soviet Union, including her criticism of Leninism, the attacks from the Left against her anti-Leninist positions, and her responses; her brief return to the United States in 1934, a respite from the exile that separated her from her family and comrades in the United States;

and finally, the years of the Spanish Civil war: her visits to Barcelona and Madrid, her analysis of the transformations in Spain and of the controversies concerning the alternative tactics employed by Spanish anarchist organizations in their militant and political struggle against Fascism.

The Goldman Writing Series is largely self-explanatory. Users seeking contextual information about Emma Goldman's activities should turn to the informational text accompanying the Correspondence series of the microfilm.


16X
1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
4.5
5.0
5.6
6.3
7.1
8.0

890117033

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] An Eloquent Woman / Emma Goldman.– 29 cm. *In* The Baltimore Critic. –(Oct. 25, 1890).

Obtained from Butler Library, Columbia University.

ow say better."

ing needs touching up. passed to give to a mill- oadway Institute hall for is is in direct violation which this structure and illus market was erected. for the public civilians levences in; to afford a house where associations rposes may be formed of discuss matters that freedom or safety. To lic hall away from the ve it to a company of re likely to be called upon he masses in some crisis to injury and exhibiting carelessness for free in should forever prohibit nsed the measure from t upon the council floor

uncil would only adjourn ndred years, what a blessi and what a mass of shame would be saved the people

CARD FROM

graphical Union No. 12

which has existed for the ths between this organiza- vening Globe has been wi thdrawal of the paper from rnalism in this city and a new evening paper which men. The following extract the last issue of the paper ber 28)

a brief, but somewhat and exciting career, the to withdraw ld of Baltimore jour- During its life it pro- ndeavored to give to the readable paper, but its ith the union printers almost impossible for it . Some $20,000 were he few months of the ife, and there seemed to of extending its cir- or general business in- and a very small and territory. This being been concluded that would be folly. It nly mean the loss of a m of money, with no ever receiving a proper

our heartfelt thanks to the y for the many favors shown trouble, and our gratitude to for their co-operation

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 12

Voters of Maryland.

ion of Representatives to the ess will take place on the 4th of It will be among the most s occurred within our history ve and vital questions affecting the people will have to be de- er before, perhaps, since the our republic has there been a demand for clean, courageous, resentatives

derrate the importance or grav- ent questions when we assert bition of the Licensed Liquor most urgent and far-reaching day. It hurts the interests of e results as no system of tariff , no matter how burdensome or in its character, can possibly l, moral, financial and political posed by the report of the Com- ittee on the "Alcoholic Liquor and entirely of Democrats and made as recently as last April,

causes four-fifths of all crimes this country, imposes upon the of all the State, county taxes, wastes $800,000 a year in a home market for this much on products, inexpressibly mars ally a half million people for ess, causes three-fourths of the the country, is responsible for of insanity and imbecility y any good."

every good citizen to weigh rt of these frightful facts and at the ballot-box. Should ive in a civilized or Christian

this question, like all others interests of the people, only at the ballot-box by the their Representatives.

urge the voters of Maryland on the 4th of November who are pledged to the constitu- of this great destructive tion Party. Candidates for of high character and abil- s having this principle to le have no bitter words for the being necessarily committed to relieve the country. the reason, conscience, patriot of the individual voter, of mere party loy- ty of protecting the best in- people.

stand together at the ballot their unanimous con- of the extinction of mere party; will be prompted and , corruption and courtesies.

persons who sell non-union cigars, but no decided action was taken. The printers re ported that the fight against the Globe was still on, although from present appearances it would soon be over.

Musical Union sent a communication to the Federation, in which they called atten- tion to the fact that the Clothing Cutters and Trimmers had on Labor Day employed an out-of-town band, and recommended that the Federation take such action as would prevent this being done again. A committee comprising Messrs. Cooney, Grey, Ransom, Heath and Ratcliffe were appoint- ed to wait upon the organization com- plained of, and request that in the future none but Baltimore musicians be employed.

The Bricklayers reported that the addition to the House of Refuge was being built by scab bricklayers, and warned the stone- cutters not to be misled into working on this building with scab workmen.

The Plasterers asked the assistance of the Federation to strengthen their organization. The carpenters were requested to use their best endeavors to have none but union plas- terers employed on buildings upon which other union men were employed.

A communication was read from the American Federation of Labor, notifying the local body of the annual meeting in Detroit in December next.

It was then decided to nominate candidates from whom a delegate to the convention would be selected. After Messrs. Duncan, Hamon, and Baxter had been nominated, the Federation adjourned.

AN ELOQUENT WOMAN.

Truths to the Foreigners in German of Their Condition and How to Remedy It.

Miss Emma Goldman, of New York, de- livered two addresses to workingmen in this city on Sunday last. The first one was at Industrial Hall, where she spoke to the International Workingmen in the afternoon, and at night spoke before the Workingmen's Educational Society at Canmakers' Hall.

Miss Goldman is a young woman of per- haps twenty three years of age, and is a fine speaker. She was born in Germany, but at an early age left her native country to go with her parents to Russia, where she began to notice the oppression of the poor, and, like many others, she immediately set to work to study out some means to alleviate their condition. At the Canmakers' Hall meeting she said, among other things, that when she came to this country and saw the magnificent buildings, and then saw the wretched squalor of the tenement houses, she wondered and cried "Oh! how did it come to pass that such grand and magnifi- cent things can exist so close to such wretched misery." And she was of the opinion that conditions in this country were almost as bad as in Europe.

She said that wages were comparatively less in this country than in Russia, since in the latter country everything is so much cheaper. Another thing was that in Russia they knew that there existed a tyrant, but in America all were supposed to be free; yet men are hanged for free speech, while others were sent to Blackwell's Island. Yet there are people to teach you how to throw off the yoke. The same general conditions exist in all countries, and the authorities and those to whom we are accustomed to look for advice appear to be in league against us. Michael Cohn and William Harvey also made addresses.

A Lively Meeting

L. A. 1233, K. of L., met as usual last Tuesday night at Industrial Hall. Good work is being done in this assembly, a fine spirit prevails and interest in the aims of the order is growing as is manifested by the constantly increased attendence. The quarterly report of D. A. 41 was on the secretary's table and was read and discussed, with the report of the delegates. The report of the committee on Pinkertonism was dis- cussed, and the following unanimously passed:

Resolved, that L. A. 1233 K. of L., de- nounces the employment of Pinkertons as an American, in this, that property fears to rely on the immediate legal safeguards of the *posse comitatus*, the militia, the police of the cities, and the national army and navy, thereby inciting mob violence, and insult- ing all constituted authority. And in view of the foregoing, and the ample powers of the State board of police commissioners, this assembly asks such legislation as will prevent their employment at any time in this State.

Local Labor Notes.

Canmakers' Assembly at its last meeting adopted a form of agreement for a year to be signed by their employers and their com- mittee, and instructed the committee to go ahead with its work. The co-operative can factory scheme is likely to assume definite shape in a few days.

Electrical Assembly, 6280, had a lengthy discussion Wednesday evening, when all ex-members were invited to be present. The subject was "political action," and the vote will be handed in next week.

L. A. 7307 Clothing Cutters and Trim- mers, last Friday passed resolutions against the Globe, and elected two new members.

Tailors' Assembly will hold a ball and hop shortly.

Myrtle Assembly, is going to give an entertainment and hop in December next.

Cigarmakers' Union elected five new mem- bers last week.

Typographical Union meets tomorrow (Sunday) afternoon.

Outcast of the Haven, Home and Hos- pital, Kindness, 218 North Eutaw St. Room 7 is

MEETING OF THE DISTRICT ASSEMBLY.

No Assistance Fund. A Lengthy Discus- sion.

District Assembly 41, K. of L. met on Monday night at Industrial Hall, J. G. Schonfarber presiding, Chas. M. Metz, secre- tary.

Considerable routine business was trans- acted, and reports from assemblies took up over an hour, after which the D. M. W. called up the special order of business, namely, the establishing of an assistance fund. Quite a lengthy discussion ensued, many members claiming that the assistance fund would be an incentive to strikes, while others contended that strikes in themselves were not evils, being often the cause of con- siderable thought which would not other- wise be exercised. One delegate declared he was in favor of strikes, and added that a

But when a campaign lie is just a plain every day lie, a malicious distortion of the truth intended to mislead, without being really ingenious enough to deceive even the most simple-minded, then the campaign lie fails of its purpose and becomes a dangerous boomerang, recoiling with fatal effect on awkward men who thought to hurl it.

The moral wherein lies in its applica- tion. About a month ago the able gentle- men who comprise the National Congres- sional Committee issued a very pretty little book of some thirty pages, purporting to be a "Republican record made during nine months of Congress." It names these bills as passed, as being the republican record:

1.—A federal election law.
2.—A protective tariff law.
3.—Silver restored.
4.—Obstruction knocked out.
5.—A just pension law.
6.—Contract labor forbidden.
7.—Convict labor forbidden.
8.—An effective eight-hour law.
9.—The American hog vindicated.
10.—A uniform bankruptcy law.
11.—Two more new States.
12.—Six new ships for the navy.
13.—Harbor fortifications.
14.—Supreme Court relieved.
15.—Shipping bills.

Now, then, there isn't a man but knows that to claim that these fifteen bills were passed by the last Congress is an idle un- truth. It is plainly the deliberate purpose of the congressional committee to make the reader believe that both Senate and House passed these bills, and by inference, that they were approved by the President and became laws. "Congress," including House and Senate. The deliberate intention to deceive is no apparent, that really one feels impatient at the stupidity of the committee. There isn't a negro leader in the fifteenth ward that couldn't do better.

It is not worth while wasting time on all the claims made in the "Record." But the readers of THE CRITIC are probably inter- ested in Nos. 6, 7 and 8. There it is asserted that among the bills passed by the last Con- gress was one prohibiting contract labor; another forbidding convict labor, and another providing "an effectual eight-hour law."

Now, Congress did nothing of the kind. The House passed certain bills, which I will consider in detail in a moment, but the Senate never took them up. Nay, more, when Senator Blair—who, with all his crankiness, is an honest, sincere man—when Senator Blair, I say, stood up on the floor of the Senate in the closing days of the session and implored the Senate, implored his own republican colleagues, to make good their platform pledges and pass the labor bills that had come over from the House, he was smothered and crushed on all hands, and not one of the bills was passed. And to Maryland's shame, be it said, Senator Arthur P. Gorman went out of his way to join the republicans in their deliberate plot to choke off every honest effort to give labor a chance to be even heard in the Senate of the United States.

With the Senate, then, refusing to let these bills come up even in their calendar order, it is simply an absurdity to claim that "Con- gress" passed these labor bills. On the con- trary, "Congress" deliberately refused to pass them. As well might it be claimed by the democrats of the Fifteenth Congress that "Congress" passed the Mills' bill, to revise the tariff, because the bill passed the House, but was defeated in the Senate.

Now, it isn't necessary for any one to abuse the republican party in this matter of its so-called "labor legislation." The plain, cold facts are severe enough. It is claimed, then, that "Congress" passed no less than five labor bills, pure and simple measures asked for by the labor societies of the land.

1. An effective prohibition of alien con- tract labor. (H. R., 9332.)

2. An effective eight-hour law, constitu- ting eight hours a full day's work for all Government employes. (H. R., 9701.)

3. An adjustment law, enabling claimants under the old eight-hour law to submit their cases to judicial arbitrement. (H. R. 11120.)

4. A law prohibiting the employment of convict labor on government works. (H. R. 3328.)

5. A law prohibiting the use of the pro- duct of convict labor by the government in any of its departments. (H. R., 3296.)

This is the list of the labor bills. As a matter of fact, the *only labor bill that passed the House and the Senate*—that is, the only bill that was passed by Congress, and on being approved of course by the President, because a law—that single, solitary except- ion, is the bill called up and passed by young Buckbridge of Baltimore on Labor Day, to protect the lives of miners in the Territories. That is the only labor bill actually enacted by "Congress," and the committee evidently regard that bill as of so little importance that it is not even mentioned in all the claims and records put forth by the com- mittee!

Consider these five bills for a moment. The most important of them is the second, the "effective" eight-hour law, constituting eight hours a full day's work for all govern- ment employes. Recall for a moment the history of the eight-hour law. It was first introduced in the House in 1868, by General Banks, of Massachusetts, a republican. He had been a mill-hand a very long time in the first half of the [illegible] and knew

THIS MATERIAL MAY BE PROTECTED BY COPYRIGHT LAW (17 U.S. CODE)

881014019

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview. Anarchy's Den] / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. — (July 28, 1892, fragment).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

could not get in. He said he was a modeller and had been away looking for work."

HE KNOWS BERKMAN AND MOLLICK.

"Do you know Berkman?"

"Yes, I know him."

"Do you believe he did right in shooting Frick, the manager of the Carnegie mills?"

"That is my own business."

"What sort of man is Berkman; a determined fellow?"

"Yes," he replied, "he is the kind of man to carry out what he proposed to do."

"You know Mollick?"

"Yes, I have seen him."

"Do you suppose he knew of Berkman's intention to kill Frick?"

"No."

"Did you or Miss Goldman know of it?"

"I don't think any one knew. Berkman isn't the man to talk about such things."

"When did you see him last?"

"I don't know, about ten days ago, I think; something like that."

"What were the relations between him and Miss Goldman?"

"Oh, they were friends, I think."

Timmerman speaks English well, but with a strong foreign accent. At this point of the interview he concluded that he had said enough and satisfied himself by replying to every question. "Wait till Miss Goldman comes, and talk to her."

Timmerman left the house then without entering the Anarchist's rooms, but returned in an hour. He again tried the door and went out. Then at 4.30, another young man came in. A tenant whispered to THE WORLD reporter that the newcomer was known as "the little man," and it was he who had gone away with Miss Goldman when she left the house. This man was short and stockily built, with a brown complexion and just a trace of a mustache. His eyes were shifty and his head hung down most of the time, giving his brows a beetling look. He was about 5 feet 6 inches in height, and weighed something like 135 pounds. His dress consisted of a battered straw hat, a light colored sweed frock coat in a year of two's wear, a negligé shirt that had been worn for at least a week, and dark trousers. He had a key to the rooms and had just entered, when the reporter accosted him. He declared that he could not understand English and one of the women in the house kindly acted as interpreter. Like Timmerman he was cautious, only much more so. He was undoubtedly sharper and deeper than Timmerman.

THE PORTARTER OERTER.

"You live here with Miss Goldman?"

"Yes."

"What is your name?"

"Oerter."

"Your full name?"

"That's enough."

Oerter did not ask the reporter nor the interpreter to enter the room, but drawing a wooden chair up near the threshold he sat down. He had barely been seated when he was asked:

"Are you an Anarchist?"

He rose from his seat, stretched himself to his full height, and for once looking his questioner in the face, said proudly, "I am."

Several pointed questions relating to his connection with Berkman and Miss Goldman were asked, and unsatisfactory answers in monosyllables were returned. Once he placed his hands in a menacing way on his hip, and the interpreter started back, pale and trembling.

"Oh, I'm afraid," she said, "he may kill us."

A good-natured smile and friendly tap on Oerter's shoulder, with the remark that no harm could come to him through the interview, restored confidence on all sides, and the Anarchist resumed his seat, looking downward in a dogged way.

"Where is Miss Goldman now?"

"I don't know."

"You left the house with her; where did you part company?"

"That's my business."

"Is she coming back here?"

"I don't know."

"Suppose the police should insist upon your answering?"

"Well, let the police come." He said this with a defiant gesture and an air of bravado. Then rising from his seat he said: "Come back later and see Miss Goldman, she may be here in a couple of hours."

LOOK UP TO EMMA AS A QUEEN.

Like Timmerman, Oerter seemed to consider Emma Goldman as a superior being. They spoke of her with respect, even with a sort of petty awe. Twenty minutes after THE WORLD reporter left the house Oerter emerged. He didn't look to the right nor left, but at a good pace proceeded up the street towards Third avenue. Occasionally he would put his hand to his hip as if feeling for or adjusting a weapon, and at every forty or fifty paces he would look over his shoulder. He turned the downtown corner of Third avenue, walked about twenty yards and then meeting a crowd, doubled and walked with bowed head and slouching gait back to the corner of Fifth street. He crossed the street and quick as a flash darted into the basement doorway of a saloon.

This saloon has a narrow entrance on the side of a stoop leading to the front door of the house No. 206 Fifth street, of which it is the basement. White enamelled letters spell out the sign:

ZUM GROBEN MICHEL.

This is said to mean "Kept by Big Michael," and is almost an infallible locator to Anarchists that their kindred spirits may be found. The proprietors are Michael Kretschmann and Shalas. Kretschmann, who is the "Groben Michel," a giant in stature, with a pigeon chest, was standing behind the bar in an undershirt with sleeves rolled up above the elbows. The saloon extends through two large, dingy rooms with a low ceiling blackened by tobacco smoke. A dilapidated pool table stood near the front and beyond, in the rear room, and a group of dark-visaged men in undershirts were playing pinpool. There were about forty men in the two rooms and every one was in an undershirt, some with pipes in their mouths and others with glasses of beer in their hands. The walls were hung with advertisements of Anarchistic papers and on a rack were bound files of *La Revolte*, *L'Autonomie* and other periodicals evidently of Anarchistic views.

AND HERE WAS EMMA GOLDMAN.

In the far right-hand corner of the second room, near a dusty, cobwebbed window, sat a woman. Alone in that gathering of hard-faced, half clad men, encveloped in a dense atmosphere of choking smoke, she reclined placidly in a barroom chair, reading. She seemed rather pretty. The back of her chair was tilted against the rear wall, and [illegible]

am Berkman's. She couldn't live with her first husband and went with Mollick."

"But Mollick signs his name to his letters to her as Pollak?"

"Is that so?"

Miss Goldman tried to be arch. It was a dismal failure she did not repeat.

"THE POLICE MAKE ME TIRED."

"Mollick met his wife in Buffalo, and when they came here Berkman assisted them and we all lived together in Thirty-six street. No, I don't know where his wife is now, but I believe she has gone to Long Branch to see her husband. The papers made a big fuss about me, but I have not been concealing myself. I have been around town all the time.

"Were you called up on last night by Chief O'Mara, of the Pittsburg police?"

"No, I was not. The police make me tired. They are mostly fools. They go about mysteriously and do nothing. All they ever did was to put that old fool, Most, in jail."

"You are a friend of Most's?"

"A friend! The old fraud! I only wish that when I had a chance to do it, I had made him give me some of his money. He is a coward, and an Anarchist for revenue only."

"Were you not his Anarchistic wife before he took up with Lena Fischer and you met Berkman?"

"Ha, ha, ha!"

Again that hard, unmusical laugh. This time it had a ring of humanity in it that belied her words. "I was not," she said decisively.

"When was it that you had a chance to make him give you money?"

"You reporters are too impertinent. I hate reporters."

"Why?"

"Because I hate all inquisitors. I have travelled all over this country, lecturing to the groups, and I have spoken here when that ballroom Most was afraid of the police. Yes, I am a Russian, but from what part of Russia I do not propose to tell. But above all I am an Anarchist."

"You are proud then of your lover's achievement?"

"Indeed I am, we all are."

"You received several telegrams last Saturday; were they from Berkman?"

"Now, I don't propose to say any more. I have told you enough, and I suppose you will write a lot of lies. You all do, because your people must pander to the capitalists who

of being implicated in the attempt to kill Mr. Frick. Shortly after noon the officials on duty at the Central Station noticed two foreigners acting suspiciously just outside the fence. A guard was placed at each end of the alley to prevent the escape of the strangers in case it was considered necessary to arrest them.

The officers for their care and patience were rewarded by seeing the men stop a boy and talk to him for several minutes. When he escaped from the man the boy was held up by the police, and he told what he knew without hesitation.

WANTED TO FIND BAUER'S CELL.

The lad said the man wanted to know the exact location of the cell in which Henry Bauer, the Anarchist who was captured yesterday, is confined. They asked a number of other questions about the plans of the Central Station Building. Shortly afterwards the men presented themselves at the desk of Detective McTigue and asked to be shown the cell in which Bauer was confined.

"Step right in and I will show you," said McTighe. Sinater and Peslick walked into the corridor, and then McTighe, pointing to an empty cell, said: "Walk right in there."

The men did as they were told. The door was quickly closed behind them and they were prisoners. They do not deny that they are Anarchists, but contend that they know nothing of the plot to kill Mr. Frick.

They say Sinater owed Bauer $1 and wanted to give it to him. Their homes have been searched to-night. The usual quantity of Anarchist literature was found, but nothing of an absolutely criminating character. They will be held until there is opportunity for a more complete investigation.

SOME OF THE "MARKED" MILLIONAIRES.

The list of millionaires found in the possession of Bauer, the Anarchist, arrested yesterday, has not been made public.

It is known, however that it includes these names: R. F. Jones, F. B. Laughlin, E. M. Ferguson, A. M. Myers, John W. Chalfant, Gilbert T. Rafferty, Joshua Rhodes, Herbert Hoetetter, C. G. Hussey, Mrs. T. M. Howe, H. C. Frick, Henry Phipps, David Reighard, J. J. Vandergrift, W. G. Park, sefiers McKee, H. W. Oliver, Joseph Horne and Charles Arbuthnot.

The residence of each was also given. Many of the men named have made themselves objectionable to the Anarchistic element, and there is no reason to believe that Bauer collected the names for fun.

Proof of the statement of Inspector McKelvey that the Pittsburg Anarchists had planned great schemes of destruction is found in the fact which became known to-day that an attempt was made Monday evening to blow up the boiler and engine departments of the Carnegie mills at Twenty-ninth street, this city. These departments are in direct connection with the heating and forge department which have been in constant operation since the remainder of the mill shut down.

At each furnace and forge eight men are employed. There are eighteen shops, consequently 144 men were at work at the time the attempt was made.

UNWARNED OF THE DANGER.

Few of the men knew of the threatened danger until it had passed. Whoever made the attempt did the work with precaution. The engineer in charge of the machinery had left his post but a few minutes. The waterman, whose duty is to keep guard of the gas, fires and water, left his position to breathe fresh air on the outside of the building.

When he left his post the gas was burning under the boilers. The gas is led to the boilers through a two-inch pipe and the flow is enormous. When the waterman returned he noticed that there was no fire under the boilers. The steam was getting down, yet strange to him the usual hissing sound of escaping gas caught his ear. Not thinking to observe the usual precaution of shutting off the gas, as all the feedcocks were open, he



A GROUP SKETCH. HERE IS GROBEN MICHEL.

[illegible] give you bread and these Anarchists like to read the lies about us. Your lists——"

"Won't you tell me when you last heard from Berkman?"

"That is no concern of the public. Now sir I will say no more. If you were to ask questions all night I would not answer."

THE OTHER ANARCHISTS AROUSED.

Of the one the swarthy, bald-faced and grimy Anarchists in the front room had been coming near to where their queen sat. Some one of them probably gave her a sign to say no more. A dozen stalwart black and red-bearded Anarchists stood a few feet back of the reporter. Another reporter approached and asked Emma Goldman a question. With her eyes glancing with significant look at the group of her friends she said in a voice far louder than was necessary, we found that it could have been heard in the front room:

"I have nothing to say. Will you not let me alone?"

As if her words were a signal, half a dozen Anarchists closed about the reporter, waving their fists in the air and hurling oaths and objurgations in German and Russian at the reporters. One man stood near a table with an ice-pick in his hand.

"ALL REPORTERS SHOULD BE KILLED."

The group grew larger. Emma Goldman rose to her feet. One burly Anarchist, broader chested than Sullivan, clenched his fists and, with face aflame with fear, heat and anger, exclaimed in German that all reporters should be killed.

"Yes, he can understand German," he howled, "You——"

"No," replied the woman in German, "he is an American." She smiled that hollow cavernous smile, her eyes shone behind her glasses. A glad and proud look was on her face, and while she made a faint display of quieting her slaves her pale face took on some color and she stood there wreathed in smiles amid smoke and beer fumes.

The WORLD reporter bowed to the gesticulating and cursing gang of inflamed men, some of whom looked like wild beasts, with their hairy breasts exposed through their gauze shirts. Perhaps it was the heavy walking stick and disappearance of unconcern as he walked through the mob that saved the reporter. The other, a representative of the *Tribune*, was not so fortunate. He was struck behind the neck and in the back and kicked as he neared the door. He might have fared worse had the rushing mob not hurried him to the door. As soon as the sunlight was reached, the four leaders stopped at the threshold and like snarling beasts drew back into their den, foiled of their prey. They were afraid to venture beyond the confines of their jungles. The *Tribune* reporter is a slightly built young man and had not even a walking stick with him. He was unarmed and a stripling and for those reasons

[illegible] opportunity, as he himself was responsible for the peace of the city." Mr. Frick thanked the superintendent for his kindness, and upon insisting that the officer be reimbursed, Supt. O'Mara granted his request.

Inspector McKelvey who is acting superintendent of Police, has been especially vigilant, and the haunts of the Anarchists are being watched day and night. It has taken an extra supply of men, but the work has been prosecuted with unerring vigilance. When Inspector McKelvey was spoken to this afternoon he said:

BERKMAN'S CHIEF ACCOMPLICE.

"I think we have Bauer and Knold implicated. As to Knold, there is no question as to his connection with this case. We now have witnesses who will swear positively that he was with Berkman on Saturday morning and walked outside while he went upstairs. This man Knold is a slick one. While he would not admit that he showed Berkman Mr. Frick's office, he admitted he showed him the *Chronicle-Telegraph* Building. Now, there was no reason for him pointing out the *Chronicle-Telegraph* Building unless it was to show where Mr. Frick's office is. We have all the prominent local Anarchists spotted, and if any of them try to get away they will be arrested.

"I do not believe the story of a man handing Berkman a package just before he shot Mr. Frick. I am satisfied he was prepared for the work long before he got to the office. We also have a good case against the Long Branch anarchist Mollick. He was familiar with the assassin, and sent him money to complete the job. He sent him considerably more than $6. Until Supt. O'Mara returns with the prisoner I do not know just what course we will pursue."

A LITTLE MORE LAW NEEDED.

"The law is a little lax in regard to Anarchists, and I think the Legislature should remedy it. The only charge we can get against most of these fellows is conspiracy. I am sorry the Grand Jury is not in session, as we would surely railroad all of these men. Chief Murphy has taken charge of the Allegheny end of the case. At first I was inclined to think Berkman was alone in this matter, but I am now satisfied that there was an organized movement against Frick, and Berkman was only the tool of a number of conspirators."

CONSPIRACY TO KILL LEADING CITIZENS.

"In a few days there will be some developments that will startle the community. There were more Anarchists here than the people supposed, and they were getting ready to carry out some gigantic schemes. We were lucky in securing these people when we did, as an attempt would have been made on several of our prominent citizens, and there is no telling where it would have ended."

The police are now satisfied that Berkman had made every arrangement to escape—that his intention was to go to Allegheny and remain in hiding with Knold until it was safe for him to attempt to get out of the country.

Inspector Kelly, of the South Side, is keeping a lookout for all the Anarchists on that side of the river. There are several groups of them, and while he has not enough evidence to arrest them they are being watched day and night, and orders have been issued to arrest any of them who attempt to leave the city.

THE KNOLD-MOST CORRESPONDENCE.

Knold, when questioned by Inspector McKelvey, admitted receiving letters from Herr Most. He said that Most's instructions were very pointed, and that he had issued strict orders to destroy all letters written by him. This is the reason the police have been unable to get much evidence against any of the men. They have not a scratch of the pen from each other. Many of them have circulars and Anarchistic literature, but nothing to criminate any one else. Knold is the only one of the lot who is at all communicative, and at times becomes excited and tells some things that have been valuable to the police. It is more than probable that Herr Most will be arrested by Supt. O'Mara before he returns, as Knold has said that the only way Berkman could have received his address was through Most. Knold is very anxious to regain his liberty, and he is the man the police expect the most from. He makes incendiary speeches and tells what the Anarchists will do.

BERKMAN AND BAUER RETICENT.

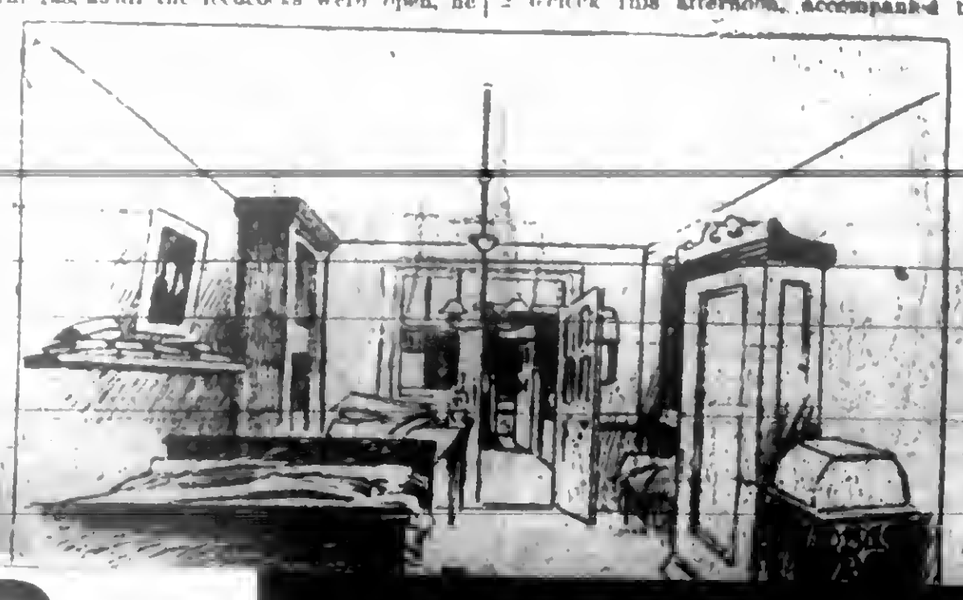
Berkman and Bauer are exceedingly close mouthed and they will not say anything. They seem determined to fool the police as much as possible and pretend not to care what is done with them. Berkman will not accept the services of any lawyer unless the lawyer promises to conduct the case as he (Berkman) wants it conducted.

O'MARA TAKES OFF MOLLICK

Whether He Had the Right to Do So Is a Mooted Question.

[SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.]

LONG BRANCH, July 27.—Frank Mollick, who was held here by the police for complicity in the plot to kill Mr. Frick, was taken by Chief Roger O'Mara to Pennsylvania to-night. The manner in which he was removed from here and facts that came to light after his removal are such that Chief O'Mara has made himself liable to arrest for kidnapping. Chief O'Mara arrived here shortly after 2 o'clock this afternoon, accompanied by



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881014019

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview. Anarchy's Den] / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. – (July 28, 1892, fragment).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

connection with Berkman and Miss Goldman were asked, and unsatisfactory answers in monosyllables were returned. Once he placed his hands in a menacing way on his hip, and the interpreter started back, pale and trembling.

"Oh, I'm afraid," she said, "he may kill us."

A good-natured smile and friendly tap on Carter's shoulder, with the remark that no harm could come to him through the interview, restored confidence on all sides, and the Anarchist resumed his seat, looking downward in a dogged way.

"Where is Miss Goldman now?"

"I don't know."

"You left the house with her, where did you part company?"

"That's my business."

"Is she coming back here?"

"I don't know."

"Suppose the police should insist upon your answering?"

"Well, let the police come." He said this with a defiant gesture and an air of bravado.

Then rising from his seat he said: "You go back later and see Miss Goldman, she may be here in a couple of hours."

LOOK UP TO EMMA AS A QUEEN.

Like Timmerman, every person to consider Emma Goldman as a superior being. They speak of her with respect, even with a sort of petty awe. Twenty minutes after THE WORLD reporter left the house Carter emerged. He didn't look to the right or left, but at a quick pace proceeded up the street towards Third avenue. Just before reaching he would put his hand to his hip as if looking for or adjusting a weapon, and after every forty or fifty paces he would look over his shoulder. He turned the downtown corner of Third avenue, walked about twenty yards and then meeting a crowd, doubled and walked with bowed head and slouching gait back to the corner of Fifth street. He crossed the road and quick as a flash darted into the basement doorway of a saloon.

This saloon has a narrow entrance on the side of a stoop leading to the front door of the house No. 206 Fifth street, which is the basement. White enamelled letters spell out the sign.

ZUM GROBEN MICHEL.

This is said to mean "Sign of Big Michael," and is almost an infallible guide to Anarchists that there kindred spirits may be found. The proprietors are Michael Kretschmann and Shalax Kretschmann. Who is the "Grobe Michel," a giant in stature, with a pigeon chest, was standing behind the bar in an undershirt with sleeves rolled up above the elbows. The saloon extends through two large, dingy rooms with a low ceiling blackened by tobacco smoke. A dilapidated pool table stood near the open passageway into the rear room, and a group of dark-visaged men in undershirts were playing pinpool. There were about forty men in the two rooms and every one was in an undershirt, some with pipes in their mouths and others with glasses of beer in their hands. The walls were hung with advertisements of Anarchistic papers and a rack was filled with files of *La Revolte*, *Der Sturm* and other periodicals evidently of Anarchistic views.

AND HERE WAS EMMA GOLDMAN.

In the far right-hand corner of the second room, near a dusty, cobwebbed window, sat a woman. Alone in that gathering of hard-faced, half clad men, she looked like a dense atmosphere of cheap tobacco smoke she reclined placidly in a barrel chair reading. She seemed rather pretty. The back of her chair was tilted against the rear wall, and her left foot rested on the rung of a chair in front of her. A white straw hat with a blue band streaked with dotted white lay on the table at her elbow.

Chestnut-brown hair that had been parted on the side fluffed over her forehead in front, only a trace of the part. The back of the short hair was as negligently arranged. She has a shapely head; light blue-gray eyes, shielded by glasses; a small, finely chiselled nose rather too wide at the nostrils for symmetry, a colorless complexion, cheeks that once had been full, but now were slightly sunken. She a moderately pinched mouth, a feature of face that loses its beauty of form in the first decline to the chin. The mouth in repose is hard and sensual, the corners gross, the lips full and bloodless.

A neck that once was round was still well poised, but as she turned her head the tendons bulged out and drew the skin into blotches here and there, adding to the slight disappointment one had with after leaving the upper part of the face. A thin figure, five feet four inches in height. A waist still with hard flesh, clothed in white flannel, a tan-colored belt and a skirt of dark cloth striped with white.

That was Emma Goldman, the Queen of the Anarchist drinking den at the moment that afternoon.

"You are Miss Emma Goldman?"

"I am."

The reporter passed some pleasantries and she smiled. Her lips were full and the teeth were right than what their face would disclose. The lower front teeth were set wide apart, and on either side there were dental hollows, making the front of the mouth look black, or rather that dull opaque color characteristic of the inside of a hollow tooth. She spoke English well and with expression, but there was a discernible accent.

PROUD OF BEING AN ANARCHIST.

"Yes, I know Berkman. He was a splendid man, a man of brains and courage. And I am an Anarchist. I am, and I am proud of it. They have arrested Mollick, I see. Well, I am sure that Mollick had nothing to do with that little affair in Pittsburg."

"But Mollick and Berkman were friends."

"Oh, yes, they were friends, and I suppose Mollick owed Berkman some money. In fact, I know he did, and that is why he sent it to him."

"When did you last see Berkman?"

"Oh, some time ago; a week, maybe, or ten days. I don't remember exactly."

"Did he tell you where he was going and what he was going to do?"

"No, he does not make confidences with people in that way about such matters."

"But you are his wife?"

"Ha! ha! yes, I am his wife, but in the anarchistic way, you don't know what that is? The anarchists don't believe in marriages by law. We want no law and when we agree to marry, why ha! ha! there you are."

"The anarchist wife then does not expect the confidences of her husband?"

"Why should we? But that is a matter I don't propose to discuss."

"You lived with Mrs. Mollick?"

"Yes."

"The name under the bell is Pollak, is that her real name?"

"I suppose so. She is Mollick's wife, as I



A JOLLY SKETCH HAD IN GROBEN MICHEL'S.

give you bread, and the capitalists like to feed the lies about us Anarchists."

"Would you tell me when you last heard from Berkman?"

"That is no concern of the public. No, sir, I will say no more. If you were to ask questions all night I would not answer."

THE OTHER ANARCHISTS ALOOF.

One by one the anarchy, hellcat and grime that lives below the surface in Paradise coming near to where the reporter sat. Some of them pretended gave her a wide berth. A dozen stalwart black and tattooed Anarchists stood a few feet back of the reporter. Another together approached and leaned. Finally a tall man stepped up. With her eyes glancing way to right and left as the girl up other friend she said in a low voice that was necessary so loud that it could have been heard in the street that I have nothing to say. Will you not leave us alone?"

As if her words were a signal, half a dozen Anarchists closed in at the reporter, waving their fists in the air and hurling oaths and objurgations at reporter and Russian at the reporters. One burly fellow with an ugly look in his hand.

AN ANARCHISTS SHOUT TO BE KILLED.

The group grew large. Then a Bohemian came to her feet. One of the crowd broader shouldered and stouter built than his fellows, with face flame with hate, stood at Langer, exclaimed in German that all reporters should be killed.

Yes, he can understand German. He followed when

"No, replied the woman in German, "he is an American." She noted that hollow cavernous stalls, her eyes shone behind her glasses. A glad and proud look was on her face, and while she made a faint display of smoothing her shawl, her pale face took on some color and she stood there breathing in short and shrill shrieks.

The World reporter bowed to the scowling and cursing crowd of infuriated men, some of whom looked like wild beasts, with their hairy breasts exposed through their open shirts. Perhaps it was the lurid glare which struck and disappearance of upon seen as he walked through the hall that was to be the perfect. The other impressions of the Anarchists was not so favorable. The way struck behind the neck and in the face and kicked as he neared the door. He might have fared worse had the crowd not hurried him to the door. As soon as the sunlight was reached, the four leaders stopped at the threshold and like starving beasts drew back into their dens fearful of their prey. They were afraid to venture beyond the confines of their cages. The reporter is a slightly built young man and could not exactly walking. He was unarmed and a struggle would be their favor. The courage was not there and so just for moment, while they allowed the coal of fire to pass through their assailants' bodies and eyes.

WHY THIS DEMONSTRATION.

The cause for this violent outbreak was the effort made by the chief of police to obtain testimony with the purpose of the Anarchists and the suppression of the Book of Modern Crime. It was established that Mollick, Berkman and Dallas to blind the world by the assassination of Frick, but the day was not ripe for the deed. Mollick had failed to obtain the necessary funds. Chief O'Mara had learned that Mollick was planning to leave for a visit to Europe. New York Sun.

Come as soon as possible, nothing dangerous.

EMMA.

That telegram was sent by Emma Goldman and Modick and Chief O'Mara has read his name was signed. Mollick knew that he was being followed by detectives and that he would be arrested on his arrival in New York. Several days ago Mollick left his home in Allegheny City, telling his wife that he was going to Cleveland, Ohio, to see his brother. Mrs. Walsh, a neighbor of Mollick, says that yesterday that in the afternoon a telegram had been received by Mollick, but that she did not know who sent it. Miss Goldman was asked about this telegram during the latter part of the interview, but having read in the afternoon papers that both Mollick and her landlady had given it to the police she gave the signal to the Anarchists to break up the interview.

EMMA PROBABLY BEING WATCHED.

At Police Headquarters Sergeant Bell, who was in charge of the Detective Bureau was asked if there was any intention of arresting Emma Goldman as an accomplice in the conspiracy to murder.

"I don't know," he replied, "we will have to wait until she can be connected with the matter. That is in the hands of the Pittsburg police. She has committed no crime here."

She may leave town?"

The detective shrugged and said, "I think not."

FIVE CONSPIRATORS IN CELLS

Two More Anarchists Arrested at Pittsburg—Probing the Plot.

(SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.)

PITTSBURG, Pa., July 27.—Five Anarchists are now behind the bars of the Allegheny County Jail or the Pittsburg Central Police Station and there is good reason to believe that

accumulates that under cover of the Homestead strike the Anarchists hatched the plot which involved the destruction of many lives. The details are still meagre, but enough is known to convince the police authorities that many persons were implicated in the plot to murder H. C. Frick, Chairman of the Carnegie Steel Company (limited), and that if this succeeded, other murderous plans were to be executed.

The chief feature to-day was the arrest of Paul Minster and August Pollak on suspicion



MISS GOLDMAN'S ROOMS. DRAWN FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

throw a piece of lighted waste into one of the gas mains. A slight explosion occurred.

WORKMEN STARTLED BY THE SHOCK.

The shock startled the men near at hand, but they did not realize the danger they had escaped. The quick return of the waterman saved the building. Five minutes of a delay on his part would have permitted an accumulation of gas sufficient to blow the building to atoms and the workmen to eternity. The circumstances of the affair was kept quiet until to-day. Supt. Dillon was seen in regard to the matter. He said:

"A remarkable escape on the part of the workmen in the forge de, at Twenty-third street was probably made. It was a lucky moment when the man in charge returned. But a few minutes delay on his part would have allowed sufficient gas to pour under the boilers to make an explosion that would have caused the mill to be wrecked and the loss of many lives. No one knows who made the attempt."

While Dillon says, as Supt. Dillon says, that he does know who is guilty of this attempt at wholesale murder, there is no doubt in the minds of the authorities that it was the work of an Anarchist. There may be arrests in this case before morning.

THE CARNEGIE OFFICES GUARDED.

The Carnegie Company office on Fifth avenue is now under constant surveillance of the police. One of the front-office men is on duty the whole day, from the time the company offices open in the morning until they close at night. When the man on duty goes for lunch he is relieved by another, so that the building is not left unguarded for a single moment. The object is to prevent any more cranks coming around and attempting the lives of any in the office.

For several days past suspicious-looking characters have been loitering about the building, but have made no attempt to enter, and it is supposed they are pickets appointed by the Homestead strikers to watch men who apply for work.

Supt. O'Mara anticipated there might be trouble some time ago, and, until two days before the attempted assassination of H. C. Frick occurred, had an officer constantly on guard at the Fifth avenue offices.

COMPLIED WITH MR. FRICK'S REQUEST.

Mr. Frick discovered that his offices were guarded and suspected that some one of the company had taken precautions of the kind without letting him know of it. Mr. Frick went to Supt. O'Mara and requested him to remove the officer, saying he felt perfectly safe, and thought having a officer posted out in front would create a bad impression. Supt. O'Mara assured him he had placed a guard in front of the offices on his own re-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881017005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] A Talk with Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(July 28, 1892).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

the formal extradition proceedings he was taken to the station and appeared to be content with his action until the train was pulling into the station. When the officers started to lead him toward the cars he held back and did not appear to wish to enter the train. He was helped along, however, and in a few minutes was on his way to Philadelphia.

A TALK WITH EMMA GOLDMAN.

SAYS BERKMANN IS A GOOD MAN BUT NOT HER HUSBAND.

When inquiries were made for Emma Goldman, the Anarchist and friend of the assassin, Berkmann, at her lodgings at 210 Fifth Street yesterday, Mrs Walsh, the janitress, said that she had gone out and could not tell when she would return. On July 15 Miss Goldman and a Mrs Pollock called at the house, and the latter engaged rooms for herself and the Goldman woman. A young man who gave his name as Carter also came and lived in a room with the Goldman woman, and occasionally another man, a large sized fellow, stayed with the women in the house. Both men were very coarse-looking, Mrs. Walsh said.

While Mrs. Walsh was giving this information the young fellow Carter came in. When he was asked where Miss Goldman was he refused to tell, and hurriedly left the house and ran to the Bowery. After zigzagging on that and adjacent streets and looking around to see if he was being followed, he finally ran into the lager beer saloon at 210 Fifth Street known as "Zum Groben Michel," kept by the Anarchist Peukert, which is a resort for Anarchists of the rabid Autonomous type.

Carter was followed to this place, and here Emma Goldman was also found reading a paper. On being spoken to, she first denied that she was Goldman, but when she saw that she was known she declared that she would not say anything.

"Are you married to Berkmann?" she was asked.

She excitedly replied that she was not, and added that her friendship for the assassin was of the platonic kind. Both of them were Anarchists and helped each other. Whenever he was in need of money she gave him some, and if she happened to be "broke" and he had cash he would give her a part.

"Have you heard from Berkmann or written to him since he left the city?" Miss Goldman was asked.

"No, I have neither heard from him nor have I written to him," she replied, and the next moment she changed her answer to: "If we have corresponded it is none of your business nor that of anybody else."

She was then asked whether Johann Most had supplied her with money to give to Berkmann. She indignantly denied that she had received any money at all from Most, although she wished she had taken his money when she could have got it. He gets money very easily, she said, from poor and ignorant working people. On this money he lived like a gentleman and preached Anarchy, telling his fools that Providence sent him to show them the way to deliverance from the tyranny of the capitalists.

"But," added Miss Goldman, "Most is a coward, and simply talks. He would not dare to go out and kill a capitalist, as did the brave Berkmann."

As to the relations between Berkmann and Mollick, Miss Goldman said that Berkmann befriended him, as he had a family, and lent him money, and when Mollick secured work he began paying Berkmann back what he owed him. Miss Goldman admitted that she had sent Mollick the telegram telling him to come on to New York, and adding that there was nothing dangerous. She meant by this that Mollick's wife, who was sick, wanted to see him, although she was not in a dangerous condition.

Would she go and visit Berkmann in prison? She would not, because she might get arrested, though, as a matter of fact, she expected to be arrested at any moment by the police here.

Several vicious looking Anarchists who were in the saloon told the reporters to get out of the place. As they were going out, Peukert, who is a tall man, seized a reporter by the back of his collar and with the help of the others shoved him out, and one of them administered a blow from behind. A police officer, who was on the sidewalk, said that the Anarchists were a dangerous set of men, and he would arrest any of them for assault if the reporter chose to make a complaint. The reporter said: "Never mind."

AN ANARCHISTIC BLAST.

SUBSTANCE OF AN ARTICLE IN "DER ANARCHIST."

The rabid Anarchistic sheet called *Der Anarchist*, published at 315 East Forty-fourth Street, and said to be owned by Peukert, contained a violent article in its issue of July 23, over the signature of "Sepp." In the course of his article the writer says:

"Let us Anarchists persevere in teaching the necessity of action. Let us everywhere support those who are ready to act, let us everywhere teach the necessity of procuring and using weapons, everywhere fan hatred against modern society to a flame. And so, by means of our instigation, through our support of every one who will act, by the dissemination of knowledge in the use of weapons, by hate—by all these combined—the social revolution will be inaugurated, and will break out before even we think it. Then, then will we repay in full what was done to us that has been done to humanity.

"Throw up, comrades, arouse yourselves from your sloth, and although many of you may fall in the front ranks other fighters will take your places. For what have we to lose? Life? We live negatively only, nothing more.

"Or should [illegible] out of consideration for wives and children? No, no revolutionist should waste [illegible] everything that would stand in the way of doing what is necessary to overthrow [illegible]. As long as we stand in the field of [illegible] and cannot look back. Let us [illegible] everything that may hold us back [illegible] of extermination.

[illegible] to the light! Enough words have been [illegible] now action. Hurrah for the [illegible] of poison! Hurrah for dynamite! Hurrah [illegible]"

In the night of July 16 Mrs. Webb was delivered of a stillborn child. All this time Mrs. Parsell and the brothers and sisters of the sick woman did not suspect that anything criminal was being done under their roof. As days passed after the birth and Mrs. Webb appeared to grow steadily worse, however, they became alarmed and told Webb they were going to call in Dr. G. J. Strong of Long Island City to attend her. Webb protested against any interference with the treatment of his wife at the hands of the so-called Drs. White and Dale, but Mrs. Parsell was firm, and on Thursday evening of last week she sent for Dr. Strong.

"As soon as I saw the sick woman," said Dr. Strong yesterday, "I saw that she was suffering from blood poisoning. I became suspicious that a criminal operation had been performed. The sick woman was very reticent and seemed to want me to leave the sickroom. I told Mrs. Parsell then that I would not treat her daughter unless I was allowed to bring in other physicians in consultation. She begged me, as did other members of the family, to do all I could to save the woman's life.

"On Friday afternoon I held a consultation at the house with Dr. W. J. Burnett of Long Island City and Dr. E. H. Grandin of New-York. After our examination we knew that the sick woman was suffering from blood poisoning as the result of a criminal operation. We informed her family of this and told them that Mrs. Webb must die. That night, I understand, the so-called Dr. White and Dr. Dale called to see the woman. They were told they could not enter the house, as three other physicians were treating the case. They seemed to be frightened at this and hurriedly left.

"Monday evening, late, I got word that Mrs. Webb had died. At once I went and notified Coroner Meiners of Long Island City."

Coroner Meiners put himself in communication with the police. They decided to first arrest Webb. While riding down to the police station with Coroner Meiners Webb admitted that the physician who had treated his wife was Dr. McGonegal, and the female doctor was Marian A. Dale. He denied that any criminal operation had been performed, and said he had called in Dr. McGonegal because he had long been the physician of his family.

Late Tuesday night the Long Island City officers came to this city to arrest McGonegal and the woman Dale. They found Miss Dale, who is a tall, spare, blonde woman of forty four years, at her home at 231 West One Hundred and Twenty-second Street, and soon afterward found McGonegal. Early yesterday morning they started with their prisoners for Long Island City.

Miss Dale stoutly denied that she had participated in any criminal operation on Mrs Webb. Old McGonegal at first absolutely denied his identity. He did not look just as he did when the jury found him guilty of the killing of Annie Goodwin, for he had cut off a foot or more of his white beard, and his white hair was cut closer. When the police insisted that he must go along with them he became very profane. Finally he admitted that he was McGonegal, but denied that he had had any hand in causing Mrs. Webb's death.

All three of the prisoners were in the Long Island City Police Station yesterday morning. They would not talk to anybody. McGonegal admitted to Coroner Meiners that he had called upon Mrs Webb and had attended her in her sickness, but denied again that there had been any criminal operation. Webb admitted that the still-born child of his wife had been buried by him in the yard of his home, and designated the spot. Coroner Meiners committed all three of the prisoners to the county jail.

Yesterday afternoon an autopsy was held over the body of Mrs. Webb in the house where she died. It was conducted by Prof. C. C. Lockley of this city and Drs. Strong and Burnett of Long Island City. It did not take long to determine that the woman had died of blood poisoning as the result of a criminal operation. Coroner Meiners got together the jury he had impaneled during the evening and went to the house to view the body. Permission was given to bury the body, and the funeral will be held at 2 o'clock this afternoon from St. Thomas's Church.

From Lawyer Birdsall, who defended McGonegal when he was being tried for the murder of Annie Goodwin, was learned that since he was released on bail McGonegal had been spending most of his time at the homes of friends in this city, although he made flying trips out of town.

The inquest in the Webb case will probably be held to-morrow. The police and the coroner believe they have a clear case against McGonegal.

On Oct. 15, 1890, Judge Fitzgerald sentenced Dr. McGonegal to fourteen years at hard labor in the State prison, for causing the death of Annie Goodwin. He was then locked up in the Tombs. The Judges of the General Sessions refused to entertain a motion for a new trial. McGonegal's counsel went to Brooklyn and Supreme Court Judge Pratt issued a certificate of reasonable doubt on Nov. 11, and the case was sent to the General Term of the Supreme Court. That court affirmed the finding of the lower court.

Bail had been fixed at $5,000 under the stay granted by Justice Pratt, and McGonegal secured a bondsman in David B. Cox of 315 East One Hundred and Nineteenth Street. He went to Port Chester pending the result of the action before the General Term of the Supreme Court. As soon as it was learned that the decision of that court was against him a stay was secured from Justice Dykman of Westchester, pending an appeal to the Court of Appeals. The same bail was continued, and hence it was that McGonegal remained at large.

District Attorney Nicoll said yesterday that the arrest of McGonegal for another murder was a strong illustration of the danger of country Judges interfering with the administration of justice in criminal cases in this city. "This office did everything that was possible in the McGonegal case," he said. "We could not control the acts of the Supreme Court Judges who granted the stays. We bitterly opposed them, as well as the applications for the reduction of bail from $20,000. Judges of the Supreme Court, however, reduced the bail, as you know, and McGonegal went free pending the decision on the appeal of his case to the Court of Appeals. His bail was never forfeited, and he has been as free as air to go and come as he pleased so long as he was here when he was wanted.

"It was not the fault of this office that the case was not decided at the June term of the Court of Appeals. We intended to push it [illegible] Assistant District Attorney [illegible] was ill [illegible]

length of cable in the action [illegible] its and to the dragging effect [illegible] shore, as well as to reduce [illegible] from the action of waves and [illegible]

The deep-sea temperatures [illegible] of an exceedingly interesting [illegible] are shown in three forms of [illegible] accompanying the report. [illegible] face temperatures of the water [illegible] the shores of the Hawaiian [illegible] ber, 1891, was 77 Fahrenheit [illegible] line from Honolulu to [illegible] run between Dec. 12, 1891, and [illegible] the surface temperature was [illegible] 78° near Honolulu and 52° [illegible] fornia. On a great circle [illegible] Bay and Honolulu, run between [illegible] Nov. 21, 1891, the surface [illegible] California coast was closest [illegible] near Honolulu 78°. In the [illegible] serial temperatures, the mean [illegible] at 1,000 fathoms was found [illegible] belt, and the average bottom [illegible] depths greater than 1,000 fathoms [illegible]

PLATT CANNOT [illegible]

MR. CARTER AND SEC[illegible] GIVE THE PRESIDENT [illegible]

WASHINGTON, July 27 — [illegible] Chairman of the Republican [illegible] tee, reached Washington [illegible] from New York, and is still [illegible] came "to finish up the little [illegible] Land Department business, [illegible] able to complete at the time [illegible] resignation.

On the subject of the politi[illegible] cularly the outlook for Harri[illegible] son and Platt and Warner [illegible] ceedingly non-communicative. [illegible] the campaign would show [illegible] perfect, he said, and that was [illegible]

J. S. Clarkson came to the [illegible] leg. He said he had run over [illegible] to test Washington cabstand [illegible] resort. No, there was no politics [illegible] he knew that Mr. Carter was [illegible] would see the President before [illegible] always made it a point to call [illegible] when in Washington. It is [illegible] the other news-things he [illegible] cept his reply to the question [illegible] and the President were apt to [illegible]

"Did you ever know Mr. [illegible] for the Republican ticket?" [illegible]

Mr Carter has spent nearly [illegible] York and vicinity, and he [illegible] President that how matters [illegible] big city. He spent several hours [illegible] House to day, and there no doubt [illegible] he imparted to Mr Harrison [illegible] sions he had received.

Secretary Elkins had [illegible] President, as the result of [illegible] York Sunday, that the Republican [illegible] New York was still doing business [illegible] Platt at the old stand, [illegible] had advised the President [illegible] clearly in the wrong.

That both Platt and [illegible] son some time in June [illegible] petable. They have fortunately [illegible] h old power over the [illegible] machine, and that it will [illegible] treat with him. It harmonizes [illegible] word. A Republican who [illegible] watch of the situation in [illegible] correspondent of THE TIMES [illegible] situation existing at the [illegible] ella Convention had not changed [illegible]

"Platt," the man said, "[illegible] returned home that Harrison [illegible] more him. The President [illegible] vice of a number of Republicans [illegible] no use for Platt, and [illegible] pression that Platt was [illegible] of any importance in New [illegible] this would be the proper [illegible] knowing that the [illegible] Republican machine in New [illegible] as ever, Platt was willing [illegible] Already he sees signs of a [illegible] of Harrison. The latter's [illegible] the last week in New-York [illegible] the Republicans waiting for [illegible] word to begin work. They look to the city crowd for [illegible]

"This is now in line with [illegible] rison's advisers have taken [illegible] to see the point of a situation [illegible] to see a backdown by the [illegible] few days. If there is to be [illegible] will have to take the initiative [illegible] who is most vitally concerned [illegible] of this campaign."

The appointment of A. [illegible] Controller of the Currency [illegible] mony and the first Treasurer [illegible] been flung at the Empire [illegible] since Batchellor was made [illegible] and he wanted to be Minister [illegible]

Policeman Kasop[illegible]

Patrolman Kasop of the [illegible] cinct, Brooklyn, endeavored [illegible] picious-looking men in [illegible] o'clock yesterday morning [illegible] promptly knocked him [illegible] recovered his feet, captured [illegible] handed him over to a [illegible] after the other man.

The man ran about [illegible] policeman could get out [illegible] Several shots were [illegible] created the fugitive's skull [illegible] He was so weak from the [illegible] had to be carried to the station [illegible] soon revived and said he [illegible] 34 Underhill Avenue. [illegible] is Morgan. Both men [illegible] Walsh for examination.

In his flight Watson threw [illegible] which the police say had [illegible]

Sent to Mayor Ho[illegible]

The Dearborne Street [illegible] who was exposed in THE [illegible] ing some of his circulars [illegible] Mendy of Brooklyn. The [illegible] rill, Ma., and he promptly [illegible] dog as a "[illegible] mode."

4

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881014020

The Emma Goldman Papers

Who Will Thrash Mr. Most? / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. – (July 29, 1892).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

DIAGRAM OF BOMB FOUND IN BAUER'S HOUSE.

"Allegheny is particularly crowded with them, but since Chief Murphy and the Pittsburg police have got after them they are showing the white feather and have closed their mouths. They can't keep quiet and will open up in a few days. There are several other people in Allegheny implicated in this affair, and they will be landed."

"The Pittsburg police have put a quietus on anarchy in this city, and the ground they have gained they do not intend to lose. They have not made any wholesale arrests, and they do not intend to," said Inspector McKelvey this morning. "It is not our intention to hold any one that we are not reasonably sure of convicting. It would be easy enough for us to arrest fifteen of the Anarchists in the two cities, but, as we have no case against them, it would be utterly foolish for us to lock them up. We have dealt as carefully with these cases as possible. Of course, we had considerable luck, but it took some good hard work. We have not nearly completed our work yet, and in a few days we may be able to get at the root of this whole business. There is now no doubt but that this was an organized plot. I think Bauer was in it, but he is the smartest one of the outfit, and not one of us has talked to him. There is no use for us to do so until we get some catch on him, which we expect almost any moment."

"Will Herr Most be arrested?"

"No; I do not think that we will have any use for him. I believe Emma Goldman's story that Most is an Anarchist for revenue only. I think he is a coward and a sneak. He has a number of these people who fear him, and it will be almost impossible to connect him with the case. However, we will see to it that he will not get away. In fact, this matter has been taken up by the police authorities all over the United States, and the Anarchists are being watched at every turn. I do not think that they can be watched too much. This anarchist question has aroused the whole country, and the police of each city have decided to find out just how strong they are. No one had any idea of the number of people of this kind we have had in our cities. We have furnished some valuable pointers to the police of other cities, and they have helped us.



PEUKERT, THE RED OF REDS.

Paul Eckert, the Allegheny Anarchist, who lived in the house with Knold, was a visitor at the Central Police Station this morning. He called to see Inspector McKelvey. They had a long conversation, but what the result of it was is not known. Eckert went in to see Knold and they had a long talk. Superintendent of Police O'Mara was expected home this morning with Mollick, but he did not arrive. He sent word that he intended to stop over in Philadelphia to look up a clue there. He will be home to-morrow morning.

Paul Einster and August Pirnack, the men arrested yesterday afternoon as suspicious characters because they inquired as to what cell Bauer, the Anarchist, occupied, were discharged. There was not the slightest indication that they were in any way connected directly with Bauer. They were Germans, and thought they would be permitted to see Bauer, that they might collect some money he owed them.

WHO WILL THRASH MR. MOST?

Emma Says He Is a Rogue and a Washrag and Ought to Be Whipped.

Joseph Peukert, head of the Autonomist group, sat in "Groben Michel's" saloon, No. 209 East Fifth street, yesterday, in a fiery red undershirt. He was preparing for mailing his paper, *Der Anarchist*, dated July 30. He sat in the back part of the saloon, where many of the plans of action of the group are hatched.

"Don't come near me," he shouted as the reporter approached him, "I don't want anything to do with capitalistic spies."

When informed the reporter only wanted to purchase one of his papers he quietly wrapped one up and sold it for three cents. When asked whether he would express any opinion upon Berkman, Miss Goldman, or Anarchy in general, he exclaimed: "I would not help in your blood-money!" and refused to answer any questions put to him.

This issue of *Der Anarchist* is mild compared with last week's. That the Autonomists have become scared through fear of arrest is evident, and Peukert indulges in none of the bloodthirsty language of the last number. The only editorial mention of the Berkman attempted assassination is a comparison of Berkman to Brutus. The concluding paragraph reads:

A millionaire robber like Frick is more powerful and more absolute in this country than any of the crowned despots of the Old World. He may have crimes upon crime and there is no power to call him to justice. Executions and outlaws are all the same [illegible]

the corruption existing in the *Pelikan* office he was discharged in the middle of July, 1891, under a promise that he would employ him soon again.

Comrades, if there is a spark of self-esteem left in you, if you do not identify yourselves with the rascalities of this charlatan, you will remember these words. It is you who support him and furnish him the means to lead this luxurious life. Through your sweat and your blood he has made himself prominent. Often has he said he would rather be a Carl Schurz than John Most.

But enough has been said. It would take volumes to describe his miserable deeds.

His cry is "The police are after him," and a greater disgrace could not befall Berkmen than Most to be identified with him. Berkman would never take him into his confidence because he knew Most to be a gossip. Most has already often prevented comrades from performing valuable deeds. The fanatic Russian people have discovered the base character of Alexander III., and it is to be hoped that the enlightened German comrades will finally see the miserable doings of John Most. So long as we cherish demagogues of this kind, who become great through us and our pennies, the movement will be checked and the ruling classes will triumph. Words do no good with such a fellow, a good thrashing would perhaps not change this moo, but it might shut up his mouth.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

AT ANARCHY'S HOTBED.

The Autonomists Still at Large, and in Savage, Sullen Mood.

Neither unpleasant notoriety nor warm weather had any effect upon the Fifth street band of Anarchists yesterday. Emma Goldman, the so-called wife of Berkman, the assailant of H. C. Frick, and the acknowledged queen of the Autonomists, spent the day in Zum Groben Michel's dingy beer saloon at 209 Fifth street, and was at home, perfectly at home, to all callers. "Tough Mike," as he would be named in English, and very appropriately, too, was as grufi and surly as usual. As for the other three unkempt law-haters Timmerman, Oerter and Puckert, they smoked cigarettes and chattered away in German, as if there were no such irritating and ticklish things as dollar marks and dynamite pellets.

Down the street, a block away, where live Berkman and his wife, Timmerman and Mrs. Mollick, the Anarchistic wife of the Long Branch suspect, it was different only in degree of hilarity that marked the conduct of all. The newly discovered fact that No. 340 Fifth street was the abiding place of bloodthirsty dynamiters and the hatchery of all sorts of plots had given the neighborhood something to talk about. Every tenant in the big flat-house had a visitor and every time a new visitor came he or she was watched by the others in hopes that the newcomer might be no officer of the law or a lowwhiskered ogre with a string of bombs dangling from his waist.

There was no attempt at secrecy. The firemen next door laughed and joked with the policeman who passed on, and even the postman called a few moments to talk over the situation with the occupants of the parlor floor. Jolly Mrs. Walsh, the caretaker, who was nearly scared out of her wits the day before by reading the newspaper accounts of her undesirable tenants, was just having a picnic. She even went so far as to act as interpreter for Mrs. Mollick. But an interpreter was hardly needed. Mrs. Mollick had very little to say.

If she or Miss Goldman had thought of vacating the apartments it was not until yesterday morning, when the agent of the landlord gave notice that they must leave the 1st of August. The rooms were rather disorderly and the two little Mollicks, or rather Kertschalls, as they are the children of her first husband, were sprawled over the floor, sucking chunks of ice as big as their heads.

Mrs. Mollick returned from Long Branch Wednesday evening, where she had seen her husband depart for Pittsburg in charge of Chief O'Mara. She looked jaded and appeared to have lost much sleep. But she wouldn't admit that there was anything troubling her. She felt sure, she said, that her husband would have no difficulty clearing himself of the charge of complicity in the attempted assassination of Mr. Frick, and it would be only a few days before he would be liberated.

With these assertions, rather reluctantly made, Mrs. Mollick seemed to feel that public interest in her affairs ceased. She clinched her teeth when the subject of the mysterious telegram sent her husband at Long Branch was mentioned. Not even the suave Mrs. Walsh, whose choice German is often sandwiched with an emphatic American "see?" could make Mrs. Mollick say another word. So many questions were put to her that finally, in desperation, she ran to a rear room, and jumping in bed yelled to Mrs. Walsh that she was very ill and would see no more visitors.

And she kept her word. Not a soul save the student-faced Timmerman got into that room afterward. However, Timmerman was no visitor, and he ran to and from Zum Groben Michel's whenever the notion struck him. Only once during the day did he get away from Fifth street, and that was in the morning when he walked down the Bowery. At the intersection of Division street he met his partner, Oerter, and they held a quick consultation and compared notebooks. Timmerman then kept down the street, and was lost sight of after he turned the corner and went into the restaurant at No. 20 North William street. That is the restaurant which Herr Most patronizes, and is a general rendezvous for Anarchists.

Timmerman's mysterious errand started a report that Emma Goldman and her followers were about to change quarters. That there was any call for such a move struck Miss Goldman as being funny. "Why should we go away?" she said, as she sat in the back room of Tough Mike's place. She looked, as though she wanted to add, "It's very convenient to this place," and then she settled back comfortably in her chair, tilted it as usual, and looked defiant. Like her friend, Mrs. Mollick, Emma grew suddenly mute and said she was through with all reporters—bright men who sold their talents and ideas to capitalists.

Joseph Peukert, the scheming, foxy leader of the New York autonomists, sat at a long table near Miss Goldman. He was apparently engaged in addressing copies of the *Der*

Dr. LESLIE E. KEELEY

Has established at Babylon, L. I., a branch institute for the treatment of Alcoholism, Morphine and Nervous Diseases. For terms address Wm. O'Hall, Babylon, L. I., or 118 to 124 West 25th st.

said to a World reporter, however, that he was somewhat astonished last night when arrested, as it was entirely unexpected.

"I have not troubled myself with the case," he said, "and it is perfectly immaterial to me what action Lawyers Fay and Wilson may take."

Judge Van Doren, who issued the warrant for Capt. Layton's arrest, was sitting in the room while he was talking, and when the Captain left, a few minutes afterwards, spoke to the reporter about the case. Said he: "I understand that Chief Justice Beasley is very angry over Chief O'Mara's action. He has, I hear, charged him with kidnapping and said that the Pittsburg man should be arrested. I have no doubt that the proceedings of Chief O'Mara were a little unusual for an officer, but I hardly see how he can be charged with the offense of kidnapping Mollick."



HENRY BAUER.

Lawyer Thomas F. Fay, of Long Branch, said this morning that an appeal would be made either to-day or to-morrow to Hon. Abbett, of New Jersey, and that every step would be taken to have Chief O'Mara and Capt. Layton punished. Civil suits for damages, the two lawyers say, will also be begun against the police officers.

Capt. Layton is well known in and around Long Branch, and the news of his arrest, published exclusively in THE WORLD, evoked considerable astonishment. He has always been an officer of integrity and worth, and the report of his alleged backsliding from virtue has caused no end of talk. To-day it is an absorbing topic of conversation in Monmouth county.

F. J. Hehll, Mollick's late employer, says that many of the reports published about Mollick are in the main untrue. "Mollick," he said, "I never received a high quantity of letters, despite all reports to the contrary, and what letters or telegrams he did receive were not carefully guarded. Why, that telegram reading: 'Come as soon as possible. Nothing dangerous,' which Miss Goldman sent, and the police are making such a fuss over, he showed me as soon as it was received. He wished me to translate it for him, and when we understood its wording exclaimed, 'My wife has been sick for some time. I must go to her at once.' He left immediately after the receipt of the telegram for New York, but remained away only a short time. That Mollick is guilty of complicity in a plot of such magnitude seems to me highly preposterous."

Late last night a humbly clad man, apparently a workman, called at the house of Lawyer Fay. He said that he had come all the way from Pittsburg to see him, and wished to know when he would return. What connection this may have with the affair the lawyer doesn't know. The man said he would come back, but up to a late hour to-day had not returned.

The two lawyers who have stirred up this difficulty for Chief O'Mara and Capt. Layton are angered at the contemptuous treatment they received yesterday, and vow that they will go the length of the law to get satisfaction. When Chief O'Mara left so hurriedly yesterday he referred to Lawyers Fay and Wilson as a couple of windbags. They heard of this, and now say that the Pittsburg officer will find out shortly that there is something more than wind after him.

Capt. Layton's hearing is set down for Aug. 2.

"VIVE L'ANARCHIE."

A Prose Poem by F. Oerter Found Among Miss Goldman's Papers.

Among the papers found on the mantelshelf in Emma Goldman's room was a long prose poem, written in a fine German hand. It was entitled "Vive l'Anarchie; or, The End of Terror," and signed "Fritz Oerter." Oerter looks to be about twenty-four years old. He is one of the lodgers in the Goldman apartments and boldly announces himself an Anarchist. A full description of him and a brief interview is printed elsewhere in these columns. His poem, freely translated, is as follows:

VIVE L'ANARCHIE.
THE END OF TERROR.

"Surrounded by the people of his court the stern ruler sits in silence, while at his feet fawn his servile subjects. Loud strains of music fill the air, and courtiers nimbly bow

WEAK MEN

Easily, Quickly, Permanently Restored.

Wasting, Nervousness, Debility and all the train of evils from early errors or later excesses, the results of overwork, sickness, worry, &c. Full strength, development and tone given to every organ and portion of the body. Simple, natural methods. Immediate improvement seen. Failure impossible; 2,000 references. Book, explanations and proof mailed (sealed) free. Address

ERIE MEDICAL CO.,
64 Niagara St., Buffalo, N. Y.

WEAK NERVOUS sufferers from youthful errors, [illegible]

[illegible] murder by wholesale, and [illegible]

"You rich are the cause of all misery and sorrow. You take pleasure for yourselves in abundance, while to us you leave nothing but suffering. The youth's strength and the maiden's fresh, rosy cheeks soon disappear in your service in the factory.

"You spare not even the little child yet in its infancy.

"You steal the last drop of blood from the people, although they work your mills.

"See not you those pale girls wandering through the streets at nighttime? You leave them nothing but the choice either to sell themselves or starve.

"And does not the growing army of the proletariat frighten you?

"Woe unto you when sick of your power they break into your palaces. You have violated the eternal laws of nature, and you have placed your senseless work in their stead.

"A murmur is heard in the distance. It grows and grows, as the prisoner continues tirelessly and forcefully.

"While your surroundings are a desert, you enjoy life on a blooming oasis. The power upon which you built hopes is nothing but a hollow phrase. Your Christianity is a lie, and your pity is nothing but flattery. While you enslave thousands you deem yourselves happy and free.

"But you are not. The spirit of revolution lives in the land. May it linger about you day and night, may it terrorize you with silent contempt. May beads of terror stand on the brows of you modern robbers. May terror follow your proud ladies into their inmost privacy. May it turn from you, prince, the people whom you believed to be loyal.

"And may it tear from your shoulders the crimson robe of state that you bought with blood!"

"Cease, daring woman!" cried the prince, as he drew his sword. "What care I? I'll kill you, you brazen ranter. But no, death by the sword is much too good. I will kill you by inches in the darkest underground cell, where you shall slowly starve to death. Come on, ye slaves! Drag that woman away!"

"Thus spake the ruler with words of hatred and contempt, while the rich courtiers surrounding him rejoiced.

"But nobody stirred, and a strong, handsome youth, with a dagger in his hand, stepped from the midst of the silent slaves.

"Advancing quickly, he liberated her, and cried aloud:

"'As for you, O! Prince, know that this woman speaks the truth. We have had enough of your tyranny. We also are of a noble race. Too long have we foolishly wasted our blood in your service. You scoundrels, now defend yourselves if you are not cowards!'

"How the ladies of the rich screamed and the proud men turned pale. Some prepared for battle, while others cowardly fled.

"A hot battle, a wild battle, another dance—a dance of swords.

"The slaves won their first fresh wreath of victory.

"False nobility tumbled down, the ruler fell and thus ended Mammon's reign of terror.

"Liberty unchained makes all mankind happy and equal. FRITZ OERTER.

BERKMAN ALWAYS AN AGITATOR.

Miss Goldman Especially Advanced in Her Views as to Marriage.

A Ludlow street Russian who knew Berkman in Russia, and who was intimately acquainted with his movements and those of Emma Goldman in this country, furnished yesterday some interesting new details of their lives.

"I lived as a boy in the same town with Berkman in Russia," he said. "This was Kowno. Berkman was born in St. Petersburg, but he removed early in life to Kowno, where I met him, and we attended school together. He was an unruly pupil, difficult to manage, and was frequently involved in trouble with the teachers. He was even when fifteen years old an avowed disbeliever in a God.

"Berkman remained at this school three years and then entered a higher school, the Gymnasium. By this time he was known among all the pupils as a Nihilist conspirator. He prepared Nihilistic literature, and stole type from the school supplies to print the matter. He belonged to an association of Nihilists known as "Narodnaya Wollia," whose members planned the scheme that resulted in the assassination of Czar Alexander II. He also published a paper advocating Nihilistic doctrines, called the *Narodnaya Wollia*.

"It was while he and his fellow-conspirators were with great secrecy conducting the affairs of the society and the paper that a copy of the paper was found in his possession by the principal of the Gymnasium. He told a policeman, and Berkman was arrested.

When Baby was sick, we gave her Castoria.
When she was a Child, she cried for Castoria.
When she became Miss, she clung to Castoria.
When she had Children, she gave them Castoria.

H-O Means Hornby's Oats
NOTHING MORE

Imitations abound. The genuine is sold only in two pound packages and has the big H-O on the wrapper.

WEAK MEN

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881014020

The Emma Goldman Papers

Who Will Thrash Mr. Most? / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. –(July 29, 1892).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

service. Should it not smile to every right-thinking man that, in view of all these cruel outrages against the working people, such monsters should be wiped out? Yes, they must be exterminated in order that the people may enjoy the full enjoyment of the fruits of their labor. They must be exterminated wherever they show themselves and with them all the institutions of rule and exploitation of men by men. The people bleeding from a thousand wounds cry out on hearing the shots from Pittsburg and exclaim "Hail, Brutus!"

Emma Goldman has a signed article on John Most, calling him despicable and cowardly names. Most in his old age appears to be denounced alike by his former associates and the general public, but he says he does not mind it, and next week, in his *Freiheit*, he will expose these "tools of the spy Peukert."

This is what Peukert's friend, Miss Goldman, thinks of Most:

For many years a man has been successful in posing as a hero and martyr, committing the biggest rascalities and slanders to ruin the best workers in the movement. All this is under the cloak of Anarchism, and not a hand raised to tear the mask from the face of this man. The man of whom I speak here is John Most, the Anarchist leader, the man who dares to compare himself with Kropotkine and Perowskaya and other heroes of our movement.

Comrades and friends, in taking up my pen it is for the purpose of placing this man, Most, in the right light. My motive is not that of hatred (for, out of regard for the interest of the movement, I never opposed Most) but an indignation at the stand this blackguard has taken against our comrade Berkman. It is the indignation which every honest workingman must feel over the outrageous, slanderous conduct of this informer and demagogue.

I suppose our comrades will have read the interview Most had with a reporter of the EVENING WORLD, and I ask what could induce a man to act in so mean and contemptible manner. It could only be the vilest personal hatred and envy, and it is fear that makes this man speak in this manner. Most is cowardly—yes, one of the biggest cowards, as every one who is slightly acquainted with him knows.

I, who, I am sorry to say, have learned to know him only too well, and have studied thoroughly every shade of his character, am free to say that Most is a most contemptible coward, a liar, a dissimulator and at the same time a washrag. All his so-called heroic deeds did not originate from his love for the cause or devotion to principle. Oh, no. His was prompted entirely by personal and selfish motives. It was the vilest sort of vanity that forced him to advocate his principles. What great deeds has Most ever done? He has spent a few years in prison, where in fact he had an easy time. The workingmen gave their last cent so that this parasite should not be in want, but when there was occasion for deeds to be done or to aid others he showed himself cowardly and contemptible.

I will give a few illustrations. The meeting in Union Square on May 1 he did not attend out of fear, although he appealed to the comrades weeks before to attend the demonstration. I further mention the meeting in Philadelphia at which he feared to speak because Comrade Hoffman was arrested shortly before that, and the present action in regard to Berkman is the most monstrous and cowardly of all.

Out of fear and personal hatred he spreads lies about Comrade Berkman. Instead of utilizing Berkman's deed to further our propaganda he endeavors to smirch his character and uses all methods, no matter how wicked, to injure him. Among other things he told the reporter that Berkman was a poor workman, although he has assured me and others hundreds of times that Berkman was a very clever and industrious workman. The reason for this lie because Berkman freely spoke his opinions and told Most that he was anything but an Anarchist, and because he disclosed the corruption existing in the *Freiheit* office he was discharged in the middle of July, 1891, under a promise that he would employ him soon again.

Comrades, if there is a spark of self-esteem left in you, if you do not identify yourselves with the rascalities of this charlatan, you will remember these words. It is you who support him and furnish him the means to lead this luxurious life. Through your sweat and your blood he has made himself prominent. Often has he said he would rather be a Carl Schurz than John Most.

Not enough has been said. It would take volumes to describe his miserable deeds.

His cry is "The police are after him," and a greater disgrace could not befall Berkman than Most to be identified with him. Berkman would never take him into his confidence because he knew Most to be a gossip. Most has already often prevented comrades from performing valiant deeds. The fanatic Russian people have discovered the base character of Alexander III., and it is to be hoped that the enlightened German comrades will finally see the miserable doings of John Most. So long as we cherish demagogues of this kind, who become great through us and our people, the movement will be checked and the ruling classes will triumph. Words do no good with such a fellow, a good thrashing would perhaps not change this man, but it might shut up his mouth.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

AT ANARCHY'S HOTBED.

The Autonomists Still at Large, and in Savage, Sullen Mood.

Neither unpleasant notoriety nor warm weather had any effect upon the Fifth street band of Anarchists yesterday. Emma Goldman, the so-called wife of Berkman, the assailant of H. C. Frick, and the acknowledged queen of the Autonomists, spent the day in Zum Groben Michel's dingy beer saloon at 209 Fifth street, and was at home, perfectly at home, to all callers. "Tough Mike," as he would be named in English, and very appropriately, too, was as gruff and surly as usual. As for the other three unkempt law-haters Timmerman, Derter and Puckert, they smoked cigarettes and chattered away in German, as if there were no such irritating and ticklish things as dollar marks and dynamite pellets.

Down the street, a block away, where live Berkman and his wife, Timmerman and Mrs. Mollick, the Anarchistic wife of the Long Branch suspect, it was different only in degree of hilarity that marked the conduct of all. The newly discovered fact that No. 3140 Fifth street was the abiding place of bloodthirsty dynamiters and the hatchery of all sorts of plots had given the neighborhood something to talk about. Every tenant in the big flat-house had a visitor and every time a new visitor came he or she was watched by the others in hopes that the newcomer might be no officer of the law or a fat-whiskered ogre with a string of bombs dangling from his belt.

There was no attempt at secrecy. The firemen next door laughed and joked with the policeman who passed by, and even the postman dallied a few moments to talk over the situation with the occupants of the parlor floor. Jolly Mrs. Walsh, the caretaker, who was nearly scared out of her wits the day before by reading the newspaper accounts of her undesirable tenants, was just having a picnic. She even went so far as to act as interpreter for Mrs. Mollick. But an interpreter was hardly needed. Mrs. Mollick had very little to say.

If she or Miss Goldman had thought of vacating the apartments it was off until yesterday morning, when the agent of the landlord gave notice that they must leave the 1st of August. The rooms were rather disorderly Anarchy, but every question that was put to the Queen of the hour was digested quickly by Peukert, who was ready to intercept her if she started to reply indiscreetly. When Miss Goldman ended further conversation by turning her back on her questioner, she began talking to Peukert in German. The editor of *Der Anarchist* said but little in reply and Emma left her seat and went to her home.

In the mean time business with Zum Groben Michel was rushing in every sense of the word. One of the habitues of his place is something of an artist, and at Michel's request he had sketched a likeness of THE WORLD reporter who had visited the place Wednesday. The likeness was stuck conspicuously on the mirror behind the bar, and to all inquiries the brawny fellow explained that the original of that picture was down on the books for a thorough thumping at sight.

The others in the room guffawed like a gang of stage brigands at this remark and signified their willingness to see that the job was well done. That made big Mike smile for the first time during the day. It was a particularly ill mistake the sign painter made when he fixed up the inscription on the windows of the saloon. Herr Michel ordered "Zum Graden Michel," or, "kept by Michael the Honest," but the painter wrote it "Groben," and thus saddled on Mike the soubriquet of "Tough," something that no one would have wittingly done for a crisp $100 bill.

When Emma Goldman reached her home the first question she asked Mrs. Mollick was whether she had obtained bail for her husband. The answer was no, and then Emma left for the beer saloon again. Five minutes after she had been seen to depart Timmerman, with true Anarchistic regard for truth, declared and vowed that she had not been home that afternoon. For a young man this Timmerman is a marvel. He can inhale a question and answer it like a born Yankee, and tell a falsehood with the grace of a cockney sneak-thief. His regard for that peak-faced Miss Goldman amounts almost to reverence.

E. Michaelis & Son, real-estate agents at No. 88 Second avenue, said yesterday afternoon that they found the Anarchists very undesirable tenants, and would take immediate steps to get them out of the house at No. 340 Fifth street.

It was said at Police Headquarters that neither Mrs. Mollick nor Emma Goldman would be arrested unless there were further developments.

LAWYERS AFTER O'MARA.

The Arrest of Police Captain Layton Does Not Fully Satisfy Them.

[SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.]

LONG BRANCH, July 28.—Capt. James Layton, Chief of the Long Branch Police Department, who was arrested late last night for his connection with the alleged kidnapping of Frank Mollick, was seen this morning, but refused to talk at length on the subject. He said to a WORLD reporter, however, that he was somewhat astonished last night when arrested, as it was entirely unexpected.

"I have not troubled myself with the case," he said, "and it is perfectly immaterial to me what action Lawyers Fay and Wilson may take."

Judge Van Doren, who issued the warrant for Capt. Layton's arrest, was sitting in the room while he was talking, and when the Captain left, a few minutes afterwards, spoke to the reporter about the case. Said he: "I understand that Chief Justice Beasley is very angry over Chief O'Mara's action. He has, I hear, charged him with kidnapping and said that the Pittsburg man should be arrested. I have no doubt that the proceedings of Chief O'Mara were a little unusual for an officer, but I hardly see how he can be charged with the offense of kidnapping Mollick."



HENRY BAUER.

Lawyer Thomas P. Fay, of Long Branch, said this morning that an appeal would be made either to-day or to-morrow to Gov. Abbett, of New Jersey, and that every step would be taken to have Chief O'Mara and Capt. Layton punished. Civil suits for damages, the two lawyers say, will also be begun against the police officers.

Capt. Layton is well known in and around Long Branch, and the news of his arrest, published exclusively in THE WORLD, evoked considerable astonishment. He has always been an officer of integrity and worth, and the report of his alleged bookmaking from virtue has caused no end of talk. To-day it is an absorbing topic of conversation in Monmouth county.

F. J. Heidl, Mollick's late employer, says Mollick are in the main untrue. "Mollick," he said, "never received a high quantity of letters, despite all reports to the contrary, and what letters or telegrams he did receive were but carefully guarded. Why, that telegram reading: 'Come as soon as possible. Nothing dangerous,' which Miss Goldman sent, and the police are making such a fuss over, he showed me as soon as it was received. He wished me to translate it for him, and when we understood its wording exclaimed, 'My wife has been sick for some time. I must go to her at once.' He left immediately after the receipt of the telegram for New York, but remained away only a short time. That Mollick is guilty of complicity in a plot of such magnitude seems to me highly preposterous."

and balance in the merry dance. How lightly they jump about, and yet, but a moment before they were regaling at a sumptuous feast. These know not the meaning of sorrow and distress, hunger and poverty.

"The army of slaves stands not far away. Bitterly they gaze upon the gay scene before them. They forsooth are to protect the wretches who have enslaved them!

"If the happy dancers knew what thoughts are brewing in the minds of their slaves, if they realized the insulted pride of manhood that swelled their breasts, if they cared to read the hatred and fierce wrath that blazed from their eyes, less joyful would be the dance, and these proud homes would often tremble.

"If they but knew it, they are dancing upon a live, glowing volcano, which may burst forth and consume all the ill-fated mortals who dwell upon its crest. Suddenly the music stops. Not a murmur stirs the air as the sovereign rises and thus in a loud voice doth speak:

"'Quiet are the times, and firmly are we seated on our throne (for this, thanks to our gods), although the thunder of rebellion roars in our neighbors' lands.

"'The sacred altar which made us powerful and revered still stands firm. Capital and monarchic power yet command respect. The workingman does his duty, and the miner daily descends the shaft. The police and army vigilantly guard the laws. As for the fiends who sneak about the land to stir up my poor people, we will catch them, persecute them, and by main strength force them to silence.

"'A demon of this kind, a devil in female garb, fell into the hands of my lackeys and was seized. It is my humor to-day that I sit in judgment upon her. What, ho! ye rogues, come bring her shackled before me!'

"Thus spoke the prince. A murmur of applause ripples over the courtiers, who wait expectant of the fun to come. A queenly maiden, tall and proud, is led in amid the jeers of the assembled courtiers.

"No diadem adorns her brow, yet plainly does she bear the stamp of true nobility. There she stands, upheld by her courage and pride—the people's wife in Mammon's temple. Her arms are chained together, but her eyes, in unrestrained freedom, roam about the hall and boldly meet those of the supporters of tyranny. A painful silence prevails among the multitude who are there to seek revenge. All listen to her as she speaks in clarion tones:

"'You pinion me and imagine that you tie genius when you only tie the body—the genius of liberty which starts the fire in the hearts of the poor people. O ye fools! your power is little; you can make me suffer, you can kill me, but a hundred others will take my place and talk boldly to the people. And if you pile up our bodies mountains high and spill our blood in streams, still will the people unterrified gain their liberty with the courage of lions.

"'Governed by selfishness, caring only for your advantage, enemy of every noble feeling, bitterly despising the poor and weak, you have gathered for your own use the treasures of this world which were stored here for everybody, and us you have enchained.

"'No means are too bad for you to use in maintaining your power. You not only murder, but murder by wholesale, and fight with horrible prowess.

"'You rich, are the cause of all misery and sorrow. You take pleasure for yourselves in abundance, while to us you leave nothing but suffering. The youth's strength and the maiden's fresh, rosy cheeks soon disappear in your service in the factory.

"'You spare not even the little child yet in its infancy.

"'You steal the last drop of blood from the people, although they work your mills.

"'See not you those pale girls wandering through the streets at nighttime? You leave them nothing but the choice either to sell themselves or starve.

"'And does not the growing army of the proletariat frighten you?

"'Woe unto you when sick of your power they breaks into your palaces. You have violated the eternal laws of nature, and you have placed your senseless work in their stead.'

"A murmur is heard in the distance. It grows and grows, as the prisoner continues fearlessly and forcefully.

"'While your surroundings are a desert, you enjoy life on a blooming oasis. The power upon which you built hopes is nothing but a hollow phrase. Your Christianity is a lie, and your pity is nothing but flattery. While you enslave thousands you deem yourselves happy and free.

"'But you are not. The spirit of revolution lives in the land. May it linger about you near and high, may it terrorize you with silent contempt. May beads of terror stand on the brows of you modern robbers. May terror follow your proud ladies into their inmost privacy. May it turn from you, prince, the people whom you believed to be loyal.

"'And may it tear from your shoulders the crimson robe of state that you bought with blood!'

"'Cease, daring woman!' cried the prince, as he drew his sword. "What care I? I'll kill you, you brazen ranter. But no, death by the sword is much too good. I will kill you by inches in the darkest underground cell, where you shall slowly starve to death. Come on, ye slaves! Drag that woman away!'

"Thus spake the ruler with words of hatred and contempt, while the rich courtiers surrounding him rejoiced.

"But nobody stirred, and a strong, handsome youth, with a dagger in his hand, stepped from the midst of the silent slaves.

"Advancing quickly, he liberated her, and cried aloud:

"'As for you, O! prince, know that this woman speaks the truth. We have had enough of your tyranny. We also are of a noble race. Too long have we foolishly wasted our blood in your service. You scoundrels, now defend yourselves if you are not cowards!'

"Now the ladies of the rich screamed and the proud men turned pale. Some prepared for battle, while others cowardly fled.

"A hot battle, a wild battle, another dance—

"The slaves won their first fresh wreath of victory.

"False nobility tumbled down, the ruler fell and thus ended Mammon's reign of terror.

"Liberty unchained makes all mankind happy and equal. FATTE OMARA.

BERKMAN ALWAYS AN AGITATOR.

Miss Goldman Especially Advanced in Her Views as to Marriage.

A Ludlow street Russian who knew Berkman in Russia, and who was intimately acquainted with his movements and those of Emma Goldman in this country, furnished yesterday

Berkman's education in the gymnasium was regarded as a bright scholar, studied Russian, German, French, Greek. The Stories pen-book tells dull or stupid pupil are absolutely [illegible]. After the discovery of his Nihilistic [illegible] was publicly expelled from the Gymnasium in the presence of some three hundred [illegible].

"At this time a Russian Nihilist, [illegible] Jacobovitch, the author of revolutionary poems, went from St. Petersburg to Kovno to confer with Berkman and other Nihilists. Jacobovitch was a member of the Executive Committee of the Narodnaya Wollia Society. He organized, with Berkman's assistance, a state chamber of the order in Kovno, and Berkman became its leader. This man Jacobovitch was arrested as one of the leading Kovno conspirators and was hanged in St. Petersburg a short time afterwards.

"It was in 1887 or early in 1888 that Berkman left Kovno for this country, and arrived here about three years ago and upon going to an Anarchist meeting at No. 58 Orchard street of the Pioneers of Liberty I found Berkman there taking an active part in the proceedings. We renewed our acquaintance and Berkman and I attended many meetings together. He was a sworn enemy of Most and was recognized as an individual Communist or Autonomist. I believe that he was largely influenced by Anarchist Joseph Baronieff in changing from Socialism to Anarchism.

"At this time Berkman was living with Miss Emma Goldman, as his wife. Young Aronstamm also lived with the girl at the same time, she being what the Anarchists call a 'community wife' to both of them. They lived in Forsyth street, and I paid them a couple of visits at Berkman's invitation. I frequently talked with her and found that she was an Anarchist of the most radical type. She was an enthusiast on the subject and spoke her sentiments openly, but I never heard her refer to any special conspiracy or plot with which she was associated with Berkman. She earned money as a seamstress and in other ways, and kept Berkman pretty liberally supplied with funds.

"It was during the time that I was on visiting terms with them that I attended a lecture on marriage which Miss Goldman delivered in American Star Hall, No. 105 East Broadway. Berkman escorted her to the hall and there was a large audience. She advanced the idea that women had a perfect right to live with a 'community' of husbands; that such was in fact their duty as well as their pleasure. She also believed that men had the same right to have a 'community' of wives. At one point in her address many of the women in the hall put their handkerchiefs to their faces and blushed and several of them rose from their seats and left the hall. This did not appear to disconcert the speaker at all and she continued to express her opinions at length. Some of the audience applauded her bold utterances.

"Miss Goldman, I am told, practised what she preached, and her own social life was an exemplification of the sincerity of her radical views. Soon after this lecture I lost sight of Berkman and Miss Goldman and only occasionally heard of them as agitators in the cause of communistic anarchism."

ALL EYES ON HOMESTEAD.

Carnegie's Agents Directing All Their Batteries at the Principal Mills.

[SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.]

PITTSBURG, Pa., July 28.—There is little change in the strike situation at the mills of the Carnegie Company in this city, Duquesne and Beaver Falls, and the locked-out workmen are beginning to realize that the big steel firm are making all their efforts at Homestead. There is no doubt but that the firm expects the settlement of the difficulties at the Homestead mills to end all the strikes elsewhere.

The Carnegie officials will, however, before long present to the strikers at Beaver Falls and at the Union Mills a new scale of wages. The rate of pay will be practically the same as under the Amalgamated Association agreement with the company, but that organization will not be recognized by the company. The contracts, if made, are to be made with each man individually, and will not expire until Jan. 1, 1894. The scale has not been completed, but will be in book form in a few days. The finishers will profit by the new arrangement.

Pattison and Arbitration.

Dr. John C. Wyman, of the Humanitarian League, of Brooklyn, has received from Gov. Pattison of Pennsylvania the following answer to the appeal for arbitration in the Homestead troubles at the Carnegie mills:

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
HARRISBURG, July 24, 1892.

Dr. John C. Wyman,

MY DEAR SIR: The Governor directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st inst., and to thank you for the kindly interest you have taken in the subject matter thereof. He has noted your suggestions and will be pleased to give them due and careful consideration.

Very respectfully,
H. K. [illegible]
Private Secretary.

For Hot Weather Cooking

YOU SHOULD USE A NON-[illegible] SHORTENING AND [illegible] MATERIAL.

Cottolene

6

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881017007

The Emma Goldman Papers

Applaud Berkman / [Emma] Goldman.– p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(July 29, 1892).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library

of the dozen or more teams kept as relays on Thirteenth Street. The company's stable bosses said that by the great care exercised only a few horses had died.

The animals, after being taken to the stables, rubbed down, and bathed, seemed little refreshed when starting out on another trip. They came out of the stalls with no show of life, exhibiting just about as much energy as have many men during these wilting days.

Between 150 and 200 horses died in this city on Wednesday and yesterday. Most of these belonged to private owners, and were removed by the city contractors.

The ambulance of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was kept on the jump day and night. In thirty-six hours twenty-five horses which had been overcome in the street were cared for. At 5 o'clock yesterday six orders on the books could not be attended to at once because of the number of calls. The Superintendent said that in all his experience he had never known the heat to have such telling effects upon horses and other animals. When horses were overcome, he said, the best treatment was at once to strip off the harness, bathe the animal's head with cold water, and administer a strong tonic. In most cases it was preferable to let the horse lie out of doors, for the air is nearly all stables was stifling.

The society has not made an arrest this week for cruelty to the poor beasts about town. The Superintendent said this fact spoke well for the humanity of the drivers, who, for the most part, showed much more consideration for the horses than they did some years ago.

Attempt to Wreck a Train.

A bold attempt to wreck a train on the Long Island Railroad between Whitestone and College Point was made last evening. The train due at Whitestone at 9 o'clock had just rounded a curve about a mile west of the station when the engineer saw in the light of the rays of the headlight a large rock lying in the middle of the track. He immediately reversed the engine and succeeded in slowing up sufficiently so that when the cowcatcher struck the rock, the weight of which was nearly 500 pounds, it was sent spinning ahead. The only harm done was a slight damage to the cowcatcher. The passengers were badly frightened. There is no doubt entertained but that the outrage was the work of train wreckers. This is the second attempt to wreck the same train made within a week. There is no clue to the perpetrators.

A Plucky Officer.

Policeman William J. Peterman of the Sixth Precinct was called last night to the house 140 Elm Street to arrest Cornelius Shea, who had assaulted his mother. When he entered the room on the third floor of the house, Shea jumped out of the window upon the roof of a two-story extension.

The officer jumped after him, and in doing so sustained his left ankle. He succeeded, however, in capturing Shea, and held him until assistance arrived. The officer was taken to the Chambers Street Hospital.

A Candidate for Governor.

Gorham, N. H., July 28.—Congressman McKinney (Dem.) of Manchester has announced to friends that he has entered the field as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor.

superintendent and the prisoner when they alighted from the train. Mollick was taken to the Central Police Station, in Oak Alley, and was locked in a cell next to that occupied by his fellow-Anarchist Bauer. Neither, however, was aware of the close proximity of the other.

The Superintendent was shown the Long Branch dispatch announcing the arrest of Chief Leyton of that town for permitting Mollick to leave the State without process of law. O'Mera laughed and observed: "I don't see what objection can be made when Mollick himself left the State of his own volition. He signed the paper waiving extradition without coercion and came along willingly. I wanted to make information against him, but Chief Layton said, 'Oh, take him along, he has practically surrendered himself.' The only objection or opposition he made at any time was when he found on arriving at the station at Long Branch that his wife was not there. On the train I left him to his own devices. He was in the smoking car most of the time, and he has not been handcuffed since his arrest.

When the Chief was questioned about Mollick's complicity he said: "Mollick denies having had anything to do with Berkmann. He admits that he sent Berkmann money. He declares he has not seen Berkmann since last April, and is unable to understand how Berkmann discovered where he lived. The Chief said that the so-called Philadelphia Anarchists who have been mentioned in the case said that they had refused to have anything to do with Berkmann because they regarded him as a Nihilist, while they were Socialists. Berkmann went to one of their meetings in Philadelphia and gave expression to some of his theories, and was promptly ejected. The Chief said in conclusion that the letters he had found in Mollick's room were written in German, and had been left in New-York for translation. He also expressed his belief that Herr Most was not involved in the scheme to assassinate Mr. Frick, because of his distrust for Berkmann. Mollick will remain in jail until September, when the Grand Jury will meet.

APPLAUD BERKMANN.

NEW-YORK ANARCHISTS MAKE LOTS OF RABID TALK.

Miss Goldmann, the Anarchist, was at the saloon "Zum Grobea Michel" yesterday drinking beer and talking with her Anarchistic associates. She declared that she wished to have nothing to do with newspapers or with reporters, and refused to talk.

In yesterday's issue of *Der Anarchist* she had a letter bitterly denouncing John Most, her quondam friend and teacher, as a liar, a coward, and an all-around rascal and good-for-nothing. She especially denounced his unfavorable criticism of Berkmann.

Der Anarchist also published an editorial article approving of the attempted assassination of Mr. Frick, and counseling the extermination of all such men, in which it said:

"A millionaire robber like Frick is more purposeful and more obnoxious in this country than any of the overfed dressers of the Old World. He may pile up crimes upon crimes, and there is no power to bring him to [illegible] Lawmakers and judges [illegible] are [illegible] to every right-thinking mind [illegible] that, in view of all these crimes against the working people, such monsters ought to be [illegible]

"For, such men must be annihilated in order that the people may be saved. In the free and full enjoyment of the fruits of their labor, they will make themselves [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

881017007

The Emma Goldman Papers

Applaud Berkman / [Emma] Goldman.– p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(July 29, 1892).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Newburg all passengers [illegible] next and humid day [illegible] very not during the day as passed in the Columbia.

FATALITIES IN NEW-JERSEY.

Deaths due to heat were reported from numerous New-Jersey towns and cities, including Jersey City, Trenton, Union, and Newark. In the latter city the heat killed five persons.

Work was stopped in Graham & Co.'s brick yards at Bordentown because of the heat, the temperature in the clay banks being 125°.

COOLER IN NEW-ENGLAND.

An east wind began to blow yesterday in Boston, driving the mercury down to 72½° at 2 P. M., from 93° marked the day before at the same hour. Two fatal cases of prostration were reported there yesterday morning.

It was one degree hotter at Worcester yesterday than the day before, and the humidity was greater. A number of prostrations occurred. It was still growing hotter at Springfield, but a breeze was blowing.

Reports from Providence, Newport, and New Haven told of continued heat, but clearer air, with fresh winds. Hartford missed the wind, however, and the people in the street walked in a temperature of [illegible]. It was the hottest day known in Hartford since 1870, when nearly 300 persons were prostrated.

COOLING OFF IN THE WEST.

Seventeen fatal cases of sunstroke and eight prostrations were reported in Chicago yesterday up to 7 o'clock P. M. The heat was moderating rapidly at that hour.

At Winnipeg the mercury stood at 42°, and the weather was much cooler in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Five laborers died in Milwaukee yesterday and the day before of sunstroke, and there were about twenty prostrations. The thermometer ranged from 85° to 95°, but frequent showers cooled the air.

During a thunderstorm a picnic party took refuge under a tree on Rodney's Island, Wis. The tree was struck by lightning and three boys were killed.

There were thirteen prostrations from the heat in Cincinnati, two of which were fatal. The cases of sunstroke were fewer, but the patients were more severely affected. Many prostrations and one death occurred in West Bay City, Mich., where the thermometer ranged from 98° to 102° in the shade.

RAINS IN THE SOUTHWEST.

Rain fell on Wednesday night all over the State of Kansas, saving the corn crop, which had been in danger of destruction from the hot winds. Hundreds of acres of corn had begun to turn brown, but the timely rains will restore them to good condition. Much damage was done to the various crops by high winds in the northwestern part of the State. A fall of 20° in temperature followed the storm.

THUNDERSTORMS ON THE COAST.

A thunderstorm sent the mercury down in Baltimore yesterday, and a good wind blew all day. The thermometer rose into the nineties, and many prostrations were reported. Three deaths from the heat occurred in Wilmington, Del.

STILL HOT IN CANADA.

Great heat prevailed in Toronto, Ontario, yes-

STRIKER HELD FOR MURDER

JUDGE MAGEE REFUSES TO ADMIT CRITCHLOW TO BAIL.

WITNESSES SWEAR THAT THEY SAW HIM SHOOT FROM BEHIND THE BARRICADE—THE NEWS OF THE JUDGE'S DECISION CAUSES A SENSATION IN HOMESTEAD—CONSTABLES BUSY.

PITTSBURG, July 28.—One of the strikers, Sylvester Critchlow, has been held for murder in the first degree by Judge Magee. The offense is not bailable, and Critchlow will remain in jail until September, when the Quarter Sessions Court will open. This news created a sensation in Homestead, and led to a further exodus on the part of those strikers who participated in the riot, and who suspect that warrants have been issued for their arrest. Yesterday and today constables were searching Homestead for suspects with no success.

Up to this afternoon the general tone of the strikers has been one of confidence in their ability to avoid the charge of murder, on the ground that there were no witnesses outside of their own men, and that they were therefore perfectly secure. To-day, however, when Critchlow was arraigned before Judge Magee not more than a dozen persons were in court, so sanguine were the strikers that bail would be allowed. The Prosecuting Attorneys were present and Messrs. John F. Cox and W. J. Brennan for the prisoner.

J. M. Dixon, a clerk of the company, was called, and said that he was in the mill yard on the morning of July 6. He saw Critchlow between 8 and 9 o'clock in front of the office with a gun on his shoulder. He was marching toward the main gate. He could not say whether Critchlow went through the gate or not. He was within three feet of the witness. There were two or three persons with Critchlow. Witness said that there was a good deal of firing going on, but he was perfectly cool. The other men had no guns, but some had clubs. He said that the reason he was not excited was because he was a guardsman and had heard firing before.

H. H. Hervey, assistant paymaster of the company, was at the mill at 8 o'clock in the morning and saw Critchlow about 8:30 in the road in front of the office going toward the main gate. He had an army musket and was walking rapidly. He was the only man in the crowd who had a gun. There was firing going on at that time down where the barges were, and Critchlow was going toward that point.

Samuel Stewart, clerk in the company's mill, went up at 8:12 and saw the main gate open and about a dozen men there. All had clubs;

[illegible] all institutions of rule and exploitation of men by men. The people, shooting from a thousand [illegible] for the fatal shots from Pittsburg.—Mail [illegible]

Anarchist Timmermann, one of Miss Goldmann's friends and associates, says that Assassin Berkmann belonged to the autonomous group of Anarchists who believed that every member should take revenge for his own wrongs without consulting any one. They hold meetings, he said, but if any member wishes to kill a man he goes and kills him without consulting anybody else.

Timmermann says that if Anarchy prevailed no one would have to work more than two or three hours a day.

WORKMEN FOR HOMESTEAD.

A PARTY OF THIRTY-FIVE SENT FROM THIS CITY.

The train which left the Pennsylvania Station in Jersey City at 6 o'clock last evening for the West carried thirty-five workmen for the Carnegie Mills at Homestead. The morning papers of yesterday contained advertisements for blacksmiths, engineers, pipefitters, riveters, painters, bricklayers, and laborers, "to go out of the city," and applicants were told to apply at the New-York Employment Bureau, 736 Broadway. The bureau, which has a branch in Philadelphia at 928 Arch Street, is conducted by D. J. Cotter, whose son told a reporter of THE TIMES yesterday that he was requested two weeks ago by Manager Hoffman, the head of the Philadelphia branch of the Carnegie Company, to secure 200 first-class workmen of the class advertised for yesterday morning to go to Homestead.

Nearly all of the 200 men had already been engaged, Mr. Cotter said. Each man had been told where he was to go, and very few of them had manifested any trepidation. Not one of the accepted applicants had changed his mind when informed that his destination was to be Homestead.

The workmen who left last night were mostly riveters, and union men. Those who left on the 6 o'clock train were accompanied by J. Donovan, a Pittsburg employee of the Carnegie Company. Another party will leave to-day or to-morrow.

TROOPS STILL GOING HOME.

WHAT GEN. SNOWDEN SAYS OF THEIR WORK—THE EVICTED FAMILIES.

HOMESTEAD, Penn., July 28.—Gen. Snowden and the balance of his staff left for Philadelphia this afternoon. All the troops have gone except the Fifth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Regiments, four companies of the Tenth, the Sheridan Troop, and Battery B. Over 800 men are at work in the mills.

Before leaving Homestead Gen. Snowden said: "The troops have behaved admirably, the discipline being almost perfect. I am well satisfied with the showing. It is deplorable indeed, that a condition exists which necessitates the calling out of the State militia every two or three years to suppress troubles arising out of wage disputes. Some other

SHATTERED BY AN EXPLOSION.

CHEMICAL WORKS AT SPRINGFIELD DESTROYED—ONE MAN MISSING.

ORANGE, N. J., July 28.—The little town of Milburn and the surrounding country was shaken at 7:55 o'clock to-night by a terrific explosion, which shook the houses and ground and caused terror to the inhabitants for several miles about. The explosion occurred at the Celluloid Zapon Works at Springfield, a mile and a half south of Short Hills, and the concussion was heard as far away as the City of Newark.

The works where the explosion took place are in ruins, and the houses near the factory are wrecked, while for a radius of two miles there is hardly a pane of glass unbroken. One man, a negro, employed in the mill, is missing. His name cannot be learned.

The factory is situated in a hollow about a mile from Short Hills, and is operated by the Frederick Crane Chemical Company of New-York, which has an office at 14 Barclay Street. The company manufactured varnish and patent brass and silver lacquers.

The works included about twenty brick buildings, which were erected five years ago. Since then the works have been burned down three times. About twenty men are employed in the factory.

At 6 o'clock to-night all the men left the works, except the engineer, fireman, watchmen, and the colored workmen. The latter should have left, but lingered in factory No. 13 to finish some work. In this building was stored a quantity of guncotton, and it is probable that the negro in some manner exploded this.

A large crowd soon gathered about the factory, which caught fire immediately. A volunteer fire department was formed and an effort made to prevent the spreading of the flames. The laboratory next to factory No. 13, however, burned down. The firemen, fearing another explosion, were afraid to venture near the buildings.

A rumor was circulated that all four men in the works had perished, but at the heat of the excitement all were discovered in the crowd except the negro. At about 10:30 o'clock the fire burned itself out.

Two frame houses near the works, occupied by George Bessler and Justice of the Peace Georgh Mulford, were razed almost to the ground. Mrs. Bessler, who is ill, was prostrated by the shock, and her life is in danger. The Mulford family were bruised and cut to some extent, but no one was seriously injured. Mr. Mulford says that some time ago Superintendent Crane told him that no dangerous explosives were used in the works, and he threatens to sue for damages.

Pilcher & Manda's conservatories at Short Hills, which cover about five acres, were badly damaged, nearly three acres of glass being broken. The train due at Orange at 8:14 was passing Short Hills at the time, and the shock threw passengers from their seats.

ELIZABETH, N. J., July 28.—The terrific explosion of the Crane Chemical Works was distinctly felt in this city, nine miles distant. The Bowker fertilizing factory, one mile south of here, on Staten Island Sound, was so badly shaken that the walls cracked in several places, and even some of the big



For all diseases caused by a disordered liver or impure blood—Dyspepsia, Biliousness, the most stubborn Skin, Scalp and Blood affections, the "Discovery" is the only remedy so certain and effective that it can be guaranteed. If it doesn't benefit or cure, you have your money back.

It's not only the best, but it's the cheapest blood-purifier sold, no matter how many dozen are offered for a dollar.

With this, you pay only for the good you get.

KNUTE NELSON FOR GOVERNOR.

REPUBLICANS OF MINNESOTA NOMINATE A STATE TICKET.

ST. PAUL, July 28.—The convention was late in assembling, and even after being called to order at 2:30 was unable to get down to work at once, on account of the committees not having completed their work. William Henry Eustis of Minneapolis presented a resolution eulogizing James G. Blaine, sympathizing with him in his recent afflictions, and expressing the hope that he may again be called into service after having enjoyed a hard-earned rest. The resolution was adopted by a rising vote, with cheers.

A number of other favorite speakers, including Alden J. Blethen, Gov. Merriam, National Committeeman Evans, and others were called for and responded briefly. Finally, at 4:15, the Committee on Credentials reported, and the report was adopted. State Senator [illegible] presented a resolution pledging the [illegible] re-election of United States [illegible] resolution was greeted and [illegible] by a rising vote.

The Committee on Resolu[illegible] session till the afternoon, [illegible] under consideration being the [illegible] option. It was discussed [illegible] length, and finally the [illegible] not to mention that subj[illegible] form. Through its Chair[illegible] tions Committee reported, t[illegible] indorses the national platf[illegible] istration of President Harri[illegible] means to secure to every [illegible] ballot and a fair count [illegible] and future legislation.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

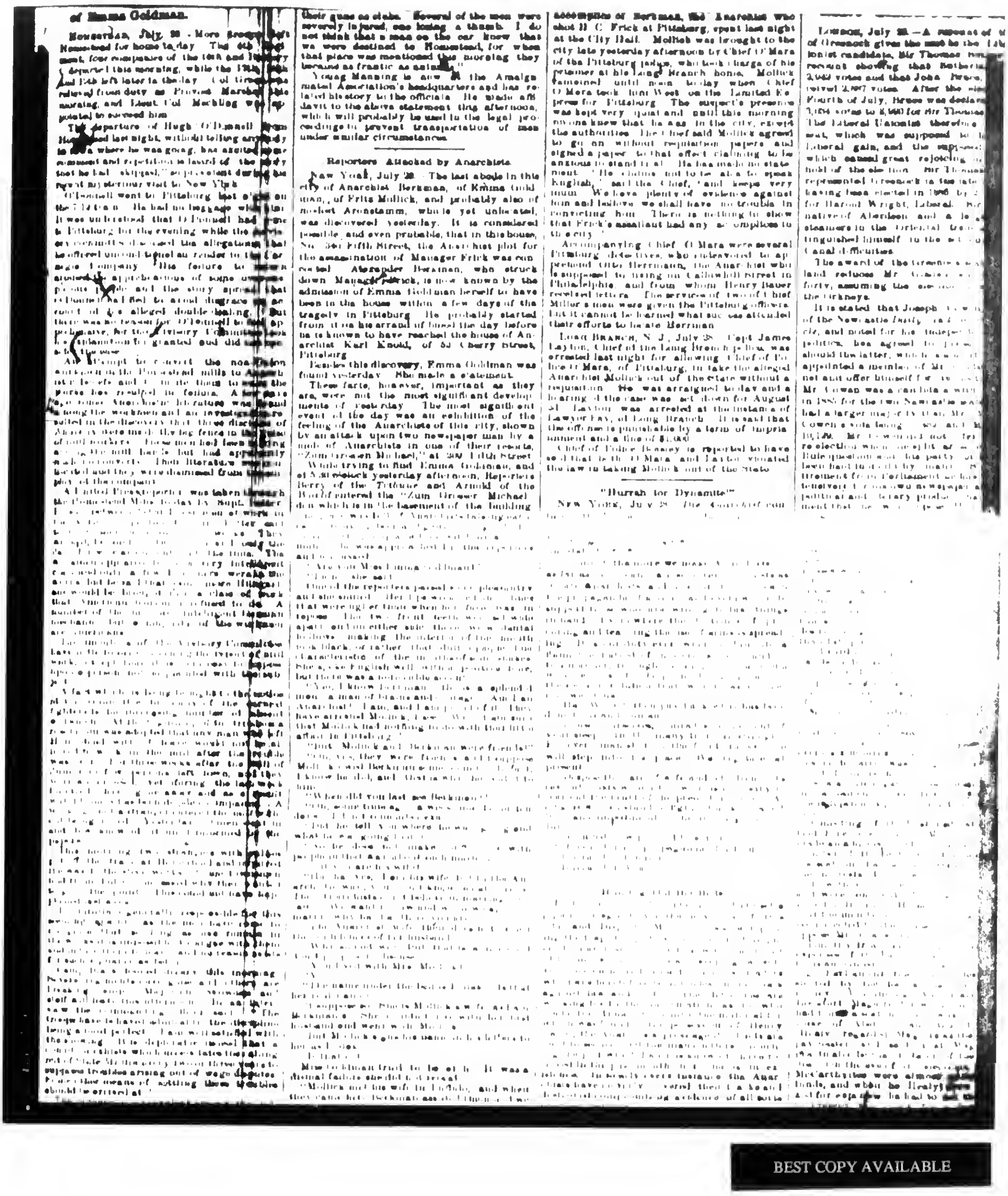
8

900524000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Reporters Attacked by Anarchists / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 28 cm. *In* Rochester Herald. —(July 29, 1892).

Obtained from the Rochester Public Library, Rochester, NY.



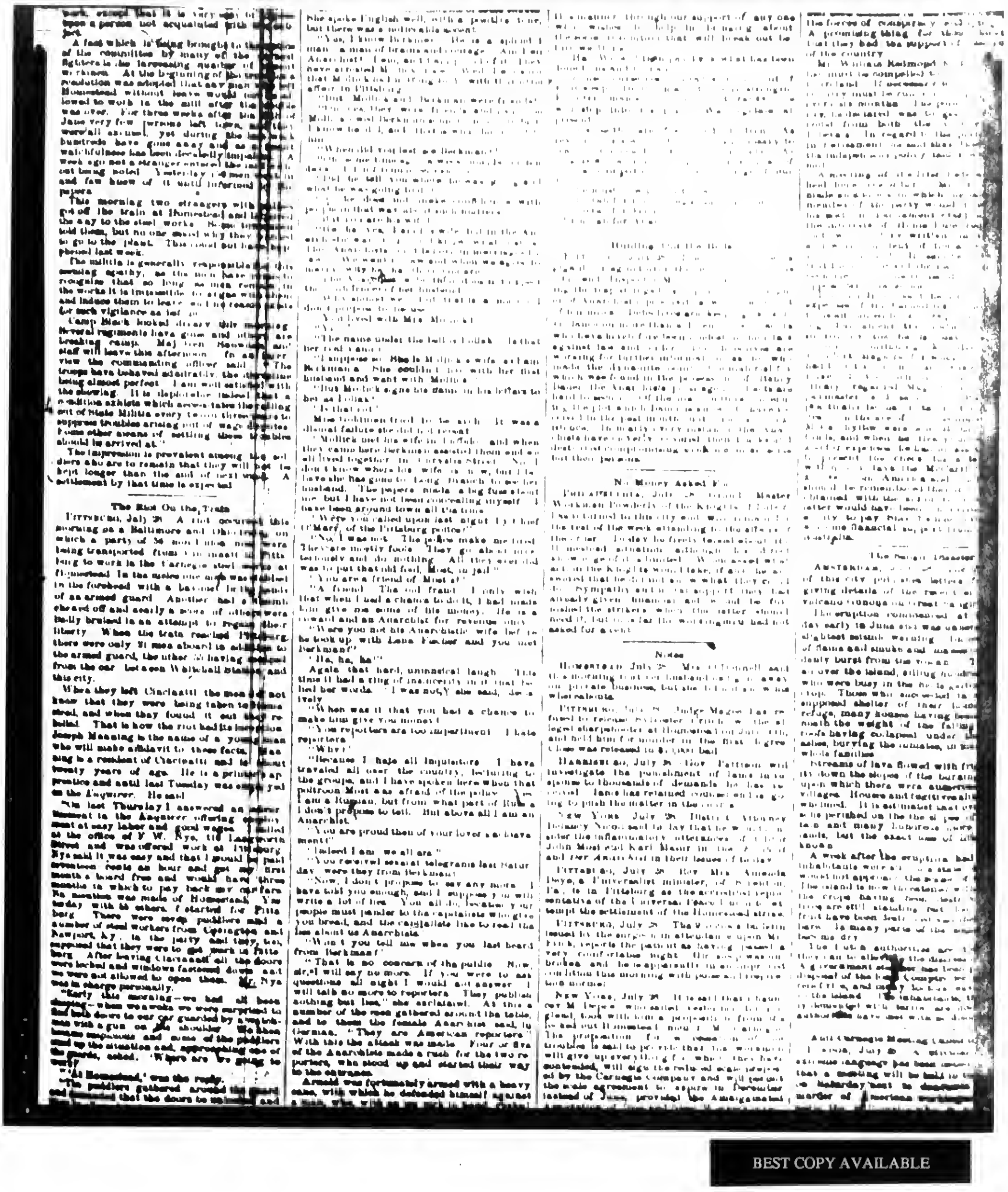
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

900524000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Reporters Attacked by Anarchists / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 28 cm. *In* Rochester Herald. —(July 29, 1892).

Obtained from the Rochester Public Library, Rochester, NY.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

900524000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Reporters Attacked by Anarchists / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 28 cm. *In* Rochester Herald. —(July 29, 1892).

Obtained from the Rochester Public Library, Rochester, NY.

THE ROCHESTER

BER 4,054. ROCHESTER, N. Y., FRIDAY, JULY 29, 1892.

refused to let them pass and then the peddlers jumped on him. There was a terrible scene. Every man in the car jumped from his seat, some making for the doors, others tried to break through the windows, and some got into a fight. The guard struck one of the peddlers with the bayonet of his gun and cut a long gash across his forehead. In their frantic efforts to get out of the car the men got into a fight between themselves and for about half an hour there was a perfect reign of terror and many heads and noses were broken.

"At Whitehall the guard was thrown from his position and the door was burst open. The men commenced to jump off and they kept dropping off all the way to the city. I escaped in the crowd at the depot. The other men I suppose went on to Homestead. The guards made no attempt to shoot but used their guns as clubs. Several of the men were severely injured, one losing a thumb. I do not think that a man on the car knew that we were destined to Homestead, for when that place was mentioned this morning they became as frantic as animals."

Young Manning is now at the Amalgamated Association's headquarters and has related his story to the officials. He made affidavit to the above statement this afternoon, which will probably be used in the legal proceedings to prevent transportation of men under similar circumstances.

Reporters Attacked by Anarchists

New York, July 28.—The last abode in this city of Anarchist Berkman, of Emma Goldman, of Fritz Mullick, and probably also of noted Arnstamm, who is yet unlocated, was discovered yesterday. It is considered possible, and even probable, that in this house, No. 340 Fifth Street, the Anarchist plot for the assassination of Manager Frick was concocted. Alexander Berkman, who struck down Manager Frick, is now known by the admission of Emma Goldman herself to have been in the house within a few days of the tragedy in Pittsburg. He probably started from there for Pittsburg the day before he is known to have reached the house of Anarchist Karl Knodl, of 53 Cherry Street, Pittsburg.

Inside this discovery, Emma Goldman was found yesterday. She made a statement.

These facts, however, important as they are, were not the most significant developments of yesterday. The most signal and event of the day was an exhibition of the feeling of the Anarchists of this city shown by an attack upon two newspaper men by a mob of Anarchists in one of their resorts, Comrade Neebe's, at 340 Fifth Street.

While trying to find Emma Goldman and at Neebe's yesterday afternoon, Reporters Berry of the Tribune and Arnold of the Herald entered the Zum Grauen Mutterli den which is in the basement of the building. The place was full of Anarchists taking refreshments, drinking beer and gesticulating. In the midst of the excitement a bible and Emma Goldman. She was approached by the reporters and was asked:

"Are you Miss Emma Goldman?"

"I am," she said.

One of the reporters passed quite obscenely

outside, declared his intention of killing the reporter.

Berry was struck from behind in the neck and back, by two men, was kicked and thrown through the doorway. Arnold succeeded in getting out unharmed.

A police officer stood at the corner of Third Avenue, 100 feet distant. He was immediately informed of the assault, and of the presence of the Goldman woman, and declined to enter the place or to make any arrests without warrants were sworn out. None of the Anarchists were known except by sight and they dispersed immediately after the assault.

Mollick Taken to Pittsburg

Philadelphia, July 28.—Frank Mollick, the Long Branch hatter accused of being an accomplice of Berkman, the Anarchist who shot H. C. Frick at Pittsburg, spent last night at the City Hall. Mollick was brought to the city late yesterday afternoon by Chief O'Mara of the Pittsburg police, who took charge of his prisoner at his Long Branch home. Mollick remained until noon today when Chief O'Mara took him West on the limited express for Pittsburg. The suspect's presence was kept very quiet and until this morning no one knew that he was in the city, except the authorities. The Chief said Mollick agreed to go on without requisition papers and signed a paper to that effect, claiming to be anxious to stand trial. He has made no statement. "He claims not to be able to speak English," said the Chief, "and keeps very mum. We have plenty of evidence against him and believe we shall have no trouble in convicting him. There is nothing to show that Frick's assailant had any accomplices in this city."

Accompanying Chief O'Mara were several Pittsburg detectives, who endeavored to apprehend Otto Herrmann, the Anarchist who is supposed to living on Callowhill Street in Philadelphia, and from whom Henry Bauer received letters. The services of two of Chief Miller's men were given the Pittsburg officers but it cannot be learned what success attended their efforts to locate Herrman.

Long Branch, N. J., July 28.—Capt. James Layton, Chief of the Long Branch police, was arrested last night for allowing Chief of Police O'Mara, of Pittsburg, to take the alleged Anarchist Mollick out of the state without a requisition. He was arraigned today and a hearing of the case was set down for August 3d. Layton was arrested at the instance of lawyer Lee, of Long Branch. It is said that the offense is punishable by a term of imprisonment and a fine of $1,000.

Chief of Police Jessen is reported to have said that both O'Mara and Layton violated the law in taking Mollick out of the State.

"Hurrah for Pretender"

New York, July [illegible]. A reporter [illegible] learned the following [illegible]

"The more people [illegible] Frick and their comrades, [illegible] believe that [illegible]

"We think the more we make Anarchists [illegible] as far as you can call [illegible] Anarchists [illegible]

ONE SEAT CHANGED.

GLADSTONE'S MAJORITY REDUCED TO FORTY.

Meeting of Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites in Dublin. Late Details of the Sangir Disaster. Etna Again Active. General Foreign News.

London, July 28. A recount of the votes of Greenock gives the seat to the Liberal Unionist candidate Sir Thomas Sutherland. The recount showing that Sutherland received 3,764 votes and that John Bruce, liberal, received 3,687 votes. After the election on the fourth of July, Bruce was declared elected by 1,856 votes to 1,850 for Sir Thomas Sutherland. The Liberal Unionist therefore retains the seat, which was supposed to have been a Liberal gain, and the supposed capture of which caused great rejoicing on the threshold of the election. Sir Thomas Sutherland, having been elected in 1886 by [illegible] for Harold Wright, Liberal. Sir Thomas is a native of Aberdeen and a large owner of steamers in the Oriental trade and has distinguished himself in the settlement of Suez Canal difficulties.

The award of the Greenock seat to Sutherland reduces Mr. Gladstone's majority [illegible] forty, assuming the election of a [illegible] the Orkneys.

It is stated that Joseph [illegible] of the Newcastle Daily [illegible] or and noted [illegible] politics, has agreed to oppose Mr. [illegible] at the latter who is [illegible] appointed a member of Mr. [illegible] not at liberty to [illegible] Mr. Cowen was a candidate [illegible] in 1885 for the two [illegible] had a larger majority than Mr. [illegible] now belong [illegible] Mr. [illegible] election which the split [illegible] [illegible] decided by [illegible] [illegible] of Parliament [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] meeting of the Irish [illegible] this city yesterday, and a [illegible] of all classes were [illegible]

[illegible] Lewis said that the Parnell

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

900625007

The Emma Goldman Papers

Eingesandt / Emma Goldman.— p. 4 ; 31 cm. *In* Der Anarchist [New York]. —(July 30, 1892).

Obtained from the Columbia University Libraries.

Eingesandt.

Lange Jahre hat es ein Mann fertig gebracht, sich als Held und Märtyrer hinzustellen, die grössten Scharkereien zu verüben und zu verläumden und so die besten Kräfte zu untergraben.

Und dies alles unter dem Deckmantel des Anarchismus, ohne dass auch nur eine Hand sich erhoben hätte, die Maske von dem Gesicht dieses Mannes herab zu reissen.

Der Mann von dem ich hier spreche ist Johann Most der „Anarchistenführer," der Mann, der es wagt, sich an die Seite eines Kropotkin, einer Petrowskaya und anderer Helden unserer Bewegung zu stellen.

Genossen und Freunde, wenn ich jetzt die Feder ergreife, um Euch diesen Most in das richtige Licht zu stellen, so ist es wahrlich nicht persönlicher Hass, (ich bin gerade im Interesse der Bewegung noch nicht gegen Most aufgetreten), sondern die Empörung über die Haltung dieses Schuften, unserem Genossen Berkmann gegenüber. Ja, die Empörung die einen jeden ehrlichen Arbeiter ergreifen muss, über dieses verläumderische Treiben, über dieses Denunziantenthum dieser Demagogen.

Die Genossen werden das Interview, das M. mit einem Reporter hatte, an anderer Stelle übersetzt finden.

Was, frage ich, kann einen Menschen veranlassen, so gemein, so niederträchtig zu handeln?

Einfach der schmutzige persönliche Hass, der Neid und die Furcht ist es, was diesen Menschen treibt so zu sprechen. Most ist feig, feig bis zum Aeussersten, dass ist jeden bekannt, der Ihn nur ein bischen genau kennt.

Ich, die ich Ihn leider gut kennen gelernt habe, die jeden Charakterzug zur Genüge studirte, ich behaupte, das Most ein ganz erbärmlicher Feigling, ein Lügner, Schauspieler und zugleich ein Waschlappen ist.

Alle seine sogenannten heroistischen Thaten sind nicht der Liebe zur Sache, der Ergebenheit zum Prinzip entsprungen. Oh nein! Es war Berechnung, es war ganz schmutziger Ehrgeiz, der Ihn zwang „sein" Prinzip(?) zu vertreten. Was hat denn Most bisher Grosses geleistet? Ein paar Jahre hat er im Gefängniss, wo es Ihm nebenbei bemerkt, sehr gut erging, zugebracht, das ist Alles. Die Arbeiter haben ihren letzten Cent hingegeben, um es diesen Parasiten an nichts fehlen zu lassen.

Wo es aber gab, irgend eine That zu vollbringen oder Andere zu unterstützen, da hat er sich stets feige und erbärmlich gezeigt.

Ich führe nur aus letzter Zeit einige Beispiele an, die Versammlung auf Union Square am 1. Mai, wo er aus Furcht nicht kam, trotzdem er Wochen zuvor versprochen, die Genossen mochten sich an der Manifestation betheiligen. Weiter die Versammlung in Philadelphia, die er deshalb sich nicht zu adressiren getraute, weil kurz zuvor Genosse Hoffmann verhaftet wurde.

Dann kündigte ich, dass ein Complott bestehe, [illegible] tödten. Ich glaube, Berkmann versuchte es selbst [illegible] Er glaubte sich damit viel Ruhm zu erringen und [illegible] was er wollte [zweifache Druckfehler]. Wenn es eine Aufschwindung war, so sind darin nicht meine Freunde, sondern die Autonomisten betheiligt.

Die Genossin Goldmann erklärt Most als „thatlosen Cäsar" und den Genossen Modlak, welcher in Long Branch verhaftet wurde, als einen „Autonomisten", als welcher er wahrscheinlich ein Freund Berkmann's war.

Besser hat sich noch kein Demagoge selbst entlarvt!

Eingesandt.

Lange Jahre hat es ein Mann fertig gebracht, sich als Held und Märtyrer hinzustellen, die grössten Scharkereien zu verüben und zu verläumden und so die besten Kräfte zu untergraben.

Und dies alles unter dem Deckmantel des Anarchismus, ohne dass auch nur eine Hand sich erhoben hätte, die Maske von dem Gesicht dieses Mannes herab zu reissen.

Der Mann von dem ich hier spreche ist Johann Most der „Anarchistenführer," der Mann, der es wagt, sich an die Seite eines Kropotkin, einer Petrowskaya und anderer Helden unserer Bewegung zu stellen.

Genossen und Freunde, wenn ich jetzt die Feder ergreife, um Euch diesen Most in das richtige Licht zu stellen, so ist es wahrlich nicht persönlicher Hass, (ich bin gerade im Interesse der Bewegung noch nicht gegen Most aufgetreten), sondern die Empörung über die Haltung dieses Schuften, unserem Genossen Berkmann gegenüber. Ja, die Empörung die einen jeden ehrlichen Arbeiter ergreifen muss, über dieses verläumderische Treiben, über dieses Denunziantenthum dieser Demagogen.

Die Genossen werden das Interview, das M. mit einem Reporter hatte, an anderer Stelle übersetzt finden.

Was, frage ich, kann einen Menschen veranlassen, so gemein, so niederträchtig zu handeln?

Einfach der schmutzige persönliche Hass, der Neid und die Furcht ist es, was diesen Menschen treibt so zu sprechen. Most ist feig, feig bis zum Aeussersten, dass ist jeden bekannt, der Ihn nur ein bischen genau kennt.

Ich, die ich Ihn leider gut kennen gelernt habe, die jeden Charakterzug zur Genüge studirte, ich behaupte, das Most ein ganz erbärmlicher Feigling, ein Lügner, Schauspieler und zugleich ein Waschlappen ist.

Alle seine sogenannten heroistischen Thaten sind nicht der Liebe zur Sache, der Ergebenheit zum Prinzip entsprungen. Oh nein! Es war Berechnung, es war ganz schmutziger Ehrgeiz, der Ihn zwang „sein" Prinzip(?) zu vertreten. Was hat denn Most bisher Grosses geleistet? Ein paar Jahre hat er im Gefängniss, wo es Ihm nebenbei bemerkt, sehr gut erging, zugebracht, das ist Alles. Die Arbeiter haben ihren letzten Cent hingegeben, um es diesen Parasiten an nichts fehlen zu lassen.

Wo es aber gab, irgend eine That zu vollbringen oder Andere zu unterstützen, da hat er sich stets feige und erbärmlich gezeigt.

Ich führe nur aus letzter Zeit einige Beispiele an, die Versammlung auf Union Square am 1. Mai, wo er aus Furcht nicht kam, trotzdem er Wochen zuvor versprochen, die Genossen mochten sich an der Manifestation betheiligen. Weiter die Versammlung in Philadelphia, die er deshalb sich nicht zu adressiren getraute, weil kurz zuvor Genosse Hoffmann verhaftet wurde.

Ich glaube, dass ein Complott bestehe, [illegible] tödten. Ich glaube, Berkmann versuchte es selbst [illegible] Er glaubte sich damit viel Ruhm zu erringen und [illegible] was er wollte [zweifache Druckfehler]. Wenn es eine Aufschwindung war, so sind darin nicht meine Freunde, sondern die Autonomisten betheiligt.

Die Genossin Goldmann erklärt Most als „thatlosen Cäsar" und den Genossen Modlak, welcher in Long Branch verhaftet wurde, als einen „Autonomisten", als welcher er wahrscheinlich ein Freund Berkmann's war.

Besser hat sich noch kein Demagoge selbst entlarvt!

Correspondenz.

Am Samstag Abend sollte eine Protest-Versammlung der hiesigen „Internationale" in Betreff der Homsteadter Affaire stattfinden. Die Versammlung fand auch richtig statt und hatte sich in Folge der Bekanntwerdung der That unsereres wackeren Genossen A. Berkmann eine ziemliche Anzahl — hauptsächlich jüdischer Genossen eingefunden.

Die Mehrzahl der Anwesenden erwartete, dass der Vortragende sich im Grossen und Ganzen besonders über das letzte Erreigniss aussprechen und die That B's. propagandistisch verwerthen werde. Dem war aber nicht so. John Most, der Vortragende konstatirte, dass die Homesteadter Affaire in eine neue Phase getreten sei; ein „Mann" — Most kennt wohl Genosse B. nicht oder ist die Erinnerung an an ihn ihm unangenehm — habe auf Frick geschossen. Die Eindrücke seien verschieden gewesen u. s. w., allgemeine Nachrichten, die man in jeder Zeitung gelesen hatte, ohne nur einmal auf den hohen, propagandistischen Werth dieser That, die der ganzen anarchistischen Bewegung in Amerika neuen Ansporn gibt, einzugehen.

Hierauf sprach dieser „Anarchistenführer" über den Homesteadter Streik, welche überaus ernste und lehrreiche Affaire von ihm in einer geradezu empörenden beständig effecthaschender Weise — durch faderne, ranzige Witze versuchte er die Lachmuskeln der Anwesenden in Bewegung zu setzen — behandelt wurde. Während dieser Komödie versuchte er der Denunziant wird an anderer Stelle behandelt die geradezu heroische That B's. zu einer Fratze herabzuziehen. Gehen denn den ehrlichen, nicht ganz fanatischen Anhänger nicht bald die Augen auf.

Nach Most sprach Genossin Goldmann, die Ge

Dann sodann wir solche Demagogen gross ziehen, welche durch uns und unsere Groschen „Grössen" werden, wird die Bewegung gehemmt sein und die herrschende Klasse triumphiren.

Worte helfen bei solchen Menschen nichts; eine Tracht Hiebe würde diesen Menschen wohl nicht ändern, aber ihm das Maul stopfen.

Emma Goldmann.

Correspondenz.

Am Samstag Abend sollte eine Protest-Versammlung der hiesigen „Internationale" in Betreff der Homsteadter Affaire stattfinden. Die Versammlung fand auch richtig statt und hatte sich in Folge der Bekanntwerdung der That unsereres wackeren Genossen A. Berkmann eine ziemliche Anzahl — hauptsächlich jüdischer Genossen eingefunden.

Die Mehrzahl der Anwesenden erwartete, dass der Vortragende sich im Grossen und Ganzen besonders über das letzte Erreigniss aussprechen und die That B's. propagandistisch verwerthen werde. Dem war aber nicht so. John Most, der Vortragende konstatirte, dass die Homesteadter Affaire in eine neue Phase getreten sei; ein „Mann" — Most kennt wohl Genosse B. nicht oder ist die Erinnerung an an ihn ihm unangenehm — habe auf Frick geschossen. Die Eindrücke seien verschieden gewesen u. s. w., allgemeine Nachrichten, die man in jeder Zeitung gelesen hatte, ohne nur einmal auf den hohen, propagandistischen Werth dieser That, die der ganzen anarchistischen Bewegung in Amerika neuen Ansporn gibt, einzugehen.

Hierauf sprach dieser „Anarchistenführer" über den Homesteadter Streik, welche überaus ernste und lehrreiche Affaire von ihm in einer geradezu empörenden beständig effecthaschender Weise — durch faderne, ranzige Witze versuchte er die Lachmuskeln der Anwesenden in Bewegung zu setzen — behandelt wurde. Während dieser Komödie versuchte er der Denunziant wird an anderer Stelle behandelt die geradezu heroische That B's. zu einer Fratze herabzuziehen. Gehen denn den ehrlichen, nicht ganz fanatischen Anhänger nicht bald die Augen auf.

Nach Most sprach Genossin Goldmann, die Ge

Wie wird die That B's. am besten ausgenutzt? Diese Frage ist jetzt zu verneinen.

B. hat die That verübt im gerechten Zorn und in Empörung über die Schurkereien Frick's, er wollte ihn für seine Verbrechen strafen, nicht richten.

Mit einer Sympathie [illegible] man keinen Hund unter dem Ofen [illegible] wird wenig genützt. Nein! Die beste Vertheidigung wird die That finden, wenn dem [illegible] folgen. Das wird Propaganda machen [illegible] mehr als einen Frick. [illegible] ragoer Affairs machen wir nicht wieder die alten Fehler! Wenn daher Sammlungen vorgenommen werden, so geschehe es um Mittel für eine Propaganda a la Berkmann zusammen zu bringen. Auch diese, und sie ist die beste Agitation muss mit den nöthigen Mitteln unterstützt werden.

Diese That hat mehr gewirkt, als hundert Reden eines Most und Anderer. B. hat uns gezeigt, hat der Masse des Volkes gezeigt, dass Menschen wie Frick nicht besser sind als alle anderen Menschen, dass sie keine Götter seien, dass sie nicht ungestraft die Arbeiter ausbeuten und jede Scheusslichkeit verüben können, in ihre Körper dringen Kugeln sehr gut und nutzbringend. B. hat aber auch weiter gezeigt, dass man dem Uebel an der Wurzel beikommen soll.

Arbeiter sollen nicht gegen Arbeiter ihre Waffen gebrauchen, Gewalt anwenden, nein, sie sollen ihre Ausbeuter beim Kragen nehmen, sie sollen diejenigen vernichten, die Banditen und Mörder auf sie hetzen, die sie dem Hunger preisgeben wollen. Ihr Frick's zittert! Brutus ist erwacht! Und Ihr Genossen, lasst die Gelegenheit nicht vorübergehen, lasst neue Thaten folgen. Die Bourgeoisie soll vor Angst zitternd nicht mehr Pulste zu verlassen sich getrauen. Ahmt das Beispiel der Genossen in Frankreich nach.

Hoch die Anarchie!

Sepp.

Quittungen.

[illegible] Gratzschahn 81.

Zur Unterstützung

des wöchentlichen [illegible] Vorrath 25c., [illegible] 81.

Briefkasten.

P. G. in Phil. [illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

12

881017010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Wild Anarchist Talk / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 44 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Aug. 2, 1892)

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Spanish Minister of Marine, accompanied by his suite, landed at Huelva last evening to take part in the Columbian celebration. He was received with military honors. The streets, which were gayly festooned, were filled with people.

As the Columbine caraval Santa Maria, which had come from Cadiz, came to her moorings, salvos of artillery were fired by all the foreign vessels in the harbor. The appearance of the Mexican corvette was the signal for loud cheers for Columbus, Mexico, and Spain.

PRINCE BONAPARTE WINS.

HE IS RELEASED FROM HIS ISLE-OF-MAN MARRIAGE.

LONDON, Aug. 1.—The Bonaparte divorce case, which has been before the public a number of times lately, came up again in the Divorce Court to-day, when the petition of Prince Louis Clovis Bonaparte, to declare null the marriage contracted by him in the Isle of Man, on the ground that the respondent, Mrs. Megone, had a husband living at the time of her marriage to him, was granted.

Several hearings had previously been given on the petition, which has been pending for months.

RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT PLANS.

A MINISTER-PRESIDENT TO DISTRIBUTE THE PORTFOLIOS.

ST. PETERSBURG, Aug. 1.—An important change is impending in the method of conducting the Central Government.

The Czar, according to the new arrangement, will appoint directly a Minister-President, who will distribute the Ministerial portfolios himself, and will be alone responsible to the Czar. M. Abazor Abaza will probably be the first President appointed.

NEW PANAMA CANAL COMPANY.

PARIS, Aug. 1. The concessions and assets of the Panama Canal Company have been acquired by a syndicate headed by M. Hélard, Vice President of the Paris Chamber of Commerce.

A new Panama Canal Company will soon be launched. Shares of the old company have recently risen 7 points.

REPORTED DYNAMITE OUTRAGES.

PARIS, Aug. 1.—Several of the papers of this city to-day report that an attempt was made last night to blow up with dynamite a number of buildings in Versailles. Searching inquiries, however, fail to confirm the rumor.

THE FRENCH ELECTIONS.

PARIS, Aug. 1. The elections have resulted in a gain by the republicans of 150 seats.

They have obtained a majority in four of the eleven Councils held by the Monarchists.

CONDENSED CABLEGRAMS.

—The German steamer Russia, Capt. Schmidt, which sailed from Baltimore July 16 for Hamburg, and the steamers Napoli and Breton came in collision in the Elbe and went ashore on the Island of Finkenwarder. The Breton and Napoli were subsequently floated and towed into Hamburg.

—Princess Beatrice has telegraphed to Queen Victoria from Castle Heiligenberg, Germany, saying that she is newise suffered from the midnight alarm of Friday last, when part of the castle was destroyed by fire.

—As the first Monday in August is a regular holiday in Great Britain, the Bank of England and the Stock Exchange here were closed yesterday and business throughout the country was suspended.

—The Italian Government will send a squadron to South America, including the cruisers Dogali and Bausan and the gunboats Venlero and Prevana.

—A secret national Polish printing press has been discovered in Warsaw, and 300 arrests have been made.

—Two cases of dynamite were stolen yesterday while in transit from Marseilles to St. Etienne.

—The Bulgarian Government will issue a decree on Aug. 15 restoring the liberty of the press.

Mexican News Items.

CITY OF MEXICO, Aug. 1.—A strict investigation made in all parts of Mexico shows that there is not a single case of cholera in the republic. The Government has taken every precaution to prevent the introduction of cholera.

Banks report that there has never been so much exchange on the United States sold as in July, presumably for payment for cereals.

The Mexican Consul at Southampton has been transferred to the Vice Consulate at Paris, and Senor Pimadores has been appointed Consul at Southampton.

The Second Secretary of the Spanish legation here has been recalled for promotion.

The Mexican Commissioners to the Spanish Exposition departed to-day.

The telephone company has been obliged to establish another central office in this city on account of increasing business.

The *Anglo-American* publishes a Honduras special saying that President Leiva has sent a Commissioner to the revolutionists begging for terms of peace.

This Fellow Praised Berkmann.

NEWARK, N. J., Aug. 1.—The Newark group of Anarchists, directed by leaders in New-York City, held a secret meeting at 103 Prince street this city, last night. The neighborhood [illegible] mainly by Russian Jews. [illegible] was present, and where [illegible]

Mount Ida, Ala., Aug. 1.—So far as known at this hour, (9 P. M.) the election throughout the State has been a very quiet one, though great interest was manifested. A novel feature was that in many places the colored voters turned out and not only voted but worked like beavers for Jones and the straight Democratic ticket, and aided materially in piling up large majorities for the Democratic Party. The *Register* has received bulletins from thirty-eight of the sixty-six counties in the State, which show handsome majorities for Jones, except in Hale County. The indications are that Jones has carried Montgomery (his home) County by 6,000, Bullock by 2,000, and Talladega by 500.

WILD ANARCHIST TALK.

BERKMANN PRAISED AT A PUBLIC MEETING OF THE REDS.

The crazy utterances of Anarchy were howled forth for three hours at a public meeting held in a hall at 193 Bowery last evening. More than 300 wild eyed, unshaven, unclean, and foul-mouthed men, and about a score of hard-featured, cigarette smoking young women, crowded the hall, and though the smoke-burdened air was so nauseating as almost to stupefy those unaccustomed to it, the people stood there and shrieked with delight that was only measured by the violence of the speeches made.

The handbills circulated, announced that the meeting would be held as a "general labor meeting" to consider the Homestead troubles and the attempted assassination of Mr. Frick. The police well knew, however, that the meeting was to be held under the auspices of the particular circle of Anarchists to which Berkmann, the man who tried to assassinate Frick, belonged, the Autonomists, as they call themselves. When the police learned this it was stated that a number of policemen would be sent to the meeting and that, if the speakers dared to make incendiary remarks, the crowd would be dispersed and the orators locked up. The police did not materialize, though, save for two uniformed officers stationed at the outside door.

It was a gathering of men and women of many nationalities, so there were speeches made in English, German, French, and Hebrew. Emma Goldman, the woman who has attained notoriety because she once lived with Berkmann, was at the meeting, an object of envy to all the women there because of the devotion and attention shown her by the sterner sex. Joseph Peukert, a hatchet-faced Hungarian with scraggy black whiskers, said to be the head of the Autonomist Circle, was also there.

Dyer D. Lum, who succeeded Parsons, the Chicago Anarchist, as editor of the *Alarm*, was first to get on the platform, which was draped with the Stars and Stripes. He said he spoke as an American. He did not favor meetings. He favored acting. When the police had executed his friends at Chicago, he said, they boasted that they had driven the Anarchists into their holes.

"Well," said he, "if they prefer underground methods we will give them to them. I hope that no resolution of sympathy will be passed for Berkmann. He deliberately sacrificed his life by trying to take that of Frick. The lesson for capitalists to learn is that workingmen are now growing so desperate that they not only deliberately make up their minds to die, but decide to take such men as Frick to St. Peter's gate with them.

"I do not want to incite anybody here to violence. I do not think anybody here needs inciting. If you and I want anything done do not let us urge others to do it, but let us, like men, do it ourselves. We must teach these rich people that we care nothing for their law and order. We appeal to that spirit to release us from slavery which has caused men to wade through rivers of blood. We glory in the fact that the strikers at Homestead shot down the hired Pinkerton thugs, but we glory more in the fact that among us there was a man with courage enough to go to Pittsburg, do his work, and then honestly say, 'I came here to kill Frick.' It is such men that will free our race from its present slavery."

Joseph Peukert made a similar speech in German. He spoke of the "martyrs of Paris and Chicago" as men whose example might well be followed by all who desired to see the human race freed from the bondage of capital and government. Merlino, a Paris Anarchist, followed with a speech of a most incendiary character in which he frankly confessed that the acts of Anarchy were crimes, but said that they were crimes that it was necessary to commit in the present state of society.

"Revolution is inevitable in America as it is in Europe," he said. "Law is merely the instrument with which capital stabs labor in the back."

Emma Goldman talked for a half hour in German. "We must make the most of the deed of Berkmann's," she said, "and follow it with other similar deeds until there are no more despots in America."

Brassey's Sunbeam Goes Down.

From the London Daily News.

Lord Brassey's yacht Sunbeam, which had been purchased by Lord Cantelupe, was intended for the pearl fishing on the South Australian coast, and Capt. Read was taking the vessel out for this purpose. When she was lying off an island in Admiralty Gulf on the 27th of March, a leak was discovered, and she was run ashore in order to have her patched up. After lying there about twelve hours, the mate reported that she was making water fast, and then efforts were made to get her off. These, however, were unsuccessful, and she sank about half a mile from shore. After remaining a short time at Admiralty Gulf, the Captain decided to go in the whaleboat to Roebuck Bay in order to catch the mail steamer due there in three weeks' time. The inhabitants of Admiralty Gulf endeavored to dissuade the Captain from the attempt, but he nevertheless left, and was accompanied by nine of his crew.

The committee appointed to make the decision as to the political course of the association consisted of "Silver-Dollar" Smith, W. T. O'Brien, Fred Seelig, Henry Loewy, and Thomas J. Sullivan. It was to report next week as to what course was to be taken. The bets offered were 2 to 1 on an affiliation with Tammany and the Democratic Party.

At the picnic yesterday, Barney Rourke and First Lieut. Martin Kirby, with a number of members of the John J. O'Brien Association, wore enormous yellow rosettes bearing the legend, "Timothy D. Sullivan Association." Thomas J. Sullivan, who has been known as the leader of the Four Hundred of the old district, was there in all his glory. Turning aside for a moment from the delights of the ballroom floor, he said:

"Harrison is bound to be elected. To-day for the first time the Harrison six came out in the policy shops. The three numbers are 13, 26, 44. There were thirteen States originally, twenty-six when 'old man' Harrison was elected, and forty-four now, see! It came out when the two ends of the old 'Ate' were united in spite of Paddy Divver. Here is my boy," continued Mr. Sullivan, bringing up a handsome, stalwart lad of five, all frills and knickerbockers, "What's your name, sonny!"

"John L. Sullivan," promptly replied the child.

"Show the gentleman how you're goin' to knock out Tammany."

The child immediately struck a pugilistic attitude.

"That's it," said the proud father; "sock it to 'em with your left."

This incident did away with any official announcement of how the John J. O'Brien Association would go in the coming campaign. The Sullivan people were all bitter against Tammany. The secret of the dissatisfaction among the Sullivan men was told by one of the local politicians.

"Rourke and Sullivan," he said, "had made a deal to control the old 'Ate' and knock Divver out. Sullivan was to have one end of the district and Rourke the other. But Paddy was too quick for them, and when the reapportionment was made, the 'fat' of the Third Assembly District fell to him, and Rourke and Sullivan were left out in the cold. Now it's everything to beat Tammany. It seems strange to see Harney's men here with Sullivan badges on, but it is all in the interest of practical politics. Divver has been announced to be here, but you won't see him; you can bet your life on that."

The entertainment provided by Timothy D. Sullivan was all that the fancy of the elite of the district could desire. There was one drawback about the barbecue. The unhappy animal which had been drawn about in a cart during the hot weather last week and left to stand almost roasting alive in the sun, with the placard around its neck announcing that it was to be killed and cooked at the festival, did not come to its end according to programme. The butcher who was to have dispatched it died from the heat and was buried on Sunday. The ox was therefore slaughtered privately and the meat brought up in large pieces already cooked to the grounds, where slices were distributed sandwiched with black bread to about 1,000 people.

There were games of all sorts, including a seventy-five-yard dash, a one-mile walk, a sack and a fat-men's race. Three policemen ran a three-mile run, and there was a deputation of a dozen of their fraternity to help preserve the peace. The leaders sat at tables and consumed much champagne, and the guests satisfied themselves with beer and sandwiches. There was dancing in the evening, in which a large crowd participated.

Among those present were Thomas F. Walsh, James Oliver, Barney Rourke, Martin Kirby, Louis Leevitt, "Silver Dollar" Smith, Timothy D. Sullivan, Michael Derry, John J. Donohue, Charles Anderson, John C. Fitzgerald, M. J. Costello, Archibald M. Craig, John J. White, Bernard Martin, Denis Shea, Judge Henry M. Goldfogle, John Simpson, William T. O'Brien, Frederick Seelig, Maurice Gottlieb, William Snell, "Morry" Isaacs, Florence J. Sullivan, and James McManus.

TIMOTHY D. SULLIVAN'S GAMES.

The games of the Timothy D. Sullivan Association took place yesterday at Snizer's Harlem River Park. There were 700 entries, but not half contested in the various events, and the games were given under the rulings of the Amateur Athletic Union. James E. Sullivan of the New-Jersey Athletic Club was referee, J. T. Norton of the Manhattan Athletic Club clerk of the course, and Arthur J. Lumley, John P. Kokhamit, Dr. H. H. Lehn, P. Snell, and E. P. Hagan judges. Summary:

75-Yard Dash, Open Handicap.—Won by A. W. Herris, Manhattan AC; J. Dunn second, and P. Kenny third. Time—0:08.

One-Mile Walk, Open Handicap.—Won by L. Liebgold, H. Obertubessing second. Time—8:00.

One-Mile Run, Open Handicap.—Won by A. J. Dunlap, Xavier AA, W. O'Keefe, Xavier AA, second. Time—4:35.

Running High Jump.—Won by N. E. Sweeney, Xavier AA, 5 feet 7 inches; Thomas Nixon, St. George AC, second, 5 feet 4 inches.

600-Yard Run (Novice) Scratch.—Won by Thomas Nixon; J. Mark Bass second. Time—1:34.

Back Race.—Won by T. J. Grode, New-Jersey AC.

75-Yard Run, Scratch, for Members of Association Only.—Won by J. Sullivan, E. H. Cregan second, J. Collins third.

Three-Mile Run, to Members of New-York Police.—Won by P. Hickey of the Fifteenth Precinct, D. Argue second. Time—18:45.

Fat Man's Race.—Won by A. R. Love.

Shot and Wounded His Nephew.

DANBURY, Conn., Aug. 1.—Michael O'Donnell to-night shot and probably fatally wounded his nephew, Michael Kelly. About 8 o'clock Kelly visited O'Donnell and asked him to have a drink. O'Donnell refused and an altercation ensued, in which Kelly picked up a stone and hurled it at his uncle. Kelly started to throw another stone, when O'Donnell took a pistol from his pocket and fired two shots, both of which hit Kelly, one in the leg and the other in the breast, just above the heart. The latter wound will probably prove fatal.

The wounded man was taken to the hospital and his assailant was arrested. O'Donnell is [illegible]

that the firm, Potter, announ[illegible] of the old men [illegible] granted their positi[illegible] came in from the [illegible] workmen, Mr. Pott[illegible] that to-day he tole[illegible] the present.

"We have broke[illegible]

That there has [illegible] ranks of the look[illegible] seen, particularly [illegible] cited groups of [illegible] All of the twenty[illegible] live in Homestead, [illegible] left the mill for th[illegible] committees who ca[illegible] promise not to retu[illegible]

PITTSBURG, Penn[illegible] tisipated in the d[illegible] stead after the anni[illegible] July 6 will be pre[illegible] eanit and battery, [illegible] pocket picking, an[illegible] meanore.

The work of secu[illegible] to convict those en[illegible] Pinkertons and the[illegible] men has been goin[illegible] now so far advance[illegible] made in a few da[illegible] Among them are es[illegible] ticularly active [illegible] time the men ran [illegible] taking the propert[illegible]

The Thirty-third [illegible] this city, started [illegible] morning. The pla[illegible] departments appe[illegible] of police is about t[illegible] has occurred.

W. J. Brennen, a[illegible] Association, intend[illegible] the court this mor[illegible] nal act of 1883, pr[illegible] wage disputes by a[illegible] act in session an[illegible] until to-morrow. T[illegible] fifty Homestead m[illegible] cannot be appeal[illegible] pany also signs th[illegible]

The Allegheny H[illegible] did not reconvene o[illegible] morning with no[illegible] has posted notices [illegible] Wednesday evenin[illegible]

The steamer Tide[illegible] stead with non-uni[illegible] an average fifty m[illegible]

H. C. Frick is out[illegible] sicians made that [illegible] said it was not like[illegible] ble office this week[illegible]

Informations we[illegible] fore Alderman Rol[illegible] Co). Hawkins, Lieu[illegible] ant Surgeon Grim[illegible] aggravated assault [illegible] battery. Warrants[illegible] aggravated assault[illegible] the thumbs, and [illegible] shaving his head, [illegible] brought for damag[illegible]

WASHINGTON, Au[illegible] (Dem., Ala.,) the C[illegible] committee of the [illegible] vestigated the I[illegible] Penn., and the acti[illegible] that place, has pre[illegible] mit it for appro[illegible] day. It relates ch[illegible] and termination o[illegible] first an epitome o[illegible] committee at Hom[illegible]

The report then[illegible] tions that suggest[illegible] the evidence tak[illegible] stantially as follo[illegible] pany justified in [illegible] Was the treatment[illegible] just? Were the m[illegible] duct during the [illegible] justified in employ[illegible] the property? H[illegible] in the matter?

After the report [illegible] committee it will [illegible] diciary Committee[illegible] House.

A Big [illegible]

PORTLAND, Me., [illegible] broke out on the t[illegible] & Co.'s paint and [illegible] an hour later th[illegible] tire block, a four-[illegible] occupied by Walk[illegible] Frank Brothers, in[illegible] & Co., grocers. T[illegible]

Revoked.

The State Comm[illegible] the license of the [illegible] ville, L. I., which [illegible] is taken away on t[illegible] of the home refus[illegible] perintendent.

TELEGRA[illegible]

—The stockholders [illegible] and Rochester Rail[illegible] ed yesterday in favo[illegible] Company has been t[illegible] nies of Rochester ar[illegible] of the consolidation[illegible]

—William Brown[illegible] fifty-three years, [illegible] kicked by a horse, [illegible] in a stall, with a sh[illegible] with its hind feet [illegible] death.

—James Bowles of [illegible] three, was killed Sa[illegible] while heading a [illegible] and Northbridge [illegible] pastime.

13

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881014026

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] They Talked a Great Deal / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 43 cm.
In The World. – (Aug. 2, 1892)
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

"Circulation Books Open to All."

TWO CENTS. NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 2, 1892. PRICE T

which have escaped the observation of our astronomers."

More remarkable than all these fulfilled predictions is the reference found in "Gulliver's Travels" to the astronomers of Laputa, whom Dean Swift made to discover the exact two moons of Mars, giving not only the exact distance of one of them, but also the times of revolution correct within a few hours. Were these references to the two moons which science discovered for the first time in 1877 mere chance? Or were they, as some people have thought, but indications of a tradition which has come down from prehistoric times.

And if so, how could the people of prehistoric times have known of the existence of the two moons of Mars unless they had actually heard of them from people on that planet?

These are some of the problems which the Lick and other big telescopes may serve to solve during the present week.

LOOKING THROUGH THE LICK LENS.

The Mountain-Top Observers Hindered Somewhat by Clouds in the Skies.

[SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.]

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 1.—Astronomers at Lick Observatory are having much difficulty in observing Mars, because of cloudy skies, but it is hoped that on Wednesday, when Mars is in exact opposition, they may have better luck. For two hours every night for a month Mars has been studied on the meridian and observations will be continued during this month. The 700-diameter magnifying power has brought Mars within 50,000 miles, but the planet is so near the horizon that the atmosphere is much disturbed. However, with the big telescope the satellites can be plainly seen, even by a novice. The eclipses of the inner satellite in the planet's shadow are easily observable.

Since the outer satellite does not suffer eclipse at the present time it is necessary to obtain the positions of that satellite by micrometrical measurements, which are taken regularly in order to determine properly its orbit.

The south polar cap of Mars was unusually brilliant and large a month ago, but it is rapidly diminishing in size and brightness. At present there are numerous dark markings within this polar cap as if there were large areas from which snow had disappeared.

These markings have not been seen before at any observatory. The region known as the lacus solis is now seen to be very different from its appearance as described in



SCHIAPARELLI.

drawings of Schiaparelli. The Fountain of Youth, a large, dark region heretofore seen single, now appears double through the large refractor.

But most remarkable of all are three or more very prominent bright projections on the southwest limb of Mars, visible several nights three weeks ago. They will probably be visible on the southeast limb in two or three weeks, when it is hoped to determine more fully their character. Apparently these projections arise from very bright regions in the planet. Whether they are high mountains or are due to something else is now impossible to say. Perhaps they are the gilded domes of what are the Pulitzer Buildings of Mars, or perhaps they are gigantic signals to Earth.

Up to the present time Schiaparelli's canals have not been seen double. Drawings of the planet are made on each clear evening. These drawings will finally be converted into a single map at the close of the summer observations.

Last night the south polar cap was very complex, and numerous dark markings were visible. The unique spectacle of markings in the snow caps has been noted, not only with the large telescope by Schaberle and Campbell, but also with a twelve-inch glass by Barnard, who said some time ago that on one night a dark streak would appear across the polar cap, and that there then would follow its separation and then the disappearance of a large portion of the polar cap, leaving two

The discoveries just made at Mount Hamilton are interesting and scientifically valuable. They are, in brief, a contradiction of the supposed doubling or "gemination" of the "canals" of the planet Mars, and a clearer definition of the extraordinary satellites or moons of that body, which to all other telescopes are mere dots of light.

AT THE WARNER OBSERVATORY.

Prof. Swift Thinks the Canal Theory Will Be Finally Overthrown.

[SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.]

ROCHESTER, Aug. 1.—Prof. Lewis R. Swift, of the Warner Observatory, didn't go up to the observatory to-night in search of more

THEY TALKED A GREAT DEAL.

But the Anarchists, at Their Meeting, Said Very Little.

GLOCKNER BERKMAN AND HURLED ANATHEMAS AT CAPITAL.

If "Money Talks" the Meeting Would Have Been Silent, for the Total Collection Was 90 Cents—Lemm, Peukert, Miss Goldman and Others Fulminate—Only Three Policemen to Watch Nearly One Thousand People.

Very close on to a thousand Anarchists were packed into Military Hall, No. 193 Bowery, last night. There were a few curiosity seekers there, but they left very soon. The audience was not diminished, however, as others climbed up the stairs to fill the vacant places. Not more than seventy-five chairs were in the room, and the crowd had to stand. The sweat-room of a Turkish bath was never hotter than that room. Yet the majority of those present stood the killing heat for two hours.

They were there to hear the would-be assassin, Berkman, glorified, and they proposed to do it. The beer, exuding from their pores, trickled down their faces and drenched their heads with, with matted hair, they looked like men who would not only abolish all governmental law, but bath-tubs, too. A few were well dressed, yet they showed they were as rabid as the most unkempt. About twenty-five women were present.

The publicity given to the meeting warned the leaders that it would be unwise to give too free vent to their incendiary ideas. The police doubtless realized this, for only three officers in uniform were on duty at the hall, of whom but one understood German.

Anarchists don't have chairmen to preside at their meetings. They carry their opposition to existing forms even to the conduct of their assemblages, and parliamentary law is as hateful to them as the laws of property. There were no red flags to rouse the Anarchists' enthusiasm and there were no inscriptions on the walls. A few strips of the National colors left over from a Grand Army gathering were the decorations in the hall, and the Anarchists tried not to see them.

Dyer D. Lum, who has been arrested a score of times in Philadelphia on various charges, and who edited the *Alarm*, Anarchist Parson's paper, in Chicago when that worthy, now canonized by the Reds, was put in prison for the Haymarket bomb-throwing, got up and begged the audience to keep quiet.

"I am here as an American," he said, "and I am not afraid to speak my sentiments. It is time that we should abolish the system of slavery now dominating this country. When my friends were executed in Chicago the cry was, 'Let's run the Anarchists into their holes.' Well, if they prefer underground work let's give it to them."

This was greeted with loud applause by the few who could understand English.

"We do not meet here," he continued, "to sympathize with the poor workingmen of Homestead, but to glorify the hero who sold his life for the cause."

Joseph Peukert, the leader of the Autonomists, who is as violent as a rabid dog in the seclusion of a frequent beer-cellar, arose and began a disjointed harangue. His declamation was remarkable for the rapid translation from yells to whispers. Peukert has a short, black mustache and chin whiskers and a shifty eye. He is no Demosthenes unless the famous old Greek was something like Peukert before he put the pebbles in his mouth. Peukert seemed to please his fellow-Anarchists, though. He would creep up in a low voice and suddenly explode with a yell that tickled the reds immensely. Mr. Peukert sustained his reputation for caution—in the open. He harped on the wrongs of the workingman. He spoke in German.

"This immense audience," he began, "is proof of the great interest the American workingmen take in the battle of labor against capital."

With this little feeler he went on to say that under our system of government the law was given the power to starve the many. He spoke of the tyranny of the money power, and said it was ridiculous to talk of conspiracies. There was now no conspiracy; it was a rebellion of the people against capital. Thousands of heroes, he declared, were ready to jump into the breach and sacrifice their lives for the cause.

"Berkman's heart," he exclaimed, "was in the right spot. His example will be followed by hundreds. It was a noble example, well worthy of imitation. We fully indorse his deed. They say that Anarchists are bloodthirsty. We are not. It is the bloody barbarism of capital that we fight."

Peukert sat down, and Emma Goldman, the toothless queen of the Reds, got up. She was dressed in a cheap blue and white striped dress, wore her glasses, and her hair was as much awry as it is at 2 o'clock in the morning, when she holds court in "Tompkins

BECOMES AN EPISCOPALIAN.

Daniel Lord, of Lord, Day & Lord, Confirmed by Bishop Littlejohn.

Bishop Littlejohn's latest visit to the Far Rockaway parish was marked by an interesting and singular scene at the parish church. As the venerable Bishop arose to administer the right of confirmation to such as had applied, there advanced from the body of the church an old gentleman with silvery hair and bent form to take his stand with the children before the altar. He was of greater age than the Bishop himself and his face bore the marks of intellectuality, culture and refinement. The Bishop was amazed, for he knew that face. It was Daniel Lord, the millionaire, and executor of the Astor and Morgan estates, and the head of the firm of Lord, Day & Lord, which was established by the great jurist, Daniel Lord, his father.

Few in the church knew the man, for he lives a retired life at his magnificent home near Lawrence. Even the rector, Dr. Sayres, was surprised, although he had received some intimation from Mr. Lord that this step was in contemplation. Mr. Lord had been a Presbyterian, and his connection with the Presbyterians was well known. He was on terms of intimacy with Dr. William Adams, Roswell Hitchcock, Gov. Morgan, James Brown, the banker, and many other famous Presbyterians. His father was their advisor and the friend of Union Theological Seminary, which doubtless owes much of its prosperity to the Lord family. During the recent Briggs excitement the counsels of Mr. Lord and his firm were sought by Dr. Briggs and his friends.

After the ceremony the Bishop and the rector, Dr. Sayres, who is likewise a man of years, stood together and spoke with Mr. Lord. Mr. Lord explained that his thoughts had been dwelling for many months upon the step he had just taken. In his retirement at home, overlooking the sea, his mind had turned to religious subjects, to the relations of his soul to the world and to God, and he said this course seemed to offer him rest and peace and contentment in his last days.

BARON HIRSCH TO VISIT US.

The Philanthropist Plans a Tour of This Country.

Baron Hirsch is coming to America. He is now completely restored to health, and, according to a Paris letter in one of the local Hebrew newspapers, the famous philanthropist intends spending several months here.

It is expected he will cross the ocean in another month or six weeks, accompanied by two prominent New Yorkers now in Europe—J. Seligman and James Hofman—who are members of the Hirsch Relief Fund of America.

"Yes, I recently heard of Baron Hirsch's proposed visit to this country," said Manager Solomon yesterday at the Hirsch Fund headquarters, No. 36 Broadway. "Just before the Baron's pilgrim, about three weeks ago, I received information from an authoritative source that he was planning an extended trip to the United States and Canada.

"I have received no official communication on the subject at all. It was from a letter I received from a person who is kept well informed as to the Baron's movements. The Baron's interests are so great and he is such a prodigious worker that he finds little time for pleasure trips. But he has set his heart on paying us a visit."

Several prominent Hebrews when seen yesterday said that the Baron would receive a tremendous ovation from his brethren in this city, who have long solicited him to cross the ocean. It is more than likely also that the Baron will be received by New York society, as he is a warm personal friend of the Prince of Wales.

VITRIOL IN HER RIVAL'S FACE.

A Jealous Girl's Atrocious Act at a Southern Methodist Camp-Meeting.

[SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.]

DUBLIN, Ga., Aug. 1.—Daisy Johnson, a prepossessing young lady, was sitting in one of the tents at the Methodist camp-meeting at Lothair, Montgomery County, to-day, conversing with several friends, when Winnie Davis, another good-looking young woman, appeared, and, without any warning, dashed the contents of a bottle containing vitriol in Miss Johnson's face. Miss Johnson gave a piercing scream and began running around the crowded camp grounds. Miss Davis stood by watching her victim suffer until a large crowd gathered.

Four doctors are doing everything possible to lessen the young woman's suffering. Her

Both girls claimed the same admirer, and because the young lover paid his respects more frequently to Miss Johnson Miss Davis became offended. Sam Jones, the revivalist, is expected to-night and no doubt will handle the affair in his off-hand manner. Miss Davis has disappeared, but will be arrested to-night. Both girls belong to rich families.

SAYS SHE IS TOO GIDDY AT FIFTY.

Mrs. Oliver Elopes for the Second Time with the Same Lover.

[SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.]

KINGSTON, N. Y., Aug. 1.—Mrs. Everett Oliver, the wife of a prominent farmer living

NO MERCY ASKED OR SHOWN.

Furious Sarts Make Desperate War on Russians at Tashkend.

THE DEPUTY GOVERNOR STONED TO DEATH BY A MOB.

Seventy-five Killed and Hundreds Wounded in the Battle Between Natives and Troops — Hand-to-Hand Fighting in Mosques Hurriedly Turned Into Fortifications—Details of a Cholera Riot Hitherto Suppressed.

ST. PETERSBURG, Aug. 1.—Private letters from Tashkend, a town of Asiatic Russia, in Syr-Darya, report that the facts in regard to serious rioting there July 6, in connection with the cholera epidemic, were suppressed by the Government.

From these letters it is learned that the native Sarts, believing the doctors were poisoning cholera patients, determined to put an end to the murderous practices they imagined were employed. The wildest rumors were current of cruelties inflicted by physicians, causing the immediate death of patients, and these stories aroused the people's fury to the highest pitch.

Five thousand Sarts suddenly invaded the Russian quarter and wrecked the residence of Deputy Governor Poutintseff, who fled on the approach of the howling mob. His flight was discovered and he was overtaken in the street by an infuriated crowd, and was shockingly maltreated. He pleaded for mercy, but in vain.

Finally he was flung to the ground, and after being trampled upon was stoned to death, his features being mutilated beyond recognition.

The authorities took immediate steps to suppress disorder and protect other officials. A body of troops was hurried to the scene under orders to adopt most rigorous measures in dealing with rioters.

Arriving where the defiant Sarts were assembled the troops opened fire, killing several.

The Sarts, armed with pistols and daggers and undaunted by the deadly fire, made a desperate resistance.

The two forces closed in on each other and a furious hand-to-hand fight ensued, the maddened Sarts, when their pistols were emptied, slashing savagely with their daggers and doing much execution with those weapons.

The drilled and better armed soldiers were unable to overcome their fanatical opponents, but after being reinforced by a body of Cossacks they succeeded in quelling the riot.

The Sarts, not disheartened by repulse, soon prepared to resume the attack. They took possession of the mosques, converted them into temporary forts and defied the authorities.

A large number of soldiers were despatched to dislodge them, but this was no easy task, as the Sarts were ensconced behind protecting walls and could shoot down the soldiers while they themselves were in a practically safe position. The Sarts made a stanch resistance, firing from loopholes with telling effect.

The troops at last concentrated and making a grand assault carried the mosques. A scene of carnage ensued. Although the Sarts found they could not cope with their military opponents, no quarter was asked or given, and, defiant to the end, they fell by scores before the soldiers.

Sixty Sarts were killed and hundreds wounded, many most grievously. The soldiers suffered heavily, fifteen being killed and many wounded.

So great was the excitement the authorities found it necessary to strongly patrol the town day and night.

Many arrests have been made, and there is no doubt that an example will be made of all convicted.

It is feared that there may be a renewal of the troubles, and precautions have been taken accordingly. The troops were largely reinforced and everything done to put a summary and effectual end to further uprisings.

Tashkend, the capital of Russian Turkestan, has a population now estimated at 100,000. It is one of the largest and most important cities in Central Asia. Like all old cities in

asterized by the special trades carried on in each. Asiatic Tashkend in 1871 had 78,180 inhabitants, mostly Sarts, with a few Uzbegs, Kirghises, Hebrews, Russians and Germans. A depression in the southeast is occupied by Russian Tashkend, dating from 1865, which has clean, broad streets lined with poplars, the low, pleasant-looking houses being surrounded by gardens. In 1875 its population, exclusive of military, was 4,800, mostly Russians.

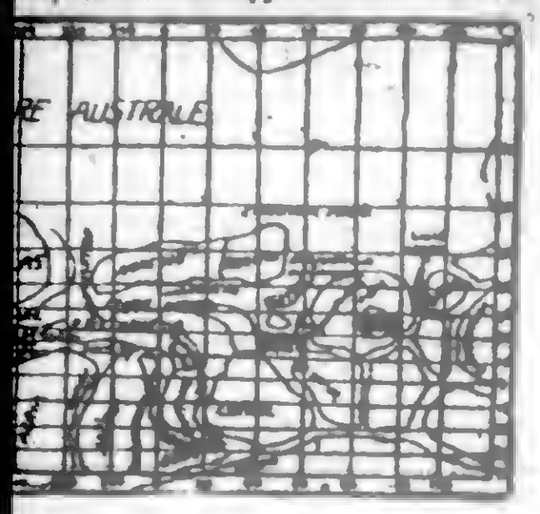
The Sarts, who played a prominent political part in Turkestan until the Russian conquest, are of Turco-Tartar origin and speak a pure Jagatai dialect, but they are mixed to a great extent with Persians, Kirghises and Mongols. They are sub-divided into clans and lead a semi-nomadic life.

When settled they are peaceful [illegible]

881014026

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] They Talked a Great Deal / Emma Goldman.– p. 1 ; 43 cm.
In The World. –(Aug. 2, 1892)
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.



ED BY SCHIAPARELLI.

drawings of Schiaparelli. The Fountain of Youth, a large, dark region heretofore seen single, now appears double through the large refractor.

But most remarkable of all are three or more very prominent bright projections on the southwest limb of Mars, visible several nights three weeks ago. They will probably be visible on the southeast limb in two or three weeks, when it is hoped to determine more fully their character. Apparently these projections arise from very bright regions in the planet. Whether they are high mountains or are due to something else it is now impossible to say. Perhaps they are the gilded domes of what are the Pulitzer Buildings of Mars, or perhaps they are gigantic signals to Earth.

Up to the present time Schiaparelli's canals have not been seen double. Drawings of the planet are made on each clear evening. These drawings will finally be converted into a single map at the close of the summer observations.

Last night the south polar cap was very conspicuous, and numerous dark markings were visible. The unique spectacle of markings in the snow caps has been noted, not only with the large telescope by Schaberik and Campbell, but also with a twelve-inch glass by Barnard, who said some time ago that on one night a dark streak would appear across the polar cap, and that there then would follow the separation and then the disappearance of a large portion of the polar cap, leaving two white spots.

The discoveries just made at Mount Hamilton are interesting and scientifically valuable. They are, in brief, a contradiction of the supposed doubling or "geminations" of the "canals" of the planet Mars, and a clearer definition of the extraordinary satellites or moons of that body, which to all other telescopes are mere dots of light.

AT THE WARNER OBSERVATORY.

Prof. Swift Thinks the Canal Theory Will Be Finally Overthrown.

[SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.]

ROCHESTER, Aug. 1.—Prof. Lewis R. Swift, of the Warner Observatory, didn't go up to his observatory to-night in search of more revelations from Mars. The sky was overcast with clouds and not a star was visible in the sky. All last night, however, the professor passed in the observatory in company with Prof. D. P. Todd, director of Amherst College Observatory. A bar was placed across the eye-piece of the instrument to keep the extraordinarily brilliant light of Mars from blending the sought for objects, and the scientists plainly saw the satellites. One of the satellites was followed until it was within five minutes of disappearing behind the planet.

After noting the date relative to the satellites, Prof. Swift examined the ephemeris in the nautical almanac. The data of both agreed, thus proving that the objects were not stars. As the satellites were discovered before the ephemeris was examined there could be no delusion. The snow zones were very conspicuous at the south pole, but no particular markings on Mars were visible.

There was a bright moon, however, and this undoubtedly interfered with seeing the spot on Mars. As a result of the moon's brilliancy it was necessary to take the observations before Mars got to its meridian.

"I was surprised that we saw the satellites," said Prof. Swift this evening; "we didn't expect to see them, as Mars does not reach its nearest proximity to the earth until about Aug. 4. I think I could have seen them ten days ago had I looked. They are difficult little objects to see, and we had to look a long time before we found them. They will be visible through my big telescope for a fortnight yet, and after that they will not be seen again for about sixteen years.

"I am quite confident that within the next two weeks new revelations will be made concerning Mars. I presume that some of the [illegible] will be shattered and they will be proved not to exist. There are almost too many of them."

FOUND A BABY ON THE BED.

It Was Thrown Through a Second-Story Window from the Street.

Mary Sipeler keeps a candy store at No. 106 Market street, and occupies the floor above the store as sleeping apartments.

She was in the store about 11 o'clock last night when she heard a noise overhead, and on going upstairs found a two-weeks' old baby on her bed. It had been tossed in through the open window from the street.

It was a girl baby and Mrs. Sipeler says it

---

purse, tumbled down their backs and drenched their hands much, with matted hair, they looked like men who would not only abolish all governmental law, but both-licks, too. A few were well dressed, yet they showed they were as rabid as the most unkempt. About twenty-five women were present.

The publicity given to the meeting warned the leaders that it would be unwise to give too free vent to their incendiary ideas. The police doubtless realized this, for only three officers in uniform were on duty at the hall, of whom but one understood German.

Anarchists don't have chairmen to preside at their meetings. They carry their opposition to existing forms even to the conduct of their assemblages, and parliamentary law is as hateful to them as the laws of property. There were no red flags to rouse the Autonomists' enthusiasm and there were no inscriptions on the walls. A few strips of the National colors left over from a Grand Army gathering were the decorations in the hall, and the Anarchists tried not to see them.

Dyer D. Lum, who has been arrested a score of times in Philadelphia on various charges, and who edited the *Alarm*, Anarchist Parson's paper, in Chicago when that worthy, now canonized by the Reds, was put in prison for the Haymarket bomb-throwing, got up and begged the audience to keep quiet.

"I am here as an American," he said, "and I am not afraid to speak my sentiments. It is time that we should abolish the system of slavery now dominating this country. When my friends were executed in Chicago the cry was, 'Let's run the Anarchists into their holes.' Well, if they prefer underground work let's give it to them."

This was greeted with loud applause by the few who could understand English.

"We do not meet here," he continued, "to subscribe with the poor workingmen of Homestead, but to glorify the hero who sold his life for the cause."

Joseph Peukert, the leader of the Autonomists, who is as violent as a rabid dog in the confusion of a guarded beer-cellar, arose and began a disjointed harangue. His declamation was remarkable for the rapid translation from yells to whispers. Peukert has a short, black mustache and chin whiskers and a shifty eye. He is no Demosthenes unless the famous old Greek was something like Peukert before he put the pebbles in his mouth. Peukert seemed to please his fellow-Anarchists, though. He would creep up in a low voice and suddenly explode with a yell that tickled the reds immensely. Mr. Peukert sustained his reputation for caution—in the open. He harped on the wrongs of the workingman. He spoke in German.

"This immense audience," he began, "is proof of the great interest the American workingmen take in the battle of labor against capital."

With this little feeler he went on to say that under our system of government the few are given the power to starve the many. He spoke of the tyranny of the money power, and said it was ridiculous to talk of conspiracies. There was now no conspiracy; it was a rebellion of the people against capital. Thousands of heroes, he declared, were ready to jump into the breach and sacrifice their lives for the cause.

"Berkman a heart," he exclaimed, "was in the right spot. His example will be followed by hundreds. It was a noble example, well worthy of imitation. We fully indorse his deed. They say that Anarchists are bloodthirsty. We are not. It is the bloody barbarism of capital that we fight."

Peukert sat down, and Emma Goldman, the toothless queen of the Reds, got up. She was dressed in a cheap blue and white striped dress, wore her glasses, and her hair was as much awry as it is at 2 o'clock in the morning, when she holds court in "Tough Michel's" beer cellar.

"I hope you will all be quiet," she said. "There are detectives here and spies of the police, ready to kill the speakers."

She didn't look a bit frightened. She seemed rather to court being slaughtered, and the way she clinched her left fist and pounded the hot air was enough to make any policeman think twice before he arrested her. Standing up there on the platform her figure appeared squatty, but that may have been due to the dress she wore, which would have fitted a woman twice her girth. Every once in a while she would take a sip out of the same glass of water that had moistened the lips of the other speakers. That glass of water wasn't drained at the finish. Here are some of the things this Anarchist Cleopatra said:

"America is no better than Russia—it is worse, cloaked as it is with its sham republicanism. The report of Berkman's shot will be heard all over the world and echo down the ages. Other deeds like his will follow until capital is dead. His bullets did not kill, but others are being moulded and they will fly with surer aim."

She spoke in German and was the best speaker of the evening. She lauded her lover to the skies and seemed disappointed at not receiving more applause. After she finished many of the audience left.

Dr. Merlino, an Italian, who edits *Solidarità*, spoke in the same vein in broken English. Then a man named Kotz, somewhat better dressed than the others, closed the speechmaking with a harangue in German, which seemed to fall rather flat. Some one said that was all, and everybody left the hall.

But all was not over yet. Fritz Oerter, who shared the tiny apartments of her majesty on Fifth street, and one other had stood at the door shaking their hats at those who came in and went out. After her speech Miss Goldman circulated among the audience, nodding to one and smiling to another. She continued this until all went out, when she beckoned to Oerter. The other doorkeeper had stepped out and into Oerter's. They counted the money—48 cents—and Miss Goldman went away. Oerter put it into his pocket. Later Tough Michel put it into his.

The Same Kind of Talk in Newark.

NEWARK, Aug. 1.—There are about five hundred Anarchists in this city, of whom one Spielmeyer is the chief local leader. After a period of seeming inactivity these Anarchists have lately grown active. They held a meeting at No. 103 Prince street last night. Ulenmus Katz, of New York City, made a speech. In his harangue he said:

"May the spirit of Alexander Berkman serve Frick-h. He is a noble man, indeed, to imitate the doings of our Chicago martyrs. I trust that in the near future we [illegible]

---

had been awaiting for many months upon the hill just above. In his enthusiasm at home, overlooking the sea, his mind had turned to religious subjects, to the reclusion of his soul to the world and to God, and he said this course seemed to offer him rest and peace and contentment in his last days.

BARON HIRSCH TO VISIT US.

The Philanthropist Plans a Tour of This Country.

Baron Hirsch is coming to America. He is now completely restored to health, and, according to a Paris letter in one of the local Hebrew newspapers, the famous philanthropist intends spending several months here.

It is expected he will cross the ocean in another month or six weeks, accompanied by two prominent New Yorkers now in Europe—J. Seligman and James Hoffman—who are members of the Hirsch Relief Fund of America.

"Yes, I recently heard of Baron Hirsch's proposed visit to this country," said Manager Solomon yesterday at the Hirsch Fund headquarters, No. 38 Broadway. "Just before the Baron's illness, about three weeks ago, I received information from an authoritative source that he was planning an extended trip to the United States and Canada.

"I have received no official communication on the subject at all. It was from a letter I received from a person who is kept well informed as to the Baron's movements. The Baron's interests are so great and he is such a prodigious worker that he finds little time for pleasure trips. But he has set his heart on paying us a visit."

Several prominent Hebrews when seen yesterday said that the Baron would receive a tremendous ovation from his brethren in this city, who have long solicited him to cross the ocean. It is more than likely also that the Baron will be received by New York society, as he is a warm personal friend of the Prince of Wales.

VITRIOL IN HER RIVAL'S FACE.

A Jealous Girl's Atrocious Act at a Southern Methodist Camp-Meeting.

[SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.]

DEATUR, Ga., Aug. 1.—Daisy Johnson, a prepossessing young lady, was sitting in one of the tents at the Methodist camp-meeting at Lothair, Montgomery County, to-day, conversing with several friends, when Winnie Davis, another good-looking young woman, appeared, and, without any warning, dashed the contents of a bottle containing vitriol in Miss Johnson's face. Miss Johnson gave a piercing scream and began running around the crowded camp grounds. Miss Davis stood by watching her victim suffer until a large crowd gathered.

Four doctors are doing everything possible to lessen the young woman's suffering. Her features are horribly disfigured.

Both girls claimed the same admirer, and because the young lover paid his attentions more frequently to Miss Johnson Miss Davis became offended. Sam Jones, the revivalist, is expected to-night and no doubt will handle the affair in his off-hand manner. Miss Davis has disappeared, but will be arrested to-night. Both girls belong to rich families.

SAYS SHE IS TOO GIDDY AT FIFTY.

Mrs. Oliver Elopes for the Second Time with the Same Lover.

[SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.]

KINGSTON, N. Y., Aug. 1.—Mrs. Everett Oliver, the wife of a prominent farmer living near Slingerland's, has deserted her husband for the second time within a year. Mrs. Oliver is about fifty years of age, and is the mother of eleven children. It is believed that she has eloped for the second time with a man named John F. Jones, who is fully fifteen years her junior. When Mrs. Oliver eloped with Jones before they went to Susquehanna, Pa., whither the wronged husband followed them, and after earnest pleading and promises forgave his wife and took her back home with him.

Since Mrs. Oliver's last disappearance it has been learned that she went to Albany and drew from a bank nearly $100 that she had deposited. It was also discovered that a few days before she left home she sent a letter to Jones at Jersey City. The inference is that the latter contained instructions for him to meet her. Mr. Oliver says she is too giddy for him and he will forgive her no more.

MADE HIM RUN TILL HE DROPPED.

Two West Point Cadets Punished for Hazing a Plebe.

[SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.]

NEWBURG, Aug. 1.—Cadets Elting and Langdon, both of New York State, have been disciplined at West Point for hazing plebes. Cadet Canfield, of the new class, one day recently reported at the hospital in a state of exhaustion and told the surgeon he had been "double-stepped" until he was ill. Investigation showed that Elting and Langdon, who are members of the third class, were Canfield's persecutors.

Elting was sentenced to suspension for six months and will join the fourth or plebe class, and Capt. Langdon [illegible] is confined to the camp limits for the summer and will forfeit two weeks of his furlough next year. Canfield was unable to do duty for a week after reporting at hospital.

Senator Hill to Go Yachting.

Senator David B. Hill arrived at the Hoffman House last night from Arverne-by-the-Sea and spent the evening at a theatre. Quite a crowd of politicians and newspaper men awaited his return, but he refused to talk politics. He will start [illegible] days' cruise up the Sound on [illegible] Bayard as the guest of [illegible] will be accompanied by Col. [illegible] road Commissioner Samuel A. [illegible] Utica, James W. Hinkley, of [illegible]

Persians fury to the highest pitch.

Five thousand Sarts suddenly invaded the Russian quarter and wrecked the residence of Deputy Governor Poutiatseff, who fled on the approach of the howling mob. His flight was discovered and he was overtaken in the street by an infuriated crowd, and was shockingly maltreated. He pleaded for mercy, but in vain.

Finally he was flung to the ground, and after being trampled upon was stoned to death, his features being mutilated beyond recognition.

The authorities took immediate steps to suppress disorder and protect other officials. A body of troops was hurried to the scene under orders to adopt most rigorous measures in dealing with rioters.

Arriving where the defiant Sarts were assembled the troops opened fire, killing several.

The Sarts, armed with pistols and daggers and undaunted by the deadly fire, made a desperate resistance.

The two forces closed in on each other and a furious hand-to-hand fight ensued, the maddened Sarts, when their pistols were emptied, slashing savagely with their daggers and doing much execution with those weapons.

The drilled and better armed soldiers were unable to overcome their fanatical opponents, but after being reinforced by a body of Cossacks they succeeded in quelling the riot.

The Sarts, not disheartened by repulse, soon prepared to resume the attack. They took possession of the mosques, converted them into temporary forts and defied the authorities.

A large number of soldiers were despatched to dislodge them, but this was no easy task, as the Sarts were ensconced behind protecting walls and could shoot down the soldiers while they themselves were in a practically safe position. The Sarts made a sturdy resistance, firing [illegible] with telling effect.

The troops at last concentrated and, making a grand assault, carried the mosques. A scene of carnage ensued. Although the Sarts found they could not cope with their military opponents, no quarter was asked or given, and, defiant to the end, they fell by scores before the soldiers.

Sixty Sarts were killed and hundreds wounded, many most grievously. The soldiers suffered heavily, fifteen being killed and many wounded.

So great was the excitement the authorities found it necessary to strongly patrol the town day and night.

Many arrests have been made, and there is no doubt that an example will be made of all convicted.

It is feared that there may be a renewal of the troubles, and precautions have been taken accordingly. The troops were largely reinforced and everything done to put a summary and effectual end to further uprisings.

Tashkend, the capital of Russian Turkestan, has a population now estimated at 100,000. It is one of the largest and most important cities in Central Asia. Like all old cities in Asia, it is subdivided into sections, characterized by the special trades carried on in each. Asiatic Tashkend in 1871 had 78,190 inhabitants, mostly Sarts, with a few Uzbegs, Kirghizes, Hebrews, Russians and Germans. A depression in the southeast is occupied by Russian Tashkend, dating from 1865, which has clean, broad streets lined with poplars, the low, pleasant-looking houses being surrounded by gardens. In 1875 its population, exclusive of military, was 4,800, mostly Russians.

The Uzbegs, who played a predominant political part in Turkestan before the Russian conquest, are of Turco-Tartar origin and speak a pure Jagatai dialect, but they are mixed to a great extent with Persians, Kirghizes and Mongols. They are sub-divided into clans and lead a semi-nomadic life.

When settled they are mostly designated as Sarts—a name which has reference to mode of life rather than anthropological classification, although a much stronger admixture of Iranian blood is evident in the Sarts. Tardanchi ("laborer" in Chinese) is the name given to the Sarts who settled in Kolja, where, as elsewhere, they are usually the laboring and lowest part of the population.

CHOLERA APPEARS AT TOMSK.

The Epidemic Abating at Baku and People Returning Home.

ST. PETERSBURG, Aug. 1.—Cholera has made its appearance in the prison at Tomsk, capital of the government of that name in West Siberia. Already ten cases of the disease and eight deaths have been reported by the prison authorities.

The cholera epidemic is abating in Baku and the people who had fled from the place in alarm are now returning to their homes.

NAPLES, Aug. 1.—The British steamer Albany, from Tagaroy, which was reported to have sailed from Malta on Saturday with two cases of cholera on board, arrived at Torre Annunziata, in this province, to-day. She reported two deaths from cholera during the voyage. She has been sent to Asinara, a small island off Sardinia, where she will be quarantined.

WRECK ON THE "BIG FOUR."

An East-Bound Passenger Train in Collision—Five Cars Burned.

ST. LOUIS, Aug. 1.—It is reported here that the limited east-bound passenger train on the "Big Four," which left here at 4 P. M., collided with a freight train at Edwardsville Junction, Ill.

The engineer and fireman were killed and a large number of passengers injured, several fatally.

Despatches have been sent to this city and to Alton for physicians.

"Deacon" White's Birthday Rehearsal.

[SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.]

ROCKLAND, Aug. 1.—A. V. White, of York, [illegible] Lighting Club Monday

The Emma Goldman Papers
900625006
[Attention! Comrades and Friends! In German] Aufruf! Genossen und Freunde! / Emma Goldman. — p. 1 ; 32 cm. *In* Der Anarchist [New York]. — (Aug. 13, 1892).
Obtained from the Columbia University Libraries.

Der Anarchist.

ANARCHISTISCH-COMMUNISTISCHES ORGAN

Abonnementspreis: Ganzjährlich $1.60. | **Erscheint woechentlich.** | *Abonnementspreis. Ganzjährlich* $1.60.

JAHRGANG IV. — No. 31 | NEW YORK, 13. August 1892. | Preis 3 Cents.

Aufruf!

Genossen und Freunde!

Der heldenmüthige Versuch des Genossen Berkmann, die menschliche Gesellschaft von einer Bestie zu befreien, hat in allen hoch und edelfühlenden Menschen ein sympathisches Echo gefunden, und gewiss sind Viele, wenn nicht Alle bereit, diese ihre Sympathie dadurch auszudrücken, für die Erleichterung des in den Klauen kapitalistischen Schergenthumes befindlichen Opfers ihr Scherflein beizutragen.

Genosse Berkmann ist ebenso wie wir gesonnen, die bodenlosen Säckel der herrschenden Gerechtigkeitshüter und ihrer Zuhälter nicht mit sauer verdienten Arbeitergroschen zu füllen. Aber Berkmann ist gänzlich mittellos im Kerker und daher ausser Stande, die nothwendigsten Lebensbedürfnisse — ausser mit ungemessbarer Gefängnisskost — zu befriedigen. Eine Anzahl Genossen hat es daher übernommen, den Genossen Berkmann durch Collecten mit Mitteln zu versehen, sich mit menschliche Nahrung versehen zu können. Zu diesem Zwecke sind Sammellisten angefertigt worden, welche allen Genossen zur Verfügung gestellt worden, die Gelder zu sammeln bereit sind.

Die Eingänge und Verwendung der Gelder wird im „Anarchist" quittirt.

Gelder und Nachfragen nach Sammellisten sind entweder an die Adresse des „Anarchist" zu richten.

Für die Unterstützungs Gruppe
E. GOLDMANN.

Lehrreiche Erscheinungen.

Die Wirkung der Berkmann'schen Schüsse auf Monsieur Vampyr Frick, ist so vielseitig und mannigfaltig, dass wir noch niemals unseren eigenen Mangel an den nöthigen Fähigkeiten, um der bestehenden Gesellschaft voll und ganz die Maske abzureissen, so bitter empfunden haben, als gerade jetzt, wo thatsächlich der ganze Mist von Wahn und Vorurtheilen, welche die bestehende Gesellschaft zusammenhalten aufgewühlt, zu den Sternen aufstinken.

Geniestreiche vermöchten zur Stunde, wo der ganze Mist von Wahn und Vorurtheilen so offen zu Tage liegt, denselben aus den Volksmassen hinwegzufegen und die Schmach der Sklaverei würde für immer ein Ende nehmen. Allein was wir vermögen, ist eben nur Lilliputaner-Arbeit.

Wir sind ein Proletarier, d. h. gesellschaftliche Paria, Ausgestossene von der herrschenden Klasse um alle Antheile an den geistigen und kulturellen Schätze der Menschheit beraubt und von frühester Jugend gezwungen in den harten Existenzkampfe um das kärgliche Stückchen Brod, in harten Frohndienste für die herrschenden Parasitenbrut, weder Zeit, Gelegenheit noch Mittel fanden, uns die Fähigkeiten anzueignen in klaren treffenden Worten all das wiederzugeben was wir sehen, beobachten, fühlen und empfinden.

Doch, wir dürfen deshalb doch nicht verzagen! Wenn wir wenigstens zu dicken Seilen zusammengewundenen, einzeln schwachen Drähte, die Riesenlast der Wunder moderner Baukunst — wie die Brooklyn Brücke etc. — tragen und besser tragen, als wären die Seile aus einem massiven Stück, so können auch viele „Lilliputaner" wenn zu einem Ganzen verbunden, diese Titanenarbeit bewältigen.

Noch niemals ist die ganze Absurdität und Ungeheuerlichkeit der bestehenden Gesellschaftsorganisation so drastisch, für jeden nur halbwegs denkenden Menschen so greifbar zu Tage getreten, als in allen den Wirkungen und Erscheinungen, welche der Kampf der Carnegi'schen Lohnsklaven mit ihren Ausbeutern hervorgebracht.

Während auf der einen Seite jede heuchlerische Maske fiel und sich die von uns längst erkannte Thatsache mit aller Brutalität enthüllte, dass der gesammte Machtapparat der Gesellschaft (Staat, Gesetze, Armee etc.) nur den Zweck hat, die Volksblutsauger und Unterdrücker zu beschützen und das Volk in deren Abhängigkeit und Knechtschaft zu erhalten; enthüllte sich auf der anderen Seite aber auch die ganze eisige Gletschermasse von Unverstand, Wahn und Vorurtheilen, von welchen die Volksmassen befangen sind und von den herrschenden Klassen systematisch erhalten werden.

Der natürliche, einfache gesunde Menschenverstand der Volksmasse wird fortwährend durch eine Legion bezahlter oder freiwilliger Demagogenknechte erstickt; wenn immer sich derselbe auf einen Augenblick durch die überwältigende Logik der Thatsachen Bahn bricht. Und hier ist für jeden aufrichtigen Menschen- und Freiheitsfreund die grösste und wichtigste Arbeit; den Pesthauch sophistischer Verdummungskunst der Demagogen unschädlich zu machen und dem gesunden Menschenverstande zum Siege zu verhelfen.

Wer sich einigermassen die Vorgänge und Erscheinungen der Lohnsklavenkämpfe der letzten Wochen objectiv vor Augen führt; der wird gleich uns von der eminenten Nothwendigkeit überzeugt werden, dass alle Kräfte und Mittel dazu aufgeboten werden müssen die Volksmassen von dem wahren Wesen des bestehenden Gesellschaftssystemes, sowie über seine natürlichen Menschenrechte aufzuklären und in ihnen die Gefühle wahrer Menschenwürde zu erwecken. Nur dann, wenn wir diese unsere Pflicht voll und ganz erfüllen, können wir Anspruch auf das Prädikat „Revolutionäre" erheben! Nur dann wird das Demagogenthum mit seinen Pesthauche den gesunden Menschenverstand nicht mehr zu ersticken vermögen.

Man betrachte sich das Bild, das sich da in den letzten Wochen vor aller Blicken entrollt, genau:

Eine zu Tausenden zählende Bevölkerung theilsiger Menschen, welche fast von allen Genüssen der Cultur und des Fortschrittes beraubt. Millionenfache Reichthum durch ihre Arbeit hervorgebracht, ist mit ihren, ihrer Kinder und Familien Existenz der Willkür einer Bande gesetzlich privilegirter, aller menschlichen Gefühle barer Blutsauger preisgegeben. Diese Bevölkerung lebt jedoch in dem Wahne, dass sie im Staate, — diesen „freien Staaten" — mit dem Millionär gleiche „gesetzliche" Rechte haben und sie setzt der Gewalt ihrer Ausbeuter die Gewalt gegenüber. Sie siegte! Darauf kommt der Staat als Repräsentat aller gesetzlichen Rechte mit seinen mächtigen Machtmitteln, nimmt Partei für die Ausbeuter und zeigt den Arbeitern mit brutalster Gewalt, dass sie im Staate kein anderes Recht haben, als zu jeder, von den Ausbeutern diktirten Bedingung zu arbeiten, oder — ohne Murren zu verhungern!

Sie werden von den Dienern des Staates „gesetzlich" als „Mörder" in die Kerker geschleppt, die „gesetzlichen" Mörder machen sich zum Sprunge bereit, ihre Opfer zu erwürgen; und trotzalledem ist der Wahn von ihrer „gesetzlichen" Rechten noch nicht verschwunden.... Es gelingt dem Demagogenthum, das schändlich genarrte Volk aufs neu zu täuschen und es will absolut sein Recht, sein natürliches Recht — nur auf gesetzlichem Wege erringen. Es klagt auch seine Peiniger und Tyrannen bei den Gerichten des Mordes an. Mehr braucht die herrschende Raubgesellschaft nicht. Mit Vergnügen wird sie diese Komödie inscenirt und ein Prozess-Gaukelspiel aufführen, in welchen die tausendfachen Mörder Frick und seine Helfer und Helfershelfer, als des Mordes Angeklagte figuriren um der ganzen Arbeiterschaft den „gesetzlichen" Beweiss zu liefern, dass die Frick unschuldig, und einzig und allein die Arbeiter die „Schuldigen" sind! — —

Welch ein entsetzliches Bild! Welch ein Abgrund von Unwissenheit, Wahn und geistiger Verkrüppelung spiegelt sich aus diesen Erscheinungen!?

Aus allen Herzen der Ausgebeuteten erschallten Jubelrufe über den kühnen Kampf mit der herrschenden Gewalt am 6 Juli. Ein gleicher Jubelruf ertönte nach den Schüssen Berkmann's auf das Scheusal Frick. Aber das waren nur Augenblicke in welcher der einfache gesunde Menschenverstand in den Arbeitermassen zum Ausdruck zu kommen vermochte. Nur zu bald wird derselbe von dem Pesthauche des Demagogenthumes erstickt; und die Massen singen wieder das alte Trapezpara von den „gesetzlichen" Mitteln und Rechten.

Das ganze Schmarotzerthum sucht den betrogenen Volk jetzt schon auf der ganzen Linie weiss zu machen: lass die Gesetze gut, aber nur schlecht gehandhabt wurden, weil diese oder jene Partei am Ruder sei. Die beste Waffe sei der „Stimmzettel" um diese oder jene Partei an's Ruder zu bringen, die es „besser machen will".

Bei der derzeitigen geistigen Verfassung der Arbeitermassen hierzulande helfen keine bombastische Schlagworte, für die Kalauer, oder humorist Kraftausdrücke die Arbeitermassen zu einer besseren Einsicht zugelangen, hier kann nur ernste gründlich aufklärende Belehrung zum Ziele führen.

Aus uns Allen, die wir die volle Befreiung, die Menschwerdung aller Menschen auf unserer Fahne geschrieben, ist es, ungeachtet aller Schwierigkeiten und Gefahren durch Wort und That diese Belehrung zu geben und damit den verpestesten, aller des Abscheulichsten Demagogenthumes [illegible] brechen.

Jener der von der Richtigkeit dieser Ansicht überzeugt, verwende seine ganze Kraft und Energie zu diesen Zwecke und so werden Lilliputaner Titanenarbeit verrichten.

A. S.

890110001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Demonstration of the Unemployed / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1-2 ; 28 cm. *In* The World. –(Aug. 20, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

VE CENTS. NEW YORK, SUNDAY, AUGUST 20, 1893. PRICE FIVE CENTS. 36 PAGES.

GALLAGHER AND THE EXPERTS.

ay His Knowledge of Medicine Helped Him Simulate Insanity.

DON, Aug. 19.—The false report that homas Gallagher, the Irish-American, een released from Portland Prison in quence of mental derangement has the publication of considerable al literature concerning his condition onduct since convicted. He has been ned repeatedly by experts since 1888. Blandford, Sir J. R. Bennett and Dr. after making examinations, agreed Dr. Gallagher was merely simulating l and physical illness. The prisoner's edge of medicine, they said, enabled do this with exceptional cleverness. James Bennett's private report, made 9, stated that he found Gallagher off chicken and potatoes, for he had stomach trouble so well that the officials had concluded he was unable st ordinary prison fare.

latest report made by Dr. Tuke says last Gallagher has been induced to his simulation of insanity and go to ith the other prisoners. He is now, . Tuke, healthy and industrious.

A COMMERCIAL CONFEDERACY.

Lewelling's Movement to Call a Convention Commended.

KA, Kan., Aug. 19.—The mail to-day t a great many letters to Gov. ng commending the movement to call ention of the West and South for the ing of organizing "A Commercial eracy."

of the letters request that copies of ition to Gov. Stone, of Missouri, be ited throughout the State in order ey may be read by all the people and n additional impetus be given to the ent.

DROWNED IN A SEWER.

End of Charles Wiltsie, a Newburg Laborer.

SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.

BURG, N. Y., Aug. 19. Charles , for years past employed on works here, met a terrible death ternoon during the storm

several days a gang of workmen, ing of Charles Wiltsie, Frank r, Peter Brickland, William n and Ralph Reilly have been re the main trunk sewer. When orm came on Reilly, who was on at the manhole, called to the men hey must come out at once. n was already outside. He and raised Hunter and Brickland to rface. Wiltsie declined to come till he had finished a section of ular.

ad scarcely announced his deter- on when the volume of water g into the main from every sec- the city broke away the tem- bulkhead that had been con- d for their protection and swept r, to the river.

body was recovered half an hour the outlet of the sewer, where been caught by a gate. The skull ractured and the body badly d. He was sixty years old and

COULDN'T MAKE RAIN.

Connecticut's Ruralists Send Up Big Dynamite Balloons in Vain.

SHOWERS FALL ALMOST EVERYWHERE ELSE IN THE STATE.

One of Five Flimsy Bags Pauses Over the Heads of Scared Farmers.

The Tobacco Growers Especially Had Great Hopes for the Success of the Experiments — The Exploding Cartridges Seemed to Frighten the Clouds Away—It Was as Good as Fourth of July So Far as Noise Went —The Balloons Were Made of the Flimsiest Material, and if One Had Fallen the Consequences Might Have Been Awful—The Combination of Burning Sponges, Dynamite and Tissue Paper Isn't the Safest Thing in the World.

NORTH BLOOMFIELD, Conn., Aug. 19. The effort of the Connecticut Valley tobacco-growers to dynamite a rain-storm out of the dry and coppery August sky began about 10 o'clock this morning, and continued after a desultory fashion until midday. Mr. Jerome E. Fuller and Mr. Eugene Clark, of Hartford, were the leading spirits in the enterprise although all the tobacco-raising farmers for miles around were interested both from curiosity and financially.

Neither in the condition nor the position was the experiment to-day a success. Of the fifty thirty-inch balloons each bearing a half-pound charge of dynamite that were to be sent up only five were sent, and of the ten dynamite cartridges that were to be fired only six were exploded. The result, so far as there was a result, was the entire dissipation of some clouds that had looked rainy promising during the forenoon and the appearance of a very flushed and florid looking sun that seemed to be roughly demanding what all the rumpus was about.

The first balloon that was sent up was merely a fizz to test the air currents and to test the capacity of the little airship to carry the requisite load of dynamite and exploding tackle. This was a very pretty and satisfactory event. The balloon was sent up from near the field hands' boarding-house of Mr. Charles Tarry, and it soared straight skyward, shot into a low, watery looking cloud that was sailing over and

THE DEMONSTRATION OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

Scenes and Incidents at the Meeting of the Workingmen in Union Square Last Night.



BARONDESS ADDRESSES THE CROWD NEAR THE CLOSE OF THE MEETING.

The police of this fair city were ready for trouble yesterday, and they expected a great deal of it. The workingmen out of work were to parade and meet in Union Square, and the earthly Providence of her own ability is accurate. It is a fact that the great police arrangements made yesterday were in her honor exclusively. It is a fact that two detectives spent the day following her about. It is a fact that the District Attorney's office was represented by [illegible] thing up on the fire escapes should her name out prominently and all things conspired to make the young lady [illegible] she was a personage. She did [illegible] very much set up by it all. [illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890110001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Demonstration of the Unemployed / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-2 ; 28 cm. *In* The World. —(Aug. 20, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

...ing into the main from every acc... of the city broke away the tem... bulkhead that had been con... for their protection and swept ... on to the river.

body was recovered half an hour at the outlet of the sewer, where ... been caught by a gat... fractured and the body badly ed. He was sixty years old, and s a widow and four grown children ... but twenty-five years ago, a young while making repairs on the same ... was swept away during a storm, ... made the passage in safety and rescued.

...tsie was noted for his habit of al... having one little piece of work to ... and invariably worked long after ...lay was ended in completing it.

...KNOWN, ALONE AND INSANE.

...ell-Dressed Woman Found in a ...ttiable Condition in the Park.

...k Policeman J. F. Ryan found a ...g woman in the thick shrubbery the bridle road at the Seventh ave... bridge yesterday afternoon. She ...n the ground in a half-stupefied ...ion.' When the policeman ap... ...sed her she went into hysterics, ...sobbed and wrung her hands. She ...d give no explanation of her strange ...ns, nor would she tell where she ..., although she said that her name ...Matilda Kullen and her age thirty ... The officer thought her insane ...ook her to the Arsenal.

...was well dressed and apparently ... table. She spoke of some trouble— ...y affair. John Somebody had de... her, there was no place to which ...uld go and she had no friends. ...ppearance contradicted this state... At one moment she acted ration... and the next she behaved like an ... She was taken to Roosevelt Hos... where the doctors said that her ...was a bad one and that she had ...cholia, bordering on insanity. From ...velt Hospital she was sent to Bel... A thorough examination into her ...will be made on Monday.

...L THE WOMEN VOTE FOR HER?

...sition to Overcome a Big Majority with a Woman Candidate.

SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.

...GHAMTON, Aug. 19.—By a law ...ed at the last session of the Legis... women are allowed to vote for ...l Commissioners in the city and ...y. For the first time in the his... of Broome County a woman will be ...d on the State ticket and voted for ...e coming fall election.

...law provides that women shall ...er in the same manner as men, ...the ballots cast for School Com... ...oners shall be kept in a separate ...

...me County is strongly Republican ...here are plenty of male candidates. ...Democrats, however, have planned ...ster stroke, and will place in nomi... ...Miss Roxie Eldredge, principal of ...ew street school.

...Eldredge is prominent in educa... ...matters, and the straight Demo... ...vote, combined with the ballots ...by the women, cannot fail to place ...office. Republicans are much ex... ...d over the situation.

Weather Indications.

For Eastern New York, Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, cooler; south winds and fair weather on Sunday; winds becoming east on ...

$18 to Chicago and Return via Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago R'y.

...and to test the capacity of the little air-ship to carry the requisite load of dynamite and exploding tackle. This was a very pretty and satisfactory event. The balloon was sent up from near the field hands' boarding-house on Mr. Clark's farm, and it soared straight skyward, shot into a low, watery-looking cloud that was sailing over and disappeared. It carried a weight of about twelve ounces.

Then the real business of dynamiting for rain began. A man had come up from a New York pyrotechnic factory to take charge of the ballooning, and another man had come from Meriden to superintend the sky-blasting. He had blown out the rocks to make the Hoosic tunnel and it was calculated that he could blow a rain shower out of the heavens. He had left Meriden at 3 o'clock in the morning with 100 cartridges of dynamite, weighing fifty pounds in the aggregate, and lived to reach Clark's farm in an unfragmentary condition, which was considered a triumph, but he looked haggard and his temper was explosive. He tinkered with the fuses and the cartridges while the New York man let hot air into a red and yellow balloon through a section of stove pipe.

He had reached Hartford at midnight and had had a good sleep, so his temper was all right, only he was somewhat saddened and misanthropic from the really manful struggle he was making with a tendency to cholera morbus. The fact, however, that the two operators were thus handicapped in no way interfered with their efforts. The New Yurk man got his balloon filled and the Meriden man tied a half-pound dynamite cartridge to it with ten feet of slowly-burning fuse dangling behind the cartridge. The balloon soared skyward as the unloaded pioneer had done, only just before it got to the cloud in which the first one had disappeared, there was a sudden burst of dirty yellow smoke, and a few secunds later there came down to earth the noise of a sharp, ringing explosion, which was heard by the farmers for five or six miles around.

The balloon drifted off on the light wind a mere mass of tattered paper shreds, which circled slowly down into a neighboring field. This was counted a great success, and the farmers scanned the horizon to see if the rain was in sight. There were fifty or more of them there, and yet not an umbrella in the crowd. When the second, the third and the fourth balloon went up, at intervals of about twenty minutes apart, and were all successfully exploded close up under the clouds, both the balloon man and the dynamiter relaxed and became quite cheerful. They set to work on the fifth with confidence, but with it they came so perilously close to a disaster that the ballooning for the day was stopped.

The balloons were of the flimsiest tissue paper, and when the fifth, with its half pound of dynamite attached had lifted from the ground about ten feet, its dome split partially apart. There was still enough hot air contained in its folds to keep it afloat, but not enough to carry it aloft. It hung just over the heads of the crowd with the fuse spluttering merrily on towards the half pound of dynamite. Probably no man living ever saw a group of Connecticut farmers make such good sprinting time as the ground under that balloon.

The dynamiter and the balloon man both manifested a roving disposition for a moment but the dynamiter recovered himself and ran and dragged the balloon down by the fuse which trailed behind it toward the ground. That ended the ballooning for the day. Farmer Fuller the most enthusiastic of the rain-makers, emphatically said he had had enough. If somebody would take the responsibility and wanted to proceed with the fireworks there were the balloons forty-five of them still left, and the cartridges, and the field was open. As for him, he would go over into Pequonock and wait for the shower.

This was the sense of the entire gathering, so it was arranged that the

BARONDESS ADDRESSES THE CROWD NEAR THE CLOSE OF THE MEETING.



The police of this fair city were ready for trouble yesterday, and they expected a great deal of it. The workingmen out of work were to parade and meet in Union Square, and the earthly Providence which watches over us in blue coats was full of fatherly forebodings. Supt. Byrnes, to whom we turn as an infant to its mother in times of trouble, was watching his melons grow at Red Bank, and the policemen wearing his mantle temporarily were full of high ambition and determined to distinguish themselves. Inspector Conlin got up early and sat in his office all day, plotting and scheming. When the evening came and the parade was to begin, everything was ready. Policemen had been selected to walk with the procession. Policemen in uniform had been stationed at intervals along the route, and lashings of policemen in unobtrusive citizens' clothes lined the way from Rivington street to Union Square, ready for any disaster. In his office at Headquarters, Inspector Conlin sat. All over the city the reserves were ready in the various stationhouses, and beneath Inspector Conlin's fingers were buttons which, obedient to his touch, would have called those reserves out by electricity to send them wherever they might be needed. Along the line of march arrangements had been made for wiring dread news to Headquarters. Inspector McAvoy, in whose relentless grasp each criminal and Anarchist must fear the worst spent the hours dancing up and down the line, ready to report trouble at the slightest sign.

NO CALL FOR NIGHT-STICKS.

Though all these preparations had been made, there was no call upon police resources. The workingmen apparently had no desire to tear up the Constitution by the roots, and they did not want to fight any policemen. Besides that, it rained, and as all the world knows, rain, the gentle persuader, will stifle strife and calm passions upon which clubs and steel would have no effect.

The widely advertised gathering in Union Square was a quiet one, and it was orderly, though the crowd was an immense one. What was said by the speakers sounded reasonable enough. There was little desire expressed for blood, and the repeated requests for work and for bread could not well be criticised. Almost every face in the densely packed listening audience was the face of a patient, hard-working, ill-fed creature. There was scarcely a man in the parade who weighed more than half as much as the average policeman. Yet each had he been well fed, well clothed, well housed and well rested from his cradle, might have been big enough for the force. The policemen, in honor of this workingman's parade, had been armed with their big, old-fashioned clubs—the clubs which were replaced by small, modest little sticks when Mr. Byrnes decided that every man on the force must be a gentleman. The big policemen, with these long clubs, escorting the narrow-chested, thin-legged workers from the east side, of her own ability is accurate. It is a fact that the great police arrangements made yesterday were in her honor exclusively; it is a fact that two detectives spent the day following her about; it is a fact that the District-Attorney's office has paid her marked attention, and it is a fact that she has managed to impress herself very strongly on this town of two million inhabitants.

Such facts make the young woman interesting without making her alarming to those who really believe in the edifice erected by such gentlemen as Washington and Lincoln. The demonstration of yesterday made it possible to study the young woman to advantage, and so it was a useful demonstration, from the news point of view.

START OF THE PARADE.

The demonstration was born in Rivington street opposite No. 125, a place of meeting called the Golden Rule Hall. The Golden Rule Hall fails to explain its title. The only sign of the Golden Rule thereabouts is a bar, at which an inordinately large glass of beer may be had for a very small price. The parade of workers started from that spot.

If the prosperous American who thinks this money panic makes him suffer could have been in Rivington street yesterday he would have discovered that he does not know what suffering means. Incidentally he would, perhaps, have lost temporarily his taste for self indulgence. In Rivington street every one is poor; so poor that it is hard to understand why they care to go on living. The street is dirty, the air is foul, the babies are so thick that they do not cry when their feet are stepped on, they have got used to it. The crowds seeking fresh air on the sidewalk make one wonder how they all sleep in the houses around them, yet ling up on the fire escapes, shouting her name out proudly, and all things conspired to make the young lady feel that she was a personage. She did not seem very much set-up by it all. She put on a pair of smoked glasses to protect her eyes, hich are weak, and when she had tired of the attentions of the crowd, sprang upon a passing car, without asking the conductor to check his speed. Miss Goldman is steady of arm and foot. She was accompanied by an interesting young woman in black, also a friend of the workingman, and able to get on a moving car. A short time, perhaps an hour and a half, after the boarding of the car, they both appeared at the little cottage in Union Square.

The Rivington street crowd by that time had eaten all the peaches which a peddler was selling at five for a cent, and having thus dined had marched four abreast to the workmens' tryst, opposite Tiffany's and various other plutocratic institutions of Union Square.

From this point on the one interesting is Emma Goldman. A reporter who has had the privilege of studying the great and good of various lands for some years back paid particular attention to her, and will describe her thus. At first all that could be seen of her was a good-sized head, not very far above the ground, struggling in the crowd around the speaker's platform. The head was decorated with a well-worn hat of black straw, of no particular shape, and the hat was made attractive and suitable by some red artificial flowers. One of these was pulled off and worn as a boutonniere later by an ardent and playful admirer.

SHE TAKES THE PLATFORM.

It was at first decided not to let Miss made up a countenance for some determined effort and had had that countenance petrified and made permanent. She looks, if one may approach her with a comparison bordering on levity, like a woman with housecleaning perpetually on her mind.

AN EARNEST WOMAN.

The lower part of her face has a most determined look. Her chin is strong and protruding. Her lower lip is large. Her mouth is strong. It indicates decided character. Her nose is a good nose, with meaning. Below the eyes, however, her face indicates strength rather than refinement, but her eyes and forehead are not at all such as the finest police force in the world need dread. Her eyes are light gray, a very good color. They are large, and they look sincere. There is a tired look about them which comes partly from the fact that her sight is very weak and partly from her speech-making exertions. She made five speeches on Friday. Her forehead is well built up. There is room in it. It has some bumps which may mean temper. Her hair is light brown, very wavy and decidedly pretty, and her head is well shaped, while her hands are small, white and fairly well cared for. She wore no jacket and took her hat off at intervals when she got tired of wearing it. Altogether, she impresses an unbiased observer as a rather reckless but quite sincere young woman. Her eyes and forehead are intellectual, the lower part of her face indicates impulsiveness and energy too great, perhaps, for the controlling influence of the good side reflected in the eyes.

Miss Goldman looks like a woman who would jump overboard to save a friend, or who might stab a gentleman in the abdomen if she got to thinking about it and decided that she ought to do so. She is probably between twenty-five and twenty-eight years old. She will do something worth while if she get a chance. She thinks she is doing the best thing on earth in calling attention to the wrongs of her friends and encouraging them to strike for their rights. The young woman's friends, who know her, point out that she has not the talent as queerly as Joan of Arc had and that Joan was more violently hissed and more thoroughly despised when she started out than Miss Goldman has been. These statements of fact are accurate.

MISS GOLDMAN'S LIEUTENANT.

Miss Goldman is interesting, she is beautiful. She has a friend, however, who is beautiful. This friend is a young German girl who thinks that she ... and truly launched in the mid... ...ary reform. She rather ex... ...with the help of Miss Goldman, ... captains in Time's sands is ... Miss Goldman's lieutenant. ... dark, mysterious and ... that she won't give her name ... says she says the press is a ... and that the reporters are ... ends. She was eventu... Miss Goldman for show... ...interested in a very ... and wore yellow shoes ... insane of a pluto... ... girl's name was said to ... others Maria ... Miss Goldman called ... and the gloomy ... was leading and ... while a speech to the ... them that their wives ... dread. In fact, she ... said that ... What she ... with serious in... ...$15 a week, ...realize that ... great so it ... for the her as ... described. It is ... dark hat was ... eyes are un... that her figure

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

18

890110001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Demonstration of the Unemployed / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1-2 ; 28 cm. *In* The World. –(Aug. 20, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

...Policeman C. F. ... found a ... young woman in the thick shrubbery near the bridle road at the Seventh avenue bridge yesterday afternoon. She was on the ground in a half-stupefied condition. When the policeman approached her she went into hysterics, cried, sobbed and wrung her hands. She could give no explanation of her strange actions, nor would she tell where she lived, although she said that her name was Matilda Kulien and her age thirty years. The officer thought her insane and took her to the Arsenal.

She was well dressed and apparently respectable. She spoke of some trouble—love affair. John Somebody had deserted her, there was no place to which she could go and she had no friends. Her appearance contradicted this statement. At one moment she acted rationally and the next she behaved like an idiot. She was taken to Roosevelt Hospital, where the doctors said that her case was a bad one and that she had melancholia, bordering on insanity. From Roosevelt Hospital she was sent to Bellevue. A thorough examination into her case will be made on Monday.

WILL THE WOMEN VOTE FOR HER?

Proposition to Overcome a Big Majority with a Woman Candidate.

[SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.]

BINGHAMTON, Aug. 19.—By a law enacted at the last session of the Legislature women are allowed to vote for School Commissioners in the city and county. For the first time in the history of Broome County a woman will be placed on the State ticket and voted for at the coming fall election.

The law provides that women shall register in the same manner as men, and the ballots cast for School Commissioners shall be kept in a separate box.

Broome County is strongly Republican and there are plenty of male candidates, the Democrats, however, have planned a masterstroke, and will place in nomination Miss Roxie Eldredge, principal of the New street school.

Miss Eldredge is prominent in educational matters, and the straight Democratic vote, combined with the ballots cast by the women, cannot fail to place her in office. Republicans are much excited over the situation.

Weather Indications.

FAIR

For Eastern New York, Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, cooler north winds and fair weather on Sunday; winds becoming east on Monday.

July $18 to Chicago and Return via Picturesque Erie Lines.

Next personally conducted excursion train leaves New York, Chambers street, 10.15 A. M. Monday, Aug. 21; arrives Chicago 4.15 P. M. next day. Tickets good ten days, with privilege of returning via Niagara Falls. Similar excursions on Sept. 2, 6 and 12.

Wall Street Is Not in It.

Put RIKER is on prices; 40 to 50 per cent. off on your doctor's prescription. RIKER'S reputation for pure drugs is never questioned. 42d st. and 4th ave.

THE MADISON AVENUE HOTEL, 58th st. and Madison ave.; delightfully situated; cuisine perfect; moderate terms. E. M. CLARK, Manager, formerly of Murray Hill.

W. A. S. Wolfe's Schnapps. Best beverage obtainable. Sold by druggists, grocers.

his temper was explosive. He tinkered with the fuses and the cartridges while the New York man let hot air into a red and yellow balloon through a section of stove pipe.

He had reached Hartford at midnight and had had a good sleep, so his temper was all right, only he was somewhat saddened and misanthropic from the really manful struggle he was making with a tendency to cholera morbus. The fact, however, that the two operators were thus handicapped in no way interfered with their efforts. The New York man got his balloon filled and the Meriden man tied a half-pound dynamite cartridge to it with ten feet of slowly-burning fuse dangling behind the cartridge. The balloon soared skyward as the unloaded pioneer had done, only lost before it got to the cloud in which the first one had disappeared, there was a sudden burst of dirty yellow smoke, and a few seconds later there came down to earth the noise of a sharp, ringing explosion, which was heard by the farmers for five or six miles around.

The balloon drifted off on the light wind a mere mass of tattered paper shreds, which circled slowly down into a neighboring field. This was counted a great success, and the farmers scanned the horizon to see if the rain was in sight. There were fifty or more of them there, and yet not an umbrella in the crowd. When the second, the third and the fourth balloon went up, at intervals of about twenty minutes apart, and were all successfully exploded close up under the clouds, both the balloon man and the dynamiter relaxed and became quite cheerful. They set to work on the fifth with confidence, but with it they came so perilously close to a disaster that the ballooning for the day was stopped.

The balloons were of the flimsiest tissue paper, and when the fifth, with its half pound of dynamite attached had lifted from the ground about ten feet, its dome split partially apart. There was still enough hot air contained in its folds to keep it afloat, but not enough to carry it aloft. It hung just over the heads of the crowd with the fuse sputtering merrily on towards the half pound of dynamite. Probably no man living ever saw a group of Connecticut farmers make such good sprinting time as the group under that balloon.

The dynamiter and the balloon man both manifested a roving disposition for a moment but the dynamiter recovered himself and ran and dragged the balloon down by the fuse which trailed behind it toward the ground. That ended the ballooning for the day. Farmer Fuller, the most enthusiastic of the rain-makers, emphatically said he had had enough. If somebody would take the responsibility and wanted to proceed with the fireworks there were the balloons, forty-five of them still left, and the cartridges, and the field was open. As for him, he would go over into Pequonock and wait for the shower.

This was the sense of the entire gathering, so it was arranged that the balloon man should bring up his bombs and sky-rockets next Wednesday and try the aerial explosions over again. In order that the day should not pass without at least one earnest appeal for wet, it was decided to blow up a stump and a stump was blown up. Then the dynamiter was sent to the top of the hill west of Clark's tobacco field, and set to firing dynamite cartridges on the ground, which he did, keeping it up until there was not a cloud left in the sky and the sun was out, really bright and blazing for the first time during the day.

Then the dinner-horn blew, and the show was over. In nearly every other locality in Northern Connecticut, save where the dynamiting took place, they had nice, refreshing showers during the day.

walk with the procession. Policemen in uniform had been stationed at intervals along the route, and flashings of policemen in unobtrusive citizens' clothes lined the way from Rivington street to Union Square, ready for any disaster. In his office at Headquarters, Inspector Conlin sat. All over the city the reserves were ready in the various stationhouses, and beneath Inspector Conlin's fingers were buttons which, obedient to his touch, would have called those reserves out by electricity to send them wherever they might be needed. Along the line of march arrangements had been made for wiring dread news to Headquarters. Inspector McAvoy, in whose relentless grasp each criminal and Anarchist must fear the worst, spent the hours dancing up and down the line, ready to report trouble at the slightest sign.

NO CALL FOR NIGHT-STICKS.

Though all these preparations had been made, there was no call upon police resources. The workingmen apparently had no desire to tear up the Constitution by the roots, and they did not want to fight any policemen. Besides that, it rained, and, as all the world knows, rain, the gentle persuader, will stifle strife and calm passions upon which clubs and steel would have no effect.

The widely advertised gathering in Union Square was a quiet one, and it was orderly, though the crowd was an immense one. What was said by the speakers sounded reasonable enough. There was little desire expressed for blood, and the repeated requests for work and for bread could not well be criticised. Almost every face in the densely packed listening audience was the face of a patient, hard-working, ill-fed creature. There was scarcely a man in the parade who weighed more than half as much as the average policeman. Yet each, had he been well fed, well clothed, well housed and well rested from his cradle, might have been big enough for the force. The policemen, in honor of this workingman's parade, had been armed with their big, old-fashioned clubs—the clubs which were replaced by small, modest little sticks when Mr. Byrnes decided that every man on the force must be a gentleman. The big policemen, with these long clubs, escorting the narrow-chested, thin-legged workers from the east side, did not look very heroic. They looked like mastiffs chaperoning a parade of gentle rabbits.

IT WAS NOT A BIG CROWD.

The much advertised Union Square demonstration amounted to a parade of about a thousand men, most of them belonging to the clothing trade, a gathering of about three thousand around the little cottage in Union Square, and some speeches of various complexions. The affair was saved from being an absolute fizzle by the presence of an interesting woman, Miss Emma Goldman. That young person, who comes to us from a foreign shore, has some sort of an idea that she can stand this noble land on its head, and she wants to do it. The funny part of it is that she has made some folks think that her estimate of the Golden Rule Hall fails to explain its title. The only sign of the Golden Rule therenbouts is a bar, at which an inordinately large gauss of beer may be had for a very small price. The parade of workers started from that spot.

If the prosperous American who thinks this money panic makes him suffer could have been in Rivington street yesterday he would have discovered that he does not know what suffering means. Incidentally he would, perhaps, have lost temporarily his taste for self indulgence. In Rivington street every one is poor; so poor that it is hard to understand why they care to go on living. The street is dirty, the air is foul, the babies are so thick that they do not cry when their feet are stepped on; they have got used to it. The crowds seeking fresh air on the sidewalk make one wonder how they all sleep in the houses around them, yet all the windows and littered-up fire-escapes of those houses are crowded with other human beings.



EMMA GOLDMAN LEADING THE PROCESSION.

In the early afternoon there had been a meeting in the Golden Rule Hall, and Emma Goldman had made a speech. She came out about 5 o'clock, elbowing her way through friends and policemen. The friends cheered her and the policemen studied her with that sort of professional interest which all policemen feel in anything that lights.

MISS GOLDMAN CHEERED.

The crowd followed Miss Goldman with most attering persistency. It crowded about her, crossed in front of her and cheered her when she stopped for breath. Men on the street who recognized her pointed her out to friends although the Golden Rule Hall fails to explain its title. The only sign of the Golden Rule therenbouts is a bar, at which an inordinately large gauss of beer may be had for a very small price. The parade of workers started from that spot.

If the prosperous American who thinks this money panic makes him suffer could have been in Rivington street yesterday he would have discovered that he does not know what suffering means. Incidentally he would, perhaps, have lost temporarily his taste for self indulgence. In Rivington street every one is poor; so poor that it is hard to understand why they care to go on living. The street is dirty, the air is foul, the babies are so thick that they do not cry when their feet are stepped on; they have got used to it. The crowds seeking fresh air on the sidewalk make one wonder how they all sleep in the houses around them, yet all the windows and littered-up fire-escapes of those houses are crowded with other human beings.

In the early afternoon there had been a meeting in the Golden Rule Hall, and Emma Goldman had made a speech. She came out about 5 o'clock, elbowing her way through friends and policemen. The friends cheered her and the policemen studied her with that sort of professional interest which all policemen feel in anything that lights.

MISS GOLDMAN CHEERED.

The crowd followed Miss Goldman with most attering persistency. It crowded about her, crossed in front of her and cheered her when she stopped for breath. Men on the street who recognized her pointed her out to friends although she had been in Rivington street yesterday he would have discovered that he does not know what suffering means. Incidentally he would, perhaps, have lost temporarily his taste for self indulgence. In Rivington street every one is poor; so poor that it is hard to understand why they care to go on living. The street is dirty, the air is foul, the babies are so thick that they do not cry when their feet are stepped on; they have got used to it. The crowds seeking fresh air on the sidewalk make one wonder how they all sleep in the houses around them, yet

Finally and various other philanthropic institutions of Union Square.

From this point on the one interesting is Emma Goldman. A reporter who has had the privilege of studying the great and good of various lands for some years back paid particular attention to her, and will describe her thus. At first all that could be seen of her was a good-sized head, not very far above the ground, struggling in the crowd around the speaker's platform. The head was decorated with a well-worn hat of black straw, of no particular shape, and the hat was made attractive and suitable by some red artificial flowers. One of these was pulled off and worn as a boutonniere later by an ardent and playful admirer.

SHE TAKES THE PLATFORM

It was at first decided not to let Miss Goldman get on the stand. The police, not quite recovered from their homemade scare, thought she ought to be kept out of sight. Miss Goldman, however, thought that was a bad idea, and after a few minutes, and a few breezy conversations with various police dignitaries, she stepped in triumph on to the stand.

Miss Goldman looks like a young woman able to convince the police or others. She is as tall as Miss Johnstone Bennett, who is made familiar to us by the bill boards. She stnops over about as the average mannish young woman of fashion does. She does it though with an intention of being fashionable or mannish, however. Her face is interesting. It has a very unusual expression. She looks as though she had made five speeches on Friday. Her forehead is well built up. There is room in it. It has some bumps which may mean temper. Her hair is light brown, very wavy and decidedly pretty, and her head is well shaped, while her hands are small, white and fairly well cared for. She wore no jacket and took her hat off at intervals when she got tired of wearing it. Altogether, she impresses an unbiased observer as a rather reckless but quite sincere young woman. Her eyes and forehead are intellectual; the lower part of her face indicates impulsiveness and energy too great, perhaps, for the controlling influence of the good side reflected in the eyes.

Miss Goldman looks like a woman who would jump overboard to save a friend, or who might stab a gentleman in the abdomen if she got to thinking about it and decided that she ought to do so. She is probably between twenty-five and twenty-eight years old. She could do something worth while if she had a chance. She thinks she is doing the best thing on earth in calling attention to the wrongs of her friends and in encouraging them to strike for their rights. The young woman's friends, who admire her, point out that she has not yet acted as queerly as Joan of Arc acted, and that Joan was more violently abused and more thoroughly despised when she started out than Miss Goldman has been. There statements of fact are accurate.

MISS GOLDMAN'S LIEUTENANT.

Miss Goldman is interesting, she is not beautiful. She has a friend, however, who is beautiful. This friend is a young German girl who thinks that she is really and truly launched in the middle of a great reform. She rather expects with the help of Miss Goldman, to leave deep footprints in Time's sands. She is called Miss Goldman's lieutenant, and she feels so dark, mysterious and gloomy that she won't give her name to the reporters. She says the press is a vile gross and that the reporters are plutocratic sleuthhounds. She was eventually rebuked by Miss Goldman for showing too many signs of interest in a very young reporter who wore yellow shoes and the usual other insignia of a plutocratic $6 a week existence.

This young girl's name was said to be Lena Sikler and by others Maria Pauline Sager. Miss Goldman called her Lena. She enjoyed the gloomy anarchistic life she was leading, and she actually made a speech to the crowd, reminding them that their wives and children needed bread. In fact, she spread out her hands and said that she wanted bread or bread. What she really wants is a beau with serious intentions and a steady job at $15 a week, but she is too young to realize that. She is never going to be great, so it is not worth while to describe her as Miss Goldman was described. It is enough to say that her sailor hat was becoming, that her brown eyes are unnecessarily large, and that her figure suggests the quail in fine condition.

While the first speeches were going on, Miss Goldman walked up and down the platform in a cage. It had been decided that she should not be allowed to talk for fear of irritating the police, who were so plentiful. As she walked, her little friend Lena walked after her, sympathizing and telling her how great a person she was. It was quite a pretty picture. Finally it was decided that she should be allowed to talk if she would not be too violent, and then she listened to the others.

THE FIRST SPEECHES.

The first man to speak was Adolph Dry, of the Cloakmakers' Union. He spoke well, that is to say, with genuine feeling. He is a short man, with a pointed, reddish beard, and appeared to run the meeting. His speech was tem-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890110001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Demonstration of the Unemployed / Emma Goldman.—pp. 1-2 ; 28 cm. *In* The World. —(Aug. 20, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

perate. The main point made by him was that while men who wanted to work, and who were honest were starving in the streets, criminals in Sing Sing were provided with work by the Government and had plenty of food. Later in the evening Mr. Ury offered a resolution that the authorities be urged to give to needy workmen the work that it is now found for criminals to do.

John Stewart, a young Scotchman, followed Mr. Ury. There was nothing Anarchistic about this young man. He urged his hearers to obey the laws and be patient. The laws of the United States were just, as he understood them. He said that all the trouble came from agitators, who had nothing at stake, and who tried to make the people dissatisfied. He expressed his belief that Emma Goldman ought to be in the Tombs. Miss Goldman, who heard him, smiled indulgently. Mr. Stewart had spent his first four months in America looking for work without success, now, he said, success had come. He thought others might be as lucky if they would wait.

From a few remarks made in an undertone, it was gathered that Miss Goldman despised Mr. Stewart.

Mr. Meyer Schoenfield, of the Trade Council of United Garment Workers, followed Mr. Stewart, and then came Miss Goldman's turn. It should be mentioned that the crowd had been howling for her at intervals ever since the talking began.

THE SPEECH OF THE EVENING.

Miss Goldman took off her hat with the red flowers and confided it to her friend Lena. She threw back her hair, pulled up her sleeves, stretched out her arms and began her talk in good German. She alone used good German, and she began in an effective way.

"Men and women," she began, "look at this crowd. Look at the thousands of faces and study those about you. You will find men asking for only one thing—a chance to work and to give to their wives and children the bread they need. This crowd is not a crowd of one class or of opinion. It is a gathering of working men of all sorts, German, American, French and other nationalities."

Her speech was similar to those which have been already published. It was greeted with enthusiasm, and proved that Miss Goldman has genuine ability as an orator. She has more real fire, for instance, than Chauncey Depew or Gen. Porter. She conveys more readily the conviction of absolute sincerity. Her words were well chosen, and she lashed herself into a fine fury when she told the men that everything had been taken away from them by the capitalistic classes, and urged them not to let their blood be taken also, and not to hear themselves called "Lumpen proletariat" by the overfed rich. She begged the men to use their muscles while they still had them, and strike for their rights.

The World's Fair at Chicago seemed to grieve Miss Goldman. She contrasted it and the millions that had been spent upon it with the condition of the crowd before her. She appealed at regular intervals to the stomachs of her listeners, reminding them that they and their families were hungry.

After her speech was done she said that it would be unwise to talk to them too seriously or try to explain their situation to them philosophically, as they had not education or reason enough to understand. The only thing to do was to appeal frequently to their sentiments. That, she said was why she alluded so often to their hungry wives and children. Repeatedly she told the crowd that all the pleasures of the rich, including their palaces and food, came from the workingmen. She was especially indignant that there should be a habit of saying that trouble came from immigrants. Immigrants, she said had made the country what it is and they proposed to have their share of it.

lesson to you. Learn to help yourselves."

ABOLISH CONVICT LABOR.

Mr. Cuno then proposed the following preamble and resolution:

"Whereas, Unemployed men have been going around hungry for weeks and months, with their families lacking food and shelter, and have been ill-treated by capitalists and by the landlords,

"Resolved, That we call on the State to abolish prison labor and give to us the work done by the convicts in order that we may earn money for bread."

The resolution was carried with a cheer. A man named Elken then made a short speech, in which he said that a piece of bread cast among the starving would be fought for like a crust thrown into a cage of monkeys. He added: "We come to declare to the people who get rich from our labor that some day they may be as badly off as we are. We come to declare to the world that we are hungry because we have worked for the benefit of other people and not for ourselves."

"The meeting is adjourned," said the Chairman. In spite of the rain the crowd did not feel like adjourning. There were cries of "No, no!" and calls for Barondess. A young man was explaining that Barondess was busy trying to get some prisoners released, when the leader of the cloakmakers himself came forward and was greeted with tremendous cheering.

BARONDESS IS HEARD.

Leader Barondess spoke in English. He said: "My friends and fellow-workers, we have come here to-night for the purpose of stating our condition to the world. We have assembled to let the dudes and monopolists, and our bosses, the manufacturers, know that we are starving. When we are asked why we are starving, let us answer that it is because of the present system of society. Let us answer that there is such a thing as sweating; that there is such a thing as prison work; that there is such a thing as white slavery because of the sweating system. That's why we are starving. (Cheers)

"Friends, this demonstration represents the many starving men, women and children of New York. It may be that not all the toilers of the city are present to-night, but when the agitation for the abolition of slavery began there were fewer people willing to make demonstrations for it than there are here to-night. Yet slavery was abolished and the American people live under the same American flag. (Cheers.)

"As the abolitionists had faith that slavery would be abolished, so let us believe that the sweating-system will sooner or later be done away with, and with it will disappear the misery of the toiling masses. As to the present crisis, let me say to you do not allow any politician to use you as a tool (Cheers.) When the Republican party was in power the Democratic party complained that the Republican party was the worst that ever existed. Now when the Democrats are in power the Republicans are clamoring. Let them clamor. The Democrats wanted to get into office for the sake of saving the people and the others, I suppose, wanted to save the people for the sake of getting into office. Let us tell these men that we know there is something surely unjust that there must be something surely unlawful in the present system of society when so many men, women and children are willing to sell their bodies and souls for a piece of bread and can get nobody to buy them.

EVICTIONS MUST STOP.

The men in Fifth avenue, the men in Wall street, have their champagne to-night and their pleasure-playing. Do they care for us? Let us tell them that we care whether you are starving to death or not. Let us tell the rich that we will not allow any more evictions. Let us tell the landlords that we will not allow them to throw the poor into the streets. Let us tell the rich that we will not allow them to live in luxury while we starve. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to live in their palaces while we are compelled to live in the cellars and garrets. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to ride in their carriages while we are compelled to walk. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their theatres and operas while we are compelled to have our tragedies in our own homes. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their banquets while we are starving. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their champagne while we are compelled to have our tears. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their diamonds while we are compelled to wear shoddy. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their fine clothes while we are compelled to wear rags. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their pleasures while we are compelled to have our pains. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their luxuries while we are compelled to have our necessities. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their leisure while we are compelled to have our labor. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their wealth while we are compelled to have our poverty. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their power while we are compelled to have our weakness. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their freedom while we are compelled to have our slavery. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their liberty while we are compelled to have our bondage. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their God while we are compelled to have our devil. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their heaven while we are compelled to have our hell. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their eternity while we are compelled to have our time. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their infinity while we are compelled to have our finite. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their perfection while we are compelled to have our imperfection. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their completeness while we are compelled to have our incompleteness. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their totality while we are compelled to have our partiality. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their universality while we are compelled to have our particularity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their absolute while we are compelled to have our relative. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unconditioned while we are compelled to have our conditioned. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unlimited while we are compelled to have our limited. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their boundless while we are compelled to have our bounded. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their immeasurable while we are compelled to have our measurable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their incomprehensible while we are compelled to have our comprehensible. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unknowable while we are compelled to have our knowable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their mystery while we are compelled to have our revelation. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their secret while we are compelled to have our publicity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their hidden while we are compelled to have our manifest. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their latent while we are compelled to have our patent. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their potential while we are compelled to have our actual. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their possible while we are compelled to have our impossible. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their probable while we are compelled to have our improbable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their certain while we are compelled to have our uncertain. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their sure while we are compelled to have our unsure. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their safe while we are compelled to have our unsafe. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their secure while we are compelled to have our insecure. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their stable while we are compelled to have our unstable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their firm while we are compelled to have our shaky. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their solid while we are compelled to have our liquid. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their gas while we are compelled to have our vapor. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their ether while we are compelled to have our void. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their nothing while we are compelled to have our something. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their all while we are compelled to have our nothing. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their everything while we are compelled to have our anything. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their whole while we are compelled to have our part. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unity while we are compelled to have our multiplicity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their one while we are compelled to have our many. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their simple while we are compelled to have our complex. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their elementary while we are compelled to have our compound. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their primary while we are compelled to have our secondary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their tertiary while we are compelled to have our quaternary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinary while we are compelled to have our senary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenary while we are compelled to have our octonary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their nonary while we are compelled to have our denary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their undenary while we are compelled to have our duodenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their tridenary while we are compelled to have our quadrodenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quindenary while we are compelled to have our sexdenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septendenary while we are compelled to have our octodenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemdenary while we are compelled to have our vigenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unvigenary while we are compelled to have our duovigenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trivigenary while we are compelled to have our quadrovigenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinvigenary while we are compelled to have our sexvigenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenvigenary while we are compelled to have our octovigenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemvigenary while we are compelled to have our trigenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their untrigenary while we are compelled to have our duotrigenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their tritrigenary while we are compelled to have our quadrotrigenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quintrigenary while we are compelled to have our sextrigenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septentrigenary while we are compelled to have our octotrigenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemtrigenary while we are compelled to have our quadragenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unquadragenary while we are compelled to have our duoquadragenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triquadragenary while we are compelled to have our quadroquadragenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinquadragenary while we are compelled to have our sexquadragenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenquadragenary while we are compelled to have our octoquadragenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemquadragenary while we are compelled to have our quinquagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unquinquagenary while we are compelled to have our duoquinquagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triquinquagenary while we are compelled to have our quadroquinquagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinquinquagenary while we are compelled to have our sexquinquagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenquinquagenary while we are compelled to have our octoquinquagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemquinquagenary while we are compelled to have our sexagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unsexagenary while we are compelled to have our duosexagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trisexagenary while we are compelled to have our quadrosexagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinsexagenary while we are compelled to have our sexsexagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septensexagenary while we are compelled to have our octosexagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemsexagenary while we are compelled to have our septuagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unseptuagenary while we are compelled to have our duoseptuagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triseptuagenary while we are compelled to have our quadroseptuagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinseptuagenary while we are compelled to have our sexseptuagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenseptuagenary while we are compelled to have our octoseptuagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemseptuagenary while we are compelled to have our octogenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unoctogenary while we are compelled to have our duooctogenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trioctogenary while we are compelled to have our quadrooctogenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinoctogenary while we are compelled to have our sexoctogenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenoctogenary while we are compelled to have our octooctogenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemoctogenary while we are compelled to have our nonagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unnonagenary while we are compelled to have our duononagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trinonagenary while we are compelled to have our quadrononagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinonagenary while we are compelled to have our sexnonagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septennonagenary while we are compelled to have our octononagenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemnonagenary while we are compelled to have our centenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their uncentenary while we are compelled to have our duocentenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their tricentenary while we are compelled to have our quadrocentenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quincentenary while we are compelled to have our sexcentenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septencentenary while we are compelled to have our octocentenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemcentenary while we are compelled to have our millenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unmillenary while we are compelled to have our duomillenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trimillenary while we are compelled to have our quadromillenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinmillenary while we are compelled to have our sexmillenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenmillenary while we are compelled to have our octomillenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemmillenary while we are compelled to have our myriad. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unmyriad while we are compelled to have our duomyriad. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trimyriad while we are compelled to have our quadromyriad. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinmyriad while we are compelled to have our sexmyriad. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenmyriad while we are compelled to have our octomyriad. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemmyriad while we are compelled to have our infinite. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their uninfinite while we are compelled to have our duoinfinite. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triinfinite while we are compelled to have our quadroinfinite. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quininfinite while we are compelled to have our sexinfinite. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septeninfinite while we are compelled to have our octoinfinite. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their noveminfinite while we are compelled to have our absolute. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unabsolute while we are compelled to have our duoabsolute. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triabsolute while we are compelled to have our quadroabsolute. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinabsolute while we are compelled to have our sexabsolute. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenabsolute while we are compelled to have our octoabsolute. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemabsolute while we are compelled to have our unconditioned. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their ununconditioned while we are compelled to have our duounconditioned. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triunconditioned while we are compelled to have our quadrounconditioned. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinunconditioned while we are compelled to have our sexunconditioned. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenunconditioned while we are compelled to have our octounconditioned. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemunconditioned while we are compelled to have our unlimited. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their ununlimited while we are compelled to have our duounlimited. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triunlimited while we are compelled to have our quadrounlimited. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinunlimited while we are compelled to have our sexunlimited. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenunlimited while we are compelled to have our octounlimited. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemunlimited while we are compelled to have our boundless. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unboundless while we are compelled to have our duoboundless. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triboundless while we are compelled to have our quadroboundless. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinboundless while we are compelled to have our sexboundless. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenboundless while we are compelled to have our octoboundless. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemboundless while we are compelled to have our immeasurable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unimmeasurable while we are compelled to have our duoimmeasurable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triimmeasurable while we are compelled to have our quadroimmeasurable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinimmeasurable while we are compelled to have our seximmeasurable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenimmeasurable while we are compelled to have our octoimmeasurable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemimmeasurable while we are compelled to have our incomprehensible. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unincomprehensible while we are compelled to have our duoincomprehensible. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triincomprehensible while we are compelled to have our quadroincomprehensible. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinincomprehensible while we are compelled to have our sexincomprehensible. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenincomprehensible while we are compelled to have our octoincomprehensible. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemincomprehensible while we are compelled to have our unknowable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their ununknowable while we are compelled to have our duounknowable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triunknowable while we are compelled to have our quadrounknowable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinunknowable while we are compelled to have our sexunknowable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenunknowable while we are compelled to have our octounknowable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemunknowable while we are compelled to have our mystery. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unmystery while we are compelled to have our duomystery. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trimystery while we are compelled to have our quadromystery. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinmystery while we are compelled to have our sexmystery. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenmystery while we are compelled to have our octomystery. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemmystery while we are compelled to have our revelation. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unrevelation while we are compelled to have our duorevelation. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trirevelation while we are compelled to have our quadrorevelation. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinrevelation while we are compelled to have our sexrevelation. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenrevelation while we are compelled to have our octorevelation. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemrevelation while we are compelled to have our publicity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unpublicity while we are compelled to have our duopublicity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their tripublicity while we are compelled to have our quadropublicity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinpublicity while we are compelled to have our sexpublicity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenpublicity while we are compelled to have our octopublicity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novempublicity while we are compelled to have our secret. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unsecret while we are compelled to have our duosecret. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trisecret while we are compelled to have our quadrosecret. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinsecret while we are compelled to have our sexsecret. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septensecret while we are compelled to have our octosecret. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemsecret while we are compelled to have our latent. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unlatent while we are compelled to have our duolatent. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trilatent while we are compelled to have our quadrolatent. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinlatent while we are compelled to have our sexlatent. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenlatent while we are compelled to have our octolatent. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemlatent while we are compelled to have our potential. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unpotential while we are compelled to have our duopotential. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their tripotential while we are compelled to have our quadropotential. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinpotential while we are compelled to have our sexpotential. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenpotential while we are compelled to have our octopotential. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novempotential while we are compelled to have our actual. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unactual while we are compelled to have our duoactual. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triactual while we are compelled to have our quadroactual. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinactual while we are compelled to have our sexactual. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenactual while we are compelled to have our octoactual. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemactual while we are compelled to have our possible. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unpossible while we are compelled to have our duopossible. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their tripossible while we are compelled to have our quadropossible. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinpossible while we are compelled to have our sexpossible. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenpossible while we are compelled to have our octopossible. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novempossible while we are compelled to have our probable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unprobable while we are compelled to have our duoprobable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triprobable while we are compelled to have our quadroprobable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinprobable while we are compelled to have our sexprobable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenprobable while we are compelled to have our octoprobable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemprobable while we are compelled to have our certain. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their uncertain while we are compelled to have our duocertain. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their tricertain while we are compelled to have our quadrocertain. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quincertain while we are compelled to have our sexcertain. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septencertain while we are compelled to have our octocertain. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemcertain while we are compelled to have our sure. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unsure while we are compelled to have our duosure. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trisure while we are compelled to have our quadrosure. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinsure while we are compelled to have our sexsure. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septensure while we are compelled to have our octosure. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemsure while we are compelled to have our safe. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unsafe while we are compelled to have our duosafe. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trisafe while we are compelled to have our quadrosafe. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinsafe while we are compelled to have our sexsafe. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septensafe while we are compelled to have our octosafe. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemsafe while we are compelled to have our secure. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unsecure while we are compelled to have our duosecure. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trisecure while we are compelled to have our quadrosecure. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinsecure while we are compelled to have our sexsecure. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septensecure while we are compelled to have our octosecure. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemsecure while we are compelled to have our stable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unstable while we are compelled to have our duostable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their tristable while we are compelled to have our quadrostable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinstable while we are compelled to have our sexstable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenstable while we are compelled to have our octostable. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemstable while we are compelled to have our firm. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unfirm while we are compelled to have our duofirm. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trifirm while we are compelled to have our quadrofirm. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinfirm while we are compelled to have our sexfirm. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenfirm while we are compelled to have our octofirm. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemfirm while we are compelled to have our solid. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unsolid while we are compelled to have our duosolid. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trisolid while we are compelled to have our quadrosolid. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinsolid while we are compelled to have our sexsolid. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septensolid while we are compelled to have our octosolid. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemsolid while we are compelled to have our liquid. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unliquid while we are compelled to have our duoliquid. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triliquid while we are compelled to have our quadroliquid. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinliquid while we are compelled to have our sexliquid. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenliquid while we are compelled to have our octoliquid. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemliquid while we are compelled to have our gas. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their ungas while we are compelled to have our duogas. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trigas while we are compelled to have our quadrogas. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quingas while we are compelled to have our sexgas. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septengas while we are compelled to have our octogas. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemgas while we are compelled to have our vapor. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unvapor while we are compelled to have our duovapor. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trivapor while we are compelled to have our quadrovapor. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinvapor while we are compelled to have our sexvapor. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenvapor while we are compelled to have our octovapor. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemvapor while we are compelled to have our ether. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unether while we are compelled to have our duoether. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triether while we are compelled to have our quadroether. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinether while we are compelled to have our sexether. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenether while we are compelled to have our octoether. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemether while we are compelled to have our void. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unvoid while we are compelled to have our duovoid. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trivoid while we are compelled to have our quadrovoid. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinvoid while we are compelled to have our sexvoid. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenvoid while we are compelled to have our octovoid. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemvoid while we are compelled to have our nothing. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unnothing while we are compelled to have our duonothing. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trinothing while we are compelled to have our quadrononothing. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinonothing while we are compelled to have our sexnonothing. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septennonothing while we are compelled to have our octononothing. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemnonothing while we are compelled to have our something. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unsomething while we are compelled to have our duosomething. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trisomething while we are compelled to have our quadrosomething. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinsomething while we are compelled to have our sexsomething. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septensomething while we are compelled to have our octosomething. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemsomething while we are compelled to have our all. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unall while we are compelled to have our duoall. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triall while we are compelled to have our quadroall. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinall while we are compelled to have our sexall. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenall while we are compelled to have our octoall. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemall while we are compelled to have our everything. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their uneverything while we are compelled to have our duoeverything. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trieverything while we are compelled to have our quadroeverything. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quineverything while we are compelled to have our sexeverything. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septeneverything while we are compelled to have our octoeverything. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their noveneverything while we are compelled to have our anything. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unanything while we are compelled to have our duoanything. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trianything while we are compelled to have our quadroanything. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinanything while we are compelled to have our sexanything. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenanything while we are compelled to have our octoanything. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemanything while we are compelled to have our whole. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unwhole while we are compelled to have our duowhole. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triwhole while we are compelled to have our quadrowhole. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinwhole while we are compelled to have our sexwhole. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenwhole while we are compelled to have our octowhole. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemwhole while we are compelled to have our part. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unpart while we are compelled to have our duopart. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their tripart while we are compelled to have our quadropart. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinpart while we are compelled to have our sexpart. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenpart while we are compelled to have our octopart. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novempart while we are compelled to have our unity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their ununity while we are compelled to have our duounity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triunity while we are compelled to have our quadrounity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinunity while we are compelled to have our sexunity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenunity while we are compelled to have our octounity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemunity while we are compelled to have our multiplicity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unmultiplicity while we are compelled to have our duomultiplicity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trimultiplicity while we are compelled to have our quadromultiplicity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinmultiplicity while we are compelled to have our sexmultiplicity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenmultiplicity while we are compelled to have our octomultiplicity. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemmultiplicity while we are compelled to have our one. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unone while we are compelled to have our duoone. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trione while we are compelled to have our quadroone. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinone while we are compelled to have our sexone. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenone while we are compelled to have our octoone. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemone while we are compelled to have our many. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unmany while we are compelled to have our duomany. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trimany while we are compelled to have our quadromany. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinmany while we are compelled to have our sexmany. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenmany while we are compelled to have our octomany. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemmany while we are compelled to have our simple. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unsimple while we are compelled to have our duosimple. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trisimple while we are compelled to have our quadrosimple. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinsimple while we are compelled to have our sexsimple. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septensimple while we are compelled to have our octosimple. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemsimple while we are compelled to have our complex. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their uncomplex while we are compelled to have our duocomplex. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their tricomplex while we are compelled to have our quadrocomplex. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quincomplex while we are compelled to have our sexcomplex. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septencomplex while we are compelled to have our octocomplex. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemcomplex while we are compelled to have our elementary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unelementary while we are compelled to have our duoelementary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trielementary while we are compelled to have our quadroelementary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinelementary while we are compelled to have our sexelementary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenelementary while we are compelled to have our octoelementary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemelementary while we are compelled to have our compound. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their uncompound while we are compelled to have our duocompound. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their tricompound while we are compelled to have our quadrocompound. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quincompound while we are compelled to have our sexcompound. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septencompound while we are compelled to have our octocompound. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemcompound while we are compelled to have our primary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unprimary while we are compelled to have our duoprimary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triprimary while we are compelled to have our quadroprimary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinprimary while we are compelled to have our sexprimary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenprimary while we are compelled to have our octoprimary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemprimary while we are compelled to have our secondary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unsecondary while we are compelled to have our duosecondary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trisecondary while we are compelled to have our quadrosecondary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinsecondary while we are compelled to have our sexsecondary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septensecondary while we are compelled to have our octosecondary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemsecondary while we are compelled to have our tertiary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their untertiary while we are compelled to have our duotertiary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their tritertiary while we are compelled to have our quadrotertiary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quintertiary while we are compelled to have our sextertiary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septentertiary while we are compelled to have our octotertiary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemtertiary while we are compelled to have our quaternary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unquaternary while we are compelled to have our duoquaternary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triquaternary while we are compelled to have our quadroquaternary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinquaternary while we are compelled to have our sexquaternary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenquaternary while we are compelled to have our octoquaternary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemquaternary while we are compelled to have our quinary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unquinary while we are compelled to have our duoquinary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triquinary while we are compelled to have our quadroquinary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinquinary while we are compelled to have our sexquinary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenquinary while we are compelled to have our octoquinary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemquinary while we are compelled to have our senary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unsenary while we are compelled to have our duosenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trisenary while we are compelled to have our quadrosenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinsenary while we are compelled to have our sexsenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septensenary while we are compelled to have our octosenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemsenary while we are compelled to have our septenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unseptenary while we are compelled to have our duoseptenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their triseptenary while we are compelled to have our quadroseptenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinseptenary while we are compelled to have our sexseptenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenseptenary while we are compelled to have our octoseptenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemseptenary while we are compelled to have our octonary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unoctonary while we are compelled to have our duooctonary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trioctonary while we are compelled to have our quadrooctonary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinoctonary while we are compelled to have our sexoctonary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septenoctonary while we are compelled to have our octooctonary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemoctonary while we are compelled to have our nonary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their unnonary while we are compelled to have our duononary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trinonary while we are compelled to have our quadrononary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their quinonary while we are compelled to have our sexnonary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their septennonary while we are compelled to have our octononary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their novemnonary while we are compelled to have our denary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their undenary while we are compelled to have our duodenary. Let us tell them that we will not allow them to have their trid

890110001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Demonstration of the Unemployed / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1-2 ; 28 cm. *In* The World. –(Aug. 20, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

French and other nationalities."

Her speech was similar to those which have been already published. It was greeted with enthusiasm, and proved that Miss Goldman has genuine ability as an orator. She has more real fire, for instance, than Chauncey Depew or Gen. Porter. She conveys more readily the conviction of absolute sincerity. Her words were well chosen, and she lashed herself into a fine fury when she told the men that everything had been taken away from them by the capitalistic classes, and urged them not to let their blood be taken also, and not to hear themselves called "Lumpen proletariat" by the overfed rich. She begged the men to use their muscles while they still had them, and strike for their rights.

The World's Fair at Chicago seemed to grieve Miss Goldman. She contrasted it and the millions that had been spent upon it with the condition of the crowd before her. She apepaled at regular intervals to the stomachs of her listeners, reminding them that they and their families were hungry.

After her speech was done she said that it would be unwise to talk to them too seriously or try to explain their situation to them philosophically, as they had not education or reason enough to understand. The only thing to do was to appeal frequently to their sentiments. That, she said, was why she alluded so often to their hungry wives and children. Repeatedly she told the crowd that all the pleasures of the rich, including their palaces and food, came from the workingmen. She was especially indignant that there should be a habit of saying that trouble came form immigrants. Immigrants, she said, had made this country what it is, and they proposed to have their share of it.

THE RIGHT TO BE HAPPY.

In conclusion, Miss Goldman said that workman had more serious things to attend to than to get another job that would barely keep them alive. "You want work?" she said, "but do you call it happiness to have a task for seventeen hours a day? to live and bring your children into the world in dirty tenements to see your wives slaving and your children laboring as soon as they are six or seven years old? We want to work, but we do not want to work like slaves. We want nature; we want to work, but we want to be free."

She pitched into the rich, which she called "Die Herrschende Klasse," and into the press. She told the workingmen of their wrongs and wound up in a burst of passion telling them to go home and think of what she had said when they found themselves unable to give their children the food that they asked for.

The crowd cheered immensely. Miss Goldman sat on the railing of the platform and wept. Her lieutenant, Miss Lena, embraced her and wiped away her tears.

Miss Goldman asked for a glass of water. Word was sent by the policeman in charge of the faucet in the little cottage that she would find plenty of water otu in the park fountain. Her comment was, "That is an American." A World reporter suggested to the policeman in charge of the faucet that it would be as well to give a glass of water to the thirsty woman, just for the example, although she was an anarchist. The policeman consented, as a favor, he said, to the newspaper.

WHERE THE LAW FAILS

Benjamin Rosenthal, a cloakmaker, said, "Workingmen! You are workingmen, and yet you have no work, and have nothing to eat. Is there a law that says you must die for hunger? Is there a law that says you must work sixteen hours a day and then perish? Is there a law that allows you to pay a landlord rent for a year and then, when you fall behind for a month permits him to turn you into the street? Have the lawmakers done anything for you since you have been hungry? (Cries of 'No.')

"Do you want to die of hunger? (Cries of 'No.') The prisoners do not hunger. "Friends, this demonstration represents the many starving men, women and children of New York. It may be that not all the toilers of the city are present to-night, but when the agitation for the abolition of slavery began there were fewer people willing to make demonstrations for it than there are here to-night. Yet slavery was abolished and the American people live under the same American flag. (Cheers.)

"As the abolitionists had faith that slavery would be abolished, so let us believe that the sweating-system will sooner or later be done away with, and with it will disappear the misery of the toiling masses. As to the present crisis, let me say to you do not allow any politician to use you as a tool. (Cheers.) When the Republican party was in power the Democratic party complained that the Republican party was the worst that ever existed. Now, when the Democrats are in power, the Republicans are clamoring. Let them clamor. The Democrats wanted to get into office for the sake of saving the people and the others, I suppose, wanted to save the people for the sake of getting into office. Let us tell these men that we know there is something surely unjust—that there must be something surely unlawful in the present system of society, when so many men, women and children are willing to sell their bodies and souls for a piece of bread and can get nobody to buy them."

EVICTIONS MUST STOP.

"The men on Fifth avenue, the men in Wall street, have their champagne to-night and their pianos playing. Do they care for you? Do they care whether you are starving to death? Let us to-night say to the judges, let us tell the police justices and the police officers that if they want this present crisis to pass away in a quiet manner they must not throw out children on the streets. Don't evict us for non-payment of rent when we have not money to pay rent. (Great cheering.) Let us call upon the public to sympathize with us. Let us appeal to every one with a feeling heart. Let us appeal to every man and woman who believes in a common humanity. Let us appeal to them in a unanimous outcry. Let us say, give us work for the sake of preserving our lives and the lives of our wives and children.

"My friends, I am exceedingly happy that this meeting here to-night was not disturbed. I hope that you will assemble again. I hope that you will consider well your present situation. I hope that you will discuss the situation in a quiet, honorable and orderly manner, and you will gain the admiration and the sympathy, not only of all American workingmen, but of the workingmen of the world. Therefore, allow me to call for three cheers for the international fraternity of workingmen."

MISS SEGER SPEAKS.

The cheers were heartily given and then Miss Goldman's friend, Pauline Maria Seger, was introduced. She said: "We desire that labor should be taken away from prisoners and given to you. Would you be satisfied then?"

Some people in the crowd cried "No," and the Chairman angrily exclaimed "Keep quiet!"

Continuing, the woman said: "Can you expect anything from the capitalists? No. It is now the fifth day since some of you have eaten a meal. I myself have scarcely eaten for the last few days. Some of us are going around without shoes and without a place to sleep to-night. We want bread. We want the right to labor. We want the fruits of our toil. Do not forget that this is not the first demonstration of workingmen, and it is not the last. As long as we cannot get bread and butter and clothing we will not keep silent. Go out and assert your rights. Go out with your flags and the motto shall be 'Bread or Blood.'" (Great cheering.)

THE MEETING ADJOURNED.

The Chairman for the second time announced the adjournment of the meeting, and again there were cries of 'No.'

On the corner of Stanton street a crowd was waiting to cheer the paraders. Emma Goldman saw them. The smiles left her face, she threw her head back and fixed her colored eye-glasses upon her nose. The interest of the crowd was entirely in the two women. They gathered in front of them and pressed from the sides and rear.

Emma Goldman walked with a stately tread, as if she wished to create a deep impression. Miss Seger seemed to be abused to such notoriety, and tried to screen herself behind Miss Goldman. In her right hand she carried a roll of parchment pressed against her breast.

Another crowd was awaiting the procession at East Houston street. A car going east came along as the two women reached the crossing.

With a quick look at the crowd pressing around her, Emma Goldman whispered to her companion and stepped upon the car. Miss Seger followed her example, and the two had disappeared before the crowd realized what had happened. A halt in the procession followed, and then the unemployed workingmen learned that the start had been premature.

Until 5:45 a half dozen policemen had charge of the crowd at the corner of Rivington and Essex streets. At that hour Capt. Devery with two squads of policemen, thirty-two men to each, marched to the front of Golden Rule Hall.

The men were stationed at short intervals and ordered to make no interference with the forming of the procession unless there was danger of a riot. At exactly 6 o'clock Capt. Devery gave permission for the procession to move forward. Six policemen walked at the head of the line to see that the streets were clear.

As the signal for the advance was given the line, which a moment before seemed to contain at least three thousand people, gradually grew thinner. Men slunk away into the crowds on the sidewalks, and whole companies of men who were supposed to be ready to start quietly disbanded. The procession as it left the hall did not seem to number more than one thousand people.

It took exactly five minutes for it to pass around the corner into Essex street, and when it had disappeared up the street there seemed to be as large a crowd as ever at the intersection of Essex and Rivington streets.

Capt. Devery waited with his two squads of policemen ten minutes and then ordered them to march to the station-house. The saloons in the vicinity of Golden Rule Hall were crowded both before and after the line was formed.

The procession moved up Essex street to Third street, across to Second avenue, up Second avenue to Thirteenth street, then across to Fourth avenue, and up that street to the north side of Union Square. There was no demonstration along the line of march. At the different street corners small crowds gathered to watch the parade out of curiosity, and once there was a slight clapping of hands to applause.

The workingmen carried no banners, no torches, and they did not cheer. No band led the procession, consequently there was no attempt to keep step. The men walked as if they were simply going to work, but all the time kept as nearly six abreast as possible.

When the policemen heading the procession entered Union Square a flash of lightning sent its reflection across the street. A thousand or more people stood near the Cottage, where the speaking was to take place. They made no demonstration as the procession approached, and in a few minutes the workingmen from Golden Rule Hall had broken their line of march and were mingling with the crowd in front of the cottage.

IT WAS A FEVERISH DAY.

There Were Exciting Meetings, but Incendiary Speeches Were Stopped.

Edward Ury and Joseph Lowenstein the committee appointed to get a permit for the parade of the unemployed, visited Police Headquarters early yesterday and saw Acting Superintendent Conlin. The Inspector was satisfied by the representations of the men that their destitute situation would be materially benefited by the parade, and granted the permit. The Church at No. 89 Rivington street in the afternoon. The Rev. Arno C. Gaebelein preached. Not more than one hundred and fifty of the congregation were Christians by creed. Dominie Gaebelein chose for his text: "He shall speak peace to the nations."

A ROW IN A CHURCH.

Mr. Gaebelein's effort to speak peace was not happy in its results. "It's a poor way to get bread," said he, "by breaking into saloons." A big, black-bearded man jumped up and accused the pastor of speaking libelously.

Mr. Gaebelein told the interrupter to be quiet. A hundred other men sprang to their feet and hurled denunciations at the pulpit. The regular attendants at the church services tried to soothe the angry crowd, but in vain, and a policeman was called in. At sight of him the disturbers fled.

HIS PARENTS STARVING.

A gaunt man approached a group of reporters near Walhalla Hall. "Come with me," he said, "and I will show you something terrible. My father and mother are dying of hunger. My name is Julius Bodansky and I am out of work."

He took the reporters to the third floor of the rear tenement at No. 150 Delancey street. His mother, Golda Bodansky, was lying on a sofa and his father, Jacob, was pacing up and down like a wolf in a cage. The old woman appeared to be in the last stages of consumption. The scanty coverlets did not altogether conceal her limbs, which were as thin as a starveling child's, and her hands were like sparrow's claws.

"Look at that," said Julius, "and I can get no money and no food. A doctor from the Board of Health came here the other day. He simply opened the door, looked in, wrote a prescription, threw it on the table and went away. I took the prescription to a druggist and he wanted a dollar. I couldn't get it and he refused to give me the medicine. What can we do? Behold us! And there are many others in our plight."

The reporters subscribed a few dollars for the poor people and Bodansky hurried away to get medicine and food for his parents.

POLICE VACATIONS STOPPED.

Inspector Conlin So Orders as a Measure of Precaution.

Acting Superintendent Conlin issued an order yesterday morning stopping all vacations in the police force until further orders. This is in view of the possible trouble growing out of the recent labor demonstrations. Although Inspector Conlin declared that he does not think any serious complications will result, he deems it advisable to be ready for any emergency, and will hold the whole police force in readiness to respond at a moment's notice.

Those of the force who are now away on their vacation will be allowed to stay their full time, but no more applications will be granted, and the vacations already granted, where the men have not yet left the city, will be revoked. The order applies to all the superiors, captains, sergeants, roundsmen and patrolmen. About 150 hundred men are now away leaving upward of 1,000 ready for active duty.

Inspectors Conlin, Mc Av[illegible] and Superintendent of the Police Telegraph System had a [illegible] yesterday afternoon perfecting arrangements for [illegible] all from among the reserves [illegible] at hand by station [illegible] the first sign of trouble, and to keep a [illegible] reserves under [illegible] the [illegible] of the men.

MOST AND EMMA GOLDMAN.

The Prophetess of Disorder Frowned on [illegible]

[illegible] Church at No. 89 Rivington street in the [illegible] ling is over and the permit has expired."

THE MOVE ON WASHINGTON.

Authorities Ready to Deal with Any Anarchistic Demonstration.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 19.—Speaking of the movement said to have been inaugurated in St. Louis of urging all the unemployed of the West to move on Washington, Herman J. Schulteis, of the local Federation of Labor, a member of the Immigration Committee sent to Europe not long ago by the Government, says:

"I knew of this movement some ten days ago. I did not then and do not now approve of the scheme, and my most earnest endeavors were exerted to discourage it. It was originally projected to muster at least 20,000 and, if possible, a half a million unemployed men, to force Congress by means of a tremendous demonstration, to provide relief for the needy classes. I do not believe that the Federation of Labor is at the bottom of this movement. It is the direct result of the agitation of a lot of cranks, Socialists and Anarchists—some of whom are in this city to-day strenuously endeavoring to create trouble.

"It may be added that if any movement such as that foreshadowed is attempted on a large scale there is no city on the continent where such prompt and vigorous measures could be taken to repress any Anarchical demonstration. There would be no red tape, no intervention of Mayor or Governor, from whom action must be had before the strong arm of the National Government could intervene. A move of Anarchists in Washington would be a move against the Government of the United States, and there are abundant National forces at hand to promptly repress it."

WORKMEN WANT MONEY OR BLOOD.

Alderman Molloy, of New Rochelle, Belaborad by His Employees.

SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.

MOUNT VERNON, N. Y., Aug. 19.—Charles Yaker, William E. Walkley and James Farell, stone-pavers, of New York, were held in the New Rochelle Police Court to-day on a charge of feloniously assaulting Alderman Molloy, of Molloy Brothers, contractors. The men had finished paving Mechanic street and demanded their pay. It was not forthcoming and they started in search of some member of the firm. They met Alderman Molloy and his brother Dillie. Loud words were exchanged, and soon the Alderman and his brother had thrown off their coats and were fighting with their employees. Dillie Molloy drew a revolver, but was prevented from using it by a bystander. Both the defendants were severely punished.

One Arrest Was Made.

Robert Johnson, twenty-six years old, of No. 211 East Twenty-eighth street, a blacksmith, who attended the meeting at Union Square last night, was arrested by one of Inspector McAvoy's detectives at Broadway and Seventeenth street after the crowd had dispersed, for refusing [illegible] when asked to do so.

When arrested he [illegible] his friends for help, which they [illegible] him. He was locked up in the West Thirty-second street station.

FOUND DEAD IN HIS ROOM

Herman Ulke's Sudden End Due to Asthma and Consumption.

When [illegible] today at [illegible] house, [illegible] yesterday forenoon, [illegible]

[illegible] Private Scott Gets the [illegible]
Score of 138 [illegible]

SEABIRT, N. J., Aug. [illegible] bledon Cup match, the [illegible] of matches of the N[illegible] sociation of America, [illegible] the range here, attract[illegible] large crowd of spectators both military and civ[illegible] the interested spectators number of ladies who [illegible] glasses with them with [illegible] the target 3,600 feet away.

Private Scott, of the [illegible] team, won the Wimbledon [illegible] was 138; Major Harris [illegible] a score of 125. Last year's winner, Gens, was 123. [illegible] tered in the competition.

In the members' match [illegible] lers of the New Jer[illegible] Team only five shots a[illegible] A. B. Kaiser, 24, was [illegible] Van Valen 23, second, [illegible] re, 20.

The Kaiser match, 2[illegible] yards, three highest s[illegible] 1. A. Kirk, of Washi[illegible] ng; Lieut. Roebling, [illegible] 99; Major Pollard, of [illegible] Highest possible, 105.

The military match, [illegible] was won by Major Pol[illegible] 21 at each range, a to[illegible] Roebling was a close [illegible] and 24 or 47 in all.

NO DANGER OF [illegible]

A False Cholera Alarm [illegible] Buffalo

BUFFALO, Aug. 19.—[illegible] Marine Hospital Surg[illegible] tonsil at Suspension B[illegible] cholera suspects, has [illegible] York. Thursday two [illegible] from Canada and while [illegible] examining one the cond[illegible] other. There were [illegible] grants from cholera d[illegible] they escaped. Dr. Ring[illegible] yesterday and swore o[illegible] the arrest of the conduc[illegible]

WASHINGTON, Aug. [illegible] rad Wyman, of the [illegible] Service, when shown t[illegible] Buffalo anent immigra[illegible] infected ports said: "[illegible] Canada from abroad [illegible] Quebec, and there they [illegible] Dr. Montizambert, and [illegible] E. Hanks, of the [illegible] Service who is station[illegible] Superintendent of the Canad[illegible] Every immigrant pass[illegible] he is inspected and [illegible] fected. He is not [illegible] through unless he [illegible] signed to both physici[illegible] larger whatever [illegible] grants.

BERLIN'S PRIGH[illegible]

Reported Cases of Ch[illegible] as Due to Und[illegible]

BERLIN, Aug. 19. [illegible] cholera here [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] matter [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

890110001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Demonstration of the Unemployed / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1-2 ; 28 cm. *In* The World. —(Aug. 20, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

example, although she was an anarchist. The policeman consented, as a favor, he said, to the newspaper.

WHERE THE LAW FAILS.

Benjamin Rosenthal, a cloakmaker, said: "Workingmen! You are workingmen, and yet you have no work, and have nothing to eat. Is there a law that says you must die for hunger? Is there a law that says you must work sixteen hours a day and then perish? Is there a law that allows you to pay a landlord rent for a year, and then, when you fall behind for a month, permits him to turn you into the street? Have the lawmakers done anything for you since you have been hungry?" (Cries of 'No.')

"Do you want to die of hunger? (Cries of 'No.') The prisoners do not hunger, and they are allowed to work. We should stop this. Let convict labor cease, so that you may have a chance to earn bread for your wives and children. (Cheers.) I am an American citizen, and I am hungry and out of work, but the Government is doing nothing for me. Do you remember that time in Homestead, when people died fur hunger's sake?"

There was some jostling in front of the platform, and the speaker exclaimed: "Keep quiet! Behave yourselves!" He then continued: "I would like you to be still until I speak what is in my heart. Congress is meeting, but is doing nothing for the laborers. Congressmen have never felt hunger. Who knows better than we what hunger is, what it is to have no place to lay our heads? Our wives and children are sleeping in the streets.

"They say that we should keep the law. Well, let them arrest me. In prison I would, at any rate, have something to eat. What have you got to lose? There is nothing worse than to die from hunger. It is better to die as a brave man than to die as a slave. The capitalistic press say we are hot-heads and not laborers, yet we have only been talking of our hunger. Our cry is for bread or labor. Do not lose your courage, hungry as you are. Protest against the condition of affairs. Ask others why they keep quiet. Don't they want to eat as well as we? Politicians make promises and ask you to vote for them. Where were they when our wives and children were dying of hunger? They will have no answer. At that time they were sitting at home eating abundantly and drinking choice wines. Again I say, don't lose courage. Call for your rights, fight for your rights and you will get them."

RAIN THINS THE CROWD.

The rain began to pour down on the crowd, and there was a thinning out at the outskirts. Although many of the people had umbrellas, there were signs of impatience during the address of the next speaker, a cigarmaker named Radischowski, and he was interrupted several times. The audience pressed up towards the platform, and there were shouts of "Keep still!" and "Don't push!" The police lined up before the platform and bore back the swaying multitude until a clear lane several feet wide was made.

Radischowski said: "In spite of the rain, stay here and listen to your brothers who are talking of your interests. This shows that you are in earnest. What matters a little rain to starving men? We are not speaking for ourselves; we are speaking for you. Why should men willing to work be without work? Help lies with yourselves. All the promises of smooth-tongued capitalists are worth nothing. Why have we not been united? God knows where we would be now if we had only kept together. Let this crisis be a

No. It is now the fifth day since some of you have eaten a meal. I myself have scarcely eaten for the last few days. Some of us are going around without shoes and without a place to sleep to-night. We want bread. We want the right to labor. We want the fruits of our toil. Do not forget that this is not the first demonstration of workingmen, and it is not the last. So long as we cannot get bread and butter and clothing we will not keep silent. Go out and assert your rights. Go out with your flags and the motto shall be 'Bread or Blood.'" (Great cheering.)

THE MEETING ADJOURNED.

The Chairman for the second time announced the adjournment of the meeting, and again there were cries of "No, No." Barondess hustled to the front and shouted: "The last speaker has spoken. There will be no more here to-night. The meeting is geschlossen."

"No, no," cried the crowd.

"I tell you it is," Barondess decided. "You cannot have any more speaking to-night, and that is all there is about it. Three cheers for liberty!"

The cheers were given and still the meeting did not disperse. The policemen on duty were wet and cross, and began to show signs of impatience. A young man approached the front of the platform and waved his arms. "See here," said the Sergeant, "what are you up to? Do you think you have two permits for meetings here to-night or what?"

"I only want to make an announcement," said the man. Then he shouted, "Men, in the names of your hungry wives and children, I beg you to go home quietly. Come to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock to No. 257 East Tenth street and we will have a meeting there. Now please go home."

The crowd reluctantly moved away. Barondess and a few other speakers lingered at the cottage. "Gentlemen," said the Sergeant, "this platform is no longer yours. You must clear out. Take your ladies," he added, pointing to a group of women, "and go."

"I guess I can take care of my own family," said Barondess, and taking the arm of one of the women he went away.

MOST MAKES A TEMPERANCE SPEECH.

Two hundred Anarchists met at Paul Wilzig's saloon, No. 85 East Fourth street, last night to discuss what methods should be taken to aid the unemployed. John Most presided, and made a short speech, guardedly saying, in substance, that the unemployed workingmen were hungry, starving, and that something must be done. After his speech Most suggested that the meeting be adjourned until 2 P. M. to-day, in the same place. The suggestion was adopted, after a resolution had been passed that the Anarchists join in the parade on Labor Day.

DAILY MEETINGS ARRANGED.

At a meeting of the United Trades Union last night, at No. 91 Delancey street, President Uhlemann, presiding, it was decided to arrange every day peaceable public meetings of the unemployed men, in order to keep them from confliction with the police in either act or word. The men were also to confer about wages and means for helping the unemployed in a lawful manner.

EAGER TO SEE EMMA GOLDMAN.

Her Appearance Caused a Fake Start Of The Procession.

Three or four thousand people were at the intersection of Rivington and Essex streets at 5 P. M. yesterday. The centre of the crowd broke their line of march and were mingling with the crowd in front of the cottage.

IT WAS A FEVERISH DAY.

There Were Exciting Meetings, but Incendiary Speeches Were Stopped.

Edward Ury and Joseph Levenstein, the committee appointed to get a permit for the parade of the unemployed, visited Police Headquarters early yesterday and saw Acting Supt. Conlin. The Inspector was satisfied by the representations of the men that their demonstration would be conducted decently and in order, and he granted the desired permit. Nevertheless, he made elaborate preparations to suppress any disorder or rioting, and he told the committee that any incendiary speaking by Emma Goldman or others would not be tolerated.

The committeemen hurried to Golden Rule Hall, where the unemployed were holding an all-day meeting, and found Miss Goldman there, making a fiery address. Mr. Ury interrupted, and said that Inspector Conlin had ordered that kind of thing to be stopped.

EMMA GOLDMAN DEFIANT.

"Isn't this a free meeting?" asked Miss Goldman, tossing her head.

"Yes," said Ury, "but you must not make any Anarchistic speeches."

"We'll see about that," said the defiant Emma. Then she left the hall, followed by a few admirers, and went to a store in Grand street and did some shopping. Then she looked into Walhalla Hall for a minute, but everything was quiet there. She went on to No. 4 Canal street, where she had her picture taken by Photographer Zog. The "Queen of the Anarchists" had not had a very satisfactory day so far.

Later she heard that there was a meeting of Socialists at Military Hall, at No. 193 Bowery. The speakers were A. Fagenbaum, Roman Lewis and Morris Nelkewitch. They had paid $5 rent for the hall, and they recommended their people to keep away from all street demonstrations.

THEY WOULDN'T HEAR HER.

Miss Goldman literally sailed into the hall. She wore a white dirt waist, a black skirt and a black hat, with red roses. "Ziep," she said, "I come to address you."

"Get out of here" was the response. "We don't want you or any of your kind."

Emma snorted with wrath and departed. When she was gone the Socialists made arrangements for daily meetings of the unemployed. The first will be held at 2 P. M. to-day. They also decided to engage Cooper Union at least once a month for mass-meetings, and appointed August Waldinger, Harry Glen and Isaac Bennett as a Relief Committee to collect money, food and clothes for the needy. The committee's headquarters will be at No. 64 East Fourth street, and the rooms will be open from 8 A. M. until midnight daily.

BARONDESS A PEACEMAKER.

Joseph Barondess visited the meeting at Golden Rule Hall and stated that he had held a conference with Inspector Conlin and Capt. Devery at the Eldridge Street station-house Friday evening, and had given assurances that the majority of the unemployed who wished to parade and meet at Union Square were American citizens and peaceable men. "The Acting Superintendent told me," he added, "that he thought the assemblages had been for the purpose of assaulting

spectors, captains, sergeants roundsmen and patrolmen. About two hundred men are now away, leaving upward of 3,400 ready for active duty.

Inspectors Conlin, McAvoy, and Supt. Brennan, of the Police Telegraph System, had a protracted conference in the Superintendent's room yesterday afternoon, perfecting arrangements for summoning aid from among the reserves quartered at near-by station-houses in the event of trouble, and to keep Acting Superintendent Conlin fully informed of the progress of the meeting.

MOST AND EMMA GOLDMAN.

The Propheteess of Disorder Frowned on by Die Freiheit.

Anarchist John Most and Emma Goldman were sweethearts five years ago. Then Most and Emma could be seen often promenading through Tompkins Park. They parted though, Most alleging that she had tried to make a fool of him, and she took up with Berkman, who shot Frick. Since then Most has been saving uncomplimentary things in his organ, Die Freiheit, about Emma. She had no newspaper to answer back, but every one who knows her knows she can talk. She has said that Most was mean and cowardly, and a traitor to the Anarchist cause, and that was why Most and Emma did not speak from the same platform last night.

Capt. Devery is blamed in some quarters for failing to arrest Emma for her incendiary speech in urging the people in Tobias's Hall to riot. The Captain believes that her arrest at that time would have gained her much sympathy, and, besides, she was very careful not to say anything that could be construed into the sort of misdemeanor for which Most served two terms of one year each in the penitentiary. Capt. Devery had two men following Emma all day yesterday, and everything said by her was carefully noted down and will be submitted to the District-Attorney.

Herr Most's Freiheit, which appeared yesterday, said nothing complimentary about Emma, but expressed the belief that the rioters were behaving like fools. Most attacks the United Hebrew Trades editorially. "The United Hebrew Trades," he writes, "is composed of Socialists, every one of whom is compelled to vote for the Socialist Democratic party, otherwise he is treated and considered as a 'scab.' Union No. 11 had 1,500 members two years ago, but since they joined the Central Labor Federation the union has become crippled. Only a few fanatics are left at the head of the organization.

"The cloakmakers, with their 8,000 members, could have fought the capitalists. Since their defeat many cloakmakers have inhaled the poison of social democracy. Their entire work has become a failure. The result has been that the cloakmakers left the Central Labor Federation and the United Hebrew Trades, to join the I. C. W. The United Tailors and other organizations have done the same. A few demagogues are still keeping up the Central Labor Federation for selfish interest and for personal gain."

PICKED UP IN THE CROWD.

Incidents Noted by World Reporters at the Union Square Meeting.

"If the police were any good," thundered Joseph Barondess, after his speech

spector McAvoy's detectives at Broadway and Seventeenth street after the crowd had dispersed, for refusing to move on when asked to do so.

When arrested he called upon his friends for help, which they declined to give. He was locked up in the West Thirtieth street station.

FOUND DEAD IN HIS ROOM.

Herman Litke's Sudden End Due to Asthma and Consumption.

When Day Clerk Lindsay at the Morton House sent up to Herman Litke's room yesterday forenoon to learn why he had not yet come downstairs the occupant, who came to the hotel on July 28 from Chicago, was found dead in bed.

Later in the day the Coroner found that death had resulted from asthma and consumption and the body was removed to H. A. Taggart's undertaking establishment, No. 4 Spring street.

Litke was thirty-five years old and appeared to have no employment. The Public Administrator will open his trunk to-day and endeavor to communicate with his friends in Chicago.

MANY CHILDREN WILL SING.

An Open-Air Concert to Be Given Wednesday in Abingdon Square.

The Abingdon Square concerts given by Rampono's Old Guard Band every Wednesday evening are becoming more interesting as they progress.

Tammany Leader James W. Boyle intends to have at least two hundred children seated around the musicians' stand singing patriotic songs next Wednesday night, and they will meet in the large rooms of Tammany Headquarters, at the corner of Park and Hudson streets, to-morrow for rehearsal.

Hunting Water in Railroad St cks.

[SPECIAL TO THE WORLD.]

OMAHA, Neb., Aug. 19.—The State Board of Transportation has filed its answers in the cases brought by the railroads to restrain the board from putting into effect the law which makes the maximum rates depend on dividends. It is understood that figures will be produced to show that some of the roads, notably the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, have watered their stock until the actual stock is more than three-fifths fluid, yet they have paid from 8 to 10 per cent. dividends on the fictitious valuation, while if the stock had not been watered for the purpose of blinding the public, the dividends paid would have amounted to 20 or 25 per cent.

A New Bridge Over the St. Lawrence.

MONTREAL, Aug. 19.—The Grand Trunk Railway has decided to build a new bridge across the St. Lawrence River at Montreal, the old single-track bridge being too limited for the accommodation of the traffic. The new bridge will be built alongside the old one, and on the old piers, which will be extended. It will be a double-track open bridge. Work will be begun at once.

Burglars Secure $900 in Ready Cash.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., Aug. 19.—Walter Clapp's residence was robbed last night of cash and valuables representing $2,800. The burglars also stole jewelry from three other houses.

Hundred Cases of ... as Due to ...

BERLIN, Aug. ... cases of cholera ... to a single source — ... Russian Poles—the ... dismissed the matter ... theirs. Each case ... the person affected ... food imported from ... Russia.

The police are ... ing Russian emigrants ... arrive from cholera ... migration was ... checked.

WASHINGTON ... Wyman has received ... Consul-Gen. Edwards ... that there are no ... cholera there.

A Business Insurance ...

NEWARK, N. J., ... States Credit System ... for $40,000 by M. Levy ... of New Orleans. The ... for $20,000 a year ... Company, which insures ... bess losses of all kinds ... two years ago they ... now sub for $40,000, ... the two years. The ... failed to report their ... their certificate requires ...

Uncle Sam Still ...

WASHINGTON, Aug. ... the United States Treasury ... date amount to $1 ... ceipts for the ... $46,545,770. The ... to date are $22,207,0... to date $61,882,88... circulation outstanding ... 368, an increase during ... 000.

Warner's $35,000 ...

CLAYTON, N. Y., ... Sleeper, the beautiful ... to H. H. Warner, ... Rochester, was sold ... Bay to-day to John ... exact amount of cash ... $35,000. Mr. Warner ... Islands. He is in Europe ...

Antwerp Gives Cholera ...

ANTWERP, Aug. ... the reports that cholera ... the various consuls ... to vessels leaving ... to the Asiatic cholera ... been choleraine caused ... of fruit.

Death Looked ...

Abraham Littler, ... 405 West Fifty-second ... despondency yesterday ... throat with a razor ... Roosevelt Hospital. ... will recover. He is ... married.

Both Legs Cut ...

James Barghardt, ... legs cut off by a motor ... son County Railway ... ably die. The motor ...

Rerouse breakfast Beer ...
Aids as a brace—...

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890110002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Urging Men to Riot / Emma Goldman. — p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* The World. —(Aug. 22, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

URGING MEN TO RIOT.

Emma Goldman Makes an Incendiary Speech in Union Square.

SHE DEFIES THE POLICE AND ADVISES HER HEARERS TO ARM.

Mid Cheers of the Crowd She Boards a Car and Detectives Follow Her.

Hungry and Unemployed Men Are Told that It Is Their Right to Seize Food and Property Wherever They Can Find It—Several Thousand Men Applaud the Cry "Hurrah for Anarchy!" but There Is No Outbreak—Other Speeches in the Same Vein — The Police Are on the Alert, but Are Not Called to Act — Mr. Klinkowstein Feeds Sixteen Hundred People at His Place on East Broadway—A Relief Committee of Wealthy Citizens Organized to Assist Him.

Emma Goldman made an incendiary speech to a mass-meeting of the unemployed in Union Square last night. To make sure that no one would have any doubt as to her meaning, the spitfire spoke first in English and then in German. About three thousand men listened and cheered her. Inspector McLaughlin and Detective-Sergeants Jacobs, Heidelberg, Von Gerichten, Trainer, Kush and Murphy also heard her, but did not applaud. The detectives stood among the throng on the speakers' platform at the cottage. Jacobs was right behind Miss Goldman while she was speaking.

In everything except the speechmaking the meeting was orderly. A line of park policemen fringed the crowd, many in plain clothes were mingled with it and five hundred bluecoats were in the side streets near the square ready to answer quickly to any call from Inspector McAvoy, who was in command.

About a thousand men marched in procession from Covenant Hall to Union Square.

Fifty policemen escorted the paraders out of the Tenth Ward, and when the Seventeenth Ward line was reached Capt. Doherty's men took charge. Inspector Williams viewed the marchers from Tenth street and Second avenue. The Inspector was in plain clothes.

The route of the procession was from forming in a sort of line marched to Second avenue, shouting "Hurrah for Anarchy! Down with capitalists!"

HE FED SIXTEEN HUNDRED.

Mr. Klinkowstein's Practical Charity to the Unemployed.

Morris Klinkowstein, the big-bodied and big-hearted saloon-keeper at Rutgers street and East Broadway, announced again yesterday that he would give soup, bread and meat to all hungry persons who came to his place between 11 A. M. and 1 P. M. As early as 10 o'clock a crowd of ragged men, women and children had gathered in the Rutgers square triangle and on East Broadway. When Mr. Klinkowstein saw the multitude he sent around to the Madison



MR. KLINKOWSTEIN, WHO FED THE UNEMPLOYED.

street police station for help. His free meal experiment of Sunday had cost him more than he had bargained for, because the crowd had surged upstairs, and in their anxiety to reach the dining-room had broken part of the balustrades of the stairway.

Roundsman Murtha, with Patrolmen Gilmartin, Murphy, Moran and Curry, came, and formed the hungry people in a long column on the sidewalk. Above the liquor store is a room used for lodge meetings. It is long and narrow, running the full length of the building. Beside the dais, at one end, there stood yesterday a huge soup big boiler had been replenished repeatedly, and three other boilers in different parts of the building had been kept going. "Send out for herrings! Send out for more bread!" cried Mr. Klinkowstein. The waiting line on the sidewalk did not seem to have thinned out at all. It was constantly being reinforced. "Send more men in," said Mr. Klinkowstein. "We'll give them bread and herring."

Several hundred men and boys were fed on this fare.

When finally the door had to be closed the unfortunates who were too late turned wearily away without a murmur. Mr. Klinkowstein shouted to them not to be disheartened, but to come back to-day, when he will have provisions for twice the number fed yesterday.

Mr. Klinkowstein's guests consumed 150 gallons of soup, 500 loaves of bread and 200 pounds of meat. In addition to this food, the open-hearted host gave away a good many dollars in dimes and quarters.

WORKMEN URGED TO GET ARMS.

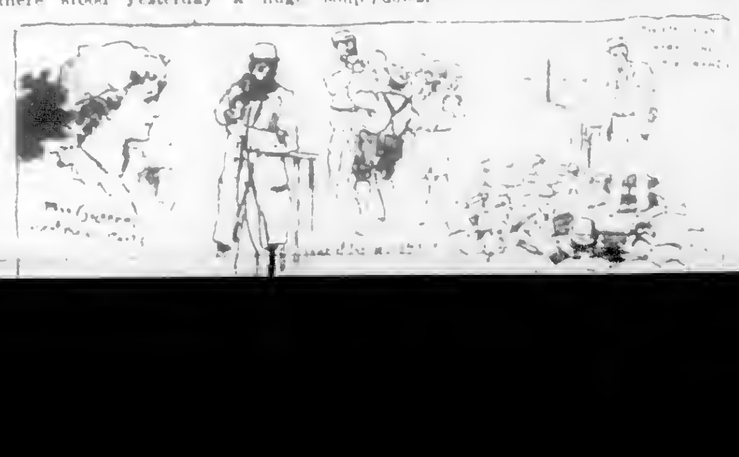
Emma Goldman's Incendiary Speech at Covenant Hall.

Several minor meetings of the unemployed were held yesterday. The Anarchists rallied at Covenant Hall, No. 58 Orchard street, and the Socialists met at Pythagoras Hall. There was a great deal of fiery talk at the Anarchists' meeting. Covenant Hall is almost next door to Walhalla Hall. The proprietor is Joseph Batt. Emma Goldman's friend, Pauline Seger, had been wandering around all the morning endeavoring in vain to get a meeting place. At last Miss Seger, followed by a crowd of men, went to Covenant Hall. Mr. Batt had seen the Walhalla Hall riot and did not dare to refuse the use of his place. "Come in," he said. "Are you hungry?"

"Yes!" came an answering shout.

"If you will be quiet I'll give you some food," he said. In a few minutes the crowd was ravenously eating up a generous free lunch and drinking beer at Mr. Batt's expense. While they were eating Mr. Batt sent word of the invasion to the Eldridge street station-house, and half a dozen officers were soon stationed at his door, and two in plain clothes went into the hall.

Pauline Seger, clad all in black and with a diamond ring sparkling on her finger, sat at a table smoking cigarettes, while a dozen Anarchists abused the police, the reporters and the prevailing conditions of society. One speaker said: "The police have no right to interfere with us. Anything you want you ought to take. One day we'll march out by hundreds of thousands and assert our rights. That beautiful day is coming. If any policeman interfered with me I'd knock him down."



executive officers may select the men, and no doubt they will be approved by the unions."

The Relief Committee will meet to-morrow and afterwards at No. 385 Bowery from 10 A. M. until 10 P. M.

Mr. Gompers received a letter from Walter S. Hair yesterday inclosing $25 for the relief fund.

The committee appointed to call on the municipal authorities will probably visit the Mayor at the City Hall to-day.

PULLED DOWN THE BLACK FLAGS.

Newark's Mayor Suppresses an Incipient Outbreak.

There were two demonstrations by the unemployed in Newark yesterday. [illegible] persons gathered at the

others are in need of the necessaries of life. We therefore call upon the Mayor and the Board of Aldermen of the City of New York to convene in special session and devise ways and means to alleviate the present distress in the same manner and to the same intent as they would were it caused by fire or pestilence. We ask the city authorities to provide ways and means for the commencement and continuance of public works for the employment of those who are now unemployed, the employment to be direct and not by contract. We call on the Governor of this State and the President of the United States to call a convention by public proclamation and take such legislative action as will tend to relieve the present distress."

The committee appointed to send an appeal to the different labor organizations issued an address last evening which concluded as follows:

"The central organizations are so peculiarly circumstanced that a conference between them would have resulted in squabbles and mutual distrust. We therefore invite every individual trade-union in New York to select three representatives to attend a conference Sunday, Aug. 27, at 2 P. M., at the International Labor Exchange, No. 257 East Tenth street. If your unions do not hold meetings between now and Aug. 27, your



THE PARADE ON BROAD STREET.

tion, who feasted and made merry until midnight.

LONGSHOREMEN'S TROUBLES.

Three Coastwise Steamer Lines Cut Wages and One Withholds Them.

From one hundred to one hundred and fifty longshoremen lounged about on the west side of South street, between Wall street and Maiden lane, all of yesterday and last evening, and jeered the men who went to work for the Ward line of steamers plying between New York and Mexican and Cuban ports. As a result but few did go to work for the line, and they did so at their own peril, a squad of policemen from the Old Slip Police Station being their only protection.

The trouble began about 6 A. M. yesterday. C. H. Gibbs, superintendent of piers for the line, which occupies piers Nos. 16, 17 and 18 on South street, announced to the men Saturday that, beginning yesterday, their wages would be reduced from 30 to 25 cents an hour on the day shift. At the same time the Mallory line, at piers Nos. 20 and 21, and the Clyde line, at piers Nos. [illegible] 20, 21 and 4 similarly lowered their wages [illegible].

At Pier No. 16, of the Ward line, the steamer Saratoga, which leaves for Havana at 3 P. M. on Wednesday, was [illegible] the other vessels of the [illegible] the Ward line [illegible] knew this and [illegible] up and some [illegible] would be [illegible] [illegible] were available [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] at work [illegible] and stowed away the

CRIPPLED FOR L

Condition of Many of Broc Elmira Reformatory Victi

WITNESSES WHOM INVEST CRAIG CAN QUESTION.

Some Blinded Some Have Broke All Permanently Hurt.

One Man's Eye Knocked Out Cheek, Also Her Jumped f Third Tier to Avoid Blows a His Legs Are Ruined in Con — All Tell of Flogging for formance of Impossible Cheaper to Bury an Inmate Feed Him, Brockway Says Men Rendered Forever Depe Injuries Received at the R Brockway and His Assista dence Accumulates of the Practised at Elmira and the tee Can Get All of I.

There are scores of men throughout the country to-day w been marked for life by the brut ment they received at the Elm formatory. Some of them ha their eyesight destroyed, othe scars on their heads and ba faces and not a few have h bodies drawn out of shape or and seared with the scars from the red-hot irons used Among the victims is [illegible] who was known at formatory as No. 4004. He now [illegible] Here is [illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890110002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Urging Men to Riot / Emma Goldman. — p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* The World. — (Aug. 22, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

be one would have any doubt as to her meaning, the spitfire spoke first in English and then in German. About three thousand men listened and cheered her. Inspector McLaughlin and Detective-Sergeants Jacobs, Heidelberg, Von Gerichten, Trainer, Kush and Murphy also heard her, but did not applaud. The detectives stood among the throng on the speakers' platform at the cottage. Jacobs was right behind Miss Goldman while she was speaking.

In everything except the speechmaking the meeting was orderly. A line of park policemen ringed the crowd, many in plain clothes were mingled with it and five hundred bluecoats were in the side streets near the square ready to answer quickly to any call from Inspector McAvoy, who was in command.

About a thousand men marched in procession from Covenant Hall to Union Square.

Fifty policemen escorted the paraders out of the Tenth Ward, and when the Seventeenth Ward line was reached Capt. Doherty's men took charge. Inspector Williams viewed the marchers from Tenth street and Second avenue. The Inspector was in plain clothes.

The route of the procession was from Orchard street to Houston, to Avenue A, to Second street, to Second avenue, to Fourteenth street, and thence to the Square.

Emma Goldman was accompanied to the cottage by her friend, Pauline Seger, and Alexander Timmerman. Timmerman's name came before the public in association with Miss Goldman's when Berkman was arrested for attempting to assassinate H. C. Frick. Speeches were made from two trucks as well as from the central platform. At the cottage David Levy presided. When he introduced Emma Goldman there was tremendous cheering, and the speakers on the trucks were deserted while she spoke.

EMMA GOLDMAN'S SPEECH.

She said: "I would first like to appeal in English to the American workingmen. If Jefferson and Paine, who fought for freedom; Wendell Phillips and John Brown were here to see your misery they would be ashamed of their country. You have Senators and Congressmen who live in luxury while you have nothing to eat. Their children live in grand style. Their wives and daughters wear silks and diamonds. You have thought that the liberty of America gives you freedom and bread. Now you know how very much mistaken you have been. You are not free citizens. You are worse than black slaves.

"Americans! If you really want to be free citizens, take your rights into your own hands. Go and fight with your brothers, no matter if they are foreigners. You are starving as well as they. Don't be prejudiced against these poor people who have come to this country. They are not responsible for the prevailing conditions. The capitalist class is responsible. The capitalist system is bear its ruin.

"Unite and go from street to street. Go among the capitalists and rich people and ask for bread, and if they do not give it to you peaceably, then take it by force. Do as the North did against the South: You will find your John Brown and your Wendell Phillips as the North did.

"If you do not get bread and freedom peaceably, take it by force. As long as you are slaves, with nothing to eat; as long as you are dragged down, you cannot be human beings, respected by any nation. Unite with others. Go out in the street and fight for your bread, and take it if they will not give it to you."

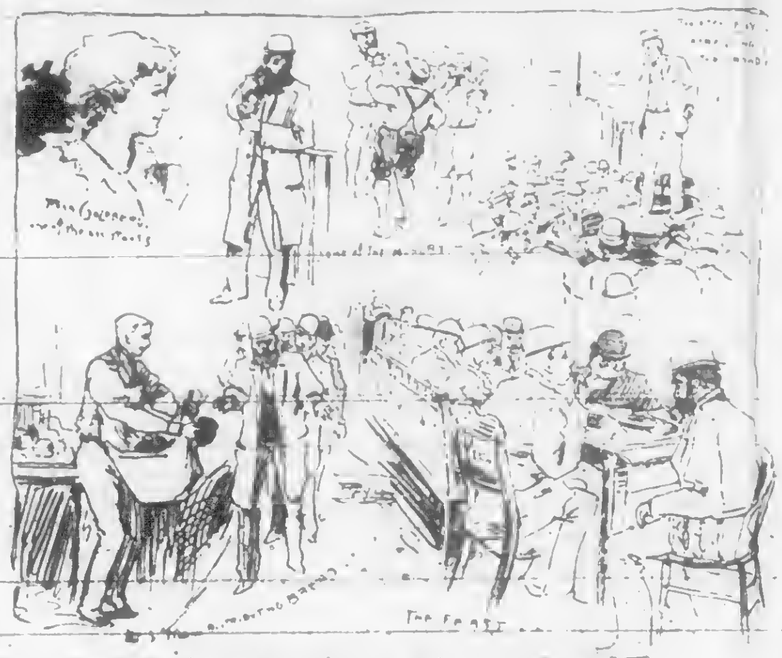
SHE DEFIES THE POLICE.

Continuing in German, Miss Goldman said: "Do not be afraid of the clubs of the police. The advice the Anarchists have given you is good. What they told you a few years ago would happen is now taking place. We are

MR. KLINKOWSTEIN, WHO FED THE UNEMPLOYED.

street police station for help. His free meal experiment of Sunday had cost him more than he had bargained for, because the crowd had surged upstairs, and in their anxiety to reach the dining-room had broken part of the balustrades of the stairway.

Roundsman Murtha, with Patrolmen Gilmartin, Murphy, Moran and Curry, came, and formed the hungry people in a long column on the sidewalk. Above the liquor store in a room used for lodge meetings. It is long and narrow, running the full length of the building. Beside the desk, at one end, there stood yesterday a huge soup



FEEDING THE HUNGRY AT KLINKOWSTEIN'S SALOON.

boiler, set on a gas stove. Mrs. Klinkowstein presided over the boiler, and stirred and skimmed the soup. She is bright, plump and motherly looking. She wore a big white apron over her black skirt, and in a cheery voice gave directions to half a dozen volunteer assistants while she cooked.

Benches were ranged along the walls, besides a large number of chairs and improvised tables, which filled the centre space.

At 10.30 the crowd had increased so that the line of the hungry extended around the corner down into East Broadway. Mr. Klinkowstein is very emotional, and as he saw the crowd outside he jumped up and down with excitement.

The doors had not yet been opened when Register Levy came. Mr. Klinkowstein," he said, "you are doing a noble work, and I came, not only to congratulate you, but to offer co-operation." The Register then proposed the organization of a Committee of Relief, to assist Mr. Klinkowstein in providing daily meals. The suggestion was acted on immediately. Mr. Levy was appointed Chairman of the committee, and the following members were selected: Morris Klinkowstein, Alexander Haft, Morris Levy, Joseph Solomon, Joseph Jacobs, Jacob Katz, Jacob L. Lissner, Daniel Rathstein. The committee got down to business at once by starting a subscription. Register Levy gave $50, Morris Levy, $5; Katz & Co., $25, Jacob Lissner $25, Alexander Haft, $25, Joseph Solomon, $25, and A. S. Friedland, $10. Mr. Klinkowstein also received $5 and a sympathetic letter from Lawyer Abra-

food," he said. In a few minutes the crowd was ravenously eating up a generous free lunch and drinking beer at Mr. Katz's expense. While they were eating Mr. Katz sent word of the invasion to the Eldridge street station-house, and half a dozen officers were soon stationed at his door, and two in plain clothes went into the hall.

Pauline Seger, clad all in black and with a diamond ring sparkling on her finger, sat at a table smoking cigarettes, while a dozen anarchists abused the police, the reporters and the prevailing conditions of society. One speaker said: "The police have no right to interfere with us. Anything you want you ought to take. One day we'll march out by hundreds of thousands and assert our rights. That beautiful day is coming. If any policeman interfered with me I'd knock him down."

The names of the speakers were withheld. One black-bearded individual objected to the presence of reporters in the hall.

"These minions of the capitalistic press are spying on us!" he yelled. "Down with reporters. Kill reporters."

A third speaker said: "We have to go and beg beer and ask permission to eat free lunches. Some day we'll go to Fifth avenue and shake up the sleek, fat millionaires who are living in the houses we have built. Down with priests and rabbis! Don't listen to them or to any of those who tell you to have patience! Fight for bread and butter! Fight! fight! fight! I shan't tell you how. You'll know how yourselves when the time comes."

Miss Seger had had her say, which did not amount to much, and then a person named Bodansky, for the relief of whose suffering mother several reporters on Saturday subscribed a small sum, arose and exclaimed: "The New York World has said that I received $10 from the capitalistic reporters."

The World said nothing of the sort. "It is a lie," howled Bodansky. "I received only a paltry dollar and twenty cents."

The man caught sight of John H. McLean, one of the top dogs who had contributed to the fund. "Come up here!" he cried. "You can tell them all." came up and told these people that I only got $1.10."

Mr. McLean said he did not care to make a speech, but Bodansky and some other men grabbed him and lifted him up on the table, which was used as a platform. Just then Emma Goldman, who had been making a speech at Newark, arrived. She inquired what the trouble was and advised the people not to make fools of themselves. Somebody ran out of the hall and cried: "For God's sake call the police! They're going to lynch a reporter."



THE PARADE ON BROAD STREET

executive officers may select the men, and no doubt they will be approved by the unions."

The Relief Committee will meet to-morrow and afterwards at No. 385 Bowery from 10 A. M. until 10 P. M.

Mr. Gompers received a letter from Walter N. Hair yesterday inclosing $25 for the relief fund.

The committee appointed to call on the municipal authorities will probably visit the Mayor at the City Hall to-day.

PULLED DOWN THE BLACK FLAGS.

Newark's Mayor Suppresses an Ineffectual Anarchism.

There were two demonstrations by idle workingmen in Newark yesterday. Fully 10,000 persons gathered at the junction of Wallace place and Bank street before 9 A. M., and 100 formed in an irregular line, with black flags and banners, and moved on their prearranged line of march. One plain black flag was raised. A second bore the inscription, on one side "Bread," on the other "Work," in white letters. Two black banners bore the words "We Suffer in the Midst of Plenty" and "The Signs of the Times: I am Starving Because He is Fat." On the opposite side were caricatures, intended to represent a fat capitalist and a hungry workingman. Several "pullers-in" left the line to induce spectators to join the procession, with the result that at one time there might have been nearly 300 marching. As the head of the column approached the City Hall Mayor Haynes descended the steps and demanded:

"Who are these men? What country do they hail from? What colors are they carrying? Here, officer, take down those flags! We acknowledge but one emblem here—the Stars and Stripes. If these men want to march let them carry the American banner—our red, white and blue. These things are outrageous!"

The policeman obeyed the Mayor's order. The men made no resistance. Their column was broken and Supt. Brown ran from Police Headquarters and ordered them to move on, which they did. The crowd cheered the Mayor. The paraders were without exception, foreigners.

The police had prepared for any emergency, but no occasion arose for their services. The route of the parade was changed so that the men could assemble at Paleochia Park. There, unannounced, Emma Goldman appeared on the platform. She was to have delivered the first address, but Capt. Glori changed the programme, and came very near refusing to let her speak at all.

Herr Woelksel was first to speak, and began by condemning the Anarchists. "Anarchy is necessary," shouted a voice



their wages would be reduced from 30 to 25 cents an hour on the day shift. At the same time the Mallory line, at piers Nos. 20 and 21, and the Clyde line, at piers Nos. 15, 28, 29, 33 and 34, similarly lowered their wage rates.

At Pier No. 16, of the Ward line, the steamer Saratoga, which leaves for Havana at 3 P. M. on Wednesday, was tying up. Like all the other vessels of the line, she carries the United States mail. The longshoremen knew this and thought that by refusing to go to work at the reduction they could tie her up and so cripple the line that its managers would be forced to restore the former scale of wages. They were mistaken. Supt. Gibbs soon succeeded in securing about sixty regular workmen, and stowed away all the



A GROUP OF STRIKING LONGSHOREMEN.

freight that arrived yesterday. His chief trouble was with the men who load the coal. They struck in sympathy with the other longshoremen, the consequence being that the Saratoga has yet to get her fuel on board. This, according to Supt. Gibbs, will be done to-day and to-night without difficulty.

At Pier No. 13 of the Clyde Line the George W. Clyde is scheduled to sail Saturday. No men were at work on her yesterday. The men in charge of the dock say that this was because the vessel is not ready for loading; the longshoremen, because they went go to work at the reduction.

Capt. A. B. Connor, General Superintendent of the Mallory line, found no difficulty in securing men to finish unloading the Rio Grande, from Fernandina, Fla., yesterday. To-day two more vessels of this line are expected to arrive from Texas, however, and the longshoremen say that no man will be found to unload them.

When the longshoremen employed by the Morgan Line Steamship Company at piers Nos. 25 and 37 North River, assembled at the dock at 6 P. M. yesterday to be paid their weekly wages, they were informed that the company would be unable to meet their demands until to-night, when they would be paid in full. No reason was given for the delay, but it is supposed to be due to an inability to collect outstanding accounts. About one hundred of the head clerks, bosses and other employes received their checks, however.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890110002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Urging Men to Riot / Emma Goldman. — p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* The World. — (Aug. 22, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

you peaceably, then take it by force. Do as the North did against the South! You will find your John Brown and your Wendell Phillips as the North did.

"If you do not get bread and freedom peaceably, take it by force. As long as you are slaves, with nothing to eat; as long as you are dragged down, you cannot be human beings, respected by any nation. Unite with others. Go out in the street and fight for your bread, and take it if they will not give it to you."

SHE DEFIES THE POLICE.

Continuing in German, Miss Goldman said: "Do not be afraid of the clubs of the police. The advice the Anarchists have given you is good. What they told you a few years ago would happen is now taking place. Do not be afraid of such creatures as the Pinkertons, the police and the reporters. They are all blood suckers. (Cheers.

"You have as much right to arm yourselves as the police. (Cheers.) You have as much right to use arms as the police. (Cheers, and we know where to get the weapons, and you know; and what will the fat policeman do then? (Tremendous cheering.)

"Long live anarchy!

"Hurrah for revolution." (Cheers.)

HER EYE ON THE OFFICERS.

Miss Goldman remained on the platform until the close of the meeting. She chatted with Pauline Seger and looked askance at the detectives.

Dr. Theodore R. Kinget, a friend of George Francis Train, denounced the Government for selling thousands of acres of the best soil in America to English and French capitalists. "The soil belongs to you," he said. "It is because you are landless that you are out of employment. I would be your worst enemy if I incited you to riot, because you would go against men equipped with cannon and rifles and bayonets, while you would only have all ks and stones. But arouse public opinion, and by and by nothing will resist your appeal. I have those lands opened to you.

"Anarchism only means that you should have an honest livelihood. Anarchy is a science. If the time comes, we will be ready to go to war for you all, as the North did against the South for the black men."

Alexander Timmerman said that capitalists were worse than murderers. Benjamin Rosenthal said the capitalists would rather allow laborers to starve than lose a cent. Arthur Morton read a poem calling on workingmen to strike under the red flag for the freedom of the world. Alexander Hershoorer complained that millionaires sent their daughters abroad to marry titled Europeans, while the wives and daughters of hungry laborers were selling their bodies and souls for bread. Michael Lovine said that capital had got all the riches that should belong to the laborer and urged the audience not to be afraid of the police.

Barnett Braun, a cloakmaker, said, "We want bread and if bread is not given to us we will take it ourselves. Somebody behind me is pulling my coat and saying I'll be arrested if I speak that way, but I don't care."

DENOUNCES AMERICANS.

William Tooer, a blacksmith, said: "People talking proudly about being Americans. To allow the workingmen to starve—that's American. It is American to build a monument to policemen for shooting poor people."

Resolutions were adopted calling on workingmen of all nationalities to organize together, and the meeting was adjourned. Some of the people marched across Fourteenth street shouting and singing. Emma Goldman and Miss Seger walked to Nineteenth street and Fourth avenue, whither a big crowd followed them. Miss Goldman suddenly turned and walked back to Fourteenth street and crossed to Third avenue, and, with Miss Seger and Mr. Timmerman, boarded a blue car. Two detectives also jumped on the car.

The crowd that had been following Miss Goldman gave a cheer as she departed, and

organization of a Committee of Relief, to assist Mr. Klikowstein in providing daily meals. The suggestion was acted on immediately. Mr. Levy was appointed Chairman of the committee, and the following members were selected: Morris Klinkowstein, Alexander Haft, Morris Levy, Joseph Solomon, Joseph Jacobs, Jacob Katz, Jacob L. Lissner, Daniel Rathstein. The committee got down to business at once by starting a subscription. Register Levy gave $50, Morris Levy, $52; Katz & Co., $25, Jacob Lissner $25; Alexander Haft, $25, Joseph Solomon, $25, and A. S. Friedland, $10. Mr. Klinkowstein also received $5 and a sympathetic letter from Lawyer Abraham H. Sarasohn.

After he had set the committee agoing Register Levy went out. He was recognized and there were loud cries of "Speech, speech!" He got a chair from a barber's shop and jumped in it, and said: "People, be patient, and you will be supplied with food. Do not be induced to make any disorderly demonstrations. Avoid all appearance of anarchy or riot. Anything of that nature is detrimental to your interests."

"All's ready," said Mrs. Klinkowstein, at 11 o'clock. "Wait a minute," said her husband. "We must have the women and children in first."

By his direction the officers picked out the women and children along the line and put them in front. Then it was decided to admit the crowd in batches of forty or fifty. The first batch was made up entirely of women, boys and girls and babies. As the poor creatures, haggard and tattered, hurried upstairs Mr. Klinkowstein broke down and cried.

Mrs. Klinkowstein and her assistants first saw that the guests were all comfortably seated. Then there was a merry rattle of dishes. The cover was lifted off the big soup boiler, and a glorious steam ascended.

Among Mrs. Klinkowstein's helpers were two physicians, Dr. Monsky and Dr. Lawinski; A. Harris, Mr. Bojarski, Oscar Sherman, Louis Klene, Solomon Rosenstein, Mr. Bojansky, A. B. Goldberg and Rosa Goldberg. Mr. Klinkowstein's little daughter, Lily, a bright, black-eyed girl, also helped her mother.

The volunteers handed around plates of beef soup and big pieces of bread, and everybody got a generous share so long as the supply lasted. The starving women and children fell on the food ravenously. It was a very silent feast. There was no time for words. Loaves of bread and portions of soup disappeared in short order, and when the first portion was gone, many asked for more and it was not refused. Some of the women had brought baskets and were allowed to fill them with bread and meat.

When the men's turn came, the police had hard work to prevent more than the required number from entering the hall at one time. The men did not bring baskets, but they had appalling appetites. Sixteen hundred men of all creeds and callings were fed. Most of them had been out of work for weeks, some for months. Some had been evicted from their homes, and had been living on scraps, snatches of "free lunch," and odds and ends of stale food picked from garbage barrels and gutters. Among the men came boys whose parents had no food for them at home. Side by side with barefooted, scantily clad youngsters sat broken-down old men, unfit by reason of age to work, but the most melancholy feature was the presence of hundreds of young men, and men in the prime of life, willing to work but unable to get employment.

At 1 o'clock the soup was gone. The

pattydollar and ten cents."

The man caught sight of John H. McLean, one of the reporters who had contributed to the fund. "Come up here!" he cried; "you can back me up." Come up and tell these people that I only got $1.10."

Mr. McLean said he did not care to make a speech, but Rodansky and some other men grabbed him and tried to pull him up on the table, which was used as a platform. Just then Emma Goldman, who had been making a speech at Newark, arrived. She inquired what the trouble was and advised the people not to make fools of themselves. Somebody ran out of the hall and cried: "For God's sake call the police! They're going to lynch a reporter."

Five policemen with drawn clubs and two detectives in plain clothes pushed through the crowd and escorted Mr. McLean from the hall.

When the excitement was over Miss Goldman went to the upper floor of Covenant Hall, where a great throng packed in a small meeting-room awaited her. Some of the people from the main hall followed her. Among them was a detective, who took notes while she said:

"I bring you tidings from your brethren in Newark, who, notwithstanding the cowardly Mayor of that city, marched under the black flag. Go you and do likewise. The brutal police will be all about you at Union Square to-night, only awaiting the opportunity to assault you. Take my advice and do not go to Union square to-night without weapons; go armed, I say, armed!"

The detective hastened with a report of the speech to Capt. Devery, of the Eldridge street station.

The Socialist meeting at Pythagoras Hall was orderly. The audience, was composed of members of the Hebrew trades, and their first action was to appoint a committee of thirteen, six unemployed and five employed men to keep out Anarchists. Several Anarchists struggled in during the speech-making and tried to interrupt, but they were hustled to the door without ceremony.

DEVISING PLANS FOR RELIEF.

A General Trades-Union Call Upon the Government Suggested.

The committee appointed at the conference of delegates at the International Labor Exchange Sunday to make a draft of a new economic gospel issued it in the form of an address yesterday. It begins by stating that 100,000 men, women and children are nearing the verge of starvation in New York. "Hundreds of thousands of others," it goes on, "are only within a short distance from want. From all the manufacturing and commercial centres there comes an anxious demand for work. Soon we expect it to be followed by a despairing cry for bread."

The address goes on to say that the tendency of the present times is towards the concentration of wealth and corporations and individuals. "A few men and women," it continues, "enjoy the opulence of Eastern potentates, while abject millions grovel in the dust, begging for work and bread. We call upon all citizens and all religious and political faiths to give most careful consideration to our appeal and to the methods and measures here set forth. The trades-unions are the surest guarantee of a peaceful solution of the world-wide problem of the abolition of poverty. We believe in times of great distress, from whatever cause, it is the duty of all men to give relief to the suffering. We call upon all to contribute funds to those whose wives and children are starving. As a city is a co-operative corporation in which the people are shareholders, no one citizen has the right to live in extravagant luxury while

the first address, but Sigismund changed the programme, and came very near refusing to let her speak at all.

Herr Weiksel was first to speak, and began by condemning the Anarchists. "Anarchy is necessary," shouted a voice



THE MAYOR SEIZES THE BLACK FLAG.

from the audience. "I deny it," the speaker answered. "Anarchists are making all this trouble—the capitalistic Anarchist who defies law and order and humanity." He advised people who were starving to state their grievances boldly and said they would get redress.

Another man, Joe Rotter, had this to say about the Mayor: "Who was that fresh fellow who took our flags and robbed an American citizen of his rights? The Stars and Stripes that he calls the flag of freedom are no more than rags. He tells us to vote the Democratic ticket and elect a Democratic Mayor, and then we can carry the red or the black flag if we will; but when we do so he takes our black flags away, although we were not disorderly."

Emma Goldman was received with loud applause and said:

"People all over this broad land are starving for bread, are pleading for work, and it is denied you. They'd kill you, too, now that you are useless to them, those champagne-drinking rich men. And will you stand it? Did you come here with well-filled stomachs from restaurants and well-filled tables? No, the hearth-stone is cold, the cupboard empty, the children starving. Send to Washington and tell them there your condition, hold meetings, do and dare, and, if need be, die, for then you will not always be hungry. (Applause.) Look at this city, full of bread and clothing, and it should be yours, it can be yours. If you can't find bread search for ammunition, and get it that way. We are human and we want bread. (Applause.) The police and military try to stop us, but they cannot withstand thousands of starving men. Give us what we want or we will band together and repeat here the story of Trafalgar Square. There are thousands here who have nothing to lose, and much to gain, by action. Look at our President and our police. They are fat on the things that should be, but are not, yours. Demand your rights. Demand, don't ask, for bread; and if you wish to march to-morrow, I will be in the van."

Resolutions condemning anarchy were then read, and the audience dispersed and gave the park over to an associa-

pected to arrive from Texas, however, and the longshoremen say that no men will be found to unload them.

When the 200 longshoremen employed by the Morgan Line Steamship Company, at piers Nos. 25 and 37 North River, assembled at the dock at 6 P. M. yesterday to be paid their weekly wages, they were informed that the company would be unable to meet their demands until to-night, when they would be paid in full. No reason was given for the delay, but it is supposed to be due to an inability to collect outstanding accounts. About one hundred of the head clerks, bosses and other employees received their checks, however.

FEWER BEGGARS FOR FOOD.

Not So Many Applications as Usual at Hotels and Fixed Charities.

The restaurants and hotels of this city usually have a good many applications for food from people who say they are penniless. Curiously enough, the demand upon Delmonico's is smaller now than usually at this season of the year. Ordinarily not a day passes without somebody coming to the door and begging for food. All applicants are sent to the front entrance, where they are scrutinized, and, if sober, and apparently respectable, they are seldom refused. For ten days now not a soul has made such an application.

At the Brunswick, the Hoffman and other uptown hotels there is substantially the same story. None of them reports any unusual demand for food from people unable to pay for it. There are surprisingly few tramps in the city, and those who are abroad in the streets at night notice an uncommon freedom from street beggars, with the further fact that more of the applications for alms have the ring of genuineness.

The Salvation Army, in proportion to its size and resources, probably does as much real charitable work as any organization in the city. Its soldiers have the census of the city divided into three districts, and in each district there is a Salvation Army outpost, where two or three members of the army actually live, to be as close to the suffering they wish to relieve as possible. These workers, besides visiting the sick and caring for the helpless, distribute food, clothing and even money now and then where it is deemed advisable. Mrs. Bown, who is at the head of this branch of the service, said yesterday that there was an increase in the application for relief, as well as in the number of cases deserving relief which are unearthed by the constant efforts of the army.

Among its other charities the Salvation Army conducts a creche, where the children of the poor are "minded" while their mothers are out at work during the day. Mrs. Bown estimates that fully half of these women are out of employment. She bases her calculations on the fact that the creche now cares for just about half as many children each day as it did before the stress of the hard times set in.

Hotel Arrivals.

Astor—Ex-Congressman W. E. Simonds, of Connecticut.

Grand—Gen. Austin Lathrop, of Corning, N. Y.

Fifth Avenue—Congressman Joseph H. Walker, of Massachusetts.

Hoffman—Gov. Nathan O. Murphy, of Arizona, and Henry Hitchcock, of St. Louis.

I was in this weak
Brockway would of
I frequently asked
lieve me from my
suffering. They eve
light to such a man
against my eyes unt
lie with my face do
more pain. Since my
been able to earn a
is justice in the la
think I am entitled
tion from a State th
in such a position."

PUNCHED BY

Another man who
blinded by Brockw
who was sent to E
Judge Moore, of
since been transferre
the twenty-four ser
World began its exp
abuses. "My record
first," he said to a
was sent to the s
Rushmore, my teach
education. He sent
heard to figure one
was a little slow i
he asked me how m
cost. I told him 25
how much would e
four cents apiece,
him. I thought he
fool of me, and I
that the monitor,
me nine reports, an
the shop the next
That was about Ma
the bathroom San
were there. As soo
read. Sample gave
eye. Then I was
hands against the
struck me seven b
neys and five across
When he was thr
hung down on my
so ashamed of the
that they covered
coat while I was
put me into my c
injured as I was
the solitary for fi
Dr. Wey came to
the solitary only
my eye, and when
could not see out
was all right. Eve
jov had very ind
it before my face."

BOTH LEG

Another man, cr
Parks, who now l
street. His injury
yet, but he was
that former jeopa
peated. "When I
said to a World
signed to the four
is very heavy. "T
the work too hard
by the doctor. I t
weak back, and
cell, with two chai
which meant that
The next day I wa
way. He asked m
I told him I want
said 'I will fix y
dragged into the
padded me himself
moved to the di
of bread and wat
and they would n
to kill me.'

"The fourth da
the foundry. Afte
of having tobacco
was struck in the
down. When I wa
day I saw the pr
for me at the do

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880721002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Nellie Bly Again. She Interviews Emma Goldman and Other Anarchists / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 42 cm. *In* The World. –(Sept. 17, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

VOL. XXXIV. NO. 11,716. PRICE FIVE CENTS. NEW YORK

NELLIE BLY AGAIN.

She Interviews Emma Goldman and Other Anarchists.

WHAT JUSTUS H. SCHWAB AND JOHN MOST SAY OF CAPITAL.

Their Ideas o' Marriage Do Away with All Ceremony.

SCHWAB'S WEDDING SERVICE READS, "HERE'S TO YOU."

Perfect Freedom in Everything Is Their Motto—Emma Goldman's Opinion of the Woman Who Is Married to a Man She Does Not Love—What She Says About the Wealthy and the Lazy—Why There Are Criminals—If Everything Were Free, She Says, There Would Be No Criminals—Emma Goldman Speaks Russian, German, French and English, and Reads and Writes Spanish and Italian—Schwab Talks About His Wife and Smart Children.

Will the United States ever again suffer from a civil war?

All the causes upon which that premonition has been founded seem to have vanished.



EMMA GOLDMAN.

The religious war so frequently suggested is an impossibility to-day, when all denominations meet in peaceful and harmonious conference.

Race prejudices on which was hinged another thought of war, are rapidly disappearing, and those remaining are not strong enough to-day to make a man get or give a black eye.

As for a war between the East and West, we are far too level-headed for that. The West is our brother and we may have our little spat, but the one that strikes him a blow must fight us.

What remains?

The greatest of all causes, the cause most to be feared.

[illegible] forth in thundering tones from time to time.

Does it mean anything serious?

Ask the capitalist. Ask the [illegible] Ask the labor unions.



anarchical leaders and authorities, as the representatives of the people, if labor goes to war with capital, it is not amiss to give a little sketch of them, their personality and their daily lives. This I have attempted to do.

The number of Anarchists in America it is impossible to give. The body is growing



JUSTUS H. SCHWAB.

larger and stronger every day. Fathers are educating sons to follow in their footsteps and mothers are implanting the seeds of Anarchy in the minds of their daughters.

What effect this teaching has upon the home life and children you can judge from the little I saw at Mr. Schwab's.

It has been said that the Anarchistic party is composed of Germans and beer. The following extract from a letter I received refutes this.

"I see you are to write about Anarchists. Will you not say that America is founded upon Anarchy? What were we but Anarchists when we threw the tea overboard? I wish to state, as it is claimed all Anarchists are foreigners, that in New York City there is an Anarchist club, composed of 160 members, every one of whom is a descendant of a Revolutionary ancestor. No man can be a member who is not. And we are Anarchists."

Through an acquaintance who saw Parsons just before he was hanged I have obtained his (Parsons's) definition of Anarchy.

It is as follows:

"Anarchy is a speculative philosophy. It is antagonistic to centralized power. It proposes the abolition of all authority, compulsion or force government."

Webster's definition of anarchy is this:

"Anarchy. Want of government; the state of society where there is no law or supreme power, or where the laws are not efficient, and individuals do what they please with impunity; political confusion."

I stood at the heavy iron gate that keeps out those who wish to go into the tombs and keeps in those who wish to go out.

Just within a man, fat, uniformed and expressionless, sat upon a chair which, by tilting against the wall, he had transformed from a quadruped into a biped.

The man looked at me without the faintest expression of any kind. Two poorly clad mouse-colored men upon the other side looked wonderingly at me and then on beyond into the long, dark passage. A schoolboy, with his books under his arm, ran up the steps and after one hasty glance through the iron bars and another at me, ran on. A shapeless girl in plain black garments came timidly up to my side and looked longingly through the door, as if inside was someone for whom she cared.

"I want to come in," I said to the [illegible]

"It's too late," he replied in a voice that matched his lack of expression.

"But I have a note from Mr. Blake for the Warden," I urged.

"He's out, but his deputy's here if he'll do," he informed me.

"He will do as well," I answered.

The chair became a quadruped again. The gate swung slowly open and then clanged behind me.

"Wants to see the Warden," the man called to a Grover Cleveland-looking official who sat behind an inner gate.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

26

880721002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Nellie Bly Again: She Interviews Emma Goldman and Other Anarchists / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 42 cm. *In* The World. – (Sept. 17, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

from civil war.

All the causes upon which that premonition has been founded seem to have vanished.



EMMA GOLDMAN

The religious war so frequently suggested is an impossibility to-day, when all denominations meet in peaceful and harmonious conference.

Race prejudices on which was hinged another thought of war, are rapidly disappearing, and those remaining are not strong enough to-day to make a man get or give a black eye.

As for a war between the East and West, we are far too level-headed for that. The West is our brother and we may have our little spats, but the one that strikes him a blow must fight [illegible]

What remains?

The great [illegible] causes, the cause most to be feared.

You hear its [illegible] as it breaks forth in the [illegible] time to time.

Does it mean anything serious?

Ask the capitalist. Ask [illegible] Ask the labor unions.



[illegible]

There [illegible] brewing between capital and labor, between the masses and the classes, between the rich man and the poor.

Who can [illegible] when it will be, when it will come.

If it is war, who will lead the masses? Those who are to-day recognized as sympathizers, promoters and agitators.

And first among these are John Most, Justus H. Schwab and Emma Goldman.

They are devoting their lives to the solution of the social problem. They are earnest, sincere and tireless. They are ready to give liberty and life, if necessary, for this cause. John Most has already spent nine years of his life in prison for preaching his theories and he preaches as earnestly to-day as he did before his first term.

This means more than a mere fad, more than a desire for notoriety, and I can positively assert that there is no money in it.

There is no doubt, then, as to their honesty and sincerity, be they right or wrong; and as

following extract from a letter I received refutes this.

"I see you are to write about Anarchists. Will you not say that America is founded upon Anarchy? What were we but Anarchists when we threw the tea overboard? I wish to state, as it is claimed all Anarchists are foreigners, that in New York City there is an Anarchist club, composed of 100 members, every one of whom is a descendant of a Revolutionary ancestor. No man can be a member who is not. And we are Anarchists."

Through an acquaintance who saw Parsons just before he was hanged I have obtained his (Parsons's) definition of Anarchy.

It is as follows:

"Anarchy is a speculative philosophy. It is antagonistic to centralized power. It proposes the abolition of all authority, compulsion or force government."

Webster's definition of anarchy is this:

"Anarchy: Want of government; the state of society where there is no law or supreme power, or where the laws are not efficient, and individuals do what they please with impunity; political confusion."

I stood at the heavy iron gate that keeps out those who wish to go into the tombs and keeps in those who wish to go out.

Just within a man, fat, uniformed and expressionless, sat upon a chair which, by tilting against the wall, he had transformed from a quadruped into a biped.

The man looked at me without the faintest expression of any kind. Two poorly clad mouse-colored men upon the curb looked wonderingly at me and then on beyond into the long, dark passage. A schoolboy, with his books under his arm, run up the steps, and after one hasty glance through the iron bars and another at me, ran on. A shapeless girl in plain black garments came timidly up to my side and looked longingly through the door, as if inside was some one for whom she cared.

"I want to come in," I said to the man.

"It's too late," he replied, in a voice that matched its lack of expression.

"But I have a note from Mr. Blake for the Warden," I urged.

"He's out, but his deputy's here if he'll do," he informed me.

"He will do as well," I answered.

The chair became a quadruped again. The gate swung slowly open and then clanged behind me.

"Wants to see the Warden," the man called to a Grover Cleveland-looking official who sat behind an inner gate.

The official asked for my pass, looked it over lazily, handed it back and told me to sit down, that the deputy was at lunch.

I sat down and watched a man at work on a ledger, saw the girl I had left on the steps outside talking earnestly to the man at the gate, heard it clang twice more to admit a man prisoner and the next time to admit a girl.

When I was almost tired out with waiting the deputy warden came and instantly took me back to the women's prison.

"This young lady wishes to see Emma Goldman," he explained to the assistant matron.

"Do you want her brought here or will you talk to her through the gate?" she asked me.

"If I can go to her, I prefer it; if not please bring her to me."

"It is against the rules to let any one in among the prisoners," she said, and giving me a chair she went to bring Emma Goldman.

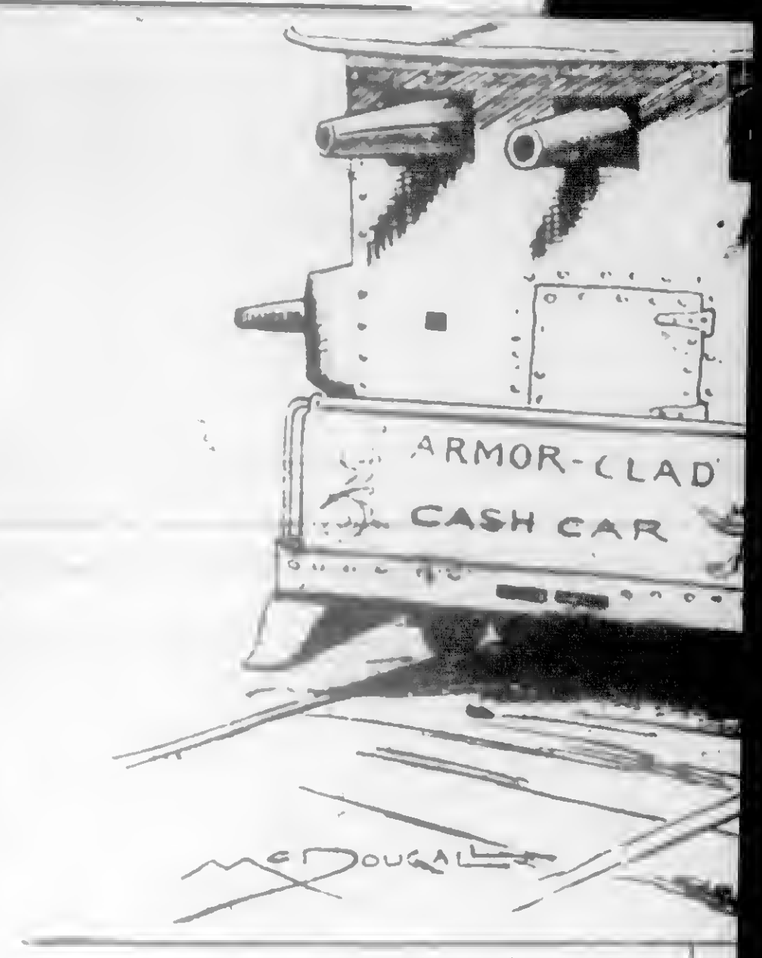
EMMA GOLDMAN

Do you need an introduction to Emma Goldman? You have seen supposed pictures of her. You have read of her as a property-destroying, capitalist-killing, riot-promoting agitator. You see her in your mind a great raw-boned creature with short hair and bloomers, a red flag in one hand, a burning torch in the other, both feet constantly off of the ground and "murder" continually upon her lips.

That was my ideal of her, I confess, and when the matron stood before me saying, "This is Emma Goldman," I gasped with surprise and then laughed.

A little bit of a girl, [illegible] 5 feet high,

(Continued on Third Page.)





THE CANDY BOY

MORE BIDDERS HEARD FROM.

Capitalists Will Compete for the Underground Road Franchise.

The exclusive news printed in The World yesterday that Ryan & McDonald, the Baltimore tunnel contractors, are prepared to guarantee the construction of the proposed New York Underground Rapid Transit road within three years, can raise the requisite capital and are ready to begin the tunnel as soon as the franchise is awarded to them, was discussed with interest yesterday.

It had the effect of bringing out another important piece of good news for those who have the cause of rapid transit at heart. This piece of news is that the live capitalists who recently approached a member of the Rapid Transit Commission through a New York firm will make a definite proposition within a very few days. They are entirely responsible and reliable and they are bona fide competitors for the franchise.

William Steinway, Chairman of the Rapid Transit Commission, expressed his gratification that the underground system first favored by him has appealed so powerfully to practical capitalists that there will probably be two competitors in the field for the franchise, a condition of affairs which takes the Rapid Transit Commission and New York City out of the humiliating position of begging somebody to accept the franchise.

Though Mr. Steinway said that the Rapid Transit Commission has not yet received a proposition from Ryan & McDonald, the interview with Mr. McDonald, printed in yesterday's World, showed that the firm was confident of its ability to do the work and anxious to get the franchise. Mr Steinway said that he knew of Ryan & McDonald as reputable and successful contractors who had done tunnel work on an extensive scale, and that he thought that their statement, as printed in The World, was very reasonable.

"I only doubt," said Mr. Steinway,

"whether Mr. McDonald [illegible] be expected to raise the [illegible] carrying on the work [illegible] the entire estimated cost [illegible] possible. You can't, as a [illegible] on much more than half [illegible] such operations. However, [illegible] heard from them, and [illegible] ter wait till they send us [illegible] sition.

"Now, about the other [illegible] proached one of the members [illegible] sion, as already printed [illegible] not tell you the names of [illegible] because, as I have told [illegible] know who they are myself. [illegible] name of the New York firm [illegible] municated with the members [illegible] sion, and as this firm has [illegible] name secret of course I will [illegible]

"I can tell The World [illegible] expect to get a definite [illegible] them in a very few days. [illegible] sponsible and reliable in the [illegible] the word, and their action [illegible] fide. They mean business [illegible] the commission through [illegible] to see whether we would [illegible] fications."

Weather Indications.

FAIR [illegible] For Eastern [illegible] slight changes [illegible], high winds [illegible] For Western [illegible] northwest winds and [illegible]

For New England, [illegible] day morning, rain by [illegible] in Massachusetts, [illegible] nesday, high winds [illegible] northwest.

For New Jersey, [illegible]

Perry's record yesterday [illegible]

	1892.	1893.
8 A. M.	60	65
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4 P. M.	64	66
12 M.	69	69

Average temperature [illegible] corresponding date last year, 6[illegible]

Average for the week.....

Only $17 to the [illegible]

Through cars to Chi[illegible] Railroad, Thursday, [illegible] See full particulars and [illegible] under "Excursions."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

27

880721002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Nellie Bly Again: She Interviews Emma Goldman and Other Anarchists / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 42 cm. *In* The World. – (Sept. 17, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

URN BURGLARS.

sidences Robbed by the a Rakish Craft.

UCCANEERS ALL, NOT LOCKBREAKERS.

lver from Plated Ware ice Show—High Taste—Low and Black. Is Seen e Offing — Mrs. F. F. F. Proctor and Thomas ang Those Robbed.

raft has been seen in Long essel that so far as known rt in any of the yacht races listed in any of the mari- offices. She is said to be of the Country Club, who ything in Cordage and who three bottles, have seen her. ght Cuo men have sighted is a sloop and that she looks has from time to time hov- as piratical craft invaria- e has been near enough to not her decks are stooped in nly has been viewed by citi- ter senses, and that there is d that she is not engaged in certain.

at Larchmont have been ng, low, rakish craft is sus- dren who go to bed at 8 P. M. stly nurseries of those big nsions dream of the Spanish r men with striped under- ariably carry wicked-looking n their teeth.

s that have been robbed are E. B. Crocker, widow of the naire; Frederick F. Proctor, roctor's Theatre, and Thomas ated at Larchmont and near pirates visited them between ay break Thursday morning e so much as know's written to inform the victims that on perpetrated for r-r-r-re-

residence was first visited. ork, she had packed up all the e house preparatory to a r- The pirates probably do not it solid silver in their hasti- ted ware was found strewn about the dining-room, each su tested with acid to prove

trinkets were also taken, and t doubt ornamenting the fair Rover rescued just as she ak for the third time, having that friendly spar to which, et can tell you, she is a lady ocker and lost some Paris r whole loss will amount to d dollars.

house was apparently pirated ew, and the freebooters took

NELLIE BLY AGAIN.

(Continued from First Page.)

including her bootheels, not showing her 13½ spands, with a saucy, turned-up nose and very expressive blue-gray eyes that gazed inquiringly at me through shell-rimmed glasses was Emma Goldman!

Her quiet little hands held rolled a recent copy of the Illustrated American. The modest blue serge Eton suit, with a blue muslin shirtwaist and scarf, had no suggestion of bloomers, and the light brown hair, not banged but falling loosely over the forehead and gathered in a little knot behind, was very pretty and girlish.

The little feet were decorously upon the floor, and when the rather full lips parted, showing strong, white teeth within, a mild, pleasant voice, with a very fetching accent, said not "murder," but—

"What is it youwish, madam?"

I told her. I sat down beside her, and we talked for two hours.

"I do not want anything published about me," she said, "because people misjudge and exaggerate, and, besides, I do not think it looks well for me to say anything while I am in jail."

"But I want to know something about your former life; how you became an Anarchist, what your theories are, and how you mean to establish them."

SHE TELLS HER AGE.

She smiled at me, rather amused, but the smile was a very becoming one, lighting up the gravity of her face and making her look more girlish than ever.

"How old are you?" I asked as a beginning.

"Twenty-five last June," she replied without the faintest hesitancy.

What greater proof do I need that she is an unusual and extraordinary woman?

"But the month of roses has not brought many into my life," she added, with a little smile.

"When did you become an Anarchist, and what made you one?"

"Oh, I have been one all my life, but I never really entered into the work until after the Chicago riot, seven years ago."

"Why are you one?" I asked. "What is your object? What did you hope to gain?"

She smiled again, and slowly smoothed her book upon her knee.

"We are all egotists," she answered. "There are some that, if asked why they are Anarchists, will say, 'for the good of the people.' It is not true, and I do not say it. I am an Anarchist because I am an egotist. It pains me to see others suffer. I cannot bear it. I never hurt a man in my life, and I don't think I dollar upon your backs! Can you not testify to this woman's earnestness of purpose when she voluntarily sacrifices her looks for books?

Miss Goldman speaks Russian, German, French and English, and reads and writes Spanish and Italian.

HER IDEAS OF MARRIAGE.

"There is something else I must ask you. We look upon marriage as the foundation of everything that is good. We base everything upon it. You do not believe in marriage. What do you propose shall take its place?"

"I was married," she said, with a little sigh, "when I was scarcely seventeen. I suffered—let me say no more about that. I believe in the marriage of affection. That is the only true marriage. If two people care for each other they have a right to live together so long as that love exists. When it is dead what base immorality for them still to keep together! Oh, I tell you the marriage ceremony is a terrible thing!



CHAS. ZIMMERMAN.

"Tell me," she added very seriously, "how can a woman go before a minister and take an oath to love 'this man' all her life? How can she tell but to-morrow, next week, she may get to know this man and hate him. Love is founded on respect, and a woman cannot tell what a man is until she lives with him. Instead of being free to end the relation when her feelings change, she lives on in thing a dozen times before I reached 206 and double that afterwards.

The house is one of a row of red brick, high-stooped houses. In the basement of 206 was a cobbler, and I had a weak intention of inquiring therein for Most, but thought better of it.

So I mounted the high stoop and rang the bell, above which a small bit of paper bore the information that a furnished room was to let within.

In answer to my ring a head appeared at the window, and as I drew back in the shadow of the door the possessor of that head was forced to appear entire at the door.

Entire? Not quite. The door was opened just far enough to give me a half view of a woman with very sharp black eyes and straight black hair and a determined clear-cut face.

"Does Mr. Most live here?" I asked in my pleasantest manner.

"Yes," she replied shortly, her black eyes looking me over. "What do you want with him?"

I smiled in as conciliating a way as I could.

"I wish to see him personally," I answered.

"What about?" she demanded, shortly.

"That I can only tell to him." I assured her pleasantly, but firmly.

"Do you know him?"

"I have not that pleasure."

"You are a reporter?" auspiciously.

"I assure you, no!" (I am called a special writer, correspondent, journalist, but in the strict sense of the word am not a reporter.)

"He won't see reporters and he won't see strangers," she assured me positively, "so it will be no use to try."

"Is he in now?" I asked.

"No," crossly.

"Can you tell me where he is?"

"No!"

"I am so sorry. I am so anxious to see him. He has an office, do you suppose he is there?"

"I don't know."

"Is he usually there at this hour?"

"I don't know."

"Where is his office?"

"I don't know."

"Has he occupied the one office long?"

"Ever since he came to America."

"And you don't know where it is?" I laughed.

She was caught. She looked angrier than ever.

"I know it's in the next block, that's all I know."

"Do you know where there is a directory so I may learn his number?"

"No," she answered, "and I am busy. I've got to go in."

She stepped back as if to close the little opening, so I was forced to make a final plunge.

HE DOESN'T LIKE GOLDMAN NOW.

"I have been here to see Mr. Schwab and Miss Goldman," I began hastily. "I am anxious to see Mr. Most."

"He won't have anything to do with that Goldman woman," she cried angrily, opening the door wider than she had yet done.

"You don't need to see him about her for he will only give you a saucy answer."

"I do not wish to see him about her. I am anxious to see him about other matters."

and I wondered if Mr. Most, should he come at all, would throw me down the stairs.

Then I was astonished to see a girl come in.

She never glanced at me any more than if I had been invisible, but straightway took off her hat and set to work to arrange some papers she had brought in with her.

"Have I your place?" I asked at last.

She looked up at the sound of my voice—not at me, but out into the other room, as if the voice came from there.

"It was if that spoke," I said.

"Oh, yes, I work here," she said aimlessly, never pausing.

"I asked if I had your place?" I repeated.

"No," she said wearily.

"Do you wish the chair?"

"No; I would rather stand."

At that moment there was a step without; a hush of expectancy seemed instantly to settle on the place. I glance up and know that John Most stands before me.

I knew it, although he did not look in the least as the newspaper cuts represent him.

There was no bristling mane and flying hair, but a grayish beard, well trimmed, and such as you see most business men wear, and when he removed his soft felt hat I saw that his hair was closely cut.

In addition, I noticed that he wore a well-fitting business suit of gray cheviot and a blue-striped shirt.

He did not impress me as a large man, being not more than five feet seven and of a comfortable build for a man of forty-four years.

"Are you Mr. Most?" I asked quietly, fearing still the manner of my reception.

"Yes," he answered in a firm, decided voice. "What do you wish?"

"Let me tell you"—— I began, but he cut me short.

"You are Nellie Bly," he asserted. "You are come to write something for The World."

"I cannot deny that I am Nellie Bly," I said quickly, "but do not be prejudiced. I shall write nothing but the truth. I want to write something about you as a leader."

He laughed softly, and I saw that his teeth were strong and white, and the laugh lighted up his pleasant blue eyes and chased away the sternness of expression.

I was not afraid of him after that.

"Help me, won't you? I don't understand the subject, but I mean to do the best I can," I said, at which he melted altogether.

"Certainly, I shall help you. What is first?"

"Tell me what made you an Anarchist?"

"It was born in me. My father was an officer and a rebel for two years prior to and at the time of my birth. I could not help being an Anarchist."

"Have you written much on the subject besides that which you write for your paper?"

"I have written and published in German over twenty pamphlets. I am now having some translated into English. I will give you these—'The Social Monster,' 'The Free Society,' 'God, Heaven, Hell.' An appeal to Those Most and Infidels.'"

"Tell me about your life."

"It is too long a story."

"You are married?"

"Yes."

"Any children?"

"No. I am most thankful to say."

"Why?" I don't you like children?"

A shadow passed over his face.

"It is not that. I have spent nine said. "He was up until 4 o'clock, and so had to sleep this morning."

"Were you studying?" I asked, taking up the book that lay before me.

"Yes," he said, "I start to school tomorrow, and I was reviewing my studies."

"Your are Mr. Schwab's son?" I questioned, feeling sure that marvellous pink-and-white complexion and yellow hair was inherited from a father who, a few years since, was said to bear a striking resemblance to Vinci's famous painting of Christ.

"I am," he answered, proudly. "Do you think I look like my father?"

I assured him that he did, and then we talked about his school until a merry whistling and light, quick step announced the coming of Justus H. Schwab.

He entered the low door, that almost touched his blond head, and, with a frank, fearless smile, stood before me.

"You have forgotten me," I said. "It is seven years since I met you."

"I remember your eyes," he said, taking the hand I held out to him, and giving it a friendly grasp. "But your name"——

"Nellie Bly."

"Ah, yes; sit down. You had not done your noted work when I met you."

"No; and I am only starting in again after three years' rest," I added.

Then I opened up my heart to him and told him what I wanted. He offered to help me all he could.

Up to this he has stood before me without coat or vest, a picture of manly beauty.

"Sit down," he urges, and he sits down on the opposite side of the table. "What comes first?"

HE DISCLAIMS BEING A LEADER.

"Tell me about yourself. You are a leader, and we want to know all about you."

"I am not a leader," he replies, quickly. "I don't believe in leaders. When there are leaders men are not free. I want to do away with leaders and leadership. We have to do with facts. Science in itself is authority enough."

"But first about yourself. You are a German?"

"Yes, born in Frankfort on the Main, forty-seven years ago. I was born in a Republic note that, reared and brought up a republican, and an inhabitant of the United States for twenty-five years. In fact, my wife is an out and out American from the bluffs of the Mississippi. Her ancestors have been in America so long that I think they must have come over in the Jamestown or Mayflower," with a merry laugh. "everybody couldn't have come in the Mayflower."

"Do you believe in marriage?" I asked, thinking this a good time to obtain his views on the subject.

HERE'S WHAT AND THEY'RE MARRIED.

Marriage! [illegible] eyebrows. I [illegible] what I mean by marriage. I believe [illegible] a man and woman [illegible] the presence of their friends. [illegible] my husband. This is my wife. [illegible] a glass of water. [illegible] drinking.

[illegible] He smoked a [illegible] his mouth. With [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

880721002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Nellie Bly Again: She Interviews Emma Goldman and Other Anarchists / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 42 cm. *In* The World. – (Sept. 17, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

in the house preparatory to a r-
n. The pirates probably do not
ng but solid silver in their hast-
he plated ware was found strewn
ously about the dining-room, each
g been tested with acid to prove
r.
gold trinkets were also taken, and
ithout doubt ornamenting the fair
n the rover rested just as she
to sink for the third time, having
p on that friendly spar to which,
ssenger can tell you, she lovingly
s. Crocker also lost some Paris
d her whole loss will amount to
ousand dollars.
ain's house was apparently pirated
bottom, and the freebooters took
ilver and jewelry, evening dress
hat would be very bad form if worn
ate ship. Mr. Proctor's home
ted likewise, and at none
houses did the buccaneers
slightest clue as to the
which they had sailed in and ob-
things. Windows were all se-
secure, locks had not been tampered
he servants in all three houses
imported variety and of unassaila-
ter.
re no footprints in kitchen gar-
uilasses dropped in the adjacen-
ur the long, low, rakish craft has
within the last two days in Echo
Larchmont people regard the
s really and truly of the sea.
dren, who are more familiar with
rrences than their elders, are not
archmont people who are alarmed.
ers are sending their silver and
safe-deposit vaults in town by
.
New Rochelle think that the bold
ave been in their neighborhood.
ve that the rover and his rascal
he ones who recently entered the
R. T. Emmett, at New Rochelle,
g a pistol to the head of Mrs. Em-
off with her jewelry.
rates were seen going towards the
d it is thought more than probable
boarded the long, low, rakish craft
ay.
e have been notified, and, though
probable that any cruisers or
will be fitted out, everything pos-
ble done to catch the rover and his
d crew. Some old residents of
t were seen in front of the grocery
tling reflectively and humming:

ame is Captain Kidd, as I sailed.
As I sailed,
y name is Captain Kidd and I sailed.

ore was in great demand, and it was
t that possibly some of the redoubt-
's descendants had come in search
easure, which many believe to be
somewhere on the shore of the

NOT ENTITLED TO STAY.

hat Ordered to Be Deported by Commissioner Peacock.

RANCISCO, Sept. 16.—United States
ioner Peacock yesterday decided
considered to be a Chinese test case.
Mat, a member of the firm of Bow-
., of San Jose, Cal., was landed in
ed States last June. Before that
was employed at menial labor for
. It was contended that he being
ied he was entitled to remain. The
ner held otherwise and ordered
rted. The case will be appealed.

TO ADVERTISEMENTS.	PAGE.	COL.	PAGE.	COL.
ENTS	6	4		
SALES	41	6		
AND FINANCIAL	15	7		
N WANTED	35	2		
AMILIES	35	6		
S WANTED—COUNTRY	35	8		
ARIED—CITY	35	8		
NOTICES	6	3		
OPPORTUNITIES	41	6		
PROPERTY TO LET	32	8		
ANTS	41	8		
N RAMBLES	40	7		
, SCHOOLS, &c	42	1		
ACADEMIES	44	5		
ES	41	8		
	6	2		

"Why are you ugly? I asked. What is your object? What did you hope to gain?"

She smiled again, and slowly smoothed her book upon her knee.

"We are all egotists," she answered. "There are some that, if asked why they are Anarchists, will say, 'for the good of the people.' It is not true, and I do not say it. I am an Anarchist because I am an egotist. It pains me to see others suffer. I cannot bear it. I never hurt a man in my life, and I don't think I could. So, because what others suffer makes me suffer, I am an Anarchist and give my life to the cause, for only through it can be ended all suffering and want and unhappiness.

A WORD ABOUT CAPITALISTS.

"Everything wrong, crime and sickness and all that, is the result of the system under which we live," she continued earnestly. "Were there no money and, as a result, no capitalists, people would not be over-worked, starved and illy housed, all of which makes them old before their time, diseases them and makes them criminals. To save a dollar the capitalists build their railroads poorly, and along comes a train, and loads of people are killed. What are their lives to him if by their sacrifice he has saved money? But those deaths mean misery, want and crime in many, many families. According to Anarchistic principles, we build the best of railroads, so there shall be no accidents. There is the Broadway cable, for instance. Instead of running a few cars at a frightful speed, in order to save a larger expense, we should run many cars at slow speed, and so have no accidents."

"If you do away with money and employers, who will work upon your railroads?" I asked.

"Those that care for that kind of work. Then every one shall do that which he likes best, not merely a thing he is compelled to do to earn his daily bread."

"What would you do with the lazy ones, who would not work?"

"No one is lazy. They grow hopeless from the misery of their present existence, and give up. Under our order of things, every man would do the work he liked, and would have as much as his neighbor, so could not be unhappy and discouraged."

"What will you do with your criminals if every one is free and prisons unheard of?"

WHY ARE THERE CRIMINALS?

She smiled, sadly.

"The subject takes a lifetime of study," she answered, "but we believe that we would not have a criminal. Why are there criminals to-day. Because some have everything, others nothing. Under our system it would be every man equal. The Bible says, 'Thou shalt not steal.' Now, to steal, it is granted, there must be something to steal. We do not grant there is anything to steal, for everything should be free."

"Do you believe in God, Miss Goldman?"

"Once I did. Until I was seventeen I was very devout, and all my people are

CHAS. ZIMMERMAN.

"Tell me," she added very seriously, "how can a woman go before a minister and take an oath to love 'this man' all her life? How can she tell but to-morrow, next week, she may get to know this man and hate him. Love is founded on respect, and a woman cannot tell what a man is until she lives with him. Instead of being free to end the relation when her feelings change, she lives on in a state that is the most depraved of all.

"Take the woman who marries for a home and for fine clothes. She goes to the man with a lie on her lips and in her heart. Still"—with a little uplifting of the hands—"she will not let her skirts touch the poor unfortunate upon the street who deceives no man, but is to him just what she appears. Do away with marriage. Let there be nothing but voluntary affection and there ceases to exist the prostitute wife and the prostitute street woman."

"But the children? What would you do with them? Men would desert; women and children would be left uncared for and destitute," I protested.

"On the contrary, then men would never desert, and if a couple decided to separate there would be public homes and schools for the children. Mothers who would rather do something else than care for their children could put them in the schools, where they would be cared for by women who preferred taking care of children to any other work. In this way we would never have diseased or disabled children from careless and incompetent mothers.

"Besides this," she went on, "in our free schools every child would have a chance to learn and pursue that for which it has ability. Can you imagine the number of children to-day, children of poor parents, who are born with ability for music or painting, or letters, whose abilities lie dormant for the lack of means and the necessity to work for their daily bread as soon as they are out of their cradles."

HER RELATIVES.

"Have you any brothers or sisters, Miss Goldman?"

"Yes; a married brother, who does not bother about anything, and only reads the papers when there is something in them about me. My sister is also married, and, while not actively engaged in our cause, is bringing up her children to our principles. My father and mother are also living, near Rochester, and, while not Anarchists, sympathize with me and do not interfere with my work."

"What is your future?"

"I cannot say. I shall live to agitate to promote our ideas. I am willing to give my liberty and my life, if necessary, to further my cause. It is my mission and I shall not falter."

"Do you think that murder is going to help your cause?"

She looked grave; she shook her head slowly.

"That is a long subject to discuss. I don't believe that through murder we shall gain, but by war, labor against

She stepped back as if to close the little opening, so I was forced to make a final plunge.

HE DOESN'T LIKE GOLDMAN NOW.

"I have been here to see Mr. Schwab and Miss Goldman," I began hastily. "I am anxious to see Mr. Most."

"He won't have anything to do with that Goldman woman," she cried angrily, opening the door wider than she had yet done.

"You don't need to see him about her, for he will only give you a sassy answer."

"I do not wish to see him about her. I am anxious to see him about other matters."

"I can't help you," she said, "and I must go."

With that she closed the door and I was left to look out for Mr. Most as best I could.

I knew where his office was, but for some unknown reason I had felt that he was at his home and not at the office, but still, having nothing better to do, I decided to go to his office, which is at 167 William street.

I suppose that without doubt John Most is the best known and most feared of all Anarchists in America.

Certainly I thought I had more reason than ever to dread a personal encounter.

If those at his house are so fierce and unbending, what must he not be?

I stopped at the door of his office building, a run-down two-story frame structure, with a worn brick front, and looked for his name.

It was not to be found.

A modest brown tin card bore in yellow letters, outlined with red, this inscription:

FREIHEIT,

Second Floor.

Walking up one flight of stairs I found myself looking through an open door into a low, dingy room, containing a counter filled with shoes, a cobbler's bench, a cobbler at work, a boy grown to man's size, and a man.

"Can you tell me where I can find Mr. Most?" I asked.

"Certainly," the cobbler replied, in a friendly, cheerful voice that won me at once. "Here's the very lad that can take you right to him."

The boy spoke to me in German and I replied in English that I wished to see Mr. Most personally.

Thanking the happy cobbler, I followed the boy up a second and shorter stairway straight into a printing office, where the men were at work setting type.

They looked surprised at seeing me, and left their cases and came forward to the boy, who explained to them in German the object, so far as he knew, of my visit.

Then one man spoke to me in German, saying that Mr. Most had gone home to his dinner.

I knew this, but it is not always well to tell everything one knows, even if it doesn't amount to much, so I replied, in English, that I had just come from his house, where I had been told that he was at the office.

Had I seen the wife, the man asked in German, and I said Yes, I supposed I had.

So the other printer, speaking in English, said Mr. Most often stopped on his way home and doubtless I had passed him.

Then he said I might step into the inner office and wait, if I wished.

I most certainly wished. I stepped into the adjoining office, sat down at a table and made up my mind to stay there until Mr. Most came.

The office was as picturesque, in its way, as Mr. Schwab's saloon.

There were in the room three desks, one lounge and one chair. The one desk before which I sat, and from which I could see everything that occurred in the other room, was flat-topped, and covered with dark oil-cloth.

Each of the other desks was high, and

your paper?"

"I have written and published in German over twenty pamphlets. I am now having some translated into English. I will give you these—'The Social Monster,' 'The Free Society,' 'God, Heaven, Hell: An appeal to Pious Men and Infidels.'"

"Tell me about your life?"

"It is too long a story."

"You are married?"

"Yes."

"Any children?"

"No, I am most thankful to say."

"Why? Don't you like children?"

A shadow passed over his face.

"It is not that. I have spent nine years of my life in jail for expressing my opinions. I may some day be electrocuted or hanged, and I do not wish to leave any children to bear that."

"What amusements do you like?"

"I used to be devoted to the theatre. Now, it takes a very good play to attract me. I am fond of music and opera."

"Do you work hard?"

"I work from 8 o'clock every day. I do all my own newspaper work, as you see, and my pamphlets besides. Here is something that I have just finished and which you may take away with you; sell it if you wish."

He took down a big pack of manuscript from a shelf.

I looked at the title page. It was as follows:

NINE YEARS BEHIND THE BARS

FOR OPINION'S SAKE.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF

JOHN MOST.

I took the manuscript home, sat down to read it and read all night.

Can you imagine John Most being stage-struck and his whole life and hope being centred upon becoming an actor? Such was the case, and he tells all about it in the story of his life.

Such a life! No romance was ever greater. It would take a volume to tell it, just as has been done, and I do not mean to spoil a good tale by attempting to do it here.

Now, if I make mistakes in writing about you, what will you do?" I asked, anxiously.

"I will forgive even your mistakes," he replied, pleasantly.

I went away regretting the shortness of my interview and wondering to what region had vanished the ideal I had feared so much.

I am sure I did not find anything except a pleasant, polite, kindly man in the most feared of all Anarchists, John Most!

JUSTUS H. SCHWAB.

"Do you know where Mr. Schwab's saloon is?" I asked a little girl in First street.

"It's there," she replied, pointing across the street.

I looked where she pointed and saw hanging over a basement window a modest sign bearing the name "Justus H. Schwab." Below it was a beer sign, and that was the only evidence in view that the basement was a saloon. No mysterious swinging doors, no suggestive stag-liquor marked "Ladies' Entrance." Just three steps down into a basement, the door almost hidden by the high stoop, and that was all.

"Is there no entrance for women?" I asked the girl.

"Oh, no," she answered. "Everybody goes in at the same door. No one minds."

So I went down the three steps and stood in the doorway.

The scene was an unusual one, and not without its picturesque features.

Nearest to the one window was a tall bar, innocent of glasses or tempting and alluring luncheon, not even a pretzel being in sight.

No beating the satanic one around the

"This is my husband," "This is my wife," and drink a glass of wine to it that nothing more is necessary."

"Is that binding?"

"Binding?" He laughed, although his voice was indignant. "Why, the root and foundation of Anarchy is freedom for man, woman and child. When you make things binding you make slaves. Binding? Voluntary association for any purpose in life is our doctrine. We would end compulsion of any kind, of every kind."

"Still, unless you bind men in some way how will you make them share the burden and responsibility of a family?"

"No man or woman should be compelled to live together when they wish to live apart," he said, indignantly. "When they part, if there are children, they must provide for them. If a man would not do this he would be ostracized. But this is not to be feared. Voluntary, free association of any kind removes the desire to separate."

"You have children?"

"Four lovely children," very proudly. "I suppose I should not say it, but my children are very clever. Two boys and two girls. My boy—my eldest born—holds the highest place in his classes in the New York College. He is as tall as I am, and yet, it seems strange, but in manner and thought, despite his learning, he is a child.

"I have," he added, with a sigh of deepest content, "the brightest of married lives. I am most happy, uninterruptedly happy with my wife and children."

While he was speaking a very pretty girl, as pretty as a perfect complexion and largest of blue eyes and whitest of white teeth and softest of yellow hair can make a girl, came in and stood with her hand on his shoulder.

When he paused she said in a very sweet voice:

"May I kiss you good-by, father? It is time for me to go to school."

"Certainly, my daughter," he said, and she slipped her arm around his neck and kissed him twice.

Not as if it was a duty she had to perform, or one that she did with half a heart, or occasionally, but as if she loved him with all her girlish heart, and liked to kiss him because she did love him so much.

"Good-by, my daughter," said this handsome Anarchist fondly, as he patted her on the shoulder. "Be a good girl."

"You know I can't be that, father." She laughed roguishly, and bowing to me she went skipping to the door and up those three steps and out of sight.

ANARCHY'S AUTHORS.

"Tell me what writers you think do the most good for your cause."

"The list is a long one," he said. "Among the best, in my opinion, is Benjamin R. Tucker, who wrote 'Instead of a Book.' Victor Yarros, author of 'Trial by Jury,' and I consider the greatest mind in the United States, Mackaye. Van Ornum, Loyd, Josiah Warren, Lysander Spooner, Bakowinine, Krapotkin and Elise Reclus, the great avocat of Anarchism. In the past generation Stephen Pearl Andrews was a great promoter."

"Are there many newspapers devoted to Anarchy?"

"Yes quite a number mostly German, but somehow they never seem to get on. In English there is The People, a weekly, 'Liberty and Solidarity.'"

"Have you a library?"

"A library," smiling. "I have over six hundred volumes."

"How are you educating your children?"

"As a good father should—to my own views."

"And you are devoting your life to Anarchy?"

"To the solution of the social problem I can preach, proselyte and agitate and hope."

"You believe in personal property, unlike some Anarchists?"

"Certainly. I believe what a man

who cannot cure the
Copeland and Gardner
them because they ha
lives to the work—beca
clusions in the t.un co
The best and most
s, their success is in
been pronounced incu
dence to unanswerable
class of evidence tha
Tubin, printed below,

THE GRATITUDE OF

A VENERABLE MA
DRS. COPELAND
CURED HIM O
ASTHMA.

The disease that Mr.
Haverstraw, N. Y.,
asthma. His was t
ling form of bronchial
pronounced incurable
en many suffer for
natural lives, drawing
sympathy and pity of

It was on y the testi
he knew who had h
Mr. Tubin finally to
and Gardner, who cu
is speaking of his cur

"I can hardly put
suffered, because, now
and well, it seems
could have endured
of asthma. If I had
Copeland and Gardn
would have been spa

"Many a time hav
could die. The pare
the whooping, dimcult
as though I were dr
was too heavy to b
my chest, the sorrows

parting, to that part
denounces you?"

"Yes, say this:
free speech; let ther
If we are wrong,
ward and prove so.
them give us justice
We ask no more."

"May I come
parting?"

"Always, and welc
dial reply.

"And if I do not
get everything corr
the intended for the

"Would I believe
laughed, "If I deni
ve to that of mak

That is Justus
chist, preacher, ten
If you think he is
to talk with you an
convinced.

That is the glimp
his home and life.
ture is it?

ZI M GROB

While searching
the other night I w
street—"Zum Grob
school has lately be
resort of Anarchist
brief description. It
and his two entran
long hall and one h

I walked through
darkness, the only
open doors, and s
door to take a
There was absolut
of notice or comme
front of the windo
very grand affair
tender was rapidly
filled with some bee

Across from the
group, were a few
playing upon such
usually considered
ments of festivit

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880721002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Nellie Bly Again: She Interviews Emma Goldman and Other Anarchists / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 42 cm. *In* The World. –(Sept. 17, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

alled.
ad it was
redoubt-
la search
e to be
s of the

rted by

ed States
decided
test case.
t of Bow.
anded in
ne that
abor for
as being
in. The
ordered
eased.

COL. | PAGE. | COL.

"Those that care for that kind of work. Then every one shall do that which he likes best, not merely a thing he is compelled to do to earn his daily bread."

"What would you do with the lazy ones, who would not work?"

"No one is lazy. They grow hopeless from the misery of their present existence, and give up. Under our order of things, every man would do the work he liked, and would have as much as his neighbor, so could not be unhappy and discouraged."

"What will you do with your criminals if every one is free and prisons unheard of?"

WHY ARE THERE CRIMINALS?

She smiled, sadly.

"The subject takes a lifetime of study," she answered, "but we believe that we would not have a criminal. Why are there criminals to-day. Because some have everything, others nothing. Under our system it would be every man equal. The Bible says, 'Thou shalt not steal.' Now, to steal, it is granted, there must be something to steal. We do not grant there is anything to steal, for everything should be free."

"Do you believe in God, Miss Goldman?"

"Once I did. Until I was seventeen I was very devout, and all my people are so, even to-day. But when I began to read and study, I lost that belief. I believe in nature, nothing else."

"Where were you born?"

"I was born in Russia and afterwards my family removed to Germany. Although my people were of a good family, I was always in deep sympathy with the poor. I did not think of being an Anarchist then, but I was always trying to see some way to benefit the working class. I was taught a trade. My father thought that no difference what one's position was, one should master a trade, so I learned dressmaking at a French school. I have worked at this for years, sometimes at my own rooms, and again in establishments."

SHE LIKES TO BATHE AND DRESS.

"Do you care for dress at all?"

"Oh, of course," she answered, laughing. "I like to look well, but I don't like very fussy dresses. I like my dresses to be plain and quiet, and, above all things," here she laughed as if recalling the oft-repeated declaration of Anarchists' hatred for soap, "I love my bath. I must be clean. Being a German, I was taught cleanliness with my youth, and I do not care how poor my room or my clothes are so long as they are clean."

"What did you do with the money you earned by sewing?"

"Spent it all for books," she said emphatically. "I kept myself in poverty buying books. I have a library of nearly three hundred volumes, and so long as I had something to read I did not mind hunger or shabby clothes."

Think of that, you girls who put every

which it has ability. Can you imagine the number of children to-day, children of poor parents, who are born with ability for music or painting, or letters, whose abilities lie dormant for the lack of means and the necessity to work for their daily bread as soon as they are out of their cradles."

HER RELATIVES.

"Have you any brothers or sisters, Miss Goldman?"

"Yes; a married brother, who does not bother about anything, and only reads the papers when there is something in them about me. My sister is also married, and, while not actively engaged in our cause, is bringing up her children to our principles. My father and mother are also living, near Rochester, and, while not Anarchists, sympathize with me and do not interfere with my work."

"What is your future?"

"I cannot say. I shall live to agitate to promote our ideas. I am willing to give my liberty and my life, if necessary, to further my cause. It is my mission and I shall not falter."

"Do you think that murder is going to help your cause?"

She looked grave; she shook her head slowly.

"That is a long subject to discuss. I don't believe that through murder we shall gain, but by war, labor against capital, masses against classes, which will not come in twenty or twenty-five years. But some day, I firmly believe, we shall gain, and until then I am satisfied to agitate to teach, and I only ask justice and freedom of speech."

And so I left the little Anarchist, the modern Joan of Arc, waiting patiently in the Tombs until her friends could secure bail for her.

"I shall certainly get a year or a year and a half," she said to me in parting, "not because my offense deserves it, but because I am an Anarchist."

JOHN MOST.

When I walked through William street in search of 266, where lives John Most, I was not the happiest girl in the world.

As I walked along by idle groups on the corners and dirty doorsteps I recalled the impression I had formed of Most from newspaper accounts, and I wondered at myself for risking my life in order to see such a person.

His own description of the accepted idea of an Anarchist, copied from his pamphlet, The Social Monster, was about my own idea:

"A dagger in one hand, a torch in the other, and all his pockets brimful with dynamite bombs—that is the picture of the Anarchist, such as it has been drawn by his enemies. They look at him simply as a mixture of a fool and a knave, whose sole purpose is a universal topsy-turvy, and whose only means to that purpose is to slay any one and every one who differs from him."

I wished myself out of the whole

friendly, cheerful thing that was at once. "Here's the very lad that can take you right to him."

The boy spoke to me in German and I replied in English that I wished to see Mr. Most personally.

Thanking the happy cobbler, I followed the boy up a second and shorter stairway straight into a printing office, where the men were at work setting type.

They looked surprised at seeing me, and left their cases and came forward to the boy, who explained to them in German the object, so far as he knew, of my visit.

Then one man spoke to me in German, saying that Mr. Most had gone home to his dinner.

I knew this, but it is not always well to tell everything one knows, even if it doesn't amount to much, so I replied, in English, that I had just come from his house, where I had been told that he was at the office.

Had I seen the wife, the man asked in German, and I said Yes, I supposed I had.

So the other printer, speaking in English, said Mr. Most often stopped on his way home and doubtless I had passed him.

Then he said I might step into the inner office and wait, if I wished.

I most certainly wished. I stepped into the adjoining office, sat down at a table and made up my mind to stay there until Mr. Most came.

The office was as picturesque, in its way, as Mr. Schwab's saloon.

There were in the room three desks, one lounge and one chair. The one desk before which I sat, and from which I could see everything that occurred in the other room, was flat-topped, and covered with dark oil-cloth.

Each of the other desks was high, and of antique style.

Upon the desk where I sat lay a dark-gray cat, with big yellow eyes, that followed my movements with a suspicious and mistrustful gaze.

There is no denying that the office is very poor. The unplastered boards have been whitewashed, but I judge that the roof cannot keep out the rain. It must be a cheerless place upon a cold or wet day.

I decided, after a thorough inspection, that the place was beyond improving. Its condition was not the fault of its tenant, but of its age.

But I soon forgot everything else in contemplation of the collection of prints that cover the partition and wall. They are numberless, and most interesting.

Pictures of riots, of noted Anarchists, of thinkers, of philosophers, clippings from newspapers, and caricature after caricature of Most himself, in every conceivable shape and form.

My eyes wandered from these to the cretonne curtains at the windows—curtains with gay roses on them and an equally gay Japanese guitarist, the guitar at his feet, holding in his arms a Japanese maiden in a smart kimono.

Time went by, and I even tired of this amorous Jap, and longed for something new.

It was getting late, the office-boy had disappeared, and I was afraid Mr. Most was not coming.

Presently the office-boy returned.

He went up to one printer and whispered something to him. The printer instantly turned and gave me a startled glance.

The boy went to the second printer, who did exactly as the first.

"Ah!" I thought, "I am known, and Mr. Most has sent word that he will not come. I'll wait until the office closes, and then I shall return to his house."

I put out my hand to touch the gray cat, but, eyeing me suspiciously, she evaded my touch, and, jumping upon the red lounge, proceeded to sharpen her nails upon the pillow.

"Even the cat suspects me," I thought,

"Now, if I make mistakes in writing about you, what will you do?" I asked, anxiously.

"I will forgive even your mistakes," he replied, pleasantly.

I went away regretting the shortness of my interview and wondering to what region had vanished the ideal I had feared so much.

I am sure I did not find anything except a pleasant, polite, kindly man in the most feared of all Anarchists, John Most.

JUSTUS H. SCHWAB.

"Do you know where Mr. Schwab's saloon is?" I asked a little girl in First street.

"It's there," she replied, pointing across the street.

I looked where she pointed and saw hanging over a basement window a modest sign bearing the name "Justus H. Schwab." Below it was a beer sign, and that was the only evidence in view that the basement was a saloon. No mysterious swinging doors, no suggestive stormdoor marked "Ladies' Entrance," just three steps down into a basement, the door almost hidden by the high stoop, and that was all.

"Is there no entrance for women?" I asked the girl.

"Oh, no," she answered. "Everybody goes in at the same door. No one minds."

So I went down the three steps and stood in the doorway.

The scene was an unusual one, and not without its picturesque features.

Nearest to the one window was a tall bar, innocent of glasses or tempting and alluring luncheon, not even a pretzel being in sight.

No beating the satanic one around the bush there. If you want a drink, well and good. If not, you are not tempted to drink in order to partake of a few cold bites.

Back of the bar, on two ordinary brackets, were about a dozen glasses, and near them some shelves filled with books.

The most interesting thing in this basement—that is, when the proprietor is out—is the blackboard.

It faces the bar and is filled with writing, newspaper clippings and telegrams. On either side of this board is painted a red flag, the flag of Anarchy.

But more about this famous blackboard later.

The basement extends the length of the house, having one window in the rear and a hall that leads to the yard.

Plain, ordinary round tables, with their accompanying four wooden chairs, fill the floor, and pictures and a second and larger case of books the wall.

This is Justus H. Schwab's place—an honest place, a place that seems to hide men behind door, until, incapable of drinking more, they are set upon and beaten and flung into the street.

Of one thing every observer must be convinced as soon as he enters. That is that Mr. Schwab, true to his doctrine, is not working to make a fortune, but merely for so much as will maintain life.

When I entered this interesting place there was but one person present.

That was a young boy who sat at a table intent upon a book. So absorbed, in fact, that he did not hear me until I spoke to him.

"Is Mr. Schwab here?" I asked.

He raised to me a handsome boyish face, his big china-blue eyes smiling in unison with his red lips.

"I shall call him," he answered, promptly. "He has not come down yet. Sit down, please."

I took his chair and he went out to the sidewalk, whistled a moment, and then spoke in German to some one in the house above.

Then he returned to me.

"He will be here in a moment," he

love him so much.

"Good-by, my daughter," said this handsome Anarchist fondly, as he patted her on the shoulder. "Be a good girl."

"You know I can't be that, father," She laughed roguishly, and bowing to me she went skipping to the door and up those three steps and out of sight.

ANARCHY'S AUTHORS.

"Tell me what writers you think do the most good for your cause."

"The list is a long one," he said. "Among the best, in my opinion, is Benjamin R. Tucker, who wrote 'Instead of a Book;' Victor Yarros, author of 'Trial by Jury,' and I consider the greatest mind in the United States, Mackaye. Van Ornum, Loyl, Josiah Warren, Lysander Spooner, Bakownine, Kropotkin and Elise Reclus, the great advocate of Anarchism. In the past generation Steven Pearl Andrews was a great promoter."

"Are there many newspapers devoted to Anarchy?"

"Yes; quite a number, mostly German, but somehow they never seem to get on. In English there is 'The People, a weekly; Liberty and Solidarity.'"

"Have you a library?"

"A little one," smiling. "I have over six hundred volumes."

"How are you educating your children?"

"As a good father should—to my own views."

"And you are devoting your life to Anarchy?"

"Yes; to the solution of the social problem. I can preach, proselyte and agitate and hope."

"You believe in personal property, unlike some Anarchists?"

"Certainly. I believe what a man works for is his, but I do not believe in the hoarding or amassing of money, neither do I believe in employing labor. Every man for himself."

"Will you let me copy some of the things upon your blackboard?"

He laughed merrily.

"If I were to prevent you I could not advocate freedom in everything. Do as you wish. Copy all you wish; write of me as you please. I preach freedom, freedom of speech, of the press. I would not stop you if I could."

SCHWAB'S BLACKBOARD.

So I turned to that interesting blackboard and there I read, first of all, a telegram announcing the pardoning of the Anarchists by Gov. Altgeld.

These are what I copied:

"The bright sun rises in his course and salutes a race of slaves."

"All lanes the lead to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

"Arrest every petticoat who endangers the welfare of the republic."

"Where more than one man speaks, beg her husband locked up."

"Where more than one man assembles, shoot him on the spot."

"Free speech is to thunder away in the hills of New Jersey where no man hears."

"What does Anarchy mean? The public thinks it means riot, murder and pillage."

"Anarchy is the highest potents of order," he said, emphatically. "It is seeking a form of society where war, crime and all things evil will become impossible. We are ending all compulsion. What we want is voluntary association without police clubs."

"Aside from Anarchy, what do you like? Do you drive or dance?"

"He sings," spoke up a man who had entered. "Splendid voice."

"Oh, no; I'm too old now," Mr. Schwab said, modestly, his deep, rich voice speaking for itself. "I am fond of music and the opera. I used to sing and play."

"Is there anything you would say, in

If we are wrong, let them come forward and prove so. If we are right, let them give us justice, freedom to speak. We ask no more."

"May I come back?" I asked in parting.

"Always, and welcome," was the cordial reply.

"And if I do, not, in my ignorance, get everything correct, will you accept the intention for the deed?"

"Would I believe in freedom," he laughed, "if I denied you every right, even to that of making mistakes?"

That is Justus H. Schwab, Anarchist, preacher, teacher and agitator. If you think he is wrong, he is ready to talk with you and to convince or be convinced.

That is the glimpse I had of him and his home and life. It is not a bad picture is it?

"ZUM GROBEN MICHEL."

While searching for Emma Goldman the other night I went to No. 209 Fifth street—"Zum Groben Michel." This saloon has lately become famous as the resort of Anarchists, and is worthy a brief description. It is in the basement and has two entrances, one through a long hall and one by a front door.

I waked through this hall of semi-darkness, the only light coming from the open doors, and stopped at the first door to take a view of the saloon. There was absolutely nothing worthy of notice or comment, in one corner, in front of the window, was a bar—not a very grand affair—over which a bartender was rapidly handing out glasses filled with some beer and much foam.

Across from the bar, seated in a little group, were a few grave-faced Germans playing upon such instruments as are usually considered "the thing" for moments of festivity.

A woman who was making herself very busy saw me in the doorway and came forward, waiting for me to speak. Her hair was sleek and scant, her face was fat and ruddy and her form was all there, being a living protest against the idea of not indulging in corsets.

She suspicious and uncommunicative. I knew by her eye that she thought I was after something, and did not intend to be the one to help me.

"Do you speak English?" I asked, and she said she did.

"Is Miss Goldman here?" I added.

The woman looked me over, glanced towards the bar, then towards the inner room, and finally replied to me in German:

"I am very anxious to see Miss Goldman," I said, "and not knowing her address, I thought I should find her here."

"No, she is not here," she answered very distinctly.

"Do you expect her here?"

She shook her head.

"Have you any idea where she has gone?"

Again she shook her head.

"I wanted to see her so much," I said, regretfully.

I wanted to be invited in as well, but I said nothing about that, and as she did not seem hospitably inclined, I remained where I was.

At last she said I might step inside and speak to the proprietor. He might tell me something.

"Inside" was a back room, brightly lighted.

A long table in the middle of it was surrounded by a number of persons intently engaged in folding and wrapping papers.

They were all men at work with one exception, a little brown-haired woman, who never glanced up.

Indeed, I was most impressed by the indifference and lack of curiosity with which they regarded me, a stranger. Very few of them seemed to notice me at all, and when they did it was not curiously.

As I advanced into the room, a dark,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880721002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Nellie Bly Again: She Interviews Emma Goldman and Other Anarchists / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 42 cm. *In* The World. –(Sept. 17, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

…ntent mothers.
…esides this," she went on, "in our schools every child would have a …ce to learn and pursue that for …h it has ability. Can you imagine number of children to-day, children …oor parents, who are born with …ty for music or painting, or letters, …e abilities lie dormant for the lack …eans and the necessity to work for …daily bread as soon as they are out …eir cradles."

HER RELATIVES.

…ave you any brothers or sisters, …Goldman?"

…es; a married brother, who does not …er about anything, and only reads …papers when there is something in …n about me. My sister is also mar…and, while not actively engaged in our …e, is bringing up her children to our …ciples. My father and mother are …living, near Rochester, and, while …Anarchists, sympathize with me and …ot interfere with my work."

…What is your future?"

…cannot say. I shall live to agitate …romote our ideas. I am willing to …my liberty and my life, if necessary, …urther my cause. It is my mission …I shall not falter."

…o you think that murder is going to …your cause?"

…e looked grave; she shook her head …ly.

…hat is a long subject to discuss. I …t believe that through murder we …l gain, but by war, labor against …tal, masses against classes, which …not come in twenty or twenty-five …rs. But some day, I firmly believe, …shall gain, and until then I am satis…to agitate to teach, and I only ask …dee and freedom of speech."

…id so I left the little Anarchist, the …tern Joan of Arc, waiting patiently …he Tombs until her friends could se…bail for her.

…shall certainly get a year or a year …a half," she said to me in parting, …t because my offense deserves it, …because I am an Anarchist."

JOHN MOST.

…hen I walked through William …et in search of 206, where lives John …t. I was not the happiest girl in the …ld.

…s I walked along by idle groups …the corners and dirty doorsteps …scalled the impression I had formed …Most from newspaper accounts, and …ondered at myself for risking my …in order to see such a person.

…is own description of the accepted …e of an Anarchist, copied from his …phlet, The Social Monster, was …ut my own idea:

…A dagger in one hand, a torch in the …er, and all his pockets brimful …h dynamite bombs—that is the pic…e of the Anarchist, such as it has …n drawn by his enemies. They look …him simply as a mixture of a fool …a knave, whose sole purpose is a …versal topsy-turvy, and whose only …ns to that purpose is to slay any …and every one who differs from …."

…wished myself out of the whole …to man's size, and a man.

"Can you tell me where I can find Mr. Most?" I asked.

"Certainly," the cobbler replied, in a friendly, cheerful voice that won me at once. "Here's the very lad that can take you right to him."

The boy spoke to me in German and I replied in English that I wished to see Mr. Most personally.

Thanking the happy cobbler, I followed the boy up a second and shorter stair way straight into a printing office, where the men were at work setting type.

They looked surprised at seeing me, and left their cases and came forward to the boy, who explained to them in German the object, so far as he knew, of my visit.

Then one man spoke to me in German, saying that Mr. Most had gone home to his dinner.

I knew this, but it is not always well to tell everything one knows, even it it doesn't amount to much, so I replied, in English, that I had just come from his house, where I had been told that he was at the office.

Had I seen the wife, the man asked in German, and I said Yes, I supposed I had.

So the other printer, speaking in English, said Mr. Most often stopped on his way home and doubtless I had passed him.

Then he said I might step into the inner office and wait, if I wished.

I most certainly wished. I stepped into the adjoining office, sat down at a table and made up my mind to stay there until Mr. Most came.

The office was as picturesque, in its way, as Mr. Schwab's saloon.

There were in the room three desks, one lounge and one chair. The one desk before which I sat, and from which I could see everything that occurred in the other room, was flat-topped, and covered with dark oil-cloth.

Each of the other desks was high, and of antique style.

Upon the desk where I sat lay a dark-gray cat, with big yellow eyes, that followed my movements with a suspicious and mistrustful gaze.

There is no denying that the office is very poor. The unplastered boards have been whitewashed, but I judge that the roof cannot keep out the rain. It must be a cheerless place upon a cold or wet day.

I decided, after a thorough inspection, that the place was beyond improving. Its condition was not the fault of its tenant, but of its age.

But I soon forgot everything else in contemplation of the collection of prints that cover the partition and wall. They are numberless, and most interesting.

Pictures of riots, of noted Anarchists, of thinkers, of philosophers, clippings from newspapers, and caricature after caricature of Most himself, in every conceivable shape and form.

My eyes wandered from these to the cretonne curtains at the windows—curtains with gay roses on them and an equally gay Japanese guitarist, the guitar at his feet, holding in his arms a Japanese maiden in a smart kimono.

Time went by, and I even tired of this amorous Jap, and longed for something new.

If was getting late, the office-boy had disappeared, and I was afraid Mr. Most was not coming.

Presently the office-boy returned.

He went up to one printer and whispered something to him. The printer instantly turned and gave me a startled glance.

The boy went to the second printer, who did exactly as the first.

"Ah!" I thought, "I am known, and Mr. Most has sent word that he will not come. I'll wait until the office closes, and then I shall return to his house."

I put out my hand to touch the gray cat, but, eyeing me suspiciously, she evaded my touch, and, jumping upon the red lounge, proceeded to sharpen her nails upon the pillow.

"Even the cat suspects me," I thought, …Such a life! The audacity was …greater. It would take a volume to tell it, just as has been done, and I do not mean to spoil a good tale by attempting to do it here.

"Now, if I make mistakes in writing about you, what will you do?" I asked, anxiously.

"I will forgive even your mistakes," he replied, pleasantly.

I went away regretting the shortness of my interview and wondering to what region had vanished the ideal I had feared so much.

I am sure I did not find anything except a pleasant, polite, kindly man in the most feared of all Anarchists, John Most!

JUSTUS H. SCHWAB.

"Do you know where Mr. Schwab's saloon is?" I asked a little girl in First street.

"It's there," she replied, pointing across the street.

I looked where she pointed and saw hanging over a basement window a modest sign bearing the name "Justus H. Schwab." Below it was a beer sign, and that was the only evidence in view that the basement was a saloon. No mysterious swinging doors, no suggestive stormdoor marked "Ladies' Entrance," just three steps down into a basement, the door almost hidden by the high stoop, and that was all.

"Is there no entrance for women?" I asked the girl.

"Oh, no," she answered. "Everybody goes in at the same door. No one minds."

So I went down the three steps and stood in the doorway.

The scene was an unusual one, and not without its picturesque features.

Nearest to the one window was a tall bar, innocent of glasses or tempting and alluring luncheon, not even a pretzel being in sight.

No beating the satanic one around the bush there. If you want a drink, well and good. If not, you are not tempted to drink in order to partake of a few cold bites.

Back of the bar, on two ordinary brackets, were about a dozen glasses, and near them some shelves filled with books.

The most interesting thing in this basement—that is, when the proprietor is out—is the blackboard.

It faces the bar and is filled with writing, newspaper clippings and telegrams. On either side of this board is painted a red flag, the flag of Anarchy.

But more about this famous blackboard later.

The basement extends the length of the house, having one window in the rear and a hall that leads to the yard.

Plain, ordinary round tables, with their accompanying four wooden chairs, fill the floor, and pictures and a second and larger case of books the wall.

This is Justus H. Schwab's place—an honest place, a place that scorns to hide men behind door, until, incapable of drinking more, they are set upon and beaten and flung into the street.

Of one thing every observer must be convinced as soon as he enters. That is that Mr. Schwab, true to his doctrine, is not working to make a fortune, but merely for so much as will maintain life.

When I entered this interesting place there was but one person present.

That was a young boy who sat at a table intent upon a book. So absorbed, in fact, that he did not hear me until I spoke to him.

"Is Mr. Schwab here?" I asked.

He raised to me a handsome boyish face, his big china-blue eyes smiling in unison with his red lips.

"I shall call him," he answered, promptly. "He has not come down yet. Sit down, please."

I took his chair and he went out to the sidewalk, whistled a moment, and then spoke in German to some one in the house above.

Then he returned to me.

"He will be here in a moment," he …perform, or one that she did with half a heart, or occasionally, but as if she loved him with all her girlish heart, and liked to kiss him because she did love him so much.

"Good-by, my daughter," said this handsome Anarchist fondly, as he patted her on the shoulder. "Be a good girl."

"You know I can't be that, father." She laughed roguishly, and bowing to me she went skipping to the door and up those three steps and out of sight.

ANARCHY'S AUTHORS.

"Tell me what writers you think do the most good for your cause."

"The list is a long one," he said. "Among the best, in my opinion, is Benjamin R. Tucker, who wrote 'Instead of a Book;' Victor Yarros, author of 'Trial by Jury,' and I consider the greatest mind in the United States; Mackaye, Van Ornum, Loyd, Joshua Warren, Lysander Spooner, Rakownine, Krapotkin and Elise Reclus, the great avocate of Anarchism. In the past generation Steven Pearl Andrews was a great promoter."

"Are there many newspapers devoted to Anarchy?"

"Yes; quite a number, mostly German, but somehow they never seem to get on. In English there is The People, a weekly; Liberty and Solidarity."

"Have you a library?"

"A little one," smiling. "I have over six hundred volumes."

"How are you educating your children?"

"As a good father should—to my own views."

"And you are devoting your life to Anarchy?"

"Yes; to the solution of the social problem. I can preach, proselyte and agitate and hope."

"You believe in personal property, unlike some Anarchists?"

"Certainly. I believe what a man works for is his, but I do not believe in the hoarding or amassing of money, neither do I believe in employing labor. Every man for himself."

"Will you let me copy some of the things upon your blackboard?"

He laughed merrily.

"If I were to prevent you I could not advocate freedom in everything. Do as you wish. Copy all you wish, write of me as you please. I preach freedom, freedom of speech, of the press. I would not stop you if I could."

SCHWAB'S BLACKBOARD.

So I turned to that interesting blackboard and there I read, first of all, a telegram announcing the pardoning of the Anarchists by Gov. Altgeld.

These are what I copied:

"The bright sun rises in his course and salutes a race of slaves."

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

"Arrest every politician who endangers the welfare of the republic."

"Where more than one man speaks together they have him locked up."

"Where more than one man assembles, shoot him on the spot."

"The speech is in thunder away in the hills of New Jersey where no man hears."

"What does Anarchy mean? The public thinks it means riot, murder and pillage."

"Anarchy is the highest potente of order," he said, emphatically. "It is seeking a form of society where war, crime and all things evil will become impossible. We are ending all compulsion. What we want is voluntary association without police clubs."

"Aside from Anarchy, what do you like? Do you drive or dance?"

"He sings," spoke up a man who had entered. "Splendid voice."

"Oh, no; I'm too old now," Mr. Schwab said, modestly, his deep, rich voice speaking for itself. "I am fond of music and the opera. I used to sing and play."

"Is there anything you would say, in parting, to that part of the public that denounces you?"

"Yes, say this: Let them give us free speech; let them discuss with us. If we are wrong, let them come forward and prove so. If we are right, let them give us justice, freedom to speak. We ask no more."

"May I come back?" I asked in parting.

"Always, and welcome," was the cordial reply.

"And if I do not, in my ignorance, get everything correct, will you accept the intention for the deed?"

"Would I believe in freedom," he laughed, "if I denied you every right, even to that of making mistakes?"

That is Justus H. Schwab, Anarchist, preacher, teacher and agitator. If you think he is wrong, he is ready to talk with you and to convince or be convinced.

That is the glimpse I had of him and his home and life. It is not a bad picture is it?

"ZUM GROBEN MICHEL."

While searching for Emma Goldman the other night I went to No. 209 Fifth street—"Zum Groben Michel." This saloon has lately become famous as the resort of Anarchists, and is worthy a brief description. It is in the basement and has two entrances, one through a long hall and one by a front door.

I walked through this hall of semi-darkness, the only light coming from the open doors, and stopped at the first door to take a view of the saloon. There was absolutely nothing worthy of notice or comment, in one corner, in front of the window, was a bar—not a very grand affair—over which a bartender was rapidly handing out glasses filled with some beer and much foam.

Across from the bar, seated in a little group, were a few grave-faced Germans playing upon such instruments as are usually considered "the thing" for moments of festivity.

A woman who was making herself very busy saw me in the doorway and came forward, waiting for me to speak. Her hair was sleek and scant, her face was fat and ruddy and her form was all there, being a living protest against the idea of not indulging incorsets.

She suspicious and uncommunicative. I knew by her eye that she thought I was after something, and did not intend to be the one to help me.

"Do you speak English?" I asked, and she said she did.

"Is Miss Goldman here?" I added.

The woman looked me over, glanced towards the bar, then towards the inner room, and finally replied to me in German:

"I am very anxious to see Miss Goldman," I said, "and not knowing her address, I thought I should find her here."

"No, she is not here," she answered very distinctly.

"Do you expect her here?"

She shook her head.

"Have you any idea where she has gone?"

Again she shook her head.

"I wanted to see her so much," I said, regretfully.

I wanted to be invited in as well, but I said nothing about that and as she did not seem hospitably inclined, I remained where I was.

At last she said I might step inside and speak to the proprietor. He might tell me something.

"Inside" was a back room, brightly lighted.

A long table in the middle of it was surrounded by a number of persons intently engaged in folding and wrapping papers.

They were all men at work with one exception, a little brown-haired woman, who never glanced up.

Indeed, I was most impressed by the indifference and lack of curiosity with which they regarded me, a stranger. Very few of them seemed to notice me at all, and when they did it was not curiously.

As I advanced into the room, a dark, good-looking man arose from the end of the table and, with a very winning smile upon his face, waited for me to state my business. I wanted to say that I would like to sit down with them, but they were all speaking German, and in some way the whole atmosphere made me feel like an outsider.

I put to this smiling good-looking man all the questions I had asked the woman with the same result.

He knew nothing, or pretended he knew nothing, of Emma Goldman's whereabouts.

So this was Michel, the friend of Timmerman, who has just been sent to the island for six months; the friend of Emma Goldman, and this saloon, of which I have given so brief a description, is the noted resort of the Anarchists. Cheered by the music they sit here, planning and dreaming and discussing, and, amid it all, toasting in cool draughts of foaming beer every good thought, every brave utterance.

At Schwab's, No. 50 First street, I found a smaller number congregated. Mr. Schwab was away, and his handsome, fair-haired boy, was attending to the duties. Several men sat around talking very quietly in German, and the only English I heard spoken was that spoken by the boy and myself and a red-faced man, who call out to an acquaintance that entered:

"It has arrived to your pipe to be upside down."

NELLIE BLY.

THE STORM KING APPEASED.

But It Is Rumored that in His Fury Several Lives Were Lost.

The storm which ended early yesterday morning came from the lakes. It was followed by an area of high pressure, which chased all the rain clouds out to sea. In this city about three-quarters of an inch of rain fell, enough to wash away a part of the dirt that had escaped the "block system."

Capt. Edwards, of the Spermaceto Life-Saving Station, reported that half a dozen clam boats were said to have sunk during the gale of the night before. It was rumored several lives had been lost, and that one survivor was picked up by a passing schooner. Capt. Edwards cannot vouch for the truth of the report. At Fulton Market, where many of the boats tie up, no report of such a calamity had been received.

According to the Weather Bureau the rough weather is over for the time being, and there will be no need of an umbrella to-day, either in going to church or in returning therefrom.

Prophet Smith, in charge of the local bureau during Sergt. Dunn's vacation, says that it will be clear and cool, cool enough, he says, to make a wrap or overcoat comfortable towards the close of the day.

Another Brain-Racker Ready.

The Gold and Silver Puzzle Company, No. 21 Park place, will place upon the market to-morrow a financial problem in the form of the "Gold and Silver Puzzle." One hundred dollars reward is offered for the first correct solution of the puzzle sent to their office by mail.

The puzzle consists of two rings interesting each other. On one circle are twenty-one discs, marked silver, and on the other, twenty-two discs, with gold written upon them. The problem is to place the gold and silver dollars in free circulation, by exchanging or reversing the discs, which correspond to dollars.

Samples, costing 10 cents, will be mailed upon request, and the receipt of 8 cents in postage stamps.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880722000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] "May Anarchy Live" / Emma Goldman.– p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. –(Oct. 5, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

25 WANTED, APARTMENTS, TO LET. Advts. 10 Cents. ...k on page 16.

The World.

"Circulation Books Open to All."

ALL Situations Wanted Advts. 20 WORDS 10 CENTS. Every day in the week (Sundays included). Use blank on page 16.

V. NO. 11,734. PRICE TWO CENTS. NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1893. PRICE TWO CENTS. 16 PAGES.

...TICKET.

...oga Ready to ...nations.

...I-MACHINE.

... Will Be the ...irman.

...AST BRAVES.

...ominations That ...ation To-Day.

...IS PROBABLE.

...World.) ...This is the ticket ...

...ah, James E. Mayn...

...Ryan, Jr. ...ffy. ...hell. ...Rosendale. ...Surveyor, Martin ...

...ed on at a late ...e from Senator ...the office of the ...Meyer admitted ...ad he would be ...E. Kirk and ...rning candidates ...State Treasurer, ...by friends and ...by the decision ...nd Mr. Croker. ...There is little ...from this district ...t to come up to-...

...The Democratic state ...Croker and Murphy and ...to confer till noon ...at which meeting ...Governor Flower and ...Lieut.-Governor Sheehan ...Democratic State ticket ...

...Ellis will be temporary secretaries of the convention.

Col. George B. McClellan, who has been in the hands of his Tammany friends for the nomination for Secretary of State, has been laid on the shelf, it is said. Mr. Croker wants to use Col. McClellan in some other way. To-night C. Meyer, jr., is the man most likely to be nominated. This, the leaders think, would pacify the anti-machine people and produce that show of harmony which Senator Murphy and Messrs. Sheehan and Croker feel is necessary to elect Judge Maynard. Mr. Meyer, while he has been a consistent Cleveland man, has never been much out of line with the machine. Mr. Hill would much rather have some one else, but it looks to-night as if Meyer would be the man.

For State Treasurer Hugh Duffy, Col. Lamont's friend from Cortland County, is out of the race. Ex-Mayor Kirk, of Syracuse, will be much stronger in the convention than Duffy, and can win hands down if the nomination be left to the convention. It looks now as if this would be done.

FOR JUDGE MAYNARD.

The nomination of Judge Maynard is, of course, to go through. That will be insisted upon. Senator Murphy is willing to give any other concession. He saw Congressman Tracey to-night, and asked that the anti-machine men make no direct attack upon Mr. Maynard, and



SHERIFF JOHN J. GORMAN, THE SANTA CLAUS OF THE PARTY.

that they fall into line and make the nomination unanimous in the interests of Democratic harmony. The anti-machine men are thinking hard over this to-night. They will probably present the name of Judge Hand, of Essex, to-morrow.

District Attorney James Ridgway, of Kings, who is on the ground for Hugh McLaughlin, was called in to-night and consulted with concerning the nomination of Thomas Fennell for a queen on the state ticket. He replied that Fennell was not to be considered. He is a candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court, and knows that Mr. McLaughlin has an option to name a man on the ticket. The fact of Fennell's being in that category is said to have ...

MURDERED IN ALASKA.

Missionary H. R. Thornton Shot at His Door with a Whaling Gun.

HIS YOUNG WIFE LEFT ALONE WITH THE BODY ALL NIGHT.

NATIVES LYNCH THE BOY SLAYERS.

(Special to The World.)

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 4.—The revenue cutter Corwin, which arrived from the Behring Sea yesterday, brought Mrs. Harrison R. Thornton, widow of the nephew of ex-Justice Thornton, of the Supreme Court of this State.

Mrs. Thornton's husband was a linguist, and in order to pursue his studies accepted eighteen months ago the post of teacher in the missionary school at Cape Prince of Wales. Mrs. Thornton, then a bride, accompanied him, and when last heard from both were content, though Mr. Harrison's letters were full of complaints concerning the difficulties in his way and the lack of aid he thought he was entitled to receive from the Government. In addition to teaching he set about protecting the parents of his pupils from the evil influences of ... traders, whose principal stock for barter was liquor.

In this work he became involved in a controversy with the commander of one of the revenue cutters, whom he charged with dereliction in not devoting more time to the suppression of the illegal traffic. This made him some enemies among the natives. Encouraged by their parents, some of Mr. Thornton's pupils rebelled, and early last month the conduct of three boys became so bad that they threatened to demoralize the school. To prevent thorough disruption Mr. Thornton expelled them.

At a council of some of the better Indians the boys were ordered punished, and out of revenge they murdered their teacher.

At the time Mr and Mrs. Thornton were the only white persons at the school settlement, W. T. Lapp, the assistant teacher, being absent for supplies and mail. The boys were from fourteen to seventeen years of age. The two eldest entered into a conspiracy, but the youngest refused to join.

The young conspirators decided to use an old whaling gun, left there by some hunters. It was of enormous calibre and had been used to fire harpoons and explosive bombs. After dark one of the boys summoned Thornton to his door. The other, ready with the gun, and when the teacher appeared he pulled the trigger, sending a whaling-iron entirely through his body.

Mrs. Thornton was to have been killed, but the boys were frightened away by her screams. The Thornton residence was ransacked and her cries were not heard. She passed the night alone with the dead body of her husband.

In the morning the entire village was aroused. A party of Indians, ... had made up their minds ... Columbus, O., where Cothem ... undergoing treatment in a hospital and Miss Brinkman was the nurse. They will make their home in St. Louis. The bridegroom still wears woman's clothes.

A committee called on the bridegroom last night for an explanation. It is reported that in answer to questions the bridegroom went up stairs and fainted.

BISMARCK DID NOT GO HOME.

For the Third Time the Date Fixed for His Departure from Kissingen Is Changed.

KISSINGEN, Oct. 4.—Prince Bismarck did not start for his home in Friedrichsruh to-day as had been arranged.

Dr. Schweninger, his physician, has left Kissingen, and is not expected back before Saturday. This is taken as an indication that the Prince's condition is not critical.

It is thought that the Prince will be compelled to make a prolonged sojourn here. Twice before has the day been set for his departure, but both times his condition was such it was deemed inexpedient to move him. The last arrangement made was for him to leave Kissingen at noon to-day. He was to travel by rail via Bebra and Hanover, thus avoiding passing through Berlin, as it was feared that the excitement of the reception sure to be given him there would have a bad effect upon him.

The Kreuz Zeitung to-day publishes the often-referred-to order sent by Emperor William to Dr. Schweninger. This order bears date of April 21, 1890, and contains the following:

"Not only the German nation, but all the nations of the civilized world have the deepest interest in Prince Bismarck's welfare. I personally heartily desire to see him, with God's help, long preserved. I wish you, therefore, to continue to attend him as his physician. I look forward to your reports from time to time."

BERLIN, Oct. 4.—Dr. Chrysander, the physician who attended Prince Bismarck during his recent illness, has been summoned to Kissingen.

EMMA GOLDMAN AND HER JURORS.



INSPECTION. INTERROGATION. APPREHENSION. SUSPENSION. SATISFACTION.

"MAY ANARCHY LIVE."

Emma Goldman's Alleged Speech in Evidence Against Her.

THE ANARCHIST QUEEN'S TRIAL BEGUN IN EARNEST.

DETECTIVE CHAS. JACOBS TESTIFIES.

The trial of Emma Goldman, the "Queen of the Anarchists," for incendiary speaking, began yesterday in Part I. of the Court of General Sessions before Judge Martine. The greater part of the day was occupied in jury picking. The following twelve men were selected:

Rudolph F. Emmerich, machinist, No. 191 Worth street; Emanuel Weisbergef, meat and vegetables, No. 563 Columbus avenue; Michael Wachtel, retired tobacconist, No. 247 East Fifty-fifth street; David Friedlander, real estate, No. 305 East Forty-second street; Charles G. O'Hara, jr., machinery salesman, No. 107 Liberty street; Judson Johnson, salesman, Thirty-first street and East River; James Hamilton, carpenter, No. 217 West Fifty-third street, Matthew Anderson, real estate, No. 1051 Third avenue; Cornelius McCarthy, liquors, No. 902 Eleventh avenue; Stephen D. Pitchett, real estate, No. 2 New Chambers street; Christian Hammel, retired sewing machine dealer, No. 180 East Eighty-first street, and Albert J. Wagner, wine importer, No. 1466 Third avenue.

Miss Goldman listened attentively to

ACCUSED BY DR. MARY WALKER.

A Syracuse Porter Held for Murdering Christie Warden and Throwing the Sage Bomb.

(Special to The World.)

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Oct. 4.—Dr. Mary Walker visited Police Headquarters to-day, and said she had come to have the real murderer of Christie Warden, who was killed at Hanover, N. H., July 17, 1891, taken into custody. At her request and on information given by her Chief of Police Wright sent for Arthur B. Snood, who has been a porter at the Windsor House.

When Snood appeared Dr. Walker declared he was not only guilty of the murder for which Almy was hanged, but was the man who threw the bomb in Russell Sage's office in New York. Then she pilled Snood with questions, and got him to contradict himself several times. Chief Wright will hold Snood until he can investigate the doctor's story. Dr. Walker was recently refused a warrant for Snood's arrest at Oswego.

Dr. Walker has just returned to her farm near Oswego from another trip of investigation in New Hampshire. She says Snood went to work for her on her farm in May, 1891. He left for a time, but returned July 18, 1891, the day after Christie Warden was murdered. He stayed on her farm for a time and then went away again. On the evening Snood returned she says she asked him to read from the New York World the account of the Warden murder. He was visibly affected, especially by the description of the murderer, and had to be urged to go on. After he had finished he went to his room, though it was only 6 o'clock.

He had told me, she said, that he had worked for a family of the name of ... Hampshire, that his grandfather was murdered, and that he had ... order that Mr. Cuming, who is still nearly helpless, may have an easy trip. It is now thought probable that Mr. Cuming will eventually recover, although it will require some time.

AFTER SANTA CRUZ.

Insurgent Warships Pouring Shot Into That Stubborn Fort.

THE BATTLE-SHIP BAHIA SAILS TO JOIN PELLO'S FLEET.

RIO AND SANTOS STILL BLOCKADED.

(Copyright, 1893, by the Press Publishing Company, New York World.)

(Special Cable Despatch to The World.)

BUENOS AYRES, Oct. 4.—The warships of the insurgent fleet in the Bay of Rio de Janeiro are still pouring shot into Fort Santa Cruz, near the entrance to the harbor.

The blockade of the ports of Rio de Janeiro and Santos, proclaimed by Admiral Mello, the commander-in-chief of the revolutionists, continues.

MONTEVIDEO, via Galveston, Oct. 4.—The bombardment at Rio de Janeiro continues.

The revolutionists do not seem to be gaining any advantage.

No details of to-day's firing have been received here.

Fort Santa Cruz is the only fortress on the bay that holds out against ... Mello. ...

NOW THE RACE

Vigilant and Valkyrie ... Perfect Trim for To-Day's Contest.

BOTH YACHTS MEASURE...

Valkyrie's Time Allowance Is 1 Minute 48 Seconds.

THIS MEANS GOOD LUCK FOR E...

But Greater Will Be the G... of the White Sheep That Defends the Cup!

HURRAH FOR VIGILANT AND ...



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880722000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] "May Anarchy Live" / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. —(Oct. 5, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

…It looks now
…AYNARD.
…dge Maynard is, of
…that will be tendered
…is willing to give any
…w Congressman Tracey
…the anti-machine men
…on Mr. Maynard, and



…ORMAN, THE SANTA
…THE PARTY.
…and make the nomina-
…interests of Democratic
…chine men are think-
…night. They will prob-
…of Judge Hand, of Essex,

…ies Ridgway, of Kings,
…d for Hugh McLaughlin,
…and consulted with con-
…n of Thomas Postwell for
…ticket. He replied that
…e considered. He is a
…of the Supreme Court.
…Washington has no district
…the ticket. To-night the
…s Maynard, Meyer and
…Rosendale and Schenck,
…will make the State
…will be finished

…Tracey, who figured as
…Administration element,
…nomination of Mr.
…able to all the Democrats
…ed: "While Mr. Meyer
…ng adherent of the State
…kindly regarded by the
…supposed to be antago-
…he is very friendly to the
…, and is regarded by
…and reliable man. His
…ceptable to all of us. I
…ith pleasure, and I am
…eral will."

…AY'S TRIP.

…500 men from the great
…the Grand Central Depot
…1 o'clock to-day and
…me for "supper." The
…and so the outside
…was unattended by any
…the first man that ap-
…New York was Timothy
…pped quietly about and
…special notice. Barney
…of the old Eighth District,
…Jacob A. Mittnacht, who
…embly until Mr. Croker
…fesio against all men who
…ey was trying to soothe
…im that oratory is easily
…months' practice would
…an orator as Mr. Croker

…thy walked about. He
…a senator, but Tammany
…spirit of gratifying him.
…lyman, walked heavily
…niform until he caught
…r, and then he stepped
…his hat frequently. The
…ently dressed in a shiny
…ino Albert coat.

…In answer to questions,
…ion to forecast any events,
…the entire ticket nomi-
…nga Convention will be
…ther ticket will be in it."
…k Farley added: "And
…d go solid. Just make a
…rman Clancy bit off the
…inked Mike Callahan,
…e Assembly, arrived with
…r, the King of the Cherry
…stice wore a cocktail that
…ame his cheeks and a silk
…r polish than his shoes.
…T. Brown, the shoe
…nt of the Justice, loitered
…tly of his chance to be
…Revenue Collector. At
…n the highest praise of
…. Timothy "Shay"
…Albert coat, a silk lined
…Jug hat, avoided his old
…grown uneasy receiving

…McClellan, who has been
…t every office within the
…his election as President
…, continually blushed
…l all knowledge of what
…re for him. His, round-
…h an admiring crowd of
…ple, appeared shortly be-

…N BUNCHES.

…Soldiers began coming in
…rman, John F. Carroll,
…lerman "Soler" Flynn,
…, Dan Donegan, Under-
… Commissioner Feitner,
… John C. Sheehan and
…k all came in a bunch
… popping in. Assembly-
…en, Webster, Southworth
… in as the advance guard
…Michael P. Kelly. The big
…he hum of voices and no
…stone anywhere without
…r.
…ilence fell and every eye
…hat ground inwardly down
…rd the train. This was
…d Croker. He kept his
…front of him and paid no
…ding heads and shaking
…her man than usual said
…nd his lips that made no

…eel assured that the first
…he ready and there was a
…Public Commissioner
…charge of the train. His
…fortunate who had no
…to be Governor's aide of those
…s. His first section arrived
…and the second section fol-
…ow later.
…he last section Mr. Croker
…d his cronies. The men in
…ast that the melting of a
…like breaking glass. A few
…ad got noisily drunk.

…Thornton, a blow of the nephew of ex-Justice Thornton, of the Supreme Court of this State.

Mrs. Thornton's husband was a linguist, and in order to pursue his studies accepted eighteen months ago the post of teacher in the missionary school at Cape Prince of Wales. Mrs. Thornton, then a bride, accompanied him, and when last heard from both were content, though Mr. Harrison's letters were full of complaints concerning the difficulties in his way and the lack of aid he thought he was entitled to receive from the Government. In addition to teaching he set about protecting the parents of his pupils from the evil influences of chance traders, whose principal stock for barter was liquor.

In this work he became involved in a controversy with the commander of one of the revenue cutters, whom he charged with dereliction in not devoting more time to the suppression of the illegal traffic. This made him some enemies among the natives. Encouraged by their parents, some of Mr. Thornton's pupils rebelled, and early last month the conduct of three boys became so bad that they threatened to demoralize the school. To prevent thorough disruption Mr. Thornton expelled them.

At a council of some of the better Indians the boys were ordered punished, and out of revenge they murdered their teacher.

At the time Mr. and Mrs. Thornton were the only white persons at the school settlement, W. T. Lapp, the assistant teacher, being absent for supplies and mail. The boys were from fourteen to seventeen years of age. The two eldest entered into a conspiracy, but the youngest refused to join.

The young conspirators decided to use an old whaling-gun, left there by some hunters. It was of enormous calibre and had been used to fire harpoons and explosive bombs. After dark one of the boys summoned Thornton to his door. The other stood ready with the gun, and when the teacher appeared he pulled the trigger, sending a whaling-iron entirely through his body.

Mrs. Thornton was to have been killed, but the boys were frightened away by her screams. The Thornton residence was somewhat isolated and her cries were not heard. She passed the night alone with the dead body of her husband.

In the morning the entire village was aroused. A party of Indians, appreciative of the efforts Thornton had made in their behalf, caught the boys and killed them with stones and spears. They did not wait for a trial.

Then the relatives and friends of the boy murderers organized to fight the vigilance committee, but, finding them strong and well armed, gave up that intention and went to the Thornton cottage to kill Mrs. Thornton. They argued that as two of their number had been killed two of their enemies should die.

The vigilance committee learned of the threat and stopped them on the way. This gave Mrs. Thornton time, and she was assisted to escape by a friendly Indian and his daughter, a girl of sixteen, who was passionately fond of her. The three embarked in a canoe, with scarcely a handful of provisions, for their long journey down the river.

It was three days before Mrs. Thornton was landed on the coast at the settlement where Mr. Lapp had gone. For a day or two it was feared she would lose her reason.

The revenue cutter Bear was due at the cape in about three weeks, but Mrs. Thornton could not wait, and gladly accepted the proposition of some of the settlers to escort her down the coast to board the Corwin at Unalaska. Mrs. Thornton is now very ill at Judge Thornton's residence here.

Rev. Dr. Strieby, Secretary of the American Missionary Association, received word Tuesday of the murder of Mr. Thornton. Cape Prince of Wales is 1,000 miles north of Sitka and only forty-six miles from East Cape, Siberia. Mr. Thornton and W. T. Lapp, of Indiana, were sent there three years ago.

A year ago Mr. Thornton returned and married Miss Ada Pratt, of New York, formerly of Auburn, Me. They returned to Alaska together, taking with them a friend who subsequently became the wife of Mr. Lapp.

The reports from the missionaries were discouraging. They then said their lives were in danger. In letters to friends Mr. Thornton said that the natives were peaceable when not under the influence of liquor. When intoxicated they were dangerous, and many of the murderous missionaries in that section were traceable to this. Natives had threatened to shoot him and his wife only a few days before the last letter was sent, pointing firearms at them. Mr. Thornton's age was thirty-six years and he was a native of Virginia, and he was a professor in the State University there when called to mission work.

JEWELL CAN'T GET IN.

Blackballed Once. His Name Withdrawn at the Loyal Legion Meeting.

The name of Commander Theodore F. Jewell, of the Brooklyn Navy-Yard, has been before the military order of the Loyal Legion, Commandery of the State of New York, as a candidate for original first-class membership ever since last year. He was blackballed once. The elections are held at the monthly meetings at Delmonico's.

Last night, at the first meeting of the fall season, the list was distributed, but Commander Jewell's name was scratched off. This was done at the request of the committee. It is said that his name will be put forward at a subsequent meeting.

Acting Assistant Paymaster George Wilson, also once blackballed, was last night admitted.

After the meeting a dinner took place, and the officers elected at the last meeting were installed. Over four hundred sat down. Commander Brevet Major-Gen. Wager Swayne presided, and speeches were made by Gen. F. S. Michl, of West Point; Gen. Horace Porter, Gen. H. W. Slocum and Gen. Horatio King.

BRIDEGROOM IN WOMAN'S CLOTHES.

For Years Everybody in Toronto Accepted Him as a Woman.

(Special to The World.)

TORONTO, O., Oct. 4.—Augustus Cothen, who has lived here for years as Sallie Stringer, wearing woman's clothes and being accepted by everybody as a woman, was married yesterday to Mary Brinkman, who came here three months ago from Quincy, Ill.

Cothen has delicate features and no beard. No unfavorable comment was ever passed on him save that he was unusually timid for a woman, of the society of girls. W. T. Stringer, Cothen's uncle, who took out the marriage license, said that he had known that Cothen was not a woman only a short while. He was on the church rolls as "Sallie Stringer," and for that reason the pastor, the Rev. Mr. Weir, refused to perform the marriage ceremony.

The bride and bridegroom met and loved as

INSPECTION INTERROGATION.

Columbia, O., where Cothen [illegible] undergoing treatment in a hospital and Miss Brinkman was the nurse. They will make their home in St. Louis. The bridegroom still wears woman's clothes.

A committee called on the bridegroom last night for an explanation. It is reported that in answer to questions the bridegroom went up stairs and fainted.

BISMARCK DID NOT GO HOME.

For the Third Time the Date Fixed for His Departure from Kissingen Is Changed.

KISSINGEN, Oct. 4.—Prince Bismarck did not start for his home in Friedrichsruh to-day noon, as had been arranged.

Dr. Schweninger, his physician, has left Kissingen, and is not expected back before Saturday. This is taken as an indication that the Prince's condition is not critical.

It is thought that the Prince will be compelled to make a prolonged sojourn here. Twice before has the day been set for his departure, but both times his condition was such it was deemed inexpedient to move him. The last arrangement made was for him to leave Kissingen at noon to-day. He was to travel by rail via Fulda and Hanover, thus avoiding passing through Berlin, as it was feared that the excitement of the reception sure to be given him there would have a bad effect upon him.

The Kreuz Zeitung to-day publishes the often-referred-to ordar sent by Emperor William to Dr. Schweninger. This order bears date of April 21, 1890, and contains the following:

"Not only the German nation, but all the nations of the civilized world have the deepest interest in Prince Bismarck's welfare. I personally heartily desire to see him, with God's help, long preserved. I wish you, therefore, to continue to attend him as his physician. I look forward to your reports from time to time."

BERLIN, Oct. 4.—Dr. Chrysander, the physician attending Prince Bismarck in the absence of Dr. Schweninger, replying to inquiries, telegraphs that the alarming statements regarding Prince Bismarck are unfounded and that the Prince's condition is appreciably better.

Attendants say that the Prince feels strong enough to travel and that he may leave at any moment, but that it is impossible to fix a time for his departure.

THROWN FROM HER CARRIAGE.

The Wife of Dr. W. T. Bull, Some Time Mrs. James G. Blaine, Jr., Sustains a Severe Shock.

Mrs. W. T. Bull, the wife of Dr. W. T. Bull, once Mrs. James G. Blaine, Jr., was severely injured yesterday afternoon as she was leaving her carriage opposite the Grand Central Depot. Accompanied by her husband and eight-year-old son, James G. Blaine, Jr., Mrs. Blaine drove to the New York Hospital for the Relief of the Ruptured and Crippled, at the corner of Lexington avenue and Forty-second street. Dr. Bull, who is visiting surgeon at the hospital, left her at 2.30 o'clock to perform an operation. Mrs. Blaine then ordered the coachman to drive to Central Park.

The horses became frightened in front of the Grand Central Depot, reared, plunged and threatened to overturn the carriage. In front of Joseph N. Galway's grocery store, at Vanderbilt avenue, the driver got the horses under control and brought them to a stop. Mrs. Blaine assisted her son out and then started to follow him. She has been suffering from rheumatism and before she could get her left foot from the step the horses plunged again and she was thrown violently to the sidewalk. Her forehead, her arm from the elbow to the shoulder and her left side were badly bruised, and she sustained a severe shock.

She was taken into Galway's store and revived in a few minutes, after which she was driven to her home, No. 35 West Thirty-fifth street.

It was said at the house last evening that the shock sustained was more severe than Mrs. Bull's other injuries.

THE WIDOW RODE A BICYCLE.

Her Conduct Caused a Church War at Binghamton, N. Y.

(Special to The World.)

BINGHAMTON, N. Y., Oct. 4.—The High Street Methodist Church is now in a turmoil over the propriety of women riding bicycles. The trouble began when Mrs. Burrows, a widow, purchased a bicycle. She is an active worker in the church.

At a prayer-meeting the other night Samuel Stanley arose and denounced the act of bicycle-riding as unladylike, unchristian and a disgrace to the church. The deacon edified the audience by an attempted illustration of a woman riding a bicycle. The pastor, Rev. John Bradshaw, took sides against the bicyclists.

Mrs. Burrows's friends threaten to carry the question before the next conference. The Young Women's Christian Association has established a wheel club in open defiance of those who disapprove of bicycles.

RICH MEN'S BIG MORTGAGE.

Property of the Millionaire Club Pledged for $700,000 of Bonds.

The largest mortgage filed in the Register's office since Judge Hilton mortgaged his Chambers street building to Mrs. Hetty Green was registered yesterday. The mortgage covers the northeast corner of Fifth avenue and Sixtieth street, and was given by Cornelius Vanderbilt and others, trustees, to D. O. Mills and another, trustee, on account of bonds for $700,000.

The Metropolitan Club on May 9, 1891, purchased from Lily W. Chu c'ill the plot of land on the corner, 100·8x100, and also on Sixtieth street, north side, 100 feet east of Fifth avenue, the plot 100x100.8.

None of those concerned in the transaction could be seen. but it is understood that the mortgage was given to indemnify the bondholders.

"MAY ANARCHY LIVE."

Emma Goldman's Alleged Speech in Evidence Against Her.

THE ANARCHIST QUEEN'S TRIAL BEGUN IN EARNEST.

DETECTIVE CHAS. JACOBS TESTIFIES.

The trial of Emma Goldman, the "Queen of the Anarchists," for incendiary speaking, began yesterday in Part I. of the Court of General Sessions before Judge Martine. The greater part of the day was occupied in jury picking. The following twelve men were selected:

Rudolph F. Emmerich, machinist, No. 131 Worth street; Emanuel Weisberger, meat and vegetables, No. 148 Columbus avenue; Michael Wachtel, retired tobacconist, No. 247 East Fifty-fifth street; David Friedlander, real estate, No. 206 East Forty-second street; Charles G. O'Hara, jr., machinery salesman, No. 107 Liberty street; Judson Johnson, salesman, Thirty-first street and East River; James Hamilton, carpenter, No. 217 West Fifty-third street; Matthew Anderson, real estate, No. 2662 Third avenue; Cornelius McCarthy, liquors, No. 902 Eleventh avenue; Stephen D. Pitchett, real estate, No. 2 New Chambers street; Christian Hammel, retired sewing machine dealer, No. 152 East Eighty-first street, and Albert J. Wagner, wine importer, No. 1405 Third avenue.

Miss Goldman listened attentively to the examination of the talesmen. She was dressed in black and wore a big yellow rose. In the court-room were Joseph Barondess, the leader of the cloakmakers; Justus Schwab, John Most and other "labor agitators." Emma was eminently self-satisfied.

If her counsel had allowed her she would have made a speech. Ex-Mayor A. Oakey Hall, with Bernard J. Douras and August G. Beyer, of the firm of Oakey Hall, Douras & Beyer, represented her. Assistant District-Attorney McIntyre is conducting the case for the people. Mr. Hall asked the talesmen if they had any prejudices against Anarchists or Athelate and Mr. McIntyre inquired whether they had any acquaintances in Anarchist or Socialist circles.

The speech she is alleged to have made is as follows:

"My friends and workmen, we have assembled here to speak of the improving of our condition, but with speeches only we can accomplish nothing. You must have courage. You want bread, but who will give it to you? No one will give it to you. If you want it you must take it. If you do not get it on your own demand, take it by force. Go out into the social revolution. Prepare yourselves. The capitalists have prepared themselves with the police, who are armed with pistols and clubs. You can defend yourselves with sticks and stones if attacked. (The crowd—'We will.')

"I tell you again: Organize and go and demand what you want, and, if it is not given, then take it by force. If you take bread alone it will not help you much. Take everything. (The crowd—'She's right; that we will do.' March to the palaces of the capitalists and demand your rights, and if they are not given to you take them by force. You will be attacked by the militia and the police. You must be prepared to defend yourselves with sticks and stones. Prepare yourselves. (The crowd—'That's right. We will. Hurrah for Emma Goldman!') Either you will have to do what I tell you, or you can go home quietly, lay yourselves down and die of hunger. You can't accomplish anything by making speeches. You must act, and if you want to act you must prepare yourselves, so that you will be able to defend yourselves. (The crowd—'She's right; we must prepare ourselves!') It is true you are not prepared, while we know that the police are, with weapons, but we also know where weapons are to be obtained. (The crowd—'You bet we do! We know where to go and get them!') We are living in a time when you must act. The law will not fill your empty stomachs. The laws are made for the rich and not for the poor. The rich are living in luxury. Their wives and children have the best, while your wives and children are starving and running about in rags. (The crowd—'You are right! We know it!') Now that you know what you have to do, prepare yourselves. May Anarchy live!"

Mr. McIntyre, in his opening speech, explained that the prisoner was charged with a misdemeanor, and that the language she used at the mass-meeting in Union Square was an offense against the law.

Detective Sergeant Charles Jacobs, who took notes of the speech, read it in German from his memoranda and translated it. Mr. Hall in his cross-examination made a point of the fact that Detective Jacobs's report was not a verbatim one, and was incomplete. He examined the witness closely on his knowledge of German.

The detective made several breaks on translating words and corrected himself

to-day at 11 A. M. Miss Goldman spent last night in the Tombs, where she was taken by Deputy Sheriff Joe Burke. Her counsel pleaded for a continuation of her liberty on bail, but Mr. McIntyre objected.

To Bring Lawyer Cuming Home.

(Special to The World.)

MONTICELLO, N. Y., Oct. 4.—James R. Cuming, of the law firm of Vanderpool, Greene & Cuming, New York City, who, as reported in The World, was stricken with paralysis two weeks ago at the Hotel Rockwall, where he had been spending the summer, will be removed to his home to-morrow. Henry Thompson, one of his partners, arrived here this evening to assist Mr. Cuming on his journey. A special Pullman car has been chartered in

…rday that Mr. Cuming, who is still mostly helpless, may have an easy trip. It is now thought probable that Mr. Cuming will eventually recover, although it will require some time.

ACCUSED BY DR. MARY WALKER.

A Syracuse Porter Held for Murdering Christie Warden and Throwing the Sage Bomb.

(Special to The World.)

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Oct. 4.—Dr. Mary Walker visited Police Headquarters to-day, and said she had come to have the real murderer of Christie Warden, who was killed at Hanover, N. H., July 17, 1891, taken into custody. At her request and on information given by her Chief of Police Wright sent for Arthur B. Snood, who has been a porter at the Windsor House.

When Snood appeared Dr. Walker declared he was not only guilty of the murder for which Almy was hanged, but was the man who threw the bomb in Russell Sage's office in New York. Then she pried Snood with questions, and got him to contradict himself several times. Chief Wright will hold Snood until he can investigate the doctor's story. Dr. Walker was recently refused a warrant for Snood's arrest at Oswego.

Dr. Walker has just returned to her farm near Oswego from another trip of investigation in New Hampshire. She says Snood went to work for her on her farm in May, 1891. He left for a time, but returned July 13, 1891, the day after Christie Warden was murdered. He stayed on her farm for a time and then went away again. On the evening Snood returned she says she asked him to read from the New York World the account of the Warden murder. He was visibly affected, especially by the description of the murderer, and had to be urged to go on. After he had finished he went to his room, though it was only 8 o'clock.

He had told me, she said, that he had worked for a family of the name of Almy in New Hampshire, that his grandfather had died in an insane asylum and that his father was a clergyman. Under cross-questioning to-day, Snood denied that he had told her his father was a clergyman; he was a teacher, who occasionally preached.

Dr. Walker says that after killing Christie Warden Snood stole a horse, rode it as long as it would go, stole another and tired it out and then took a train and came to her farm. She says he told her he stayed at the Ringland Hotel, Oswego, the night of the murder, but she can now prove that he did not.

Dr. Walker says Almy and the Wardens went into a conspiracy to get the reward offered for the murderer's arrest, Almy thinking he could prove his innocence later. She says his lawyer went insane because he could not acquit him.

As to the Sage bomb-throwing, she says it was a companion of Norcross who was killed. Snood says he is willing to go to New Hampshire, where Norcross is known, to prove that he is not Norcross. Snood says he was born in Kent, England, and has never been in New Hampshire.

$40,000 SALVE FOR A WOUNDED HEART

Verdict in a Breach of Promise Suit Against a Wealthy Bank President.

(Special to The World.)

BOSTON, Oct. 4.—The breach of promise case of Mrs. Anna D. Van Houten vs. Asa P. Morse was given to the jury to-day and a verdict for $40,000 for the plaintiff was returned. This is the case of which Judge Barker ordered that no newspaper report should be made until the conclusion of the trial.

Asa P. Morse, the defendant, is seventy-five years of age. He is President of the Cambridgeport National Bank, has been for many terms a member of the School Board in Cambridge and served in both Houses of the Massachusetts Legislature. He is worth between $200,000 and $300,000, is a widower and has two daughters living.

Mrs. Anna Van Houten, the plaintiff, is thirty-three years of age and quite attractive of form and feature. She was divorced in 1889 from a Senator in the State of Washington.

The plaintiff claimed that the defendant proposed marriage and she accepted him May 14, 1891, that he bought her a $500 engagement ring and her wedding dress, that all relations were finally broken off by him suddenly early in 1892. She asserted that she told him truthfully that she was a divorced woman and why.

The defendant claimed that she concealed facts about her parentage and life.

MRS. LUKE BLACKBURN STILL ANGRY.

Promises to Testify Against Breckinridge in the Pollard Suit.

(Special to The World.)

LOUISVILLE, Oct. 4.—Mrs. Luke Blackburn, widow of Gov. Blackburn, confirms the story that she recently sent a letter to Geo. Basil Duke, of Louisville, reproving him for taking sides with Congressman Breckinridge in the scandal precipitated by Miss Madeline Pollard's damage suit. She also reiterates that Col. Breckinridge acted towards her in an ungentlemanly manner to that he introduced Miss Pollard to her as his affianced wife and asked her to introduce Miss Pollard into Washington society when he must have known that she knew nothing of the relations then existing between the two.

Mrs. Blackburn is to be a witness in the important one.

Cable vs. Stone Truck.

The cable cars continue to behave in a frisky manner at the Fourteenth-street curve. Car No. 33, bound north, struck a truck loaded with stone yesterday. The passengers were pretty well shaken up, but nobody was hurt. When the car proceeded its dashboard looked like a discarded wash-boiler.

No Interruption to Travel

or through car service over the Shenandoah Valley route to New Orleans or Mobile caused by recent storms. Only route now to New Orleans without change of cars. Office 317a Broadway.

AFTER…

Insurgent … Into …

THE BAT…

RIO AND …

(Copyright, …

(Special …

BUENO…

ships of th… Rio de J… into Fort … to the … The bl… Janeiro … miral M… of the …

MONTE…

4.—The … neiro con… The … gaining a… No det… been rece…

Port Said … hay that h… previous d… The lar… was built … years ago … some mod… breech-l… bore. The … above the … war need … them. The … were repo… don Sept. …

MONTE… ret ship … ported … under o… The … license. H… 35 feet … placemen… with 5½-… plating. … ameot … Whitwort… has twin … knots.

BRI…

LINCO… State Co… coinage … to contr… dorsemen… bitterly … The Ac… nearly 3… anti-slav… Chairma… rejected … The … All of t… ministra… Bryan … intends … not say … It is … join, th… sent to t…

BOST… returnes… which … its trip … It was f… The thi… $1,000 … letter o…

FAIR

33

890210006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Here Is Oakey Hall / Emma Goldman.– p. 8 ; 41 cm. *In* The World. –(Oct. 6, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

HERE IS OAKEY HALL.

Not Even Years of Absence Dim Miss Goldman's Counsel's Halo.

ANARCHY AS VIEWED BY BARONDESS AND THE PRISONER.

"IF" A LEGAL PHILOSOPHER'S STONE.

Abraham Oakey Hall, counsel for Emma Goldman, made a big point yesterday of the little interrogative particle "if."

"Isn't it a fact that every time Miss Goldman used any of the remarks that are called threatening she used the word 'if'?" he asked the witnesses. "Didn't she say that such and such should be done if such and such a contingency arose?"

The ex-Mayor of New York, the former chief magistrate and chief representative of law and order in the city, made a very vigorous fight for his little, black-robed, square-jawed client, the so-called Queen of the Anarchists. Part I. of General Sessions was crowded by an audience which took such a demonstrative interest in the proceedings that Judge Martine had to rebuke it for its laughter and applause.

The speech of Mr. Hall and the testimony of Emma Goldman and of Joseph Barondess, leader of the cloakmakers, gave ample opportunity for the demonstrations which led the Judge to remind the crowd that a court wasn't exactly like a public meeting, or an out-of-door one at least.

Roundsman Charles L. Schanwecker, who is drill instructor at Police Headquarters, was called by Assistant District-Attorney McIntyre. He testified that he understood German and had heard Miss Goldman's speeches in that language and in English at Union Square on Aug. 21. He made notes of the German speech, he said, and he read it from his memoranda and translated it.

If Detective-Sergeant Jacobs is an accurate [illegible] Schanwecker is, for the [illegible]'s notes of the alleged incendiary speech corroborated those of the detective.

Mr. Hall looked at the roundsman very incredulously and asked for his notebook.

"What's the German for 'if?'" said the ex-Mayor.

"Wenn," said the witness.

"Now, didn't Miss Goldman use that word every time when she made any of the remarks that are called threatening?"

The roundsman admitted that that was true. Detective John S. Krauch recited Emma's speech from memory.

"Ever go to school?" asked Mr. Hall.

"Yes, sir."

"Ever get a prize in school for memory?"

"No."

Mr. Hall pressed the witness so hard that Krauch declared that he had "only been corroborating Mr. Jacobs."

Detective-sergeant Charles Heidelberg said that he had attended the Union Square meeting and had heard Miss Goldman make the incendiary remarks attributed to her. Detective-sergeant Robert McNaught gave similar testimony, and Mr. McIntyre announced that the people rested.

Mr. Hall fumbled over a bundle of papers. Miss Goldman turned towards her tall, grizzled defender. The ex-Mayor cleared his throat and swept back his coat-tails with his long, thin right arm. John Swinton was sitting among the reporters. He bent forward to listen and Mr. Hall sent an "auld lang syne" smile across the room to him. Justus Schwab and a few of his friends, grouped on the back benches, were eager listeners to the address of Mr. Hall.

The ex-Mayor began in a very off-hand way. He looked at the jury in a quizzical fashion. The white goatee beneath his under lip came up to meet his long mustache, which didn't conceal the ripple of a smile at the corners of his mouth. He raised his eyebrows and said in that English accent of his that he was "very pleased" to meet twelve New Yorkers all of whom had said, before going into the jury box, that they did not know him.

The jurymen were [illegible]ckled, and No. 2, Emanuel Westerberg, who is a red checked, jolly looking little man, grinned a broad grin.

"It has been quite a graceful surprise to me that I'm unknown in New York to so many, after so many years of public life," smiled Mr. Hall. Then he sighed and said: "We're all detained to-day from witnessing the yacht race. Instead we're attending a police race."

That struck Mr. Hall as a good joke and he chuckled over it with satisfaction. Pausing long enough for the laughter to die out he took a breath and turning towards his client he exclaimed:

"I've come to speak a witness and until her [illegible] with enthusiasm."

Miss Goldman folded her hands and leaned back in her chair with a very well satisfied look. She appreciated keenly Mr. Hall's enjoyment in the [illegible].

She listened to what she thinks, even [illegible] Mr. Hall's masterly speech in her behalf, but like many of her race she has not failed to all that she says.

That [illegible] Emma [illegible].

The [illegible] to the defense in this case is [illegible] Mr. McIntyre's opening address he [illegible] Mr. Hall quoted from [illegible] Emma were called for the purpose [illegible] prejudice the jury against [illegible].

[illegible] to prevent the sparkling stream of [illegible] from the [illegible] Miss Goldman was [illegible].

[illegible] to [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

890210006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Here Is Oakey Hall / Emma Goldman.– p. 8 ; 41 cm. *In* The World. –(Oct. 6, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Judge to remind the crowd that a court wasn't exactly like a public meeting, or an out-door one at least.

Roundsman Charles L. Schaerwecker, who is drill instructor at Police Headquarters, was called by Assistant District-Attorney McIntyre. He testified that he understood German and had heard Miss Goldman's speeches in that language and in English at Union Square on Aug. 21. He made notes of the German speech, he said, and he read it from his memoranda on the stand.

Detective-Sergeant Jacobs is an acquaintance of Roundsman Schaerwecker's, for the latter's notes of the alleged incendiary speech corroborated those of the detective.

Mr. Hall looked at the roundsman very incredulously and asked for his notebook.

"What's the German for 'if'?" said the ex-Mayor.

"Wenn," said the witness.

"Now, didn't Miss Goldman use that word every time when she made any of the remarks that are called threatening?"

The roundsman admitted that that was true.

Detective John A. Krauch recited Emma's speech from memory.

"Ever go to school?" asked Mr. Hall.

"Yes, sir."

"Ever get a prize in school for memory?"

"No."

Mr. Hall pressed the witness so hard that Krauch declared that he had "only been corroborating Mr. Jacobs."

Detective-Sergeant Charles Heidelberg said that he had attended the Union Square meeting and had heard Miss Goldman make the incendiary remarks attributed to her. Detective-Sergeant Robert McNaught gave similar testimony, and Mr. McIntyre announced that the people rested.

Mr. Hall fumbled over a bundle of papers. Miss Goldman turned towards her tall, grizzled defender. The ex-Mayor cleared his throat and swept back his coat-tails with his long, thin right arm. John Swinton was sitting among the reporters. He bent forward to listen and Mr. Hall sent an "auld lang syne" smile across the room to him. Justus Schwab and a few of his friends, grouped on the back benches, were eager listeners to the address of Mr. Hall.

The ex-Mayor began in a very off-hand way. He looked at the jury in a quizzical fashion. The while "goatee" beneath his under lip came up to meet his long mustache, which didn't conceal the ripple of a smile at the corners of his mouth. He raised his eyebrows and said in that English accent of his that he was "very proud" to meet twelve New Yorkers all of whom had said before going into the jury box that they did not know him.

The jurymen were tickled, and No. 2, Emanuel Weisberger, who is a red-cheeked, jolly looking little man, grinned a broad grin.

"It has been quite a graceful surprise to me that I'm unknown in New York so many, after so many years of public life," added Mr. Hall. Then he sighed and said: "We're all deserved to-day from witnessing the yacht race. Instead we're attending a police race."

That struck Mr. Hall as a good joke and he didn't resume his satisfied air. Exchanging his dilletante drawl for a bruiser tone and turning towards his client, he exclaimed:

"It's a race to convict a woman and send her to prison. She is an enthusiast."

Miss Goldman folded her hands and leaned back in her chair with a very self-satisfied look. She appreciated keenly Mr. Hall's euphemism for Anarchist.

"She believes in what she thinks," continued Mr. Hall, throwing down his papers and swinging his arms, "but, like many of her sex, she does not believe in all that she says."

That didn't please Emma so much.

"The keynote to the defense in this case is contained in Mr. McIntyre's opening address to you yesterday," said Mr. Hall quoted these words. "There was financial distress last August. Meetings were called for the purpose of protest." "This was simply a meeting of protest," he added.

Then he quoted the qualifying clause of section 451 of the Penal Code – the section under which Miss Goldman was indicted.

"This section shall not be construed so as to prevent a peaceable assemblage of persons for lawful purposes of protest or petition."

Then he said: "This meeting at Union Square was a peaceable meeting, solely and simply a meeting of protest. In the thirteen years that I occupied the office which it was so ably filled by my learned friend I never even heard of the offense which is called by him unlawful assemblage. The offense dates from the time of Wat Tyler, the early Radical. Even the notorious Judge Jeffries never dared to prosecute any one for exercising the privilege of free speech. In the reign of Henry VIII of England they hanged a man for treason. He was sitting under a tavern sign which bore a portrait of the king, and which was decorated with a deer's antlers. The man said, 'I wish these antlers were thrust in the King's belly.' They prosecuted and convicted him. I have no doubt he was an early Anarchist. He was not only hanged but drawn and quartered as an enemy of the state, as one guilty of treason.

Mr. Hall appealed to Judge Martine as a student of ancient history and said that no doubt His Honor knew that in the time of President John Adams seditious speaking was made a felony.

"It cost John Adams his re-election," said Mr. Hall. Incidentally he remarked that in Mr. Adams's reign Congress did as the President and them – which he added with a twinkle in Judge ——— is probably not now the case. The nation and seditious laws were passed by Congress at the instance of John Adams. Before that time there was no statute on the books prohibiting free speech. It has become the traditional idea of the American people that so long as a person keeps within the bounds of comment he has a right to criticise, it is well the acts of any part of the community.

"Now, what is an unlawful assemblage? Recently at Roanoke, Va., there was an assemblage of men for the purpose of lynching a poor negro. They drove the Mayor from town and not only threatened to lynch the negro but did. That was an unlawful assemblage. Not many years ago there were unlawful assemblages in London. I was there and saw them. Men, too, in Trafalgar square and talked about looting the shops but did not do them."

"Some of you, like myself, old city men, may remember an assemblage in Tompkins Square when a gentleman distinguished for personal appearance, which he sent within hearing of my wife, made a speech as a so-called Irish Republican and waved the old flag and all that sort of thing."

Old John Swinton flushed with conscious guilt, and Mr. Hall said in a matter of fact way: "Well, the Justice Attorney of this district [pointing at Mr. McIntyre] seems disposed to prosecute all those who, in the exercise of their constitutional rights, make a protest against the wrongs of the people as they see them. I have myself addressed meetings of the unemployed recently, saying that in such case did not bring the offense charged against Emma Goldman within the statute under which she was being tried."

After recess Mr. Hall called Joseph Barron, who has been a waiter at the Arion Hall restaurant, 57 Second street, for the last two years. Barron does looked sick and pale. After affirming the oath prescribed by Judge Martine by a hardly audible murmur, he said he was a bank [illegible] by trade or [illegible] before [illegible] he had been convicted of a misdemeanor [illegible]. "But I was pardoned," he [illegible] been instrumental in

other friend, Zimmerman, who is serving a sentence on Blackwell's Island.

Edward J. Talmade, a reporter on the Staats Zeitung, said that Miss Goldman's speech at Union Square was not incendiary, but his testimony was knocked "sky high" when Mr. McIntyre had him translate his own published report of the speech.

Edward Brady, a compositor, said he heard the speech and could not remember anything in it that was incendiary. Brady said he was an American, in spite of his Irish name, and told Judge Martine that he had had trouble with his name already.

"So you don't agree with Shakespeare when he says, 'What's in a name?'" asked Mr. Hall. "If there is anything in Brady's name, it's more that can be said about his testimony. To Mr. McIntyre, after a lot of fencing, he acknowledged that he was an Anarchist and had only been in this country a year. He said that he didn't care much about laws, and when Mr. Hall, with a pained expression, strove to have him mend his answer, he made matters worse by saying that he believed in the observance of the laws of the land "to a certain degree."

"Emma Goldman?" called Mr. Hall, when the Anarchist compositor left the witness chair. The little woman took off her hat and bustled to the high seat and made affirmation that she would tell the truth. She enjoyed her position immensely. The air of satisfaction with which she plumped into the chair, gripped its arms and beamed on the jury was like Kalisha's elbow, worth going miles to see.

She said she had written out her German speech at Union Square and had committed it to memory. Mr. Hall handed her a roll of manuscript which she said contained the notes of the speech. The court interpreter, who is an Italian, and who looks exactly like ex-Commodore S. Nicholson Kane, the yachtsman, undertook to translate the speech if Emma would read it. Miss Goldman said she didn't feel capable of translating it herself.

Then there was hall an hour of pure, unadulterated fun in that court-room. Judge Martine's rebukes represed open merriment, but people who sat near the bench saw His Honor's head frequently shielding a judicial smile. The interpreter's English was wild, weird and uncanny.

Emma recited her speech—or what she said was her speech, for it was not at all like that which the witnesses testified they had heard. She rolled out sentence after sentence with almost as much oratorical vim as she expends on a shouting audience. At the close of each sentence, delivered gravely, majestically, and energetically by the "Anarchist Queen," the interpreter bobbled along with his English travesty.

"Die—What? What? What?" said the interpreter.

Emma repeated.

"That is—um—ah—sounds of dolur under the yoke of slavery," proclaimed the interpreter with a lung power that should have made breeze for the Valkyrie and Vigilant down the bay.

There was a roar of laughter. Judge Martine retired his gavel and pounded like a parer.

"You can't laugh in this court room if you want to stay," said he. "It is not a place for fun."

Emma read on.

"A small group of oppressors has asserted themselves on the marrow of the proletariat and to-day suck the blood from the veins," translated the interpreter.

Every now and if in Emma had a little row with the poor man about the exact meaning of a word.

"You sacrifice everything sacred to you to the despoilers," she said. "Your daughters and sons are like the —— like the ——"

"Why, wither," said Emma, turning up her nose.

"Well, your Honor," said the interpreter confidentially to the Judge, "they are like the ah flowers of—I lose their freshness."

"They wither," asserted Miss Goldman with a withering look and up went the Judge's hand to hide the smile he couldn't check.

"The daily said—to forth in the streets where the rich dwell—possessed the intelligence." "Go before the palaces of the plutocrats. Through your loud and energetic demands these heartless people will be compelled to provide work for you. Work! Demand it not on the words of the rad scholar—for there is a limit to the power of money. When the oppressed man can no more find right and justice and when the burden becomes insupportable, then he lifts up his hand with confident sadness to the stars. He insists—"

Alas, poor Schiller!

Many of the jurymen knew no more, and they looked as if they would like to have the unfortunate interpreter at the mercy of their box-stove grates. The court-room was in a roar. When he got to prose about the Emperor's head of a bloody relief and he finally freed Emma sadness in a tears world language. The case will probably go to the jury to-day.

DR. LEE WANTS HIS PICTURE.

It Is in the Rogues' Gallery and the Police Won't Give It Up.

(Special to The World.)

NEW HAVEN [illegible] Dr. [illegible] was acquitted Monday of the charge of causing the death of Margaret Schlegel by criminal [illegible]. I will supply to the courts [illegible] order to the [illegible] of his picture from the Rogues' gallery.

Dr. Lee's formal demand [illegible] Police Superintendent Smith for the picture yesterday, but the Superintendent refused. Dr. Lee threatens to take it out of the police's hands, taking the ground that the picture is a part of the records of the department and can be given in the discretion of the police, and he has decided to part with it.

[illegible] The [illegible] has been [illegible] to the city.

Godfather of the Telephone.

Prof. H. Helmholtz [illegible] University of Berlin, is [illegible]. He has been [illegible] the World's fair and is to visit [illegible] cities. He stands [illegible] among the scientists of the country. Yesterday [illegible] with Prof. Cross, [illegible] of Columbia College, Prof. Alexander Bell, Dr. Richard Koenig and Professor S. P. Rood, [illegible] of the Columbia University. Dr. Helmholtz [illegible] Prof. Bell [illegible] the telephone. [illegible] Bell [illegible] Helmholtz [illegible] perfection to which [illegible] has attained [illegible] Bell [illegible] Helmholtz [illegible] musical instruments. He expressed himself as delighted. He has [illegible] Bell [illegible] properties which may be used to [illegible] suggested the telephone.

Evicted While Looking for Work.

Edward Mallon, a [illegible] was evicted from his home at No. 251 East [illegible] street yesterday. Mallon was absent at the time looking for work. He owed [illegible] $5 and was unable to pay him, because one of the children has been sick and required expensive medical treatment.

No Name	65
Miriam Warant	60
S Family, Pittsfield, Mass	45
Francis Harbauer, Brooklyn	40
S. B. M., New York	40
Collected by J. B. Mickle	82
Daily American	30
From a family, Boiling Springs, N. J.	20
A. Cohen, New York	20
M. S. A., Patchogue	20
New Milford, Conn	20
John Holtum, Huber's Museum	20
David Kalish, No. 1077 Second avenue, on his tenth birthday	10
J. S. T., New York	10
C. B., New York	5
W. Freeman, New York	5
T. L.	5
Mrs. Skinner, Pittsfield, Mass	5
Bessie Keefe, Newark, N. J.	2
Total	$30,016

[All money received is acknowledged in loaves at five cents per loaf. Contributions should be addressed "Cashier, World." To insure the proper distribution of the fund The World has secured the co-operation of the following citizens, who will act as an Advisory Committee: Theodore W. Myers, Comptroller of New York City; Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor; Henry Gaenon, author and political economist; Frederick S. Lamb, Register of the City and County of New York; Edward "Ed" Shibity, Commissioner of Charities and Correction; Henry Clews, banker and financier; Alexander B. Makin, ex-Commissioner of Records and member of the Produce Exchange; Dr. John T. Nagle, Register of Vital Statistics; Joseph Barondess, leader of the cloakmakers.

Two of the 4,080 loaves given out yesterday morning from the Free Bread Fund Headquarters, at No. 16 Delancey street, went to Mrs. Jennie Kadlitz, of No. 158 Attorney street, on the top floor. There is a family that needs the bread until the husband gets work. If he had work—oh, well, then things would go very well with the Kadlitzes, for they are young.

Joseph Kadlitz is twenty-four years old, big and broad-shouldered, and Jendie, his wife, is twenty years old. You see, they disregarded the maxim which you will often hear that a man ought never to get married until he has an assured income of $2,500 a year at the very least. That is where the whole trouble comes in. He was a big, strong fellow that weighed 170 pounds, and he had a job for three years and a half driving for a butcher, at No. 155 Attorney street, and that paid him $12 a week. That is pretty good wages, and Jendie is a handy woman. She used to work on children's caps, and she can rake all her own clothes, and do them nicely, too. She is a good cook and a good washer and ironer, neat and tidy and just the woman that a struggling hard-working man would want for a wife. So without taking much more thought about the Sherman law than the birds do they got married.

They lived nicely. They didn't have any Hudson-Fulton race on the potlatch floor, but they had oilcloth, and where other people have water colors and lithographs and perhaps a painting or two they had cardboard plaques. It looked fine.

WHEN A MAN MARRIES—

Then the bubble went out of business. His head troubled him. He said the shop to a man who had a son to [illegible] partnership [illegible] and [illegible] Kadlitz was out of it. That was seven [illegible] ago. Since then he has not been able to find work, though he has gone all around looking for it. He can't get a job. He [illegible] to the [illegible] is strong or anything of [illegible] to [illegible].

[illegible] the [illegible] what he wants of the two [illegible] comes home. He says he can't have to take it away from her.

He [illegible] to [illegible] he said simply. I can't [illegible] to [illegible] see her suffer. I [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] something to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

890112001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Emma Goldman Testifies / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(Oct. 6, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ABSOLUTELY PURE

FREAKS OF A CRAZY CLERGYMAN.

The Police Court Commits Him for Mental Examination.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 5.—The Rev. John T. James, who got himself into notoriety by smashing liquor exhibits at the World's Fair, was brought up in the Washington Police Court this morning, charged with throwing a brick through a three-hundred-dollar plate glass window and destroying about $150 of stock in the wholesale and retail liquor establishment of Charles Kraemer, on Seventh Street.

"Why did you do this?" the court asked the prisoner.

"Because I am opposed to the rum traffic and I want to break it up if possible," was his response.

"But do you think this sort of business is going to stop it?" interrupted the Judge.

"Yes, Sir; it will stop it if it becomes a general business through the country."

"Well, it won't."

"I only obeyed the spirit of God in my heart," the prisoner said.

"But there is nothing in the spirit to show that you have a right to destroy property of others," said the court.

"I don't recognize whisky as property."

The court inquired if there was any one who knew the prisoner, and ascertaining that he had been in Loudoun County, Va., and that Mr. Ed Lake of this city knew him, the Judge sent for Mr. Lake, and after a conversation with him made an order committing the prisoner to the workhouse for mental examination.

DISTURBED THE ADVENTISTS.

Visitors to Their Tent in Jersey City Interrupt the Services.

JERSEY CITY, N. J., Oct. 5.—An exciting scene occurred last night at the tent of the Seventh Day Adventists at Bramhall and Ocean Avenues. E. E. Franke, an exhorter, was conducting revival services, when the Rev. M. D. Hancox, pastor of the Faith Cure Tabernacle, took exception to his remarks. Mr. Franke requested him not to interrupt the meeting.

Mr. Hancox continued his remarks, however, and Mr. Franke told him, if he desired, he could have the use of the pulpit on the following night. Mr. Hancox then stepped into the aisle, where he fell on his knees and prayed that God would open the eyes of the Seventh Day Adventist and show him the light.

Mr. Franke called upon the ushers to eject Mr. Hancox, but he said he would go quietly. He also remarked that he would "shake the dust from his feet as a testimony against them." As he passed out of the door he added: "God forgive them, for they know not what they do."

John O'Brien, a rich resident of the Hill, dropped in at the meeting later. After listening to Mr. Franke for a few minutes he arose and shouted: "Mr. Franke and all other Seventh Day Adventists can go to ——!" He was arrested, and this morning Justice Kimmerly, after lecturing him severely, fined him $10, which he paid.

DID NOT SELECT A CANDIDATE.

The Brooklyn Conference Committee Merely Met for Organization.

The Conference Committee of the Committee of One Hundred of Brooklyn held a meeting for organization last night at the home of Andrew D. Baird, 140 Hewes Street, in the Eastern District. Every member of the committee was present but one. The session was secret. At its conclusion Benjamin Estes, the Chairman, stated that nothing had been done beyond formally organizing.

There was an informal discussion of plans for conferences with similar committees from other political organizations, Mr. Estes said, but there was no talk looking to the selection of any one name to be presented or offered as an independent candidate for the Mayoralty.

The Committee of One Hundred will meet to-night at Conservatory Hall, Bedford Avenue and Fulton Street, Brooklyn. The Conference Committee will hold a preliminary meeting.

Definite action in respect to an independent campaign is looked for to-night on the part of the committee.

NEARLY A MILLION BROOKLYNITES.

Records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics Show 999,046 Inhabitants.

Brooklyn's population, according to the records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, published yesterday, is 999,046, distributed among the wards as follows:

Ward.	Population.	Ward.	Population.
First	23,109	Fifteenth	31,178
Second	10,787	Sixteenth	51,049
Third	24,308	Seventeenth	41,593
Fourth	15,982	Eighteenth	22,907
Fifth	19,5[illegible]	Nineteenth	37,837
Sixth	19,8[illegible]	Twentieth	28,270

EMMA GOLDMAN TESTIFIES

DETECTIVES' REPORT OF HER SPEECH SHE DECLARES FALSE.

Jacobs's Testimony Corroborated by Four Other Detectives Who Were Also at the Union Square Meeting — Joseph Barondess a Witness for the Accused Anarchist—Prof. Morosi Gives a Fiery Translation of the Speech the Defendant Says She Prepared and Delivered.

To-day will probably decide whether Emma Goldman is to wear convict's garb.

Assistant District Attorney McIntyre finished his case against her shortly before 12 o'clock yesterday. Ex-Mayor A. Oakey Hall at once began his opening address, and at the afternoon session most of the witnesses for the defense gave their testimony.

The defendant herself was called at 4 o'clock, and kept the stand until court adjourned, three-quarters of an hour later. She had an opportunity to say little, as most of her time was consumed in reading and translating her version of the speech of Aug. 21, for delivering which she is on trial.

She read from a German manuscript which she said she had prepared on the afternoon of Aug. 21. The speech, as she read it, differed materially from the report of the detectives who attended the meetings under instructions from Inspector McLaughlin. The speech was translated, sentence by sentence, by Prof. Benedict Morosi, the court interpreter.

The professor is a born actor, and makes up in histrionic talents what he lacks in the knowledge of German. The translation, therefore, though it was very imperfect, was delivered with a dramatic force that was at times startling.

The defendant herself grew timid under the professor's fiery oratory and was embarrassed. But if she bowed before the interpreter's energy she was perfectly calm and unembarrassed at all other times.

To complete the prosecution's case, four detectives were called to corroborate Detective Jacobs's testimony delivered Wednesday. Roundsman Charles L. Schauwecker read from his notes, taken at the meeting, various extracts which were of the same character as those put in evidence by Detective Jacobs.

Detective John L. Krauch, in reply to questions from Mr. McIntyre, repeated almost verbatim the statements which he said Miss Goldman had made at the meeting. They were so much like the statements made by Detective Jacobs, which the latter had read from notes, that Mr. Hall asked in a cynical manner on cross-examination:

Q.—Didn't you take a prize at school for your wonderful memory? A.—No, Sir. I didn't.

He afterward admitted that he had taken no notes himself, but that he had relied on the notes taken by Detective Jacobs.

Q.—Oh, then you are not repeating from memory what Miss Goldman said? A.—No, Sir; I am corroborating Detective Jacobs.

This answer caused a general laugh in the courtroom. Even Judge Martine smiled. Detective Sergeant Charles Heidelberg and Charles McNorton came next, and Mr. McIntyre announced that the case rested.

Mr. Hall then made his opening address.

Then Joseph Barondess was called for the defense. He made by far the most interesting witness of the day. He said he was an organizer for the Cloakmakers' Union; that he had been convicted of a misdemeanor and imprisoned. Afterward he was pardoned, he said, and since his release he had worked in the cause of the cloakmakers. It was he who obtained the permit for the Union Square meeting at which Emma Goldman spoke.

He was present during the entire evening, and was positive, he said, that no such words as had been attributed to her had been uttered by the defendant. On cross-examination Mr. McIntyre asked:

Q.—How long is it since you have worked at your trade of cloakmaker? A.—Three years.

Q.—And what have you done since? A.—I have worked at the organization of labor unions that shall secure the abolition of the system of wage slavery.

Q.—You were paid a salary? A.—Yes, I get $7.50 a week.

Q.—How much could you earn if you worked at your trade? A.—About $18 a week.

Q.—And do you mean to tell this jury that you would rather work for $7.50 a week less as a labor organizer than you could make as a workingman? A.—I would rather work at my trade, but there is no one among the cloakmakers to take my position, and I simply keep it to prevent the cause from dying out.

Q.—You want the court to believe that there is nobody among all the cloakmakers in this city who could do the work that you are doing? A.—I don't want the court to believe anything. I simply state what is a fact.

This unexpected answer seemed to nonplus Mr. McIntyre for a few moments, but he soon went at the witness on another tack.

Q.—You were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for the crime of extortion. A.—I never extorted a penny from any body.

their goods to three-fourths of the leading retail clothiers of New-York. They now deal with you direct and on the same terms: EVERY GARMENT AT STRICTLY WHOLESALE PRICE.

SALE AT THEIR WHOLESALE PREMISES, ON BLEECKER ST., CORNER GREENE, just west of Broadway.

If you don't save enough here to satisfy you, bring back the goods and get your money.

HAMMERSLOUGH BROS.,

Bleecker St., Corner Greene.

try, during five of which she had been lecturing. She prepared all her speeches before hand, wrote them out in manuscript, and committed them to memory. She had done this with the speech delivered on Aug. 21, and identified a copy which Mr. Hall handed her as the one she had written. She saw Detective Jacobs and the others at the meeting, but saw none of them take any notes.

Q.—What have you to say of the testimony which Detective Jacobs gave here yesterday? A.—I deny it, every word. I said no such things as he imputed to me.

The case will be resumed to-day at 11 o'clock. Miss Goldman was taken back to the Tombs.

THE NAVAL RESERVE.

Facilities Will Be Extended to It by the Navy Department.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 5.—The reports of the naval officers on the State naval militia organizations have stirred up the officers of the reserves by having criticised in some particulars the capacity for work of the militiamen. It is to such portions of these reports that officers of the reserve take exception. The naval officers were directed to report upon the condition of the reserve and its usefulness in case of emergency. In no instance has it been reported that the militia could be depended upon as a reserve from which the navy might draw. Those who take exception to the reports make the claim that the Navy Department has done little in behalf of the militia, and that such success as has attended the organizations has been despite the opposition of regular naval officers.

The Navy Department people say that such a statement is unjust, and assert that officers connected with the department during the past and present Administrations have aided the naval militia in every way. Ships have been placed at the disposal of the divisions, and there have been issues of stores and money from the Federal Treasury.

In most cases, while the militia is purely a State organization and controlled by State laws, the National Government has done more than the State. This year Secretary Herbert will send to the Treasury Department an estimate of $25,000 for the naval militia of the country. This recommendation should spare the Navy Department and its representatives from the imputation of jealousy. The officers who have been engaged in the inspection of the naval militia work say they followed the instructions of the department to give accurate reports of their observation, and in each case gave what was intended for a fair and honest estimate of the value of the reserve. Whatever may be said of the independence of the reserve, it will not be able to act on its own responsibility in time of war. It must be a part of the general service.

While no official statement is obtainable at this time in reply to the criticisms of the Navy Department, it is known that the officers do not look upon the interviews published and letters written as just and proper in their tone. The department has always stood ready to aid the Naval Reserve, they say, and there are plans which will be brought forth in a few weeks suggesting that the department furnish the Naval Reserve with increased facilities for drill and practice. The department had no better way of arriving at the needs of the Naval Militia than the sending of officers with the reserves on their Summer cruise, and the officers believe that where the militiamen are to be benefited by this observation and candid report they should be the last to subject the department to censure.

GEN. GRANT'S NEPHEW ASSAULTED.

Ulysses Grant Dent Thrown Into the Street and His Skull Fractured.

Ulysses Grant Dent of 358 West Twenty-

890112001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Emma Goldman Testifies / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(Oct. 6, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

DID NOT SELECT A CANDIDATE.

The Brooklyn Conference Committee Merely Met for Organization.

The Conference Committee of the Committee of One Hundred of Brooklyn held a meeting for organization last night at the home of Andrew D. Baird, 140 Hewes Street, in the Eastern District. Every member of the committee was present but one. The session was secret. At its conclusion Benjamin Estes, the Chairman, stated that nothing had been done beyond formally organizing.

There was an informal discussion of plans for conferences with similar committees from other political organizations, Mr. Estes said, but there was no talk looking to the selection of any one name to be presented or offered as an independent candidate for the Mayoralty.

The Committee of One Hundred will meet to-night at Conservatory Hall, Bedford Avenue and Fulton Street, Brooklyn. The Conference Committee will hold a preliminary meeting.

Definite action in respect to an independent campaign is looked for to-night on the part of the committee.

NEARLY A MILLION BROOKLYNITES.

Records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics Show 999,046 Inhabitants.

Brooklyn's population, according to the records of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, published yesterday, is 999,046, distributed among the wards as follows:

Ward.	Population.	Ward.	Population.
First	23,109	Fifteenth	31,178
Second	10,727	Sixteenth	51,049
Third	24,368	Seventeenth	41,593
Fourth	15,982	Eighteenth	22,907
Fifth	19,522	Nineteenth	37,827
Sixth	48,859	Twentieth	28,270
Seventh	42,092	Twenty-first	58,444
Eighth	43,788	Twenty-second	52,405
Ninth	25,085	Twenty-third	59,863
Tenth	50,008	Twenty-fourth	21,379
Eleventh	28,162	Twenty-fifth	37,367
Twelfth	37,320	Twenty-sixth	42,342
Thirteenth	25,491	Twenty-seventh	33,427
Fourteenth	31,707	Twenty-eighth	43,705
Total			999,046

Debating the Elections Repeal Bill.

WASHINGTON, Oct 5. Interest in the debate on the Federal Elections bill does not increase, and empty benches on both sides of the chamber are the rule and not the exception. At no time to-day were more than 100 members present.

The speeches were made by Mr. Mutrie (Rep., N. C.) and Mr. Haines (Rep., Neb.,) in the negative and by Mr. Russell (Dem., Ga.,) and Mr. Money (Dem., Miss.,) in the affirmative. The fact having become known that the Democrats would hold a caucus to discuss the propriety of passing the bill before the Senate had agreed to the Wilson-Voorhees bill may have had something to do with the listlessness manifested. When the House adjourned at 5:35 o'clock there were not more than twenty members in attendance. Prior to the consideration of the Elections bill some routine business was transacted.

Largest Oil Tank Steamer Afloat.

The British tank steamer Batoom, commanded by Capt. Lockham, which came into port yesterday morning, will take away 2,700,000 gallons of oil in bulk. This is fully 800,000 gallons more than any other tank steamer in the world can carry. Her engines are amidship, this being different from other tank steamers, and she has a very complete electric-light plant. The pilot who boarded her at sea saw her electric masthead light twenty miles away. She was built this year in Sunderland and made the voyage hereto in twelve days and six hours. She is chartered by the Standard Oil Company to trade between this port and England. It required three of the largest tugs of the Mutual Company to tow her from Quarantine to Bayonne, and, when loaded, six tugs will be needed to take her to the anchorage off Staten Island.

ADERS AND FRIENDS.

New-York City, whenever they have been unable to procure The Times of any of the dealers.

Be particular to indicate if this occurs on a railroad train or steamboat, and to give sufficient information to facilitate the investigation which will be IMMEDIATELY undertaken of EVERY complaint that reaches the office of The New-York Times.

.....1893.

e had at.....o'clock to-day of the newsdealer

.....

.....

notes himself, but that he had relied on the notes taken by Detective Jacobs.

Q.—Oh, then you are not repeating from memory what Miss Goldman said! A.—No, Sir; I am corroborating Detective Jacobs.

This answer caused a general laugh in the courtroom. Even Judge Martine smiled. Detective Sergeant Charles Heidelberg and Charles McNorton came next, and Mr. McIntyre announced that the case rested.

Mr. Hall then made his opening address.

Then Joseph Barondess was called for the defense. He made by far the most interesting witness of the day. He said he was an organizer for the Clockmakers' Union; that he had been convicted of a misdemeanor and imprisoned. Afterward he was pardoned, he said, and since his release he had worked in the cause of the clockmakers. It was he who obtained the permit for the Union Square meeting at which Emma Goldman spoke.

He was present during the entire evening, and was positive, he said, that no such words as had been attributed to her had been uttered by the defendant. On cross-examination Mr. McIntyre asked:

Q.—How long is it since you have worked at your trade of cloakmaker? A.—Three years.

Q.—And what have you done since? A.—I have worked at the organization of labor unions that shall secure the abolition of the system of wage slavery.

Q.—You were paid a salary? A.—Yes. I get $7.50 a week.

Q.—How much could you earn if you worked at your trade? A.—About $15 a week.

Q.—And do you mean to tell this jury that you would rather work for $7.50 a week less as a labor organizer than you could make as a workingman? A.—I would rather work at my trade, but there is no one among the cloakmakers to take my position, and I simply keep it to prevent the cause from dying out.

Q.—You want the court to believe that there is nobody among all the cloakmakers in this city who could do the work that you are doing? A.—I don't want the court to believe anything. I simply state what is a fact.

This unexpected answer seemed to nonplus Mr. McIntyre for a few moments, but he soon went at the witness on another tack.

Q.—You were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for the crime of extortion. A.—I never extorted a penny from any body.

Q.—Indeed! You were found guilty, however, and you stand convicted.

Barondess turned deliberately in his chair and, casting a cold glance at the District Attorney, he said in measured tones:

"Your colleague, the District Attorney of this county, said I was not guilty, and signed a petition on that ground asking the Governor for my pardon."

Q.—Are you an Anarchist? A.—I don't know what you mean by that. You will have to explain what you mean by the word "Anarchist."

Q.—Do you believe in living up to the laws in this State? A.—I do.

Q.—You didn't believe in these laws when you committed the crime of extortion, did you? A.—That you don't know anything about.

Q.—Are you a Socialist, and do you believe in Socialism? A.—You will have to explain to me what you mean by Socialists before I can reply.

Q.—You know very well what I mean. A.—You are not in a position to judge that.

Under further questions, Barondess said the Socialism that he believed in was "the organization of labor unions and the elevation of the masses."

After getting Barondess to state he had been six years in this country, and that he had declared his intention of becoming a citizen, the Assistant District Attorney excused the witness and called Edward John Thimme, a reporter for The Staats-Zeitung.

Thimme said he had attended the meeting Aug. 21 and had seen no detective there taking notes. He stood only four or five feet behind Emma Goldman all the time she spoke and heard her utter no such language as that reported by Detective Jacobs and the others, nor did he hear any responses from the audience of the character reported by the police authorities.

Mr. Thimme was considerably embarrassed by a series of questions put by the Assistant District Attorney regarding his political faith. After some hesitation and asking Mr. McIntyre to define the meaning of "Anarchist" and "Socialist," he finally admitted that he belonged to "one of the schools of Socialism," but he was not a member of any society.

The witness was excused, but afterward Mr. McIntyre recalled him and showed him a copy of The Staats-Zeitung in which was Thimme's report of the Tuesday's meeting. In a part of this report was a paragraph purporting to be an extract from Miss Goldman's speech. It read: "If they will not give you bread peaceably you will have to take it by force." Thimme admitted that he had written this, and that it was a correct report of the speech.

Edward Brady, a printer, who, despite his Irish name, had a most pronounced German accent, was the next witness.

Q.—What is your nationality? asked Mr. Hall. A.—I am an Austrian. I was born in Austria, and only left there twelve months ago.

Q.—But you have an Irish name. How is that? A.—I don't know. I got it from my parents, and I have had lots of trouble with it.

Brady was quite certain that Detective Jacobs and the other detectives had misconstrued Miss Goldman's speech. He said she had never advised the working men to go and take bread or anything else by force.

Brady was also asked if he were an Anarchist, and he, too, demanded that Mr. McIntyre explain what he meant by the word. "If," he said, "you mean by Anarchist the general public conception of that word that I am a robber and miscreant and murderer, I will say that I am not."

Q.—What kind of an Anarchist are you, then? A.—I did not say yet that I was any kind. If you will have it, I will say that I am an Anarchist.

Then came Emma Goldman herself, walking to the witness stand with a brisk, swinging step. She said she had been eight years in the coun-

FLINT'S FINE FURNITURE.—Elegant side chairs for wedding presents are now being made to at the FLINT Co.'s, West 14th St., 4th.

issues of stores and money from the Federal Treasury.

In most cases, while the militia is purely a State organization and controlled by State laws, the National Government has done more than the State. This year Secretary Herbert will send to the Treasury Department an estimate of $25,000 for the naval militia of the country. This recommendation should spare the Navy Department and its representatives from the imputation of jealousy. The officers who have been engaged in the inspection of the naval militia work say they followed the instructions of the department to give accurate reports of their observation, and in each case gave what was intended for a fair and honest estimate of the value of the reserve. Whatever may be said of the independence of the reserve, it will not be able to act on its own responsibility in time of war. It must be a part of the general service.

While no official statement is obtainable at this time in reply to the criticisms of the Navy Department, it is known that the officers do not look upon the interviews published and letters written as just and proper in their tone. The department has always stood ready to aid the Naval Reserve, they say, and there are plans which will be brought forth in a few weeks suggesting that the department furnish the Naval Reserve with increased facilities for drill and practice. The department had no better way of arriving at the needs of the Naval Militia than the sending of officers with the reserves on their Summer cruise, and the officers believe that where the militiamen are to be benefited by this observation and candid report they should be the last to subject the department to censure.

GEN. GRANT'S NEPHEW ASSAULTED.

Ulysses Grant Dent Thrown Into the Street and His Skull Fractured.

Ulysses Grant Dent of 355 West Twenty-ninth Street was taken to Bellevue Hospital Wednesday afternoon suffering from a fractured skull, and last night he was still in a critical condition. Peter Tellerio, a peleter, who is charged with assaulting Mr. Dent, is a prisoner in the West Thirty-seventh Street Police Station.

While sitting in a chair on the stoop in front of a cigar store at 468 Eighth Avenue on Wednesday afternoon Dent fell asleep. Soon after, Tellerio came out from the tenement in the rear of the store and pitched Dent head foremost into the street. Dent fell directly upon his head and became unconscious. An ambulance was quickly called and Dent was taken to the hospital, where it was found that his skull was badly fractured.

After throwing Dent into the street Tellerio ran away and did not return to his home. Early yesterday morning detectives succeeded in finding him and he was locked up. In the Jefferson Market Police Court he was remanded until witnesses of the assault can be secured. No cause for the assault is known.

For the Brunswick Relief Fund.

Henry Hentz, E. S. Nash, and George W. Bolly, the committee appointed by the New-York Cotton Exchange to solicit subscriptions to the Brunswick Relief Fund, acknowledge the following contributions:

Petersen, Downing & Co., $100; Woodward & Stillman, $100; Hall Brothers, $100; R. T. Wilcox & Co., $100; Lehman Brothers, $100; Hopkins, Dwight & Co., $100; Henry Clews & Co., $100; Henry Hentz & Co., $100; Inman, Swann & Co., $100; Latham, Alexander & Co., $100; Gwathmey & Co., $50; H. Stedeanberg & Co., $50; Fatman, Swart & Co., $50; Hubbard, Price & Co., $50; Merebiess & Co., $50. S. Gruber & Co., $50; Stephen M. Weld & Co., $50; George W. Bolly & Co., $25; A. M. Seiter & Co., $25; Chapman & Allen, $25; J. C. Haskell, $25; Jones, Kure & Co., $25; Nierdan & Co., $25; J. H. Ziegler & Co., $25; Peter Mallett & Co., $25; Herman Hagerdorn, $25; J. Hart & Co., $25; Callender & Hughes, $25; A. Nerden & Co., $20; E. P. McDougall, $10; John C. McGuire, $10; George T. Dixon, $10; T. M. Robinson & Co., $10; William Tubbs, $10; total, $1,695.

SHOES

In the "race" of life it is fitting that all should be well shod. The "well" involves quality, fit, style, and price.

ALEXANDER,

6th Av. & 23d St.,

132 & 134 Fulton St.

37

891215014

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Emma Goldman on the Stand / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* The Brooklyn Daily Eagle. —(Oct. 6, 1893).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

Men like President Ulhman of the Union Elevated road, Mr. Shaler and Mr. Rupert were interested in the project. It had been capitalized at $5,000,000, which was subsequently reduced to $2,500,000. Ten per cent. had actually been paid in and $50,000 was now in the treasury outside of what had been expended in expenses already incurred. Capital would come forward when all objections were removed and the work would be rapidly pushed to completion."

Judge Van Brunt reminded Mr. Lauterbach that his time had expired.

Counsel Fordham Morris, for the property owners, arose, and in addressing the court, said: "Because you appointed the commission it does not necessarily follow you should dictate their findings. You should not act as appellate judge. You should act as local judiciary. It rests with you whether the Bridge company shall be granted the franchise. Why should New York be gridironed for the benefit of Brooklyn? Why should our strength be sapped for another city? More our population belongs not in Brooklyn. I say New York for New Yorkers and Brooklyn for Brooklynites. He pointed out the almost unlimited power given the bridge company. It could sell itself to a grasping monopoly. The Manhattan Elevated railway might buy it out. He said it violated sections 14, 17, 18 of article III of the state constitution.

John A. Deering, counsel for several property owners on Spring street, then made a motion to deny the right to build the approaches, as it had not been shown that they would be only used for that purpose. The engineer of the bridge had informed him that the bridge might not be built for six years and the approaches might be used as elevated roads. He said it was premature to build the approaches.

Clarence G. Ferris, counsel for property owners on South street, said the bridge would drain New York city, and quoted statistics in defense of his argument. Since the opening of the Brooklyn bridge 200,000 persons who would have settled in New York have gone to Brooklyn.

George G. DeWitt, counsel for property owners, said $1,000,000 worth of property would have to be condemned. Woodbury G. Langdon, counsel for property owners, said 20,000 persons would want to move, causing great inconvenience.

The court took the papers and reserved decision.

THE Y. M. C. A. COLUMBIAN CONGRESS.

Delegates Present in Chicago Representing the Whole World.

CHICAGO, Ill., October 6—Delegates from all parts of this country and Canada, as well as from abroad, participated this morning in the opening of the Columbian congress of the Young Men's Christian associations of the world. The attendance was so large that the audience overflowed from the hall reserved for the congress, and it was found necessary to organize a second meeting in an adjoining room. Albert E. Monroe of New York was selected as presiding officer and appropriately responded to the address of welcome delivered on behalf of the congress auxiliary by C. C. Bonney. The morning programme included a paper on college work read by President John M. Coulter of Lake Forrest university, and another on athletics prepared by Dr. Luther Gulick of Springfield, Mass., and read by Professor A. A. Stagg, the noted athlete of the University of Chicago. F. L. Mabey of Dayton, O., also spoke briefly upon educational work.

At this evening's session, Lord Kinnaird of London, will present greetings of the association in Great Britain and M. Jules Seigfried of Paris will do the same thing for the Young Men's organization of the French republic.

WAS THE CHILD KIDNAPPED?

New York Police Requested to Send Out an Alarm.

Joseph Turner, a colored waiter, of 251 Seventh avenue, New York, called at police headquarters to-day and asked that an alarm be sent out for his 3 year old son, Willie.

Turner says that while the boy was playing in front of his home last Tuesday afternoon a colored woman came along and enticed him away. The woman was large and wore a red wrapper and a jockey cap.

She was seen later going through West Twenty-sixth street with the boy, and yesterday was said to have been on Third avenue, near Ninety-seventh street. The boy wears a plaid dress and has a scar on his cheek. The parents have sent out the alarm.

PRINCE BISMARCK'S CONDITION.

MUNICH, October 6—The *Neueste Nachrichten* says that Dr. Schweninger, Prince Bismarck's physician, returned to Kissingen last evening. The paper adds that Dr. Schweninger entertains the hope that he will be able shortly to remove Prince Bismarck to Friedrichsruhe.

A REAR END COLLISION.

NEWCASTLE, Pa., October 6—A rear end collision between two freight trains on the Pittsburg and Lake Erie railroad occurred near Edinburgh station early this morning. Eight cars of merchandise were badly wrecked. The

SAYS SHOT BABY HALL.

And Blythebourne Is Quite Indignant About It.

Baby Hall was a handsome, well bred Irish setter, with an ancient pedigree. She was as well known in Blythebourne as any one of the residents and a general favorite with everybody on account of her remarkably gentle disposition. Her owner, Mr. H. H. Pithian, told an Eagle reporter this afternoon:

"Baby Hall is dead. Her destruction was the most heartless and outrageous affair that could be imagined. She was shot by Frank A. Osten. Although she was the most gentle animal in the world I always chained her up at night. Last night she pulled the staple out of the kennel and broke away with the chain. Osten shot her early this morning over in the street, about one hundred and fifty feet distant from his place. He then dragged her corpse and buried her with her collar on. I did not know of it until after he and left for New York or he would have had to deal with me personally. I dug up the animal and removed the collar. I shall prosecute Osten to the fullest extent of the law."

The general sympathy of the people is with Mr. Pithian. Osten is superintendent of the Edgewood Reformed church, an active Christian endeavor man, a leader of church prayer meetings and Sunday school talkies. When questioned by the Eagle reporter he claimed that he did not know the dog belonged to Mr. Pithian, but he would not say why he did the shooting.

EMMA GOLDMAN ON THE STAND.

The New York Anarchist Explains Her Socialistic Views.

Emma Goldman was the first witness called to-day at her trial in Part II of the court of general sessions, New York. She was neat and collected and explained her peculiar views in answer to questions put by counsel.

Questioned by Mr. Hall, witness said she had heard some of the exclamations from the crowd which the detectives had testified to. She had spoken in English at the Union square meeting, she said, from notes. Those notes she had elaborated afterward for the purpose of having them published.

Cross examined by the assistant district attorney Miss Goldman said she did not believe in a Supreme Being; that she was 23 years old and was born in Russia. She said that she was a married woman, but refused to tell the name of her husband. She did not think it was necessary to make the same public. She separated from her husband five years ago. She had never lived with Bergman.

"Bergman is the man who shot Frick," said Mr. McIntyre.

"I know that," was the answer.

She was an anarchist, she said, and believed only in moral force. Witness said she knew John Most and thought him a great agitator and writer. She said she did not believe in the moral views of Most.

THE WEATHER.

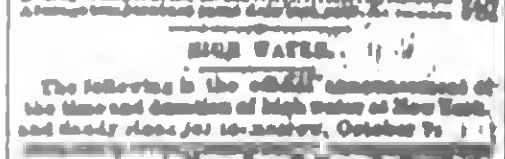
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 6, 1893.

INDICATIONS FOR U. S. A. TO-MORROW.

For Eastern New York, fair; followed Saturday by rain; warmer to-night; cooler Saturday evening; southeasterly winds, increasing in force, Local Forecast Official.

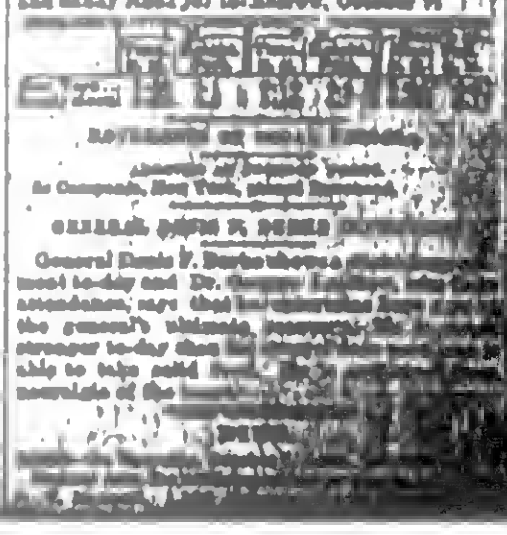
Cloudy, followed by rain this evening or to-night; slight change in temperature; easterly winds, increasing in force; changing to southerly during Sunday.

The following is the record of the thermometer as kept at the Eagle office:



HIGH WATER.

The following is the official announcement of the time and duration of high water at New York and Sandy Hook for to-morrow, October 7:



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890210007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Only the Moral Law / Emma Goldman.— p. 8 ; 43 cm. *In* The World —(Oct. 7, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

LY THE MORAL LAW

Goldman Respects That, but Not God or the Government.

ADDRESSES THE JURY AND PLEADS FOR FREE SPEECH.

EY HALL IS ENTERTAINING.

"Why do Anarchists want dynamite bombs?" asked Assistant District-Attorney of Emma Goldman yesterday.

"They want them to use in the great social revolution," replied [illegible]. This was at the close of a cross-examination in which the jury and a highly interested crowd of lay listeners heard an elaborate discussion of the principles and practices of anarchy, illustrated by definitions of anarchy and the moral law.

The talk was varied by excursions into theological questions, social science and a consideration of the fundamental principles of the American Constitution. Miss Goldman never before had such an opportunity to expound her coda of ethics and her queer system of political and social economy.

She talked as if by the book, and gave the impression that that part of her cross-examination which investigated her motives in order to throw a side light of motive on the proof of her incendiary speaking had been anticipated and prepared for by her.

Webster defines anarchy as "absence of government; the state of society where there is no law; a supreme power; a state of lawlessness; political confusion."

Miss Goldman's definition was: "Anarchism is the establishment of a system without government of any kind where a perfect liberty to every individual to enjoy his or her life and to cultivate abilities as well as attain the highest knowledge."

Of the moral law the dictionary says: "The will of God is the rule for the disposition and conduct of all responsible beings toward him and toward each other; a rule of living conformable to righteousness; the rule of action as obligatory on the conscience or moral nature."

ONE LAW SHE RESPECTS.

Miss Goldman said that the moral law was the only kind of law she believes in. "I mean," said she, "that there is a moral law that indicates every one not to misuse the liberty of the next one, not to do any harm to him, not to hurt him; or at least not to do any harm whatever to the next person and to try all possible to love the next one and help as much as possible for the benefit of the other."

Disentangled from Miss Goldman's quaint English, this looks very like the Golden Rule. And yet the inconsistent little person was a few minutes later talking about stuffing bombs with dynamite in as calm and matter of fact a way as a housewife talks of stuffing a turkey.

Miss Goldman's freedom of speech on the witness stand was the most troublesome element that her counsel, ex-Mayor A. Oakey Hall, had to contend with. He worked heroically to smooth out impressions that might be made on the minds of the jurors by her words; but even William Ewart Gladstone, of whom it was once said by a friend to a gentleman who had the misfortune to have two wives, "Get Gladstone to explain one of them away," couldn't have explained away the testimony of Mr. Hall's "enthusiast."

The Goldman trial waited for an hour while Judge Martine meted out justice to a melancholy line of convicts. Miss Goldman eagerly listened while the Judge told one offender that "There's nothing in our laws that permits a person to take other people's property without their consent," and another, "Those who work for a living and are willing to work, as a general rule can get employment." Her surprised eyes and the uplifting of her brows showed that she was receiving new impressions of the fated machinery of the law. The Judge tempered justice with mercy, sending back into the world to take a new chance an intelligent-looking young man and a blubbering, repentant boy, whose counsel, by the way, was the tall, ariel turnstile-looking brother-in-law of Adelia Rives-Chanler.

In a third instance—that of a rough looking fellow, who cursed the Judge as he turned away after being sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment His Honor recalled the man and said that in spite of his abusive language he would reduce his sentence to fourteen months as he found that under the longer sentence the prisoner would be discharged at a time of the year when it would be hard for him to get employment if he wanted to begin an honest life.

Mr. Hall ended the direct examination of his client with a few questions, the purport of the answers to which was that Emma had not gone to the Union Square meeting with the intention of inciting a riot.

Mr. McIntyre began his cross-examination with an inquiry into the antecedents of Miss Goldman. He found that she was born in Russia, some 25 years ago and had been speechmaking for five years. She had lived in the same house" with Bergman who shot H. C. Frick, and under the same roof" with Timmerman the young Anarchist who is serving out a sentence on Blackwell's Island.

"I am an unmarried lady," said Miss McIntyre.

"I am married to a gentleman," was the reply. "I can't give you his name as I separated from him six years ago. Goldman is my father's name."

She didn't approve Bergman's attempt to assassinate Frick she said, but she had sympathy for Bergman's courage.

Q. Are you an Anarchist? A. I consider I be one.

Q. Do you mean to say you are a member of the Anarchistic party? A. I am a member of the Anarchistic party.

Q. Do you believe in the use of force? A. I believe in force when it is used in self-defense.

Q. Do you believe in the use of force to overthrow the present government

890210007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Only the Moral Law / Emma Goldman.— p. 8 ; 43 cm. *In* The World —(Oct. 7, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

examination which investigated
selfish in order to throw a side
of motive on the proof of her in-
mary speaking had been anticipated
prepared for by her.

Webster defines anarchy as "absence
government, the state of society
there is no law; a supreme power;
state of lawlessness, political confu
."

Miss Goldman's definition was "An-
hism is the establishment of a sys-
without government of any kind
a perfect liberty to every individual
enjoy his or her life and to cultivate
ities as well as attain the highest
wledge."

For the moral law the dictionary says:
The will of God is the rule for the
position and conduct of all responsible
toward him and toward each
; a rule of living conformable to
teousness; the rule of action as
tained by the conscience or moral
ure."

ONE LAW SHE RESPECTS.

Miss Goldman said that the moral
w was the only kind of law she be-
ves in. "I mean," said she, "that
is a moral law that indicates
very one not to misuse the liberty of
next one, not to do any harm to
m, not to hurt him, or at least not
to do any harm whatever to the next
rson and to try all possible to love
the next one and help as much as pos-
sible for the benefit of the other."

Disentangled from Miss Goldman's
quaint English, this looks very like the
Golden Rule. And yet the inconsistent
little person was a few minutes later
talking about stuffing bombs with dyna-
mite in as calm and matter of fact a
way as a housewife talkes of stuffing
a turkey.

Miss Goldman's freedom of speech on
the witness stand was the most trouble-
some element that her counsel, ex-
Mayor A. Oakey Hall, had to contend
with. He worked heroically to smooth
out impressions that might be made
on the minds of the jurors by her
words; but even William Ewart Glad-
stone, of whom it was once said by a
friend to a gentleman who had the mis-
fortune to have two wives, "Get Glad-
stone to explain one of them away,"
couldn't have explained away the testi-
mony of Mr. Hall's "enthusiast."

The Goldman trial waited for an hour
while Judge Martine meted out justice
to a melancholy line of convicts. Miss
Goldman eagerly listened while the
Judge told one offender that "There's
nothing in our laws that permits a per-
son to take other people's property with-
out their consent," and another, "Those
who work for a living and are willing to
work, as a general rule can get employ-
ment." Her surprised eyes and the up-
lifting of her brows showed that she
was receiving new impressions of the
hated machinery of the law. The Judge
tempered justice with mercy, sending
back into the world to take a new
chance an intelligent-looking young man
and a blubbering, repentant boy, whose
counsel, by the way, was the tall, aris-
tocratic-looking brother-in-law of
Amelie Rives-Chanler.

In a third instance—that of a rough-
looking fellow, who cursed the Judge as
he turned away after being sentenced to
eighteen months' imprisonment His
Honor recalled the man and said that
in spite of his abusive language he would
reduce his sentence to fourteen months,
as he found that under the longer sen-
tence the prisoner would be discharged
at a time of the year when it would be
hard for him to get employment if he
wanted to begin an honest life.

Mr. Hall ended the direct examination
of his client with a few questions, the
purport of the answers to which was
that Emma had not gone to the Union
Square meeting with the intention of
inciting a riot.

Mr. McIntyre began his cross-exam-
ination with an inquiry into the ante-
cedents of Miss Goldman. He found
that she was born in Russia, came to
the United States with her parents eight
years ago and had been speechmaking
for five years. She had lived "in the
same house" with Bergman, who shot
H. C. Frick, and "under the same
roof" with Timmerman, the young An-
archist who is serving out a sentence
on Blackwell's Island.

"You're an unmarried lady?" said Mr
McIntyre.

"I am married to a gentleman," was
the reply. "I can't give you his name.
I separated from him six years ago.
Goldman is my father's name."

She didn't approve Bergman's attempt
to assassinate Frick, she said, but she
had "sympathy for Bergman's courage."

Q. Are you an Anarchist? A. (Promptly) Yes sir.

Q. Do you believe in promoting disorder and revolution in the State? A. I don't understand Anarchist that way.

Then she gave her definition of An-
archy, or "Anarchism," and said she
didn't believe in laws, because they were
made to oppress the poor and benefit the
rich; that she had no use for the State
Legislature or Congress, but that she did
believe in the moral law. She didn't be-
lieve exactly in what Herr Most teaches.

"Do you believe in his morals?" asked
Mr. McIntyre.

"Not quite," said Emma, sharply. "I
believe only in my own morals."

Q. Where do you reside now? A. In the Tombs.
Q. But where did you reside before going there? A. At Nos. 206 and 208 East Sixteenth street, with my relatives.

Q. What is your means of support? A. I am a dressmaker. I had an establishment in East Six-
teenth street. My income was $15 and $20 a week; sometimes more, sometimes less.

Q. Are your father and mother Anarchists? A. No, sir; they don't believe as I do, but they don't interfere.

Emma said she had a brother and
two sisters. One of the sisters is a
Socialist. The brother lives at Roch-
ester, N. Y. "He's an American citizen
and not an Anarchist," said Miss Gold-
man.

Continuing, Miss Goldman said she
was against the general form of the
Government of the United States, and
was displeased with all that any Gov-
ernment on earth did against the work-
ing people.

"Is there any Government under the
sun that accords with the views you
have expressed from time to time?"
asked Mr. McIntyre.

"There is not," was the reply.

"If you are displeased with our form
of government, why don't you leave the
country and go elsewhere?" he con-
tinued.

"I don't know where I could go," said
Miss Goldman.

Coming to the subject of the Union
Square meeting, Mr. McIntyre put some
searching questions as to the line of
speech Miss Goldman had prepared the
notes from which she said she
her speech, and which she
on Thursday
right along more "mem-
heard to be those of
Mr.

against the poor.

Emma then said that if she had her
way she would abolish the State system
entirely and abolish the police. She
thought the policeman might make good
workingmen.

"But," said the Assistant District At-
torney, argumentatively, "how could so-
ciety get along without the protection of
law and of the police against thieves and
other criminals?"

"If you'll get away the reasons why
thieves and robbers become so," said
Emma in her lecture voice, "you may
take away the police."

Q. And so he easily makes criminals?
A. Yes.
Q. Is it necessarily that makes men like Ferdinand Ward and Fish who wrecked a bank, become criminals?

Emma was not posed. She gave it as
her opinion that bad company or bad
education had a great deal to do with
the aberrations of such men.

Q. You know there is liberty in this country flowing from the institutions on which it is founded? A. There is no liberty in this country.
Q. You frequently have referred in your speeches to the early fathers of this country—you have named admiringly such men as Jefferson, Jackson and Abraham Lincoln? A. I have, and I know the principles of the rebels who fought for the liberty of this country have been trampled upon by those who administer government now.
Q. Don't you know that many of the ideas inculcated by Jackson this Government is following now? A. Oh, no, not following exactly.

Mr. McIntyre here read the report of
Miss Goldman's speech in English pub-
lished in The World of Aug. 22. The
witness swore to its accuracy, sentence
by sentence, with the exceptions of the
expressions "Go among the capitalists
and rich people and ask for bread, and
if they do not give it to you peaceably,
then take it by force. If you do not
get bread and freedom peaceably, take
it by force." She declares that she did
not say "take it by force," though she
had said everything else that was re-
ported.

Mr. McIntyre then brought out the
facts that Miss Goldman had gone from
New York to Philadelphia, after the
Union Square meeting, to organize a
"group" of Anarchists, and that two of
the men with whom she had associated
there had since been arrested and sen-
tenced to four months' imprisonment.

"Do you know that one of them was
a dynamite bomb-maker?" asked Mr.
McIntyre.

"Well, he wasn't imprisoned on that
charge, but on a trumped-up charge of
stealing," said Miss Goldman.

It was then that Mr McIntyre asked—
"Why do Anarchists want dynamite
bombs?" and that Miss Goldman said
they were to be used in the great war,
the social revolution.

"And do you believe in dynamite?" he
asked.

"I might believe in it if the time
comes," she replied.

Q. Would you say it? A. I don't tell you what would happen then.

After recess Mr. Hall labored awhile
at his smoothing-out process, getting
Emma to define the moral law and to
say she didn't believe in murder or
theft or anything of that sort. By the
social revolution she said she meant a
war between workingmen and the capi-
talists. That explanation did not
"smooth out" much, and Mr. Hall de-
sisted in his efforts when she added "I
mean a war as it has been between
America and England, the Revolution-
ary War, or like the war among the
French people in 1871, a war between
the workingmen and the rich classes
that will free the workingmen from
every authority of any kind. I believe
that such a war will come."

On re-cross-examination Miss Goldman
said she approved the course taken by
the French Communists in 1871.

"What do you understand led up to
the War of the Revolution?" asked Mr
McIntyre.

"I understand the Americans wanted
to free themselves."

"For what purpose?" asked the Prose-
cutor.

"So as not to live under a monarchy,"
said the prisoner.

Miss Goldman asked and obtained
permission to make a statement. She
said:

HER SIDE OF THE CASE.

"Your Honor and gentlemen of the
jury, I simply want to state here that
my object for going to all those meetings
and addressing the meetings since I
ever did was simply to use my right of
free speech, which I understand has
been granted here in America to every
man and woman, and I have had no
other object as to make my right of
free speech and I do not think it is an
unlawful act to use the right of free
speech and so I did, so I state here I
have not done any unlawful act against
the Constitution of America."

Morris Steinberg, who is out of em-
ployment and calls Mechanicsburg, a
barber, who were among the audience
at the Union square meeting, were the
last witnesses for the defense. They
testified that they had not heard Miss
Goldman advising the use of force.

In rebuttal, Mr. McIntyre called The
World reporter who took stenographic
notes of Miss Goldman's English speech
and had the German one translated for
him by an interpreter who was with
him at the meeting. The reporter stated
that he heard Miss Goldman talk about
force in her English address, and
that, although he did not understand
the German language, he remembered
distinctly that she ended her German
speech with the expression, "Hoch die
Anarchie!"

Mr. Hall's closing address was woven
around the following three points that
he sought to establish: 1. That the
meeting addressed by Miss Goldman was
not an unlawful assemblage. 2. That
the assemblage was lawful because it
was for a sympathetic purpose though
it may have been a misguided purpose.
3. That Miss Goldman's testimony en-
titled her to acquittal.

The case, he said, was pure and sim-
ple, a police prosecution. "You have
seen Officer Jacobs—and, by the way, his
name is not Jacobs, but Jacob," he con-
tinued, "sitting here, prompting the Dis-
trict-Attorney. It's come to a pretty
pass when any policeman or detective
shall usurp the function of the District
Attorney and, seated within the bar,
take the most prominent part in the
prosecution. When a detective is set to
work on a clue to ferret out crime I shan't
quarrel with anything that he may do
in the matter, nor when a detective is
out to put words into the mouth of an
accused charged with merely a misde-
meanor, then I have reason to quarrel
with it. There he sat throughout this
trial.

"I was reminded of a line in Milton's
'Paradise Lost,' where the great poet
spoke of Satan seated squat at the ear
of Eve. My learned friend is not an
Eve, nor is he given to deal with for-
bidden fruit, as she did, but at the same
time there may be a similarity between
Jacob and Satan, who did the tempt-
ing."

Mr. Hall then said the police actually

HOW ABOUT INGERSOLL.

"Miss Goldman is an atheist. Probably
Robert Ingersoll may be brought up
some day, seeing he's an atheist, and
prosecuted on some charge growing out
of the speeches he makes."

Mr. Hall complimented Miss Goldman
highly. "Your must have been struck by
her appearance on the stand," he re-
marked, "she is a lady of refinement,
indeed, what might under some circum-
stances even be called an elegant lady."

After a reference to her talk about the
social revolution he said: "Speaking
for myself, I believe the time will come—
it must come when the fights which
now exist between the laborer and the
capitalist in the matter of strikes and
lockouts will develop into a war of
classes. I believe that as a publicist,
and I believe that before long there will
be a war of races in the South. It must
come. Miss Goldman spoke of dynamite.
Well, very likely dynamite may be used
in the war of classes. It is small wonder
that a feeling is engendered between the
laborer and the capitalist, and it exists
in inverse proportion. The higher
classes dislike the lower. We have no
class distinctions by name here, as in
England and other European countries,
but they exist here in fact."

Mr. Hall read impressively a very lurid
poem, the last verse of which was:

"Take heed, oh ye millionaire classes
Who have seized all the gifts of the gods,
For the slaves you have plundered and starved
May bind you and scourge you with rods."

He said the poem was a great deal
stronger than Emma Goldman's speech.
It was published in an out-of-town news-
paper, but neither the editor nor the
author were molested. Why? Free
press, of course. Then why not free
speech? Why send a poor, persecuted
woman to prison only for a speech? In
closing, Mr. Hall urged the jury to dis-
miss all prejudice from their minds in
considering the case.

THE JURY ENTERTAINED.

The jurymen were obviously interested
and entertained by Mr. Hall's address.
Whether they were convinced will be
seen on Monday, when, at 11 A. M., As-
sistant District-Attorney McIntyre will
begin his summing up.

TWO TENEMENT-HOUSE PANICS.

Rose Goldberg Fatally Burned While Scared Tenants Blocked the Way to Her Rescue.

Mrs. Rose Goldberg while cooking supper
last evening in her apartments on the third
floor of No. 111 Hester street accidentally upset a coal stove. With her clothing in a blaze Mrs. Goldberg ran into the hallway shrieking. Fire. Thirty people in the house fled
like sheep for the sidewalk, leaving the woman helpless. The janitor, F. Vollmer, finding the stairways blocked with tenants, entered the house by a ladder. Vollmer wrapped Mrs. Goldberg in a quilt. She was burned about the head, arms and body. Mrs. Goldberg was taken to Gouverneur Hospital. She cannot live, the surgeons say.

The fire caused by the overturned stove was extinguished by a pail of water and did no material damage to the house or furniture.

A fire which started during the afternoon in the apartments of Fannie Bernling on the second floor of No. 17 Forsyth street also caused a panic among the tenants for stairways and fire escapes. When Sarah Greenstein, who lives on the third floor heard the puffing engines of the fire trucks with their clanging bells, approaching the house, she lost her head and jumped from a window to the sidewalk. Sarah, to the surprise of firemen and policemen, who expected to pick her up with at least a dislocated leg or a fractured arm, landed on all fours and was not a bit hurt by her three-story
experience.

The fire caused only trifling damage.

ACTORS SEE "IN MIZZOURA."

Mr. Goodwin Pats Dramatic Young America on the Head.

Nat Goodwin gave his thespian brothers and
sisters a treat yesterday afternoon. He invited them to a strictly professional matinee performance of "In Mizzoura." The Fifth Avenue Theatre was filled with the men and women who "study to please." They came with pleasant anticipations and departed in that state of peace and good will which accompanies absolute contentment. Augustus Thomas's charming play of character has never been acted with such care. Every one on the stage showed the force of professional pride.

The audience's applause was bountiful. Part of it was personal and intended for the actor, and part of it was judicial and decided on the merits of the work done. The few bits of Continental claptrap which our Mr. Thomas's plays sometimes speaks and well received by the lay audiences were ignored by those professional critics. But they did not fail to recognize a single bit of clever detail work.

Mr. Goodwin made a couple of very Goodwin-like speeches. He is the enfant terrible of his profession. It is his own fault if the public has refused hitherto to consider him seriously. His friends know what he is capable of in serious work. He is on the right path now. In his remarks he asserted that the future of American stage art is a brilliant one. That the younger dramatic authors are doing good work, and it remains for the younger actors to give force and value to their plays.

Held the Baby, but the Mother Came Not.

(Special to The World.)

NORWICH, Conn., Oct. 6.—A richly dressed
young woman asked Walter F. Talcott, of Philadelphia, to hold her baby for a few moments at the Union Station yesterday. He complied and when at the end of two hours she had not returned he concluded she did not intend to and turned the baby over to City Missionary Swan. It was also richly dressed and about two months old. Inquiry developed the fact that the mother boarded a train for New York ten minutes after giving the baby to Talcott. She wore a dark dress with cape, a black hat and frills.

Better use too much than too little Pearline

Beware of imitations

Had Their Chase for Nothing.

Thomas Kelly chased and caught by a mob
in front of the Post Office on Thursday to Justice Meade in the Tombs Court yesterday denied that he had stolen a watch, saying he simply fled from the man with whom he had quarrelled. The police, on the prisoner's behalf, so he was discharged.

To Force Austin to Pay Water Rent.

(Special to The World.)

AUSTIN, Tex., Oct. 6.—The City is $7,000
or $8,000 in arrears on water rent. The Council having failed to act on a proposition from the receiver of the waterworks company, to-day served written notice on the Mayor that he will on next Tuesday direct that the water be cut off from all city public schools and the fire department buildings unless by that date his proposition shall have been accepted.



Most important to-day is the sale of Men's Suits and Overcoats at $15.00. Have you heard of it? Your own choice of the house. The better one you select the more we're pleased. The Boys' Clothes which we are driving on to-day are made to stand the toughest kind of wear.

Both stores open until 10 to-night.

A. H. KING & CO,

827-829 Broadway, near Bleecker st. — 124th st., Harlem.

SPECIAL MARK-DOWN SALE AT LONDON & LIVERPOOL, 86 and 88 Fowers, cor. Hester st.

H. C
THE
MEN'S, B
W
MA
SALE
We are the
MONE
New Yor
Whe
622 & 624

BIERMAN
OLD HER
BROADWA
The Largest
World of M
Overcoa
T
F
800 ELE
WINT
OVERCO
Made from
cunos. Kerseys
in Black, Bl
ond Mixtures;
$18 ond $20
sole.
ALL GO T
At $12
More than
your money
You run n
for at the pr
stock the mo
please must
Don't wait
assortment
Men's Out
BIERMA
OLD HE
BROAD
THOS.
CARPE
The Lar
Parlor Vans
The largest
America.
1554 Broadway
at., 47th
Erie and 6th
150 J. C.
Three Months
Medford Ma

BEST COPY AVAILABL

880722001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Anarchy Her Only Faith / Emma Goldman.— p. 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(Oct. 7, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

PAGES 9—12. SATURDAY The New-York

celled in Every Department.
passed by Any Other Paper.

H

Therefore the
Paper for All to Buy
will be the

E

UNDAY EDITION

of the

EW-YORK TIMES.

S

will be a complete epit-
e of a day's life in the
rld of

LITICS,
SPORTS,
FINANCE,
and the
STAGE.

U

nts at Home and Abroad,
Choice Bits of Literature,
and Talk of the Newest
Works of Authors
and Artists.

N

esides all these, The Times
ill offer to its readers, for
NLY **FIVE** CENTS,
e following features:

D

HE SECOND MRS. TANQUERAY—A critical analysis of the powerful new drama of modern English life which the Kendals will produce for the first time in this country Monday night.

ANARCHY HER ONLY FAITH

IN NEITHER GOD NOR LAW DOES EMMA GOLDMAN BELIEVE.

This She Boldly Avows on Her Cross-Examination Her Counsel Recognizes the Fact that There Is Little Hope for His Anarchist Client Unless on a Technical Point Police Persecution, the Burden of His Summing up The Defendant Makes a Speech.

It is still to be determined whether Emma Goldman is to act the Anarchist in or out of prison.

Her case was to have gone to the jury yesterday. The beginning of the hearing, however, was delayed until after 12 o'clock, and, though both the prosecution and defense put in all the evidence in the afternoon, it was impossible to finish the case before the usual hour of adjournment, and Judge Martine put it over until Monday.

Miss Goldman boldly flung into the teeth of the jury the statement that she was an Anarchist and an atheist; that she believed in no law of man or God. How far this will go toward convicting her it is easy to determine.

Her counsel, ex-Mayor A. Oakey Hall, has stated right along that the case for the defense was a most desperate one. He hoped, however, under a technical construction of the law regarding unlawful assemblages, to secure an acquittal.

Mr. Hall, in summing up, contended that the meeting at which Miss Goldman spoke had been held under a permit duly issued by the authorities, and that it was to all intents and purposes a lawful assemblage. The mere fact that Miss Goldman spoke or did not speak there could not, according to Mr. Hall, make the assemblage an unlawful one under a fair construction of the statute under which the defendant was on trial.

The ordeal which she has undergone during the past few days it was apparent when she came into the courtroom yesterday had had its effect on the defendant. There was a hectic flush on her usually pale cheeks. Her eyes were misty and restless, and there was a tremor in her hands that has not been remarked before. She put on a bold front, however, when she marched to the witness stand at the opening of court. Mr. Hall asked her but few questions to complete her direct testimony, begun on Thursday afternoon, and then she was handed over to Assistant District Attorney McIntyre for cross examination.

"Do you believe in a Supreme Being, Miss Goldman?" the Assistant District Attorney asked.

There were a few moments of hesitation while Judge, jury, counsel, and court audience pricked up their ears and leaned forward to receive the answer. It came shortly with fearless emphasis:

"No, Sir, I do not."

The Assistant District Attorney received this reply with evident satisfaction, and for some minutes he contented himself with questions regarding the birthplace and other matters concerning the personal history of the witness. She said she was born in Kovna, Russia, twenty-five years ago. She came over here with her parents in 1885.

Q. What was your object in coming? A.—I had no special object. I simply came because my parents came.

Q. You are a married woman? A. Yes, Sir, I was married six years ago.

Q. What is your husband's name. A.—I shall not tell his name here. He has nothing to do with my trial. I separated from him five years ago.

Q. He, too, was an Anarchist? A.—No, Sir.

Mr. McIntyre then wanted to know something about her relations with Alexander Berkmann, the man who shot Henry C. Frick in Pittsburg during the Homestead troubles. The witness denied that she had ever lived with Berkmann as his wife. She also denied that she went to Homestead or Pittsburg with him.

Q. You approved of Berkmann's attempt to kill Frick. A.—I never approved of it.

Q.—Then you approve of his action now? A.—I have sympathy for him, and I admire his courage in doing what he did, but that is all.

Q.—You do not believe in the laws of the State? A.—I am an Anarchist, and against all laws. My theory is that the Legislature and the courts are of no use to the mass of the people. The laws passed help the rich and grind the poor.

Q.—You don't believe in living up to these laws, then? A.—I do not believe in any laws except those of morality.

Q.—Do You believe in Moses and his teachings? A.—

to a redirect examination. Mr. Hall wanted to know what she meant by the social revolution of which she had spoken to Mr. McIntyre.

"I mean," she said, "a war between the classes and the masses such as was seen in France in 1871.

Q.—Are you the kind of an Anarchist that believes in murder and thievery? A. Most certainly not. We are misrepresented by the press until the people have come to look upon us as murderers and robbers, whereas we are the exact reverse.

Mr. McIntyre asked a few more questions in cross-examination on her last utterances, and then the witness was permitted to return to her seat beside her counsel.

Maurice Steinberg, a clothing cutter, and Julius Sachtmanzohn, a furrier, both of whom had attended the meeting of Aug. 21, were called to testify as to the pacific nature of Miss Goldman's utterances the night she delivered her speech, and then Mr. McIntyre called David G. Hallie, a reporter, in rebuttal. Hallie was present at the Union Square meeting. He testified that he had made a stenographic report of Miss Goldman's English speech which preceded her German address. In his opinion her remarks in English were fully as incendiary in their character as the remarks Detective Jacobs had testified she made in German. In fact, they were almost exactly identical. On cross-examination by Mr. Hall the witness was asked:

Q.—You heard Detective Jacobs testify that he had heard her say no thing of an incendiary nature in English? A.—I did.

Q.—Then you do not agree with him? A.—I do not.

Mr. Hallie was excused, and then Mr. Hall arose to begin his opening speech. Among other things he said:

"It is easy in a trial of this kind to deal with facts, but it is not easy to deal with prejudice such as we must be prepared in this instance to face. The story of this little lady's predicament is very simple. It is nothing more nor less than police persecution. From the first moment down to the present time this must have been apparent to every one. It was made evident when, after the first day of this trial she was committed to the Tombs at the District Attorney's request, who acted for the police, in spite of the fact that she had most excellent bail.

"All through the trial you have seen the head of the police guiding the prosecution. You saw Detective Jacobs, or rather Jacob for that is the way his name is really spelled, sitting on the left hand side of the District Attorney, prompting him at every step, whispering suggestions in his ear.

"Certainly it has come to a pretty pass in this community when a detective shall usurp the functions of the District Attorney. The spectacle of Jacob in this prosecution has reminded me of that line in Milton where he pictures Satan sitting 'squat at the ear of Eve.' Not that I mean to refer to the learned District Attorney as Eve, but Jacob is certainly a very good representation of Satan.

"The police conceived the idea that they must demonstrate to the people here that Anarchy could not thrive on New York soil. In this instance it is not, as the indictment relates, a prosecution for an unlawful assembly, but a prosecution of Anarchy, as the general public understands it. An attempt has been made to bring out here what Anarchy means. Miss Goldman has told you that an Anarchist did not believe in a government except in a government of the people such as existed in this country in the old colonial times. The modern Anarchist, like the modern Socialist, believes what the Shaker believes. He believes in co-operation and the common ownership of property. Anarchy dislikes the rich and the monopolist, but surely this is no crime. There are many of us who are not Anarchists who yet do not believe in monopoly.

"This meeting in Union Square was legally organized, and was in no sense an unlawful assembly. The people who spoke there expressed their convictions in a manner they had a perfect legal right to do, else we may soon see Col. Ingersoll brought up for having addressed an unlawful assembly when he speaks of his conviction, which is opposed to belief in a Deity."

Assistant District Attorney McIntyre will sum up as soon as court opens on Monday morning.

PEABODY FUND TRUSTEES MEET.

Joseph H. Choate and George W. Childs Elected to Fill Vacancies.

The Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund met at the Fifth Avenue Hotel yesterday, and will continue in session to-day. The Trustees present were the venerable President Robert C. Winthrop, William C. Endicott, and Samuel A. Green of Massachusetts, William M. Evarts and J. Pierpont Morgan of New-York, Chief Justice Melville Fuller of Washington, Bishop H. B. Whipple of Minnesota, Will Wirt Henry of Virginia, William A. Courtenay of South Carolina, Henderson M. Somerville of Alabama, and J. L. M. Curry, the General Agent, of Washington.

During the afternoon session President Winthrop addressed the Trustees at length. After stating that, despite his infirmities, he made an effort to be present in order that there might be a quorum, he alluded to the momentous events of the past year and called attention to the fact that death had carried away four members of the board: Ex-Senator Randall [illegible] President Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, Anthony J. Drexel of Pennsylvania, and Hamilton Fish of New York. He paid a high tribute to their worth.

Mr. Winthrop spoke at length of Hamilton Fish, and in the course of his eulogy said:

"He was one of our original board, appointed a trustee and named as our first Vice President with Bishop McIlvaine as the second, by Mr. Peabody himself in 1867. Only two of that original board are left—Mr. Evarts and myself—who have been witnesses to his fidelity as Chairman of our committee of finance from our first organization until the infirmities of old age compelled him to withdraw from any further active service. Those infirmities were serious, and likely at any time within the two years past to culminate, as they have done at last, in sudden death. He repeatedly tendered a resignation of his relations to this board, but the board refused to accept it."

DIED TO SAVE

A Brooklyn Boy Has the Trolley—A

While saving his brot
morning, six-year-old
Rush Street, Williamsb
a trolley car. John an
brother Frank were pl
car. They were on th
John was drawing
curve at Wythe Avenu
when Car No. 28 of th
Kalb Avenue line dash
at full speed. Motorm
rang the gong. John s
ling, but instead of dod
bravely stuck to the
across the track and o
he started to run, but
The trolley car str
him into the air. H
unconscious upon the
but once took the boy
trict Hospital, where
o'clock.
Fulger, the motorma
Justice Goetting place
bond for trial on a
Superintendent Helm
cuse line, furnished
ger wept in court
best to stop the car,
boys on the track unt
curve.
Herman Frederick
was driving a wagon
near Tompkins Aven
when he was struck
1,431) and thrown to
severely injured and w
ambulance. The wa
A trolley car on G
hour later crashed in
by H. H. Interman o
and hurled it from th
escaped uninjured.

MRS. EDWARDS M

She Will Insist on Homele

When the case of M
the member of the
Mercy" who was arr
for chloroforming
in the Harlem Police
Mrs Edwards will b
for her right to put
ence of homeless f
terday she was at
to testify in her beh
of the "Midnight
individually and coll
most to secure effici
suit for Mrs Edwar
to charge that the
to the work for whi
ed.
The full story of
and her subsequent
Bergh society was
York Times yesterda
the principal reason
time in publicly
Bergh society does
says, is the reason
"Midnight Band" of
soon as the Bergh s
ought. The organiza
rangs will disband.
A reporter for The
on his visit to some
Mrs Edwards said
half-wild cats were
Cornelia Street the
cited in her interest
rear of 32 is a co
the walls of four fe
of communication is
32. The courtyard
square, but there w
cats, which one of
were quarrelsome, all
one of the tenants s
fect nuisance and th
set rid of them.
How the cats liv
the reporter was hu
unhappy felines. A
number of fish from
neath the cart. He
refuse that was dro
St Bright's chu
Street and Avenue
One hundred and
been taken from th
months. But there
left. The old sexto
possible to get rid
help of a dog. He
cats' lives while

41

880722001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Anarchy Her Only Faith / Emma Goldman.— p. 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(Oct. 7, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

t offer to its readers, for
NLY **FIVE** CENTS,
following features:

D

E SECOND MRS. TAN-QUERAY—A critical analysis of the powerful new drama of modern English life which the Kendals will produce for the first time in this country Monday night.

A

E WORK EQUALS THE HONOR—A glimpse at the members of President Cleveland's Cabinet during their office hours.

Y

ME OF CHICAGO ATHLETES—A clubhouse which, in architectural beauty, completeness of its arrangements, and perfection of its gymnasium rivals any such structure in the world

T

NEW POLITICAL MAP OF BROOKLN—How the city has been divided between the bosses.

I

The Times also offers an interesting Woman's Page, filled with choice matter for feminine eyes.

M

Illustrations will be used freely wherever they will add to the interest of the articles.

E

Therefore buy the

UNDAY TIMES,

ONLY **5** CENTS,

nd you will never regret it.

S

parents in Tobin.

Q. What was your object in coming? A.—I had no special object. I simply came because my parents came.

Q.—You are a married woman? A.—Yes, Sir; I was married six years ago.

Q.—What is your husband's name. A.—I shall not tell his name here. He has nothing to do with my trial. I separated from him five years ago.

Q. He, too, was an Anarchist? A.—No, Sir.

Mr. McIntyre then wanted to know something about her relations with Alexander Berkmann, the man who shot Henry C. Frick in Pittsburg during the Homestead troubles. The witness denied that she had ever lived with Berkmann as his wife. She also denied that she went to Homestead or Pittsburg with him.

Q.—You approved of Berkmann's attempt to kill Frick. A.—I never approved of it.

Q.—Then you approve of his action now? A.—I have sympathy for him, and I admire his courage in doing what he did, but that is all.

Q.—You do not believe in the laws of the State? A.—I am an Anarchist, and against all laws. My theory is that the Legislature and the courts are of no use to the mass of the people. The laws passed help the rich and grind the poor.

Q.—You don't believe in living up to these laws, then? A.—I do not believe in any laws except those of morality.

Q.—Do you believe in Most and his teachings? A.—Most is an Anarchist, and I am an Anarchist, but we do not agree in a great many particulars.

Q.—Did you hear Timmerman speak at the Union Square meeting? A.—I did, and approved all he said.

Q.—You know that he has been convicted of transgressing the laws of this State in that speech, and that he is now in prison for that offense? A.—I know that he is in prison, but I do not think that he was properly convicted.

Q.—You lived with him at the time of his arrest? A.—I lived under the same roof with him, but that is all. I support myself always have. I am a dressmaker and earn from $6 to $7 a week.

This came out with vicious emphasis. The witness glared at her questioner and then tossed her head defiantly in the direction where the reporters' table stood. After she had quieted down, Mr McIntyre asked her:

Q.—Is there any Government on earth whose laws you approve? A.—No, Sir, for they are all against the people.

Q.—Why don't you leave this country if you don't like its laws? A.—Where shall I go? Everywhere on earth the laws are against the poor, and they tell me I cannot go to Heaven, for do I want to go there.

Q.—Do you believe in the Constitution of the United States? A.—I think it is excellent in theory but it is not lived up to. It is distorted for the benefit of the rich.

The witness denied that she had uttered the incendiary statements attributed to her by Detective Jacobs and his associates. She said she knew of the presence of the detective on the platform at Union Square, and was careful to say nothing which would conflict with the laws. The prosecutor then took up the manuscript of her speech which he had read at Thursday's hearing.

Q. You speak of tyrants here? Whom do you mean by that? A. The Vanderbilts and the Jay Goulds and the representatives of the Government who deprive its working people of food.

Q. Why is it that you do not believe in any religion? A. Because I do not think that any church has ever done a single thing to ameliorate the condition of the poor.

Q. Didn't you tell your hearers to take bread by force if they couldn't get it peaceably? A. No. But I think the time will come, judging by what has happened, when they will be compelled to do so. That is what I told them on the night I spoke.

Q. You don't like the police and would abolish the entire force if you had your way? A.—I don't object to the police if they didn't bother me.

Q. Didn't you run away to Philadelphia to avoid arrest because you feared that your speech would make trouble for you? A. No, Sir, I went over there under a previous engagement.

Q. Where did you stay in that city? A.—I decline to state.

Q. Was it not at the house of an ex-convict who has since been sent back to prison? A. No, it was not.

Q. Isn't it a fact that the man you stopped with is serving a term for manufacturing dynamite bombs? A. No, sir, it is not.

Mr. McIntyre, having got on to the subject of dynamite, proceeded to find out something more of the peculiar affinity existing between this explosive and the average Anarchist. He asked:

Q. What do these Anarchists want with dynamite bombs, anyhow? A. Why they want to use them in the great war if the social revolution ever comes.

Q. Would you use dynamite? A. I do not know what I would do. The time may not come when it may be necessary to use it.

This answer seemed to satisfy Mr. McIntyre that he had made as much as he could against the little Anarchistic speeches on trial, as it was possible to go, and he made a bee line for further inquiry.

"May I make an address to the jury, your Honor?" asked the defendant, turning to the court.

"In good time," replied Judge Martine, "your turn will come. Just at present we will take a recess."

When the court reassembled, the defendant repeated her request for permission to speak. After cautioning her to be careful in what she said and to advise with her counsel, Judge Martine gave his consent. Miss Goldman gripped the rim of the witness chair which she sat firmly, pushed the dark rimmed eyeglasses which she habitually wears more firmly down on her nose, adjusted the elastic cord carefully over her ear and then, turning to the jury, began what she called her speech. It was surprisingly short and mild. Mr. Hall had evidently advised her to bridle her tongue. She said:

"My object in going to the Union Square meeting and addressing the people there was to use my right of free speech, and to assist, if possible, in easing the condition of the unemployed. It was not for any other purpose. I understand that the laws of this country give to every man and woman the right to speak their minds as I did, but I do not think I violated the Constitution of the State or any of its laws."

With this the young woman made a courtesy to the Judge, flashed a glance of hatred at the capitalistic reporters, and then turned her face resolutely towards Mr. Hall, in order to submit

of Virginia, William A. Courtenay of South Carolina, Henderson M. Somerville of Alabama, and J. L. M. Curry, the General Agent, of Washington.

During the afternoon session President Winthrop addressed the Trustees at length. After stating that, despite his infirmities, he made an effort to be present in order that there might be a quorum, he alluded to the momentous events of the past year and called attention to the fact that death had carried away four members of the board: Ex-Senator Randall L. Gibson of Louisiana, ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, Anthony J. Drexel of Pennsylvania, and Hamilton Fish of New York. He paid a high tribute to their worth.

Mr. Winthrop spoke at length of Hamilton Fish, and in the course of his eulogy said:

"He was one of our original board, appointed a Trustee and named as our first Vice President with Bishop McIlvaine as the second by Mr Peabody himself in 1867. Only two of that original board are left. Mr. Everts and myself, who have been witnesses to his fidelity as Chairman of our Committee of Finance from our first organization until the infirmities of old age compelled him to withdraw from any further active service. These infirmities were serious and likely at any time within ten years past to culminate, as they have done at last, in sudden death. He repeatedly tendered a resignation of his relations to this board, but the board refused to accept it."

Messrs. Everts, Courtenay, Henri, and Bishop Whipple were appointed a committee to prepare formal minutes of the death of the four Trustees.

In concluding his address, Mr. Winthrop said popular education was gaining ground, and during the past year work had been vigorously pushed by the fund. He suggested that Sept. 17, the anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, be set apart as a day of celebration in the schools.

General Agent Curry read his report, showing great progress had been made in school work since the last meeting of the Trustees.

Joseph H. Choate of New York was elected to succeed Hamilton Fish, President Gilman of Johns Hopkins University to succeed ex-President Hayes, George W. Childs to succeed A. J. Drexel, and Judge Fenner to succeed ex-Senator Gibson.

HOME TO FRIEDRICHSRUHE.

Prince Bismarck Will Make the Journey This Afternoon.

KISSINGEN, Oct. 6. Prince Bismarck drove out with Dr. Schweninger this afternoon. He looked somewhat stronger and responded to several salutations from pedestrians along the road. In the streets of the town he was cheered by all whom he passed.

Dr. Schweninger says that he is well satisfied with his patient's condition and would long since have taken him home had Bismarck not been so fearful that traveling would make his condition worse.

The special train on which Bismarck will start for home is timed to reach Friedrichsruhe at 10 o'clock to-morrow evening. It will pass through Gottingen, in Hanover, and it is the intention of the students of the university there to march in full dress to the station to salute Prince Bismarck as he passes. The railway station at Eisenach, in the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar, will be decorated in his honor.

Mishaps on the Broadway Cable Road.

The breaking of a cable strand on the Broadway cable road yesterday afternoon caused a delay of several hours in the running of the cars, when Car 17, south bound and filled with passengers, ran away at Fourteenth Street. Its grip had caught in a loose strand of the cable, and the car ran as far as Fourth Street before it could be stopped. Two women jumped to the street, but were not injured. The cable strand was found to be curled up in a hull at Great Jones Street.

Another accident on the road happened about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when a cable car (No. 170) crashed into the rear end of a Grand Street horse car going down town, near Thirtieth Street. The horses attached to the Grand Street car became frightened and started on a gallop down Broadway, but were stopped at Twenty-sixth Street. Two women in attempting to jump from the car were thrown to the ground, but they escaped injury.

Skirmishing in Mashonaland.

LONDON, Oct. 6. Cipher dispatches from Mashonaland, received to-day at the Colonial office, give details of a harmless skirmish between a police patrol and a band of Matabele warriors. White settlers and their families have sought shelter in the fort. Fort Victoria has been prepared for an attack by the natives. It contains a large supply of food and ammunition, and is believed to be in every way qualified to hold out against a long siege. It is the habit of the Matabeles to make their attacks at the new moon. That event is about due, and it [illegible] of their bloodthirsty warriors. They are well armed.

Indicted for Manslaughter.

BOSTON, Oct. 6. The Suffolk Grand Jury reported this afternoon an indictment against Edward J. Phinney of South Boston for manslaughter in causing the death of Edward M. Shine, a fireman, by shooting. This is a reduction of the original charge, which was murder. Phinney pleaded not guilty to manslaughter, and will be tried some time this month.

for his visited some
Mrs. Edwards said n
half-wild cats were
Cornelia Street the r
lived in her interesting
rear of 32 is a court
the walls of four tene
of communication is
32. The courtyard i
square, but there we
ash, which one of th
were owneriess, kitti
one of the tenants and
feet nuisance and the
got rid of them.

How the cats live
the reporter was inve
unhappy felines. A v
number of fish from
heath the cart five
is sure that was brou
St. Brigid's Church
Street and Avenue B
One hundred and two
been taken from it d
to-night. But there a
left. The old sexton
possible to get rid of
help of a dog. He ca
with legs while mos
churchyard.

One of the witnesse
Mrs. Edwards's favo
339 East Twelfth Str
day.

"I will be only too
Edwards's behalf, for
say the officers of
neglecting their work
again and again, but
to requests concerni
Some time ago there
around this neighbo
them rat poison and
half dead for week
again to the officers
and even went to t
paid no attention
by one. They crawl
ever they could find
"Over 150 cats ha
block in the past ye
did not dispose of
found there suff
should like to kno
good reason why t
Mercy' should cont
Another lady who
bring forward to t
tale to tell of a ca
fourth story while w
ith from falling, and
was allowed to live
relieved its suffering
society knew of the
all the while.

Mrs. Edwards says
looking. She says
insisted that she shal
her dumb friends.
never stop until she
ject.

"It may seem st
said, "why I work
about at night but
people who criticise
have seen the poor
in hunger, and ste
whether in man or
brutes that appeal f
are just as worthy
lings."

A Real "Prof

The invitation mat
which Nat C. Goo wi
"professionals" at th
yesterday afternoon,
enjoyable entertainm
sented to this city
the seats in the h
actors and actresse
was given up to a tier
tion, and the balcony
of ten lesser lights o
girls, and utility peop
author of "In Missou
cupied one of the box
the others were Mr
and Jessie Bartlett
Henriette Crosman
"The Other Man" co
Empire. Agnes Wi
Signor Perugini, E
and, Sam Bothern
Annie Yeamans. Tom
well known artists o
chestra.

"In Missouri" wo
and was never before
on audience. Every
was given a warm re
was obliged to make
of the second act. A
on for a speech, but
rising and bowing a
audience.

The Train W

St. Mary's, Ky., O
occurred at Gethsem
this city, on the L
at 5 o'clock this mor
men are reported to
train No. 42 was mak
first section, comp
had reached the brid
when the second sec
of speed, crashed in
section, throwing se
and causing the iron
ing the engine and
bed of the creek, th

880722003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Emma Goldman's Beliefs / Emma Goldman.– p. 4 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Daily Tribune. –(Oct. 7, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

AWANNA.

ADVANCE OF

AGEMENT DIS-
IN CASH
& CO'S
TS.
d the quiet of
ely advance in
stern Railroad
, the same as
cession to 146½.
d by one of the
he stock, and it
148. The broker
ich on sales of
4,200 shares the
d by that time
extravagant ru-
riously bidding
he best price of
nt irregular de-
tion being 153½.
her coal stocks
sharp advances,
e affected and
ges.
in Lackawanna
V. White, who
change on ac-
been active in
Sugar Refining.
sponsibility for
g-standing pre-
me day sell at
Central of New-
ntrol, and in-
e president of
younger man
town, but the
t there was no
stock on the
nge in control.
na stock on the
an 14,000 shares.
portance to the
stration against
of the stock is
s controlling it
The bulls are
he condition of
coal are main-
has been com-
stocks at tide-
the last few
output agreed

ial situation re-
banks are ex-
ent, an increase
heavy gain in
Clearing House
unted to $1,235,-
utstanding. No-
certificates for
ere cancelled in
unt is $2,395,000.
Dun & Co., by
in the United
365 against 367
onding week of
eek only three
ng $100,000 each,
for less than
follows of the

of improvement.
the number of
mber of hands at
g painfully clear
keep employed
present engaged.
that of last year
crease being 10.6
business, and in
houses outside
t. Reports from
business. There
confidence regard-
.. and this is in
ty regarding the
ate causes. While
circulation has in-
September, and
them it was
is now, as it has
rence rather than
that while the

WAITING FOR AN OFFER.

THE TRANSFER OF THE MADISON SQUARE BANK NOT YET COMPLETED.

COUNSEL FOR THE RECEIVERS HAVE LEARNED NOTHING DEFINITE ABOUT IT—SHERMAN BANK DIRECTORS AGREE WITH THEIR PRESIDENT.

The news of the absorption of the Madison Square Bank by the Sherman Bank, which was announced exclusively in The Tribune yesterday morning, caused much surprise and comment in business and banking circles, the more so because the arrangements therefor had been made with so much secrecy that scarcely any one except those directly concerned had a suspicion that the troubles of the Madison Square Bank would be ended in that way.

The idea of absorbing the business and assets and assuming the obligations of the Madison Square Bank originated with A. N. Howell, president of the Sherman Bank. The arrangements have not all been completed yet, but it is probable that they will be finished in a few days.

The directors of the Sherman Bank took formal action on the subject at a meeting yesterday, and fully concurred in the proposition of Mr. Howell, and authorized him to proceed with final arrangements. Mr. Howell yesterday said to a Tribune reporter who called upon him at his office in the bank, Eighteenth-st. and Broadway, "I have received further satisfactory assurances to-day from the Madison Square Bank people, and the absorption of that bank by the Sherman Bank will take place before long. The receivers in charge of the affairs of the Madison Square Bank have courteously offered to allow me to examine the assets of the bank. I shall make a thorough personal investigation. You may be sure that the Sherman Bank will not undertake anything without careful and accurate knowledge, but I believe that the affairs of the Madison Square Bank are in such a shape that we can safely take charge of them.

"I hope it will be distinctly understood that this union of the two banks is not a consolidation, the merging of two banks and two managements in one. The Madison Square Bank is to go out of existence, while we take its business and its assets, and assume its liabilities. There will be no change in the management or in the Board of Directors of the Sherman Bank, and no additions to the board. The capital will probably be increased from $200,000 to $500,000."

Mr. Howell has the choice of locations, either that at present occupied by the Sherman Bank, or the rooms of the Madison Square Bank. The directors of the Sherman Bank are William J. Arkell, Jacob D. Butler, William Crawford, George C. Flint, Louis C. Fuller, George B. Jaques, George P. Johnson, Ewen McIntyre, John McLoughlin, Ludwig Nissen, Henry D. Northrop, George P. Sheldon, William R. Smith, Benjamin B. Van Derveer.

Mr. Untermyer, of Guggenheimer & Untermyer, counsel for Messrs. O'Brien and Cannon, receivers of the Madison Square Bank, said:

"The receivers have not received any definite plan by which the proposed transfer of assets and assumption of liabilities of the bank can be carried out by the Sherman Bank. There has been some unofficial, irresponsible discussion of the subject, but nothing has yet been done looking toward a definite agreement. There is no truth in the statement that the transaction will be consummated next week as reported, except that if next week or at any other time any responsible person or corporation should come to the receivers of the Madison Square Bank and give them enough money to pay depositors and offer to assume the liabilities and take care of the stockholders, the receivers would feel very much relieved and would lose no time in accepting such an offer. In the mean time the receivers are making a very thorough investigation of the peculiar methods by which the directors and officers of the Madison Square Bank managed to borrow for their own purposes almost the entire assets of the bank, and I have no doubt the officers and directors will use every effort to get rid of the Madison Square Bank creditors and stockholders, as, from the revelations that have come to my knowledge recently, it would be very much to their advantage to do so without delay."

A BIG CLOCK CONCERN IN TROUBLE.

TEMPORARY RECEIVER APPOINTED FOR THE E. N. WELCH MANUFACTURING COMPANY.

Hartford, Conn., Oct. 6.—In the Superior Court late this afternoon Judge George W. Wheeler appointed E. A. Freeman, of Bristol, temporary receiver of the E. N. Welch Manufacturing Company, of Forestville. The hearing on the confirmation of Mr. Freeman will be held on Friday, October 13. The petition for the receivership was brought by the Bristol Brass and Clock Company, which is a creditor for $6000, with the consent of the stockholders of the E. N. Welch Company, who believed a receivership necessary to prevent waste by possible attachments and sales on execution.

The capital stock of the company is $600,000 and is largely held in the family of the late E. N. Welch, [illegible]

EMMA GOLDMAN'S BELIEFS.

SHE TELLS IN COURT THE PRINCIPLES SHE TEACHES.

HER CROSS-EXAMINATION BY ASSISTANT DISTRICT-ATTORNEY M'INTYRE—A. OAKEY HALL ADDRESSES THE JURY.

Emma Goldman told in General Sessions yesterday, at her trial on the charge of using seditious language at a public meeting, what she means by anarchy and what she believes. Ex-Mayor A. Oakey Hall made his closing address to the jury. The trial was adjourned until Monday, when it will probably be finished.

Not until shortly after noon did Judge Martine finish the routine business of the court, and then



EMMA GOLDMAN.

Miss Goldman was recalled to the witness chair. Her counsel asked her a few questions. She told him that the only reason she went to the Union Square meeting was that she wanted to tell the starving people how to get bread. "I told them," she went on "that if they had no bread, they had a right to take it wherever they could find it."

Assistant District-Attorney McIntyre then began his masterly cross-examination of the defendant, as follows:

Q.—Do you believe in a Supreme Being? A.—I do not.
Q.—You are an atheist, then? A.—Yes.
Q.—How old are you? A.—Twenty-five.
Q.—Where were you born? A.—In Russia.
Q.—Why did you leave Russia? A.—For no particular reason. I lived in Rochester until five years ago—until I came here.
Q.—Where did you live when you came to New-York? A.—It will be impossible to give you all my past addresses.
Q.—Did you live alone? A.—No; there were two ladies and an Anarchist.



JUDGE MARTINE.

Q.—What was the Anarchist's name? A.—Berkmann.
Q.—Are you married? A.—Yes.
Q.—What is your husband's name? A.—I refuse to answer.
Q.—Is it Berkmann? A.—No. I cannot tell you my name.
Q.—Did you approve of the attempt of Berkmann to kill Mr. Frick? A.—I have sympathy and respect for Mr. Berkmann.
Q.—Did you approve of his act? A.—No.
Q.—Are you an Anarchist? A.—Yes.
Q.—What do you understand about anarchy? A.—A total absence of law. I do not believe in any law which would oppress the poor. I believe only in moral law.



A PUBLIC OUTRAGE.

MR. DANA'S PROTEST AGAINST A SPEEDWAY PLAN.

HE DENOUNCES THE SINGLE SIDEWALK ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE OF THE DRIVE FROM THE RIVER, BUT IS OVERRULED—WORK TO BEGIN AT ONCE.

Plans for the construction of the Harlem River Speedway were settled by the Park Commissioners yesterday as far north as High Bridge. The Board decided to have only one sidewalk the whole length of the speedway, and that the walk shall be on the west side of the road. The advocates of two sidewalks argued that people who do not own fast horses will thus be deprived of the river view, and from One-hundred-and-Fifty-fifth-st. to the foot of the hill property holders will be cut off entirely on the east side of the road. Although that part of the speedway is a public street, it was shown that the owners of abutting property cannot use it when the street becomes a part of the speedway. But a majority of the board turned a deaf ear to these appeals.

During the board's tour of inspection of the land it decided at a meeting held at High Bridge on September 13, on Commissioner Straus's motion, to adopt the course finally settled yesterday. The necessary resolutions were ordered to be spread upon the minutes. Commissioner Dana was not present when the action was taken at High Bridge. At yesterday's meeting he protested against the action taken.

"After the commission had visited the site of the speedway on the date in question," he said, "I thought the meeting was over, as I supposed its object was to have an inspection only. That finished, I came downtown, not expecting anything more would be done there. Hearing of such action, I entered my protest."

Commissioner Straus proposed a reconsideration. Commissioner Clausen said that his understanding of the object of the September meeting was to do exactly what was done, and he supposed that Mr. Dana had the same understanding.

The vote of September 13 was then reconsidered, and President Tappen declared the resolutions again before the board. The president explained that it was the board's intention to have the engineer begin work on the speedway from One-hundred-and-fifty-fifth-st. to High Bridge at once. Mr. Dana asked Mr. Straus if he favored only one sidewalk from One-hundred-and-fifty-fifth-st. to the foot of the hill. Mr. Straus answered "Yes," adding that he thought Mr. Dana held the same view.

"That is entirely wrong," replied Mr. Dana. "I never held such a view. This is a public street, cut through the city, and I very much doubt whether the rights of the owners of adjoining property can be curtailed, and whether you can say to a man who builds a house there that he cannot come out of his front door and his front gate."

Mr. Straus replied that the law had set the street aside and made it exclusively a speedway.

"Would you, Mr. Straus, abolish the rights of the property owner along that line?" asked Mr. Dana.

Mr. Straus made no audible reply.

Mr. Tappen and Mr. Clausen thought there would be no objecting property owners.

Mr. Dana said that the road from One-hundred-and-fifty-fifth-st. to the foot of the hill should not be a part of the speedway proper. More properly it should be an approach to the speedway, because it was too steep for anybody to think of speeding horses down it.

President Tappen remarked that it would be much safer for pedestrians if there was a sidewalk only on one side of the street. Mr. Clausen argued that the speedway was especially laid out for the speeding of horses, and the first consideration, even at the expense of the popularity of the road, should be unrestricted speeding. A sidewalk on both sides would introduce an element of danger and would interfere with the main object of the road.

Mr. Dana said: "You, gentlemen, well know that I have no disposition to curtail the rights of horsemen or the unrestricted enjoyment of the object for which the road was projected. But I want to help its future by making it more popular. There should be a sidewalk on either side. I have no idea that the road shall be crossed on grade."

"How would you provide crossings, then?" asked Mr. Straus.

[illegible] answered Mr. Dana. He then asked Mr. Bonner, who was present, about speeding horses on another grade in the proposed road. Mr. Bonner replied that the grade was as steep as he considered safe to speed horses on.

"That grade," said Mr. Dana, "is one in 125. The grade on the hill is one in twenty-five."

The matter of the side on which a single walk should be placed was then taken up. Mr. Dana said that the walk should be on the right, or east side. The resolution placed it on the other side. The matter was discussed at great length. Mr. Dana said that it should be on the right side of the speedway because it is the river side, and by nature it belonged to the people. [illegible] was for the opposite side because it

43

880722003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Emma Goldman's Beliefs / Emma Goldman.— p. 4 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Daily Tribune. —(Oct. 7, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

...ng ... at improvement. ...e the number of ...number of loads of ...ing gainfully clear ... to keep employed ... present engaged. ...w that of last year ...crease being 10.0 ...s business, and in ...ng houses outside ...nt. Reports from ... business. There ... confidence regard... ago, and this is in ...ity regarding the ...state causes. While ...circulation has in... of September, and ...,000 than it was ... is now, as it has ...idence rather than ...ed that while the ...er $5,052,817, the ...ury has increased ...which took out sd... ...nd sold the bonds ...w-York banks has ... of Clearing House ...shows a great im... ...nd yet there is but ...idence upon which ... depend.

...ompanies in Sep...ing a total paid ... list of the com...neering and Min...y, is as follows.

...d in ...mber.	Paid since Jan. 1...
.....	$275,000
.....	60,000
.....	20,000
....	37,500
...,000	45,000
..	200,000
...,000	1,000,000
...,000	142,500
...,400	36,000
...,500	387,500
.....	27,300
.....	67,120
.....	10,000
.....	200,000
.....	187,500
.....	350,000
.....	115,000
...,875	175,000
.....	175,000
...,000	45,000
...,500	112,500
...,000	145,000
...,500	112,500
.....	150,000
...,000	187,500
...,750	77,500
...,000	60,000
.....	50,000
.....	150,000
...,000	90,000
.....	420,000
...,000	1,080,000
...,800	57,600
.....	60,000
.....	100,000
...,600	82,400
.....	50,000
.....	15,000
...,000	102,000
...,000	84,000
.....	20,367
.....	800,000
.....	10,000
.....	23,000
.....	15,343
.....	20,000
.....	200,000
...,600	22,000
.....	5,000
...,000	75,000
...,000	27,000
...,175	$7,419,900

...ONDITION.

...VENUE PROBBY- ...THAT IT IS ... TROUBLE.

...terday that the ...rch, the Rev. Dr. ...s in a bankrupt ...ffice at Madison- ... to be sold. This ...ave been brought ...of the so-called ... started by Dr. It was then pro- ...expenses of the ...and other work, ...contributions. ... a meeting last ...g statement for

...rian Church of... ...ng in one of the ...is so false that ...of reply, beyond ...encouraging; that ...heir property, and ...are going on with

... reporter that the ...ressed, that the ...that the members ...He added that he ... permanent.

...D VIA MIAMI

Sheldon William tt, Smith, Benjamin M. Van Hoevel.

Mr. Untermyer of Guggenheimer & Untermyer, counsel for Messrs O'Brien and Cannon, receivers of the Madison Square Bank, said:

"The receivers have not received any definite plan by which the proposed transfer of assets and assumption of liabilities of the bank can be carried out by the Sherman Bank. There has been some unofficial, irresponsible discussion of the subject, but nothing has yet been done looking toward a definite agreement. There is no truth in the statement that the transaction will be consummated next week as reported, except that if next week or at any other time any responsible person or corporation should come to the receivers of the Madison Square Bank, and give them enough money to pay depositors and offer to assume the liabilities and take care of the stockholders, the receivers would feel very much relieved and would lose no time in accepting such an offer. In the mean time the receivers are making a very thorough investigation of the peculiar methods by which the directors and officers of the Madison Square Bank managed to borrow for their own purposes almost the entire assets of the bank, and I have no doubt the officers and directors will use every effort to get rid of the Madison Square Bank creditors and stockholders, as, from the revelations that have come to my knowledge recently, it would be very much to their advantage to do so without delay."

A BIG CLOCK CONCERN IN TROUBLE.

TEMPORARY RECEIVER APPOINTED FOR THE E. N. WELCH MANUFACTURING COMPANY.

Hartford, Conn., Oct. 6.—In the Superior Court late this afternoon Judge George W. Wheeler appointed E. A. Freeman, of Bristol, temporary receiver of the E. N. Welch Manufacturing Company, of Forestville. The hearing on the confirmation of Mr. Freeman will be held on Friday, October 13, in this city. The petition for the receivership was brought by the Bristol Brass and Clock Company, which is a creditor for $50,000, with the consent of the stockholders of the E. N. Welch company, who believed a receivership necessary to prevent waste by possible attachments and sales on execution.

The capital stock of the company is $500,000 and is largely held in the family of the late E. N. Welch, of Bristol, and the late President Atkins, of the Bristol Brass and Clock Company. Since the death of Mr. Atkins the concern has been financially embarrassed and has stopped manufacturing. The company is the oldest and one of the largest clock concerns in the country, employing hundreds of hands. It did an immense business, and maintained salesrooms in New-York and Chicago, with branch houses in London, Glasgow, Shanghai, and Yokohama. The liabilities are something over $400,000 and the assets are estimated at $600,000. Other large creditors are banks in New-Haven, Bristol and Hartford. These are understood to be fairly secured by collaterals. Outside the banks and the Bristol company the liabilities will not exceed $15,000 and there are no New-York or Boston banks involved.

THE NEW-HAVEN TENNIS GAMES.

CHACE THE INTERCOLLEGIATE CHAMPION—A LONG STRUGGLE IN THE DOUBLES.

New-Haven, Conn., Oct. 6 (Special).—Malcolm Chace won the championship of the Intercollegiate Tennis Association to-day by defeating Foote, of Yale, 6—3, 6—2, 6—3. Chace took the lead from the start, and by his long cross-court drives steadily scored point after point. Foote's game was a careful one and every inch was hotly contested, but he lacked judgment in side-line drives and volleyed into the net frequently. The set between Budlong and Foote in the semi-finals, which was played off this morning, resulted in Foote's favor, 6—4. Budlong had the faster pace, but Foote used his head more and took advantage of every opportunity.

The finale in the doubles gave the championship to Budlong and Chace, of Brown, against Foote and Howland, of Yale. Brown won only after a long struggle, as the score proves. Following is the summary:

Semi-final round—Foote, Yale, beat Budlong, Brown, 6—4, 3—6, 6—4. Final round—Malcolm Chace, Brown, beat Foote, Yale, 6—3, 6—2, 6—3.

Doubles—Final round—Budlong and Chace, Brown, beat Foote and Howland, Yale, 6—1, 6—3, 2—6, 4—6, 6—4.

FIFTH ROUND IN THE CHESS MATCH.

A large crowd of spectators witnessed the games of the fifth round of the International tournament at the Manhattan Chess Club. Here is a summary of the results: Olly fell an easy victim to Lasker in a centre counter gambit after thirty-three moves; Schmidt lost a game, P—Q 4 opening, to Pillsbury, this contest being full of exciting incidents after sixty-two moves; Delmar beat the Parisian, Taubenhaus, in a Petcoff defence after forty-four moves; Ryan succeeded in beating Pollock in a Pouziani opening after thirty-six moves, although the latter had the best of the game at one time; Hanham lost a piece against Showalter in a counter centre gambit, and the game, after thirty-six moves, while Albin outplayed Gossip in a Giuoco Piano and scored after twenty-three moves. Jasnogrodsky excelled by beating Lee in a Zukertort opening after thirty-six moves. This game was the masterpiece of the tournament so far, the Pole deserving high praise for it.

A DOCTOR DIES FROM POISON.

Dr. Joseph Lee, a druggist at Hicksville, died Thursday morning at Franklin's Hotel, Oyster Bay, from the effects of poison, self-administered. It is

...and an Anarchist.



JUDGE MARTINE.

Q.—What was the Anarchist's name? A.—Berkmann.

Q.—Are you married? A.—Yes.

Q.—What is your husband's name? A.—I refuse to answer.

Q.—Is it Berkmann? A.—No. I cannot tell you my name.

Q.—Did you approve of the attempt of Berkmann to kill Mr. Frick? A.—I have sympathy and respect for Mr. Berkmann.

Q.—Did you approve of his act? A.—No.

Q.—Are you an Anarchist? A.—Yes.

Q.—What do you understand about anarchy? A.—A total absence of law. I do not believe in any law which would oppress the poor. I believe only in moral law.



OAKEY HALL.

I understand by anarchy the liberty to live and live unrestrained by any law.

Q.—Do you submit to and honor the laws passed by the Government? A.—I do not honor any law.

Q.—Do you know Herr Most? A.—Yes. I do not have exactly the same opinions as he has.

Q.—Do you know Timmerman? A.—Yes.

Q.—Do you remember his speech delivered on August 21? A.—Yes.

Q.—Did you approve of all that he said in that speech? A.—Yes. I do not believe that he spoke in violation of the law.

Q.—Did you ever live with Timmerman? A.—I once lived in the same house with him, at No. 550 East Sixteenth-st.

Q.—Where do you live now? A.—At the Tombs. (Laughter.)

Q.—Have you any means of support? A.—Yes. I am a dressmaker and work whenever I can. I make from $3 to $6 a week.

Q.—If you are displeased with the form of government in the United States, why don't you go elsewhere? A.—All countries on earth are alike. I don't care to go to Heaven at one jump.

Q.—Are you familiar with the Constitution of the United States? A.—Yes; and I believe that it if were carried out in the spirit and letter I would be satisfied. But it is not so. The laws are made in favor of the rich, and the poor are ignored and oppressed.

The woman said she merely wanted the unemployed to march past the houses of the rich, who would then give them bread.

"If the crowds became riotous, would you stop them?" Mr. McIntyre asked.

The reply, after some parrying, was in the negative.

"What do Anarchists want with dynamite bombs?"

"To use in the great social revolution which is impending."

"Would you use bombs?"

"I cannot say what I would do. I may not live to see the day of the battle."

In the afternoon ex-Mayor Hall summed up his side of the case. He declared that the meeting in Union Square on August 21 was a lawful one, a permit to hold it having been given by the proper authorities. The crowd was entirely peaceful, and his client's speech incited it to no disorder. The prosecution, Mr. Hall declared, was based only on a plot for the aggrandisement of one police official.

A PYROMANIAC IN JUSTICE HOGAN'S HOUSE.

An investigation of the five recent fires in the house of Police Justice Hogan, at No. 57 Seventh-ave., has been made by Fire Marshal Mitchell. The evidence obtained indicates that a nine-year-old son of Mrs. W. T. Shine, a sister-in-law of the Justice, living in the house, has been starting the

...ray to a man who builds a house there that he cannot come out of his front door and his front gate."

Mr. Straus replied that the law had set the street aside and made it exclusively a speedway.

"Would you," Mr. Straus, abolish the rights of the property owner along that line?" asked Mr. Dana.

Mr. Straus made no audible reply.

Mr. Tappen and Mr. Clausen thought there would be no objecting property owners.

Mr. Dana said that the road from One-hundred-and-fifty-fifth-st. to the foot of the hill should not be a part of the speedway proper. More properly it should be an approach to the speedway, because it was too steep for anybody to think of speeding horses down it.

President Tappen remarked that it would be much safer for pedestrians if there was a sidewalk only on one side of the street. Mr. Clausen argued that the speedway was especially laid out for the speeding of horses, and the first consideration, even at the expense of the popularity of the road, should be unrestricted speeding. A sidewalk on both sides would introduce an element of danger and would interfere with the main object of the road.

Mr. Dana said: "You, gentlemen, well know that I have no disposition to curtail the rights of horsemen or the unrestricted enjoyment of the object for which the road was projected. But I want to help its future by making it more popular. There should be a sidewalk on either side. I have no idea that the road shall be crossed on grade."

"How would you provide crossings, then?" asked Mr. Straus.

"By bridges," answered Mr. Dana. He then asked Mr. Bonner, who was present, about speeding horses on another grade in the proposed road. Mr. Bonner replied that the grade was as steep as he considered safe to speed horses on.

"That grade," said Mr. Dana, "is one in 125. The grade on the hill is one in twenty-five."

The matter of the side on which a single walk should be placed was then taken up. Mr. Dana said that the walk should be on the right, or east side. The resolution placed it on the other side. The matter was discussed at great length. Mr. Dana said that it should be on the right side of the speedway because it is the river side, and by nature it belonged to the people.

Mr. Straus was for the opposite side because it is the side from which people who visited the speedway would come, and to reach the walk if it were on the other side they would have to cross the roadway. Mr. Dana replied that to shut the public off from their right to the river side was not only untenable in principle, but also impracticable.

Mr. Straus said that there was not land enough for two walks. Mr. Dana was sure there was plenty of room to do all that was expected of the board. With one walk the crowds at the speedway would be positively unmanageable.

Before the vote was taken Mr. Dana said: "I want to repeat now that the proposition that the public shall be shut off in this way from the river side I regard as a public outrage. Not only that, but it is wholly unnecessary."

The vote stood three to one, Mr. Dana voting alone in the negative. Messrs. Tappen, Straus and Clausen voted "Aye." The resolution ordering that construction begin at once was passed by the same vote.

A committee from the Century Club, headed by ex-Minister John Bigelow, objected to the selection of Bryant Park for the monument of William Cullen Bryant, preferring Central Park instead. The club, however, is not unanimous on this point. Mr. Vaux, the landscape architect, selected Bryant Park. Mr. Bigelow said $18,000 or $19,000 was in the committee's hands to build the monument, subscribed on the understanding that the monument should be in Central Park.

On motion of Mr. Dana, the landscape architect was requested to report if there was a suitable place in Central Park for the monument.

"RUNNEL" SCHARF ON THE RACK.

HE FAILS TO SHAKE EVIDENCE THAT HE USED BAD LANGUAGE TO CHUNG AH HONG.

Thomas J. Cummings, who is temporarily in charge of the special agents at this port, began an investigation yesterday of the charges made by Chung Ah Hong, a Chinese merchant, at No. 117 Mott-st., against J. Thomas Scharf, Chinese Inspector. The Chinaman declared, in an affidavit which was sent to the Secretary of the Treasury, that Scharf had used indecent language to him, had threatened to throw him overboard and to "smash him in the face." Secretary Carlisle turned the case over to the special agents for investigation, and it fell to Mr. Cummings's lot to do it. Charles P. McClelland, of the law firm of Hess, Townsend & McClelland, represented the Chinaman. The investigation opened with a brush between Mr. McClelland and Scharf. Scharf objected to the method of examination pursued by the lawyer, and said:

"I want you to understand that I am a lawyer, too, and from what I have seen of New-York lawyers I think that I am as good a lawyer as any of them."

"As a rule, Colonel Scharf, New-York lawyers are able to make a living without becoming Chinese Inspectors," replied Mr. McClelland.

Hong, the man who made the complaint, was the first witness. He said that he went down to the steamship Yumuri, of the Ward line, to identify Fong Ye Chong, his partner. He was talking with the interpreter when Scharf came along and said to him:

"Shut up. Get out of my way, you —— Chinaman, or I'll throw you overboard." Then Scharf called to an officer of the ship, but Hong stepped away.

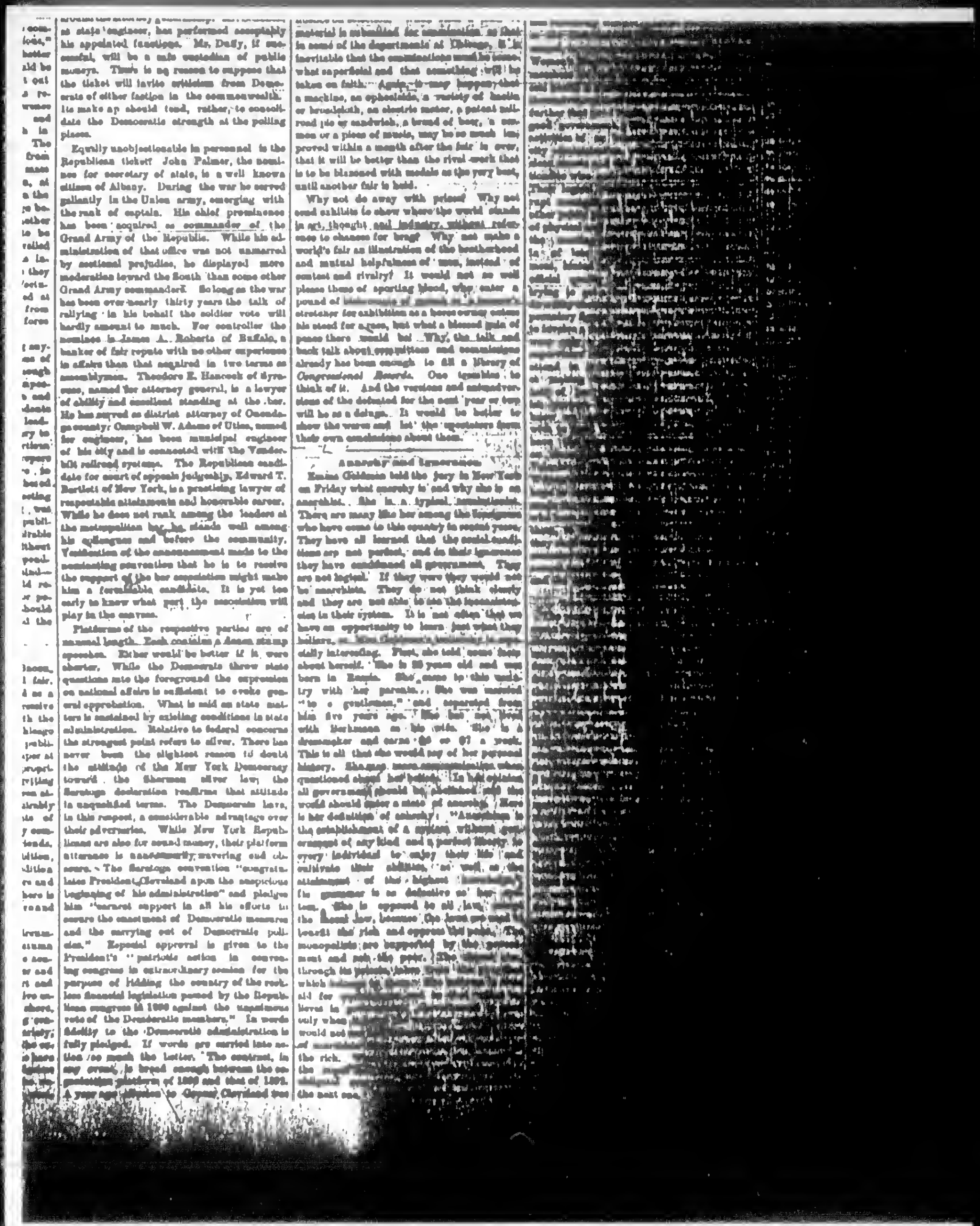
Dr. James B. Horton, of Brooklyn, Charles J. Kingston, the Chinese interpreter, and Miguel Atak,

891215012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Anarchy and Ignorance / Emma Goldman.– 28 cm. *In* The Brooklyn Daily Eagle. –(Oct. 7, 1893).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.



as state engineer, has performed acceptably his appointed functions. Mr. Duffy, if successful, will be a safe custodian of public moneys. There is no reason to suppose that the ticket will invite criticism from Democrats of either faction in the commonwealth. Its make up should tend, rather, to consolidate the Democratic strength at the polling places.

Equally unobjectionable in personnel is the Republican ticket. John Palmer, the nominee for secretary of state, is a well known citizen of Albany. During the war he served gallantly in the Union army, emerging with the rank of captain. His chief prominence has been acquired as commander of the Grand Army of the Republic. While his administration of that office was not unmarred by sectional prejudice, he displayed more moderation toward the South than some other Grand Army commanders. So long as the war has been over nearly thirty years the talk of rallying in his behalf the soldier vote will hardly amount to much. For controller the nominee is James A. Roberts of Buffalo, a banker of fair repute with no other experience in affairs than that acquired in two terms as assemblyman. Theodore E. Hancock of Syracuse, named for attorney general, is a lawyer of ability and excellent standing at the bar. He has served as district attorney of Onondaga county. Campbell W. Adams of Utica, named for engineer, has been municipal engineer of his city and is connected with the Vanderbilt railroad systems. The Republican candidate for court of appeals judgeship, Edward T. Bartlett of New York, is a practicing lawyer of respectable attainments and honorable career. While he does not rank among the leaders at the metropolitan bar, he stands well among his colleagues and before the community. Ventilation of the announcement made to the nominating convention that he is to receive the support of the Tammany organization might make him a formidable candidate. It is yet too early to know what part the association will play in the canvass.

Platforms of the respective parties are of unusual length. Each contains a dozen stump speeches. Either would be better if it were shorter. While the Democrats throw state questions into the foreground the expression on national affairs is sufficient to evoke general approbation. What is said on state matters is sustained by existing conditions in state administration. Relative to federal concerns the strongest point refers to silver. There has never been the slightest reason to doubt the attitude of the New York Democracy toward the Sherman silver law; the Saratoga declaration reaffirms that attitude in unqualified terms. The Democrats have, in this respect, a considerable advantage over their adversaries. While New York Republicans are also for sound money, their platform utterance is assuredly wavering and obscure. The Saratoga convention "congratulates President Cleveland upon the auspicious beginning of his administration" and pledges him "earnest support in all his efforts to secure the enactment of Democratic measures and the carrying out of Democratic policies." Especial approval is given to the President's "patriotic action in convening congress in extraordinary session for the purpose of ridding the country of the reckless financial legislation passed by the Republican congress in 1890 against the unanimous vote of the Democratic members." In words fidelity to the Democratic administration is fully pledged. If words are carried into action so much the better. The contrast, in any event, is broad enough between the convention platform of 1892 and that of 1893. A year ago allusion to Grover Cleveland was

material is embodied for consideration as that in some of the departments at Chicago, it is inevitable that the examination must be somewhat superficial and that something will be taken on faith. Again, it may happen that a machine, an ophthalmic, a variety of linotype or breadstuff, an electric motor, a patent railroad tie or sandwich, a brand of beer, a remedy or a piece of music, may be so much improved within a month after the fair is over, that it will be better than the rival work that is to be blazoned with medals as the very best, until another fair is held.

Why not do away with prizes? Why not send exhibits to show where the world stands in art, thought and industry, without reference to chances for brag? Why not make a world's fair an illustration of the brotherhood and mutual helpfulness of men, instead of contest and rivalry? It would not so well please those of sporting blood, who enter a pound of [illegible] stretcher for exhibition as a horse every entered his stead for a purse, but what a blessed gain of peace there would be! Why, the talk and back talk about competition and commissions already has been enough to fill a library of *Congressional Records*. One trembles to think of it. And the versions and misadventures of the defeated for the next year or two will be as a deluge. It would be better to show the wares and let the spectators form their own conclusions about them.

Anarchy and Ignorance

Emma Goldman told the jury in New York on Friday what anarchy is and why she is an anarchist. She is a typical nonrevolutionist. There are many like her among the foreigners who have come to this country in recent years. They have all learned that the social conditions are not perfect, and in their ignorance they have condemned all government. They are not logical. If they were they would not be anarchists. They do not think clearly and they are not able to see the inconsistencies in their system. It is not always that we have an opportunity to learn just what they believe.

[illegible] daily interesting. First, she told some facts about herself. She is 26 years old and was born in Russia. She came to this country with her parents. She was married "to a gentleman," and separated from him five years ago. She has not lived with the man as his wife. She is a dressmaker and earns $8 or $9 a week. This is all that she would say of her personal history. She was more communicative when questioned about her beliefs. In her opinion all government should be abolished and the world should enter a state of anarchy. Here is her definition of anarchy: "Anarchism is the establishment of a system without government of any kind and a perfect liberty to every individual to enjoy their life and cultivate their abilities, as well as the attainment of the highest [illegible] the government is so defective as to [illegible] tem. She is opposed to all laws, the worst law, because the laws are made to assist the rich and oppress the poor. The monopolists are supported by the government and rob the poor. The [illegible] through its priests, [illegible] which [illegible] aid for [illegible] believes in [illegible] only when [illegible] would not [illegible] of [illegible] the rich. [illegible] the next one

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

891215012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Anarchy and Ignorance / Emma Goldman.– 28 cm. *In* The Brooklyn Daily Eagle. –(Oct. 7, 1893).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.



BROOKLYN DAILY EAGLE

...ve been ...They are ...columns. ...aning. of ...l return. ...ipment. ...Erie lines. ...this even... ...em. The ...a Chicago ...ntral will ...urdenists ...lenge on ...quartered. ...ted. Re... ...rnism in... ...grounds ...e basis of ...ale on the ...he resorts ...n this in... ...and to a ...crowning ...reception ...has been ...discursive ...on, given New York ...from 7 ...ists are ...cordially ...okiynites ...and even... ...s obtained ...ers build... ...ptions will ...bt seeing, ...to their ...ext week. ...atisfaction ...l fair en... ...fort and ...ments, at ...pecuniary ...wing the ...of notable

...fairly rep... ...ster of the ...ree no en... ...s the con... ...for secre... ...peculiarly ...ected, will ...sention is ...a business ...mproving. ...as neither ...tarnished ...is sturdy ...opposition ...rmance of ...s of resi... Living on ...lyn is an ...e virtually ...no reason ...us Demo... His asso... ...ll, Duffy, ...ment and ...erience in ...controller ...rity, diffi... ...has amply ...of cluster ...Schenck,

...ntemporaneously ...omitted. To ignore President Cleveland would be quite another matter.

National questions will play a subordinate part in the opening campaign. Discussion of state issues will be attended by the usual partisan demonstrations in opposing camps. The Democrats have not omitted to "arraign" the opposition, to the utter exhaustion of a very extensive vocabulary. The Republican platform makers have painted their rivals in deepest black. While the politicians are outstanding and the stampers are spouting, the people are not likely to plunge into frenzy over any phase of the situation. Unless an unexpected uprising is to occur in regard to the appeals judgeship the germs of a political revolution are not discernible in New York politics this year. Normally, the state is Democratic. While the Democratic machine management is not acceptable to all Democratic and independent citizens, its inferiority to the Republican machine remains to be demonstrated. There is no reason, in any event, for rational voters to lie awake o' nights. With fair state tickets and reasonably good candidates at large for the constitutional convention placed in nomination the parties are likely to concentrate their endeavors chiefly in the legislative districts. Under the new apportionment Republican chances of carrying the legislature are not assuring. The Republican leaders will, nevertheless, omit no exertion which promises them control of senate and assembly. They would undoubtedly prefer supremacy in either house to any other result that could be accomplished in the canvass.

Why Not Be Away with Medals?

For several years to come we shall have it forced on our attention that Dr. Ames's Liverwort and Bismuth Extract is superior to all other drugs for the treatment of paralysis, cancer, hydrophobia, smallpox and several hundred meaner disorders; also that Dougherty's Old Ginger Rum is the greatest and juiciest; likewise that Biff & Bangs's pianos are the only ones played by real artists; and, similarly, how can you expect to hold your stomach up if you don't wear Dr. [illegible]schola's Celebrated Tonic Worsted Suspenders? For the medals are going around at the world's fair and they will be flashed in the eyes of an impressed public until some other fellows get [illegible] fellows are waiting, what burning of the heart and bitterness of spirit!

The worth of an official indorsement by prize giving committees has never been accurately estimated. In spite of the eager scramble for it there are reasons for thinking that its value is not above rubies—that is, a good, big handful of rubies. There are, for example, exhibitors who decline to enter their goods in competition with others, being too well assured of public favor to make it needful. One of the best known piano makers in America sent none of his instruments to Chicago. He has a trunkful of medals, diplomas and honorable mentions and he probably was willing that some other house should have a show. And his prosperity will not be affected a dollar's worth by the award of the first class gold medal to one of his rivals. He approved the fair, as a fair, and made a liberal gift of money to it, but he did not care to use it as an advertisement.

If he can afford not to avail himself of a medal can not some other concerns afford to withdraw from competition, too? Without impeaching the intent or the veracity of the awarding committees, it must be seen that infallibility of judgment is too much to expect, and that personal tastes will have their influence on selection. When such a mass of

all that to [illegible] lief in this doctrine is not [illegible] hatred for the rich would [illegible] may be that she believes that the love the poor and that the poor themselves. It is the last complaint that all there is left of sympathy. Hate predicted a war between the rich and beggars the laboring man could not [illegible] from their slavery in any other way.

So long as people are ignorant of fundamental economic principles there will be anarchists and men who will talk about us the poor man's money. There is no [illegible] about the conditions of which the complain. Society is not perfect and government is not without defects. The poor with hunger while the rich are gratified good things. But anarchy will not cure these evils. It will rather increase them. The truth of the maxim that that government best which governs the least is generally accepted, but it does not mean that [illegible] the ideal toward which the world is [illegible] A little more education would convert Emma Goldman from an anarchist to a law [illegible]

The Trolley Accidents.

Hardly a day has passed since the introduction of the trolley system that has not witnessed an accident of a more or less serious nature. The list of casualties, if printed in the Extra, would fill up several columns. Yesterday there was an accident even more tragic than many of these, which resulted in a 6 year old boy having been cut to [illegible] while trying to rescue a brother.

It is of the highest importance, not only to the public, but to the companies operating the trolley, that greater precaution be taken for the protection of human life. No matter what the cost, or whatever the time and labor involved, the daily carnage of [illegible] alike should stop. For, however [illegible] to run the trolley may be as compared with other means of transportation, the city is paying [illegible] dearly. [illegible] To affirm, as the [illegible] a great proportion of the [illegible] the carelessness of pedestrians, does not adequately meet the case. The statement may be true so far as it goes, but it does not [illegible] by coroners' juries which have sifted the facts. It does explain why motormen, according to their own admission, have been running their cars at a greater rate of speed than that allowed by law at the time when accidents have occurred.

If, in order to diminish the danger, it be necessary not only to lower the rate of speed now prescribed by law, but to secure men of higher order of intelligence to operate [illegible] both of these matters should be [illegible] Moreover, it would seem that [illegible] inventive genius has not yet [illegible] that will mark at which it is unable to produce some mechanical contrivance which would [illegible] a sort of protection to those who get in trolley's way. It might prove costly to [illegible] the cars with such a [illegible] be cheap in the long run.

Indeed, any policy [illegible] seek first and foremost to avoid [illegible] of accidents. We have had [illegible] late.

[illegible] Feminine [illegible] ality, opposition movement, and [illegible] The women, though not able to vote, are viewed that their moral influence [illegible] less effectively wielded. [illegible]

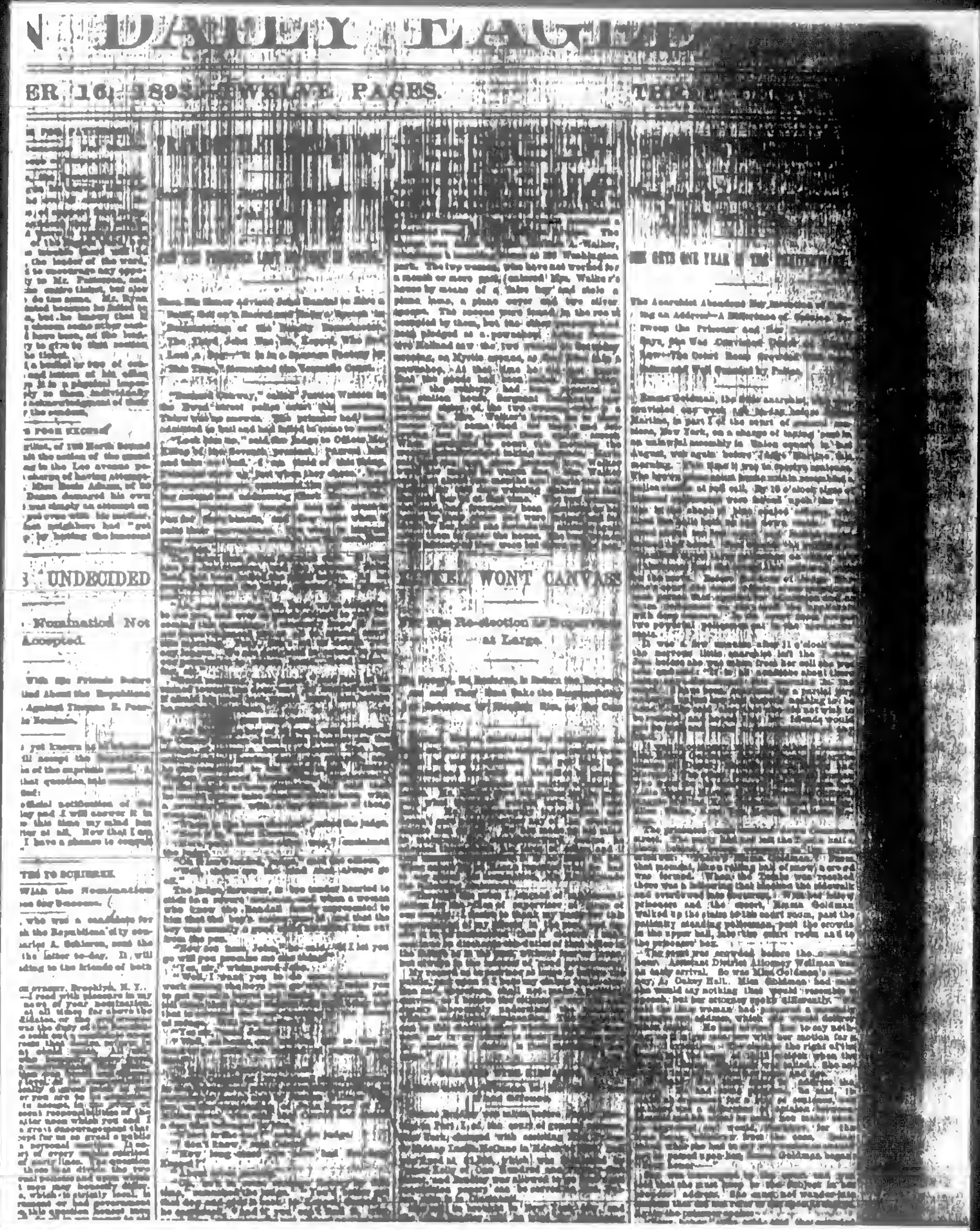
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

891215007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] No Room for Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* The Brooklyn Daily Eagle. —(Oct. 16, 1893).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.



THE DAILY EAGLE

ER 16, 1893. TWELVE PAGES. PRICE

UNDECIDED

Nomination Not Accepted.

With the Friends Before and About the Republican Against Thomas E. Pres... in Brooklyn.

THE TO SCHIEREN.

With the Nomination ... for Treasurer.

... who was a candidate for ... the Republican city con... Marlor A. Schieren, and the ... the latter to-day. It will ... adding to the friends of both ...

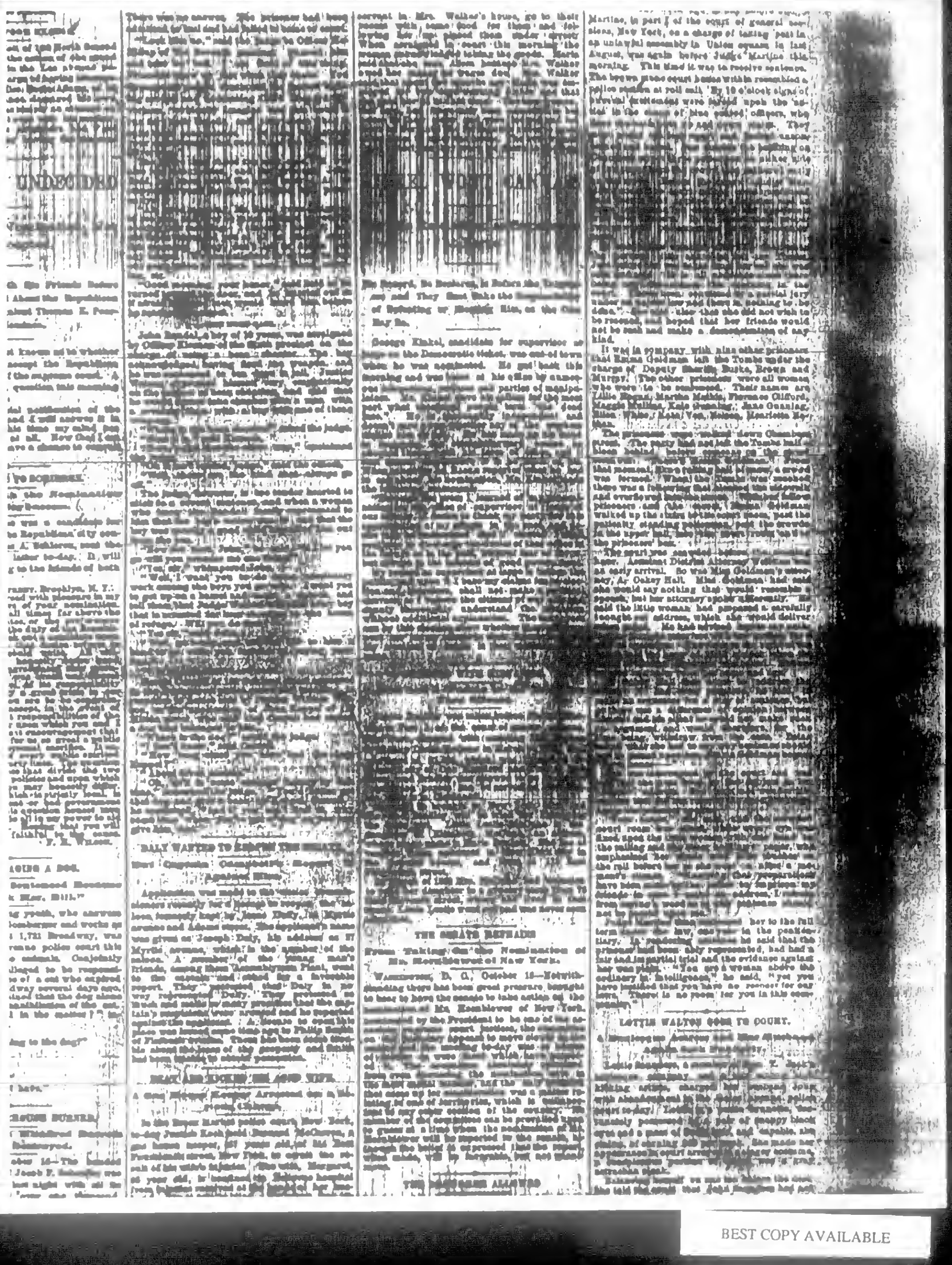
... Brooklyn, N. Y.: ... read with pleasure in my ... of your nomination, ... all others for above the ... dation, or the ... was the duty of ... a solid one ... ...

891215007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] No Room for Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* The Brooklyn Daily Eagle. —(Oct. 16, 1893).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.



NO ROOM FOR EMMA GOLDMAN.

THE SENATE REFUSES

LETTIE WALTON GOES TO COURT.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

48

880722002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] The Law's Limit / Emma Goldman. – p. 7 ; 44 cm. *In* The World. – (Oct. 17, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THE LAW'S LIMIT.

Emma Goldman Is Sentenced to a Year's Imprisonment.

ANARCHISTS ARE WARNED.

Judge Martine Says They Should Be Kept Out of the Country.

NO SPEECH FROM THE PRISONER.

But The World Presents in Full the Remarks That She Had Intended to Deliver.

SWORE SHE WOULD, BUT RELENTED.

Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, who was convicted of "uulawful assembly" in General Sessions last week, was yesterday sentenced by Judge Martine to one year's imprisonment in the penitentiary. In sentencing the woman, Judge Martine intimated that he was sorry the Penal Code prohibited him from giving her a heavier sentence. When he had concluded his remarks, the spectators applauded, some cheering, others stamping their feet. There was no demonstration by the woman's compatriots, as threatened.

Miss Goldman was brought to General Sessions in company with a dozen other female prisoners. She demurred to the crowds staring at her and asked permission to walk alone. Of course, this was denied, and that the woman reached the old brown court house, a crowd of fully four hundred people were at their heels. Emma was pointed out by the crowd and heard some very unpleasant remarks about herself.

OAKEY HALL GIVES UP

As soon as Judge Martine took his seat Clerk Hall called Emma to the bar. In answer to the Clerk's questions regarding her pedigree, the woman responded loudly. She said that she was twenty-five years old.

"Where do you live?" inquired the Clerk.

"Why, in the Tombs," replied Emma loudly.

"Before that, I mean," explained Mr. Hall.

"Oh! At No. 422 East Fortieth street."

In answer to the Clerk's question as to what she had to say why sentence should not be pronounced, Emma started to speak when ex-Mayor A. Oakey Hall, who defended her on her trial, arose. He surprised everybody by informing Judge Martine that, owing to a misunderstanding with his client, he would withdraw from the case. He said that he had advised her not to make a speech in court, for she had declared that she would.

Emma, who was standing then at the bar awaiting her sentence, nodded her head. She again started to say something, when Judge Martine warned her to confine her remarks to the case in hand. Her face flushed and she grasped the railing in front of her.

She spoke in a rasping voice, humble and meek.

NO SPEECH AFTER ALL.

"Your Honor," she said tersely, "in view of the fact that the jury have done everything they could to injure my friends, the Anarchists, in some demonstration, so that they could get them in jail also, I shall refrain from delivering any speech here."

That is all she said. When she had concluded she looked at her counsel and smiled. Mr. Hall was watching her intently. He colored slightly and motioned to her to sit down. She started to do so when Judge Martine began to talk, and a court officer yanked her around to face the bench.

Judge Martine lost no time in sentencing her. This is what he said:

"In this case the Court has given much consideration as to what would be a just disposition to make of this defendant after this conviction. You were represented in this case by one who is as able to present the facts as any lawyer now at the bar. His vast experience and his ability as counsel were called upon to their utmost extent in your behalf. The facts were submitted to the jury. There were witnesses deemed worthy of credence by the jury who stated that they heard the remarks which you made. There is no question but that those remarks brought you clearly within the statute. Your language was such as to incite disorder, to incite to riot, and the language as interpreted by those who heard it was such that a riot might have ensued.

ANARCHISTS SHOULD BE EXCLUDED.

"You are a woman beyond the a-

certain class of the citizens appears right?

"Is free speech solely for the purpose and use of the Government and its officers, are individuals prohibited from saying that which is true, even though hardly to the taste of a certain class or portion of the public? Can I only say that in which I do not concur, and must I say it?

"I am positive that the men who shed their blood for the independence of this land, and who offered up their lives to secure the liberty and rights of the American people, must have had a very different understanding of the right of free speech than those who to-day represent the Government, and who so interpret the right as to permit the expression only of that which is conducive to their benefit.

"According to such an interpretation of the right of free speech I must call them despots, and as such, without the right to commemorate in celebrations the memory of those who fell in the fight for Independence, for the former deliberately trample under foot the principles of those heroes, and when decorating their graves commit blasphemy.

"Why don't the representatives of the State drop the so-called mantle of free speech, discard the mask of falsehood and admit that absolutism reigns here?

"Under such a condition of things the American citizen has no shadow of right in pointing the finger of contempt at European institutions and in speaking of the downtrodden hungry of the Old World.

"The sorrowful condition of the workingmen of the Old as well as the New World increases from day to day, and it reached a high point in its horizon this very year.

"Devoid of all means of sustenance, the workingmen assemble to consult, to devise means to remedy their need. Those who throughout the year utilize the people and gather riches at their cost perhaps feel that it would not go well with them should the workingmen become half conscious of their exigencies, and in their terror the latter seek the aid of government. Innumerable policemen and spies are sent into the meetings of the unemployed, to control all their deliberations, to control the speakers.

DEFENDING HER SPEECHES.

"I belonged to that class of speakers who endeavored to show the workingmen the real reason of their misfortune.

"The speeches made by me must have contained much that was unpleasant for the rich of the City of New York, because they set in motion whole hands of spies to cause my apprehension and confinement for the reason, as the indictment reads, that I had offended against the law and exhorted those present at my speeches to acts of violence.

"If what I said at Golden Rule Hall and at Union Square was a violation of the laws, then all those who were present at those meetings, and who by protracted and loud applause evinced their approval of what I said, were equally guilty with me. Why, then, did the city authorities proceed against me alone? Why? Because the authorities know that no danger lies in the workingman's ignorance of the true cause of his privations.

"From the moment that I, as an Anarchist, showed them that the workingman could never expect relief from his despoilers, from that moment I made the toiling masses uncomfortable, and had to be put out of the way.

"I do not acknowledge laws made to protect the rich and oppress the poor. Who are the law makers? Senators, the great of the land? Capitalists. Capitalists who torture thousands to slow death in their factories they are people who live in affluence, robbing the workingman of his strength to deprive him of the results of his labor; they are men whose fortunes have been built upon a foundation formed by pyramids of victims' corpses.

"The wealth the luxury the pomp and show of power are bought at the price of murdered and disfigured mankind.

"Ever rises the voice of the disinherited people, a voice growing in volume and to which the overbearing classes will not listen and to still which they devise new laws intended to silence the masses. Hands of priests are sent out to teach subjection to propagate submission and keep the people in ignorance.

"The demands of the workingmen are met with the Winchester rifle and the Gatling gun and I must confess that my brethren and myself will ever oppose such a state of 'order, an order' in which we cannot believe and which secretly it suits us well to see you continue in the struggle for advancement.

AIM OF THE ANARCHISTS.

"I can fully understand that such people hate the Anarchists for it is our endeavor to abolish private property. Sir, in Court! In one word, we aim at free men from tyrants and governments.

"The striving for freedom is not the creature of my brain nor that of any other being. It lies rooted in the people and the contentions of the past. The struggles between the people and their oppressors show but too plainly that the people are desirous of being freed from their burdens.

"The burning at the stake and the gallows have been the reward of numberless men of advanced thought, and even to-day thousands feel the icy blasts of Siberia and the torrid breath of New Caledonia, while others yield up their lives in the cause, hidden by the grim walls of dungeons deep. And yet the desire for freedom grew, and grows.

"The world is gliding ever nearer the fact that in Anarchy can be found the happiness and content of man.

"You will not be able to stifle Anarchy by the erection of gallows and of jails.

"You endeavor to make us appear to the public eye veritable murderers, wholly depraved, but when we show the people our true objects they find that we only desire the benefit of mankind.

"We seek the establishment of Anarchy, or, in other words, a freedom from government of any kind; a community of interests based upon common

HER LIFE AT STAKE.

Emma Woods on Trial for the Killing of Lew Brown.

SHE WEEPS AS EVIDENCE AGAINST HER IS GIVEN.

NO LONGER A BLEACHED BLONDE.

Old friends of Emma Woods hardly knew her yesterday when she was arraigned in the Oyer and Terminer Court in Newark for trial on the charge of murdering Lew Brown, with whom she was living. She had been known for years as "Blonde Emma," but the name didn't fit her on this occasion.

The golden color of her fluffy tresses had disappeared. They had become dark—almost black—and were artistically curled. The gay costumes of other days had given way to a sober garb of modified mourning. A piece of white braid around the dress and a little white feather were the only bright touches in her apparel. In hands covered by black gloves she wielded a black fan.

The prisoner has a face that might be pretty if the lips were not so thin and the nose not quite so small and weak. It is plain that she is a woman of strong feelings. While Prosecutor Crane told the jury what he proposed to prove her lips were closed tightly. She watched the Prosecutor closely, but gave no evidence of being stirred by his recital other than that furnished by the rapid heaving of her breast. She did not speak to her counsel, Senator M. T. Barrett, except in answer to his questions.

During Patrick Gaynor's cross-examination Emma Woods broke down and wept. At recess her eleven-year-old boy, Harry Inglis, came and kissed her. She cried this time more freely than before. The boy looked bright and happy. He rubbed his hand soothingly across her temples. Just before the trial was adjourned for the day she turned and looked appealingly at her father, who sat in a seat immediately behind her. He shook his head in a melancholy way and then held it down. Then she cried more bitterly than at any other time during the day.

Supreme Court Justice Depue presided. The court-room was crowded. Those who listened carefully to Prosecutor Crane's opening were inclined to think that he would not insist strenuously on a conviction for murder in the first degree.

After a glass of Brown's house, at No. 333 Warren street, had been produced and explained, Policeman John Brown, Lew's brother, testified as to the identification of the body. County Physician Elliott told how he found a bullet wound in the victim's heart. The blood-stained shirt was produced and the prisoner seized it hastily. When it was taken away she waved her fan violently.

Patrick Gaynor, a bartender at Brown's saloon, testified that on June 1 about 1 P. M. Lew was cutting grass in front of Brown's house.

"Two women called at Brown's saloon, No. 333 Warren street," he continued. "They went to the side door. Emma Woods saw them coming away. Then she threatened to fix him. I saw her again at 10 P. M. She came to the side door and called to the bartender, Daniel Garrity. She stood there about five minutes. Then I went with her to her house. She said Brown had gone away with two women. She took a revolver from the drawer, put it in her stocking and said: 'He'll be ready for him. We went to Tompkins's saloon across the street. She got one more beer. She spoke about Brown beating her. Then she pulled the revolver out of her stocking and said she was ready for him. I left her at the side door leading to Lew's room in the saloon and fell asleep.

"About 2 A. M. Barkley or Garrity woke me up and told me to go over to Brown's house and see what was up. Outside the saloon I met Emma Woods and her boy. She said Lew was shot. We went upstairs and found the body lying in the front room."

On cross-examination Senator Barrett showed that Gaynor was a worthless fellow and had been in the penitentiary.

John Hanley, of No. 9 Bruce street, near Brown's saloon, testified that he, too, heard Emma Woods make the remark about "fixing him." Emma was smiling as she made the remark. Hanley has served time in the Essex county penitentiary for drunkenness and assault and battery.

Edward M. Thompson, who kept the saloon at Warren and Bruce streets, told about the visit of Emma Woods and Gaynor to his place.

"Emma Woods told me about Brown beating her," Thompson said. "I said he'd kill her yet. She said no, he wouldn't kill her that night because she had the gun. She showed me a pistol. At last I told her to go out as I was going to close up."

"Was she in good humor at the time she said she had the gun?" asked Senator Barrett.

"She was."

Daniel Garrity, bartender at Brown's

away and told him to go to Cen cool off.

He returned to his father. T him to go to his wife and the son he had been unable to secure th the father told him to call in th It was in violation of all precede calves at 2 A. M., the hour of th Since then Harry Ruck has not

TO COAL VESSELS A

The San Francisco and Kear Phillip B. Low's Toboggi

The flagship San Francisco an Kearsarge, now anchored in N Forty-second street, will start to ing on a cruise in Southern wa fore they leave they will make a B. Low's patent for coaling shi ing war time. The idea conte dezvous made at sea by latitude where the war vessel and col together. In the experiment Kearsarge will represent the col

When they meet off Sandy Francisco will take the Kearsar cable rope will be rigged fr forward of the foremast on the stern of the cruiser. The 200 l descend sharply from the Kears Francisco. A bag of coal, weigh hundred pounds, will be placed or traveller, as it is called, an gravity will carry the coal to th

Naval officers fear that the coa ferred so slowly that it would get a considerable supply on boa

The San Francisco will first g and thence along the Central A returning by way of the Wil She will meet the Kearsarge, wh slower vessel, somewhere in th It is expected that they will re again in March.

There was a court-martial sh on the San Francisco. Corpl. poral of marines on the San charged with petty theft and Kearsarge was charged with des

CANDA & KANE'S ORD

They Have an Unsatisfactory Order an Investiga

A meeting of the creditors of dealers in building material West Fifty-second street, was h ace yesterday. A large numbe including delegations from Al Kingston and Philadelphia. G was chosen Chairman and C. secretary. Neither Mr Canda was present.

A rough statement was pres liabilities $100,356, assets, cluding real estate equities, sto counts, bills receivable and ba principal items were Real est accounts receivable, $213,000 count, $10,000. The statemen close the assets of the individu a creditor wanted to know wh of those assets. His question was

The meeting proved an unsat the creditors and it was finally a committee of three—A. C. Miller and John V. Cockcroft—tigation of the firm's affairs and other meeting.

HUGO OR HENRY MARTI

Anyway, the Court Says the Defraud His Credi

The Sheriff has received an ge on an alias writ Hugo Martin, cerne genuine cocoa butter Washington street in favor of F on a draft from Hamburg. It the ground that Mr. Martin ha debts of creditors. The bran letter from Martin from Ho he said he could not meet $14,000, and that it was no use to p He had hypothecated goods wh American Bank worth $8,50 $5,000 and had just goods to Lowe for $1,000. It grieved t to realize 50 cents on the dol The sale fell through and Mr. M was arrested on the order of $ Baker & Co. against H. Martin. The correct name is Henry

GOLD MINING ON TI

Silver's Decline Starts Capi Cripple Creek Re

COLORADO SPRINGS, Col. ... ...

880722002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] The Law's Limit / Emma Goldman.– p. 7 ; 44 cm. *In* The World. – (Oct. 17, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

heels. Emma was pointed out by the crowd and heard some very unpleasant remarks about herself.

OAKEY HALL GIVES UP.

As soon as Judge Martine took his seat Clerk Hall called Emma to the bar. In answer to the Clerk's questions regarding her pedigree, the woman responded loudly. She said that she was twenty-five years old.

"Where do you live?" inquired the Clerk.

"Why, in the Tombs" replied Emma loudly.

"Before that, I mean," explained Mr Hall.

"Oh! At No. 422 East Fortieth street."

In answer to the Clerk's question as to what she had to say why sentence should not be pronounced Emma started to speak, when ex-Mayor A. Oakey Hall, who defended her on her trial, arose. He surprised everybody by informing Judge Martine that, owing to a misunderstanding with his client, he would withdraw from the case. He said that he had advised her not to make a speech in court, but she had declared that she would

Emma, who was standing then at the bar, awaiting her sentence, nodded her head. She again started to say something, when Judge Martine warned her to confine her remarks to the case in hand. Her face flushed and she grasped the railing in front of her.

She spoke in a rasping voice, humble and meek

NO SPEECH AFTER ALL.

"Your Honor," she said nervously, "In view of the fact that the police have done everything they could to incite my friends the Anarchists, to some demonstration, so that they could put them in jail also, I shall refrain from delivering any speech here."

That is all she said. When she had concluded she looked at her ex-counsel and smiled. Mr Hall was watching her intently. He colored slightly and motioned to her to sit down. She started to do so when Judge Martine began to talk, and a court officer yanked her around to face the bench.

Judge Martine lost no time in sentencing her. This is what he said:

"In this case the Court has given much consideration as to what would be a just disposition to make of this defendant after this conviction. You were represented in this case by one who is as able to present the facts as any lawyer now at the bar. His vast experience and his ability as counsel were called upon to their utmost extent in your behalf. The facts were submitted to the jury. There were witnesses deemed worthy of credence by the jury who stated that they heard the remarks which you made. There is no question but that those remarks brought you clearly within the statute. Your language was such as to incite disorder, to incite to riot, and the language as interpreted by those who heard it was such that a riot might have ensued.

ANARCHISTS SHOULD BE EXCLUDED.

"You are a woman beyond the average in intelligence. What your advantages have been in the way of education I do not know, except as they were exhibited here in court. You are certainly an intelligent person. In the light of reason you must have known the effect of language such as you uttered on that occasion. Now you have testified in your own behalf, and you told us you did not believe in our institutions; that you did not believe in our laws, and that you have no respect for them. Such a person cannot be tolerated in this community by those who believe in law, and I am happy to say that the greater number of our people do believe in law. I think it very improper that the great strength of this nation is not exercised to the extent that you and those who entertain the same ideas should be met at the portal of our country to the end that they should not be allowed to enter here.

"We are proud of our institutions, and much money and much blood have been spent to build them up and we do not propose that any person, man or woman, shall undertake to tear them down. We do not propose to allow you to bid defiance to our institutions without showing you that the strong arm of the law will take hold of you and that the law cannot be defied. I look upon you as a dangerous woman in your doctrine. Fortunately, there are only a few, compared with the great number of our citizens, who believe in your doctrines, but it is necessary that those who believe the way you do should be taught that the law will be vindicated.

THE LAW'S FULL PENALTY.

"I have no hope of doing any good for you. I am satisfied that you are depraved and have no respect for law. The sentence of the Court is that you be confined for the full term allowed by law, which is one year in the penitentiary."

Miss Goldman paid no attention to Judge Martine's words. All the time he was talking she was smiling at several of her friends who sat within the inclosure. When Judge Martine concluded, she was led away to the Tombs outside the court room she met Justus Schwab. She whispered something in his ear. Schwab smiled. Turning to a police officer, Schwab inquired the woman's sentence. He was told. "You've done your best," he replied.

The speech which Miss Goldman intended to deliver in court and which she prepared in advance. This is it:

THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH.

"I speak not to defend myself, but to defend my right of free speech, trampled upon by those who have caused the curtailing of my liberty.

"I know that the right of free speech was once guaranteed to every man and woman in this land.

"What do those who have brought me here understand by the right of free speech? Does it give a right to all to say what appears to the individual good or bad, or has it been granted to permit the expression of only that which to a [illegible] the laws, then all those who were present at those meetings, and who by protracted and loud applause evinced their approval of what I said, were equally guilty with me. Why, then, did the city authorities proceed against me alone? Why? Because the authorities know that no danger lies in the workingman's ignorance of the true cause of his privations.

"From the moment that I, as an Anarchist, showed them that the workingman could never expect relief from his despoilers, from that moment I made the ruling masses uncomfortable, and had to be put out of the way.

"I do not acknowledge laws made to protect the rich and oppress the poor. Who are the law makers? Senators, the great of the land? Capitalists. Capitalists who torture thousands to slow death in their factories they are people who live in affluence, robbing the workingman of his strength to deprive him of the results of his labor. they are men whose fortunes have been built upon a foundation formed by pyramids of children's corpses.

"The wealth, the luxury, the pomp and glory of power are bought at the price of murdered and disfigured mankind.

"Ever rises the voice of the disinherited people, a voice growing in volume, and to which the overbearing classes will not listen, and to still which they devise new laws intended to allevue the masses. Bands of priests are sent out to teach subjection, to propagate superstition and keep the people in ignorance.

"The demands of the workingmen are met with the Winchester rifle and the Gatling gun, and I must confess that my brethren and myself will ever oppose such a state of 'order,' an 'order' in which we do not believe, and whose representatives we will never be compelled to meet in the struggle for advancement.

AIM OF THE ANARCHISTS.

"I can fully understand that such people hate the Anarchists, for it is our endeavor to abolish private property, State and Church. In one word, we aim to free men from tyrants and government.

"The striving for freedom is not the creature of my brain, nor that of any other being, it lies rooted in the people and the contentions of the past, the struggle between the people and their oppressors, show but too plainly that the people are desirous of being freed from their burdens.

"The burning at the stake and the gallows have been the reward of many fearless men of advanced thought, and even to-day thousands feel the icy blasts of Siberia and the torrid breath of New Caledonia, while others yield up their lives in the cause hidden by the grim walls of dungeons deep. And yet the desire for freedom grew, and grows.

"The world is slowly ever nearer the fact that in Anarchy can be found the happiness and content of man.

"You will not be able to stifle Anarchy by the erection of gallows and of jails.

"You endeavor to make us appear to the public eye as veritable murderers, wholly depraved, but when we show the people our true objects they find that we only desire the benefit of mankind.

"We seek the establishment of Anarchy, or, in other words, a freedom from government of any kind, a community of interests based upon common production of equal and necessary character, we seek a perfect liberty for every individual to enjoy the grand and glorious products of nature, we seek for each an equal liberty to cultivate the talents and abilities as well the attainments of the highest knowledge.

"All wrongs now perpetrated, such as theft, murder, lying and prostitution, are an outcome of the injustice at present obtaining in the social state, and will disappear with its downfall.

"I tell you, the day of reckoning is not far—a time when no concessions will be granted to the tyrants and despots.

"Such is my belief, spread by me among the workingmen, and this belief will cease only with my life.

"You have convicted me, you may pass sentence of imprisonment upon me, but I tell you that I hate your laws, that I hate your 'order,' for I know but one 'order'—it is the highest potency of order—Anarchy."

WATCHED BY DETECTIVES.

On the way to the Tombs Miss Goldman was surrounded by a crowd of Central Office detectives. Her grandmother, Mrs. Fredrika Goldman, who attended her during the trial, followed her to the gates of the Tombs, where she kissed her an affectionate good-by. An old, gray-whiskered man, who looked every inch an Anarchist, followed Emma to the prison. The detectives watched him closely.

"Perhaps he's got a bomb," was suggested.

"If he raises his hand, he'll drop," a Central Office man replied.

Emma Goldman will be taken to the penitentiary to-morrow along with a number of other women. In the Tombs, when asked what she thought of her sentence, she replied:

"I have nothing to say to you. What I have to say shall be through my own paper."

When asked what she thought of the spectators' applause of Judge Martine's remarks, she replied: "They were applauding me, not him."

Mr. Hall, when asked why he withdrew from the case, tapped his forehead and pointed at Miss Goldman. "She is like all fanatics," he said, "a little bit gone."

Railroad to Whiteface Mountain Top.

SARANAC LAKE, N. Y., Oct. 16.—A syndicate will next spring build a railroad to the top of Whiteface Mountain, which is 5,000 feet high. The road will be thirteen miles long.

Excursions to World's Fair via Washington and the B. & O. RR.

Special train of vestibule coaches will leave Jersey Central station, foot of Liberty street, New York, 8.30 A. M. Oct. 18 and 25; arrive at Chicago 4.30 P. M. next day. $17.00 round trip, good ten days. Ticket offices, 172, 415 and 1140 Broadway. *,*

Don't miss New York Central's great World's Fair excursions, Oct. 18 and 18. Only $15 round trip. *,*

rubbed his hand soothingly across her temples. Just before the trial was adjourned for the day she turned and looked appealingly at her father, who sat in a seat immediately behind her. He shook his head in a melancholy way and then held it down. Then she cried more bitterly than at any other time during the day.

Supreme Court Justice Depue presided. The court-room was crowded. Those who listened carefully to Prosecutor Crane's opening were inclined to think that he would not insist strenuously on a conviction for murder in the first degree.

After a plan of Brown's house, at No. 313 Warren street, had been produced and explained, Policeman John Brown, Lew's brother, testified as to the identification of the body. County Physician Elliott told how he found a bullet wound in the victim's heart. The blood-stained shirt was produced, and the prisoner gazed at it fixedly. When it was taken away she waved her fan vigorously.

Patrick Gaynor, a hanger-on at Brown's saloon, testified that on June 1, about 1 P. M., he was cutting grass in front of Brown's house.

"Two women called at Brown's saloon, No. 319 Warren street," he continued. "They went to the side door. Emma Woods saw them going away. Then she threatened to 'fix him.' I saw her again at 10 P. M. She came to the side door and called to the bartender, Daniel Garrity. She stood there about five minutes. Then I went with her to her house. She said Brown had gone away with two women. She took a revolver from the drawer, put it in her stocking and said she'd be ready for him. We went to Thompson's saloon, across the street. She gave me money to order beer. She spoke about Bruwn beating her. Then she pulled the revolver out of her stocking and said she was ready for him. I left her on the side stoop leading to her house, went to the saloon and fell asleep.

"About 2 A. M. Bartender Garrity woke me up and told me to go over to Brown's house and see what was up. Outside the saloon I met Emma Woods and her boy. She said Lew was shot. We went upstairs and found the body lying in the front room."

On cross-examination Senator Barrett showed that Gaynor was a worthless fellow and had been in the penitentiary.

John Hanley of No. 9 Bruce street, near Brown's saloon, testified that he, too, heard Emma Woods make the remark about "fixing him." Emma was smiling as she made the remark. Hanley has served time in the tall and penitentiary for drunkenness and assault and battery.

Edward M. Thompson, who kept the saloon at Warren and Bruce streets, told about the visit of Emma Woods and Gaynor to his place.

Emma Woods told me about Brown beating her," Thompson said. "I said he'd kill her yet. She said no, he wouldn't kill her that night because she had the gun. She showed me a pistol. At last I told her to go out as I was going to close up.

"Was she in good humor at the time she said she had the gun?" asked Senator Barrett.

"She was."

Daniel Garrity, bartender at Brown's saloon, said two women came to the side door of the saloon on June 1. They asked for beer and Lew Brown served them. The women didn't stay long. At 7:30 P. M. Brown went to the theatre. He returned about 11:30, locked the safe and went to his house.

"About 2 A. M." Garrity continued, "Emma Woods came to the saloon and smashed the window. She said, 'Lew's shot. I've shot Lew.' I woke Gaynor and sent him to the house. I asked her why she did it. She said he shot her first."

John Donohue was sleeping in the saloon with Garrity and the others when Emma aroused them. He heard her shouting about having shot Lew. Donohue went to the house.

"Emma knelt down beside the body," Donohue continued. "She cried, asked Lew to forgive her, to kiss her and asked him if he wouldn't have a drink. She said he was dead and she'd be hanged or else she and Harry would go to a watery grave."

"What woke you up that morning?"

"The screams of a woman shouting: 'I'm a murderer, I've shot Lew. I've killed Lew.' I was awake before the glass was broken."

Edward Garrity, the bartender's brother, corroborated the testimony given by the other witnesses who were in Brown's saloon.

"Are you a married man?" asked Senator Barrett.

"Yes."

"How many children have you?"

"I don't know."

"Where is your family?"

"I don't know and don't care."

"I want nothing more to do with you," Senator Barrett said in disgust.

Senator Barrett says he will contend that Brown shot himself. He probably will begin the defense this afternoon. The trial is expected to close to-morrow.

NO FATTED CALF FOR HARRY.

Young Ruck's Divinity and His Father Frown Upon Him—Then He Disappears.

Harry August Ruck, son of John Ruck owner of the Effingham apartment-house, at Fifty-eighth street and Ninth avenue, who has just attained his majority, disappeared Oct. 4 on account of a love affair. Last spring Harry Ruck's fancy lightly turned to thoughts of love, and Miss Ella Seybold, of No. 116 West Sixty-first street, was the object. John Ruck frowned upon the match, but the young man insisted and refused to give up Miss Seybold. He left his father's house, but found later that Miss Seybold did not care to marry him on account of his diminutive stature.

She cared more for Leonard Barker, who boarded in her family, or for a Wall street lawyer, with red hair, and would have none of young Ruck. Ruck called upon her with a revolver, and threatened to shoot unless she married him at once, but Miss Ella, who is tall and big in proportion, took the revolver [illegible]

liabilities, $400,336; assets, [illegible] cluding real estate equities, [illegible] counts, bills receivable and [illegible] principal items were: Real es[illegible] accounts receivable, $213,000 [illegible] count, $40,000. The statement [illegible] clude the assets of the individu[illegible] a creditor wanted to know w[illegible] of these assets. His question w[illegible]

The meeting proved an unsa[illegible] the creditors and it was finally [illegible] a committee of three—A. C. [illegible] Miller and John V. Cockcroft—[illegible] gation of the firm's affairs an[illegible] other meeting.

HUGO OR HENRY MART[illegible]

Anyway, the Court Says the[illegible] Defraud His Cred[illegible]

The Sheriff has received a[illegible] $8,000 against Hugo Martin, [illegible] cerine, gelatine, cocoa-butter [illegible] Whitehall street in favor of F[illegible] on a draft from Hamburg. It [illegible] the ground that Mr. Martin h[illegible] defraud creditors. The firm [illegible] letter from Martin, from B[illegible] he said he could not meet [illegible] $14,000, and it was no use to [illegible] He had hypothecated goods w[illegible] American Bank worth $8,50[illegible] $5,000 and had put goods in [illegible] house for loans. The goods [illegible] to realize $5,000 over the adv[illegible]

The Sheriff locked up Mr. M[illegible] week on an attachment for $[illegible] Phillip Bauer & Co. against [illegible] is said there is some doubt as t[illegible] his correct name is Henry [illegible]

GOLD MINING ON T[illegible]

Silver's Decline Starts Cap[illegible] Cripple Creek Ro[illegible]

COLORADO SPRINGS, Col[illegible] ty-four gold mines and [illegible] are believed to be rich enough [illegible] paying quantities, have cl[illegible] easily. They are at Bre[illegible] Mountain and in the Cripp[illegible] The shutting down of silver [illegible] due to the sudden boom in t[illegible] region.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 16[illegible] to-day, as reported to the [illegible] mint, is slightly higher t[illegible] being 80.7365 an ounce. [illegible] week the tendency upward [illegible] to-day offered $0.7340 an o[illegible]

John H. Cheever Mulct[illegible]

Judgment for $6,630 was [illegible] against John H. Cheever [illegible] American Exchange Nationa[illegible] of $5,000. It was dated Au[illegible] the New York Belting and P[illegible] and payable eight months af[illegible] Mr. Cheever had indorsed [illegible] Mr. Cheever alleged that the [illegible] with the Potter-Lovell comp[illegible] that Erwin H. Corey, their [illegible] had negotiated it, toge[illegible] amount of other commerci[illegible] paper to secure notes of [illegible] company.

Extension for the La[illegible]

WALKERVILLE, Ont., [illegible] Walker, the millionaire [illegible] have leased the London and [illegible] way with the purpose of co[illegible] Buffalo making it the western [illegible] Lackawanna road. If the [illegible] not the Lackawanna will [illegible] have a road to the Detroit River, from which p[illegible] some arrangement for cross[illegible] peninsula and entering Chi[illegible]

Flint Glass Strike On

PITTSBURG, Oct. 16.—[illegible] the United States Glass Co[illegible] workers' union began to-day [illegible] union glass workers went [illegible] "K[illegible]. A force of police [illegible] but their services were not r[illegible]

WELLSBURG, W. Va., Oct[illegible] Glass Works resumed [illegible] Only two of the former empl[illegible] work.

Receiver for Lockport's

BUFFALO, Oct. 15.—Ju[illegible] appointed William C. Gre[illegible] receiver of the wrecked M[illegible] that city and fixed his [illegible] The order was granted on [illegible] by Deputy Attorney-General M[illegible]

To Superintend the N[illegible]

H. Eutis Stokes, built [illegible] honse by the Belmont con[illegible] to officers of the Northern [illegible] recting the appointment [illegible] charge of the electric ne[illegible] applicants aver that it [illegible] necessary to prevent loss [illegible] those they represent holde[illegible] of stock. Decision was re[illegible]

As a Commissioner

At a special meeting of th[illegible] Police Commissioners Theodore [illegible] had just expired, was re-elec[illegible] years as a Commissioner of [illegible]

Liveryman Michael Ga[illegible]

Michael Sullivan, the ex-l[illegible] who was tried for murder t[illegible] acquitted, died in the alcoh[illegible] ute Hospital Sunday nig[illegible] been living at the Godnet [illegible] while his wife lived with [illegible] ter Mrs. J. H. Elliott, at [illegible] fifth street. After his acq[illegible] of murder he took to drink[illegible] he remained.

50

890210008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma on the Island / Emma Goldman.– p. 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. –(Oct. 19, 1893).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THE WORLD.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, O

EMMA ON THE ISLAND.

The Eloquent Little Anarchist Begins Her Year's Imprisonment.

SHE'D RATHER STAY THERE TWO YEARS THAN GO TO CHURCH.

PLAIN SEWING INSTEAD OF ORATORY.

The little woman Anarchist went to the penitentiary on Blackwell's Island yesterday as coolly and unconcernedly as if she were going into the country for a holiday.

In fact Emma Goldman seemed to be bored with the whole proceeding. She didn't like the attention she attracted, and she was willing to talk to pass away the time.

It was about 12:30 o'clock when the prison van left the Tombs. There were twelve men inside. The little Anarchist climed up on the seat in front with James Cash, the driver. She covered her face with a thick veil so that no one could recognize her. But after a while she removed the veil.

"Taking your girl out for a drive, Jim?" some one called to Cash as they moved away. Emma laughed.

When they arrived at the foot of Twenty-sixth street there was one group of thirty four people there. Five professors and twenty nine pupils—five of them women—of the Fowler & Wells Institute were on their way to Blackwell's Island to study the bumps of criminals. After they had looked at the little Anarchist they decided to postpone their visit.

Miss Goldman was placed in a room with another woman, Hattie Richardson, who will spend six months on the Island for beating her mother. The boat did not start until 3 o'clock. The prisoners were taken on board half an hour before. At first they sat on stools in front of the woman's cell. Afterwards they moved to the bow of the boat on the main deck.

The little Anarchist wore a blue Eton jacket. The light which came through her tortoise-shell eye-glasses hurt her eyes, and she kept them nearly closed the greater part of the time. A group of reporters stood about her. At first she answered questions with monosyllables, but after awhile she chatted brightly, asking many questions.

"Will they allow me to have newspapers over there?" was one of the first things she wanted to know. When she was told that they were not permitted in the prison she said it was a great hardship.

"Will they try and make me go to church?" she asked presently. One of the officers on the boat said he didn't know whether it was compulsory or not.

"Well, I won't go," said the little Anarchist, firmly and easily. "I don't believe in church. I would rather lose the two months for good behavior. I would rather stay there for two years than go to church."

"Will you make an effort to secure a new trial?" she was asked.

"No; why should I? Even if I got a new trial I would only be convicted again. The best way is to go and serve my sentence and get through with it. They have made a martyr of me, but I don't like it. I don't want to go to prison. I would rather be outside than be a martyr. But I must go, and so there is nothing to do but make the best of it."

She smiled in a rather disdainful way and shrugged her shoulders. She took the whole experience as if it were the most commonplace thing.

"Judge Martine gave me the longest sentence he could," she went on.

"No, he could have given you a fine as well," some one told her.

"Yes?" drawing down the corners of her mouth. "Perhaps he did not give me a fine for fear that some Anarchist would blow him up. There would be a good deal to blow up," she ended with a little laugh.

"The Judge said I was a menace to the community. What nonsense! I could do nothing. No one person can do anything. I said nothing which would excite people to riot. I said the same things many times before, and I will say the same things again. Nothing can make me change them.

"In convicting me, they have done themselves more harm than me. Now, lots of people who never heard of me before the trial but who know about me, but sympathize with me and the cause. My conviction will make a difference in the elections too. The people cut off the head of Louis XIV. Do you think a Martine or a Jacobs or a McIntyre would frighten them?"

Then Miss Goldman came down to everyday affairs and said she hoped she would be allowed to work in the library, but she supposed she would have to sew.

When Blackwell's Island was reached she walked behind the other prisoners, with Deputy Sheriff Dalrymple. She talked with animation.

The prison record shows that Emma Goldman is 5 feet and 11 inches in height and that she weighs 127 pounds. She said she was born in Russia and had been eight years in this country, and she said also that she was married and that she had a religion.

The little Anarchist was given a task and dressed in prison clothes. She ate her first prison meal of black coffee and bread last night. To-day she will begin work in the sewing-room, entering upon the monotonous round which will not vary for ten months, if her behavior is good, and one year if it is not.

BLUDGEONING AT ELLIS ISLAND.

A Big Immigrant's Vicious Assault on a Witness Against Him.

Commissioner Senner, at Ellis Island, received information a few days ago that Karl Wielak, an Austrian jail bird, was on his way to New York. Mr. Senner learned that Wielak was a passenger on the Fulda, detained at Quarantine. When Wielak landed he was

A BRITON'S PRIZE.

W. W. Shaw, of London, Weds Mary L. Wakeman, of New York.

THE KIDDLE-DUNHAM AND STEWART-DART NUPTIALS.

J. M. COWAN AND EUGENIE KOEHLER.

Another handsome American girl was yesterday added to the ranks of British matrons. She was Miss Mary Louise Wakeman, whose marriage with William Walton Shaw took place at noon at St. Bartholomew's Church. The bride is a daughter of Mrs. William Webb Wakeman, and she met Mr. Shaw in Paris last year.

The chancel was blooming with white chrysanthemums. Rev. Davis S. Greer performed the ceremony. Mr. Shaw's brother, Charles E. Shaw, of London, and a member of Parliament, came over to act as best man. A coronet of orange blossoms, in which gleamed a diamond sunburst, held the point-lace veil worn by the bride, which fell low on the train of her white satin gown. There were ruffings and draperies of the same lace on the corsage and skirt, and she held a bouquet of orange blossoms and lilies of the valley. She was given away by her uncle, John D. Wood.

The ushers were R. C. Wood, William Babcock, Edward Darrell and George Garr. Miss Edythe Wakeman, the maid of honor, wore white silk ruffled with lace and trimmed with satin loops and bows, and wore a wide-brimmed hat with pink roses and white tips on it. She carried pink and white roses. A wedding breakfast followed at the apartments of the bride's mother, No. 479 Fifth avenue.

KIDDLE—DUNHAM.

Miss Florence Isabel Dunham and Alfred W. Kiddle were married last evening at the home of the bride's father, M. L. Dunham, No. 132 West One Hundred and Thirtieth street. The house was garnished with a profusion of chrysanthemums. A canopy of the white-fringed flowers was over the couple when the ceremony was performed by Rev. Dr. Harsha, of the Collegiate Church. Lander's orchestra played. The bride was attired in white satin, with point-lace frillings and flounces, and wore a tulle veil fastened with diamonds. Her bouquet was of Bride roses and lilies of the valley.

Frank Kiddle, the bridegroom's brother, was best man, and the ushers were Robert M. Dunham, Horace P. Montgomery and Edward Bourne. Miss Mollie Montgomery, the maid of honor, wore a white crepe de chine trimmed with pearl, crystal passementerie and fringe and carried yellow chrysanthemums. Miss May Underhill and Miss Bessie Kiddle, the bridesmaids, were in pale-yellow satin. An elaborate supper was served.

STEWART—DART.

A pretty wedding, celebrated last evening in the parlors of the Hotel Endicott, was that of Miss Marion S. Dart, daughter of Henry C. Dart, and James Bayne Stewart, of Baltimore. Rev. Dr. Gallaudet, rector of St. Ann's Church, performed the ceremony. The bride was attired in a pretty gown of white satin, with square corsage, trimmed with point lace. The front of the skirt was also richly trimmed with flounces of point lace and crystal. Her long veil of lace was caught with a diamond bow-knot and clusters of orange blossoms. She carried a bouquet of Bride roses.

Mr. Gilman was best man and the ushers were Messrs. Rogers and Hardy. Miss Addie Bennett, of Brooklyn, was maid of honor. She was gowned in pale-pink satin, with chiffon to match, and carried a bunch of La France roses. Among those present were Mr. and Mrs. Lus Passos, Miss Pennington, of Baltimore, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Mole, Mrs. Ettore Bostogi, Mrs. Bennett, of Brooklyn, Miss Stewart, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Dart, Miss Dart, Miss Cook and Mr. and Mrs. McKee, of Pittsburg.

COWAN—KOEHLER.

The marriage of Miss Eugenie Koehler, daughter of Joseph M. Koehler, of No. 1021 Madison avenue, to John J. Cowan was celebrated at 6:30 P. M. yesterday.

OH, WE'RE A NOBLEMAN!

Thuna Swindles Eighteen Boarding-Houses, and Will Wear Stripes.

Max Thuna was convicted in General Sessions yesterday of the larceny of $25 from Mrs. Margaret E. Mackie, who formerly kept a boarding house at No. 343 East Nineteenth street. Seventeen other comely boarding-house mistresses, who were swindled by Thuna, testified against him. Thuna went to Mrs. Mackie's house one evening clad in a long ulster and patent-leather boots. He said he was a foreign nobleman on his way home from the World's Fair and wanted board for several days. He carried a small valise. He told Mrs. Mackie that he had a piano and a valuable horse at the Dealbosses street ferry house, and wanted to know if she had any objection to his bringing the piano to his room. Mrs. Mackie said she would be delighted, as she had a daughter who could play.

Then Mr. Thuna explained that he couldn't get the piano until he had paid a little obligation he owed the express company. All he had with him, he explained, was a gold watch, a family heirloom, which he didn't want to sell outright. Would Mrs. Mackie be so kind as to lend him $25 on it? Mrs. Mackie, anxious to oblige the noble boarder, let him have the money and took the watch as security. The



THE COIN MAKERS

CHORUS OF CANDIDATES—The boodle, the
The boodle, the
GILROY—Shall I shut them up, boss?
CROKER—Let them sing! They think they'

TALK IN POLITICAL RESORTS.

Lively Times in the Ninth District, Where Gibbs Sharpens His Cowie Tomahawk—An Old Quarrel.

There are two days more of registration in New York County this year. These fall upon Oct. 27 and 28, Friday and Saturday of next week. From present appearances the registration will be unusually light.

* * *

Just now there is more fighting politics going on in the Ninth Assembly District than anywhere else from Kingsbridge to the Battery. The Ninth is a peculiar district. It has a larger percentage of American-born voters than almost any other district in the city, and every man of them is a politician. He shouts for home rule and passes resolutions against outside interference in all of its organizations, Republican or Democratic, native or foreign, white or black. The Tammany leader in the Ninth is James W. Boyle, a genial, good fellow who jumped out of the old County Democracy about two years ago and has pushed himself into high favor in the Wigwam. He does not live in the Ninth District, but upon the death of the late James Fitzpatrick was designated as the leader by the Tammany Sathedrin, greatly to the disgust of the old Tammany men of the district. These men have never been conciliated. They now claim that Mr. Boyle from the minute he was made leader has been engaged in knocking down every old Tammany man of prominence who had stood high in the confidence of Mr. Fitzpatrick and replacing him with an ex-County Democrat who was a friend of Mr. Boyle. They point to the fact that Mr. Boyle is not in sympathy with the policy of home rule by showing that none of his home delegates to the Saratoga Convention lived in his district, and that the delegate selected by him to the Constitutional Convention,

committee, "requesting" that they send $25 each for the purpose named.

* * *

The most peculiar thing about the fight in the district is its bringing to the front the old personal quarrel between ex-Senator Fred Gibbs and ex-Alderman James A. Cowie, whose factional fights in the old Thirteenth District formed one of the most picturesque features for New York politics for nearly a decade. Under the reapportionment Mr. Cowie is now a resident of the Ninth, but the old bitterness between him and Gibbs still continues and Mr. Gibbs is fighting from under cover as usual. Mr. Gibbs's chief lieutenant in the Thirteenth District is Michael Curley, a saloon keeper at Tenth avenue, corner of Seventeenth street. Mr. Curley is brother-in-law of John McDermott, a young man born and raised in the Ninth District, of clean record, but of no political experience, whom Mr. Boyle has nominated as member of the Assembly from the Ninth. Prominent Tammany men in the district say that Mr. McDermott is as much ex-Senator Gibbs's candidate as he is the candidate of Mr. Boyle, and that the Gibbs Republicans in that portion of the Ninth District, which was formerly the old Thirteenth, will vote for him and knife Cowie to gratify the old time spite of Senator Gibbs.

Judicial
Citizens
date is
wholes
lawyer.
democ
good ch

The
Fourth
days to
Many
longed
ganizati
the clu
however
over to
wants h

The
District
date for
the
losses
run and
him tha

The
doing t
drawn
"A

sembly:

Frank
Croker.
Wolf to
him.
could
Assemb
to him
last off
To his
in the
future
voters
have d
nothing
point o

Just what led up to the nomination of Mr. McDermott at Senator Gibbs's suggestion has not yet been developed. Bartholomew Kenny, one of Fitzpatrick's old henchmen, holds a place as dockmaster. He says he has received information that his place was being bargained for by the leaders of his organization, and that Mr. Gibbs and his man Curley had the dispossess at if could be turned out. He could get no satisfaction from the district leaders and in desperation went directly to Mr. Croker who decided that he was not to be removed, Gibbs and Curley were very much disappointed. They said that the place belonged to them by the fulfillment of some previous contract which has never yet come

51

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881014011

The Emma Goldman Papers

"My Year in Stripes" / Emma Goldman.– pp. 1-2 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. –(Aug. 18, 1894).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Why The World Exists

The World

"Circulation Books Open to All."

VOL. XXXV. NO. 12,051. PRICE TWO CENTS. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1894.

"MY YEAR IN STRIPES."

Emma Goldman, Anarchist, Describes Her Imprisonment on Blackwell's Island.

SHE CANNOT FORGET ITS HORRORS.

Her Life in the Women's Prison and the Sufferings of the Miserable Ones Who Shared It.

EVEN HOME IS DARKER NOW, SHE SAYS.

Once Again, She Solemnly Declares She Will Not Rest Until Government Is Overturned and Anarchy Is on Top.

Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, was released from the penitentiary on Blackwell's Island yesterday. She was imprisoned there for delivering an incendiary speech a year ago. Miss Goldman wrote a letter relating her experiences and observations in prison, and the idea gained her that the letter had a certain commercial value. The World bought it, just as The World would buy an unpublished poem by Tennyson or the description of a prize fight by John L. Sullivan. Besides being interesting to the few who agree with Miss Goldman's views touching society and government, this letter will appeal to the great body of the American people who like to hear both sides of a question.

Here it is:

To the Editor of The World:

The right of free speech and assembly has long been a dead letter, a farce.

Peaceful laborers are not safe for a policeman's club. Honest men are persecuted, imprisoned and legally murdered for giving utterance to their feelings. The crimes and outrages of the police committed during the past year prove only too well that despotism and tyranny have supplanted the freedom once guaranteed to every man and woman of America.

My prosecution was conducted with such injustice, however, that many thinking men and women all over the country have not only noticed it but have entered an act of their sympathy for the "terrible Emma Goldman."

Why was this prosecution confronted with so much venom and spite? Surely not because the accused was a woman!

I, this terrible Anarchist, was arrested, not for what I said, but on a trumped-up charge made by a few legalized blackmailers, detectives and spies—men who have sold their honor and their manhood for a petty mess of pottage.

The whole trial was conducted with the greatest unfairness. They proved neither my guilt nor my innocence.

SCARED BY THE GHOST OF ANARCHY.

I was convicted, not because of the lecture delivered on Aug. 21, but because it was an Anarchist that stood before them. It was not Emma Goldman that was tried in the Court of General Sessions, but the ideas she expressed. It was the red ghost of Anarchy that made the courageous "protectors of law and order" tremble—it was the fear of the future, their guilty consciences which told them that it was not wise to have Emma Goldman among the people. It was uncomfortable to have men and women who were able and willing to open the eyes of the oppressed and show them a way to a better condition. It is safer for corrupt people that such men and women should be out of the way even if perjury must be resorted to in order to accomplish it. What does it matter if Emma Goldman was brutally attacked by six ruffians—dragged through the streets, submitted to indignities that would make the most hardened criminal quail.

What does it matter how it is done, so she is disposed of?

JUSTICE SHE DID NOT EXPECT; MERCY SHE SCORNED.

What does it matter how many lies those Judases may tell, so the purpose is accomplished and the authorities are thereby enabled to rid themselves of one whose presence is disagreeable. I knew before the trial what the result would be, but engaged counsel not because I desired to sue for either justice or mercy. The former I did not expect, the latter I spurned.

It was to propagate my principles and prevent my enemies from hustling me off to prison without a hearing or a trial, as they did in the case of my comrade, Claus Timmerman.

Well, Emma Goldman was disposed of. Not so her cause, you "noble knights," who tremble at the voice of Truth. You can imprison an Anarchist and legally slaughter our comrades, but you cannot kill Anarchy. It defies you, and will live on when judges, district attorneys, detectives, spies, tyrants and monsters of every description will be buried under the last fragment of private property, Church and State.

FROM THE TOMBS TO THE PENITENTIARY.

Two days after my trial I was sent to my new "residence," in which I was to spend the following ten months. After being confined for two weeks in the Tombs, this was a change, and any change was welcome. I enjoyed the trip immensely. When I reached the dock I saw several representatives of the press who had become my faithful knights and who stuck manfully by me all through my trouble. They seemed to [illegible] to me, but I had never cared much for reporters, but I was very grateful for their company.

Blackwell's Island is beautifully situated, surrounded by water. Its grounds are lovely. It seems more like a place of enjoyment than of suffering, but one look at the gray, gloomy building is sufficient to chill the new prisoner.

"Beggars are not choosers" is the old proverb, and although I neither begged her choice this place for my temporary "home," I was very much interested in it, and made a thorough examination of the outside of the palace.

DRIVEN THERE BY THEIR SURROUNDINGS.

American prisons compare favorably with Russian ones in cleanliness and order. On the whole, however, they are just as corrupt, just as miserable. And the food and cells are worse.

Most of the unfortunates in the prisons are victims of the pernicious conditions of society. They are driven either by need or by temptation to commit the offenses that place them there. Most of these offenses are of less importance than those committed daily and hourly by the rich and influential.

During my ten months' imprisonment I met no criminals that were at all odd to do. All were poor, miserable, broken-down remnants of humanity. Scarred in the streets of New York, and uprooted from earliest infancy by the other unfortunates some of them so educated. All are aged long before their time by privations and poverty.

WHY HIM WRITING THIS.

Personally I cannot complain of my own treatment. Upon the time I entered I received much better treatment than the others. I was never punished. I had lighter work and was always treated with a certain amount of respect. It is not, therefore, any special spite I wish to vent that prompts me to place my experiences before the public, but an earnest desire to call the attention of thinking people to the miserable conditions of the inmates there.

When I reached prison I was brought before the head matron, who has entire charge of the female portion of the institution. This lady is the sister-in-law of the warden, and, of course, has a "pull." The warden is an old, feeble man, and seems to be under the influence of four women—his wife, his sister-in-law and daughter and a cousin. They are the real managers, the poor old gentleman being only a puppet in their hands. He has, however, a certain amount of firmness, and if he knew how his sister-in-law abuses the position she holds she would not hold it a week.

"ALLOWED TO TAKE A BATH."

The matron is about fifty years of age, tall and very stout, with a cruel, hard face and a sensual mouth. She makes a chilling impression on the newcomer. To me she was more than usually kind. She gave me a more civil reception than prisoners usually get, and assisted me to undress myself. Then she gave me a blue and white striped dress and blue checked apron, the usual prison costume. After my name, occupation and address were taken, I was allowed to take a bath, which was greatly refreshing after two weeks of the Tombs.

Prisoners are given a bath each week and furnished with a change of clothing.

"THE HOTEL," AS SHE CALLS IT.

The female wing consists of a large mess hall, with sixty-seven cells. A large room for the chapel and a ward for the sick. The cells are short and narrow, dark and damp. A piece of canvas stretched across two irons represents the bed, two blankets, a straw pillow and a pail completed the outfit.

It was near 5 o'clock when I retired to my "chamber." I sat down and commenced to think. "How shall I ever stand it in this hole?"

I fell asleep while meditating upon the subject, but suddenly I jumped to my feet, startled by a loud gong. One of the prisoners told me it was supper-time.

Supper consisted of a pan of a greasy black liquid called "coffee," which is a decoction made by pouring boiling water over burnt bread.

The "ladies" of the "hotel" seemed very hungry; they ate their portions in silence.

"Women are reforming," I thought, "for those seemed to have learned the lesson of keeping silent." Afterward I found out that their silence was not due to improvement, but to the rules, which forbid talking at meals. This was one of the hardest rules for new female boarders to obey.

Supper did not last longer than five minutes. Then they all went back to their cells. Then a loud voice said "Close!" and all the doors slammed together. The cells were locked, and one day of misery had passed.

THE ROUTINE OF A DAY.

At 5 o'clock in the morning I was awakened again by the clang of a bell, at which signal the cells were unlocked and the "ladies" went down to make [illegible] to me, but I had never cared much for reporters, but I was very grateful for their company.

Blackwell's Island is beautifully situated, surrounded by water. Its grounds are lovely. It seems more like a place of enjoyment than of suffering, but one look at the gray, gloomy building is sufficient to chill the new prisoner.

"Beggars are not choosers" is the old proverb, and although I neither begged her choice this place for my temporary "home," I was very much interested in it, and made a thorough examination of the outside of the palace.

DRIVEN THERE BY THEIR SURROUNDINGS.

American prisons compare favorably with Russian ones in cleanliness and order. On the whole, however, they are just as corrupt, just as miserable. And the food and cells are worse.

Most of the unfortunates in the prisons are victims of the pernicious conditions of society. They are driven either by need or by temptation to commit the offenses that place them there. Most of these offenses are of less importance than those committed daily and hourly by the rich and influential.

During my ten months' imprisonment I met no criminals that were at all odd to do. All were poor, miserable, broken-down remnants of humanity. Scarred in the streets of New York, and uprooted from earliest infancy by the other unfortunates some of them so educated. All are aged long before their time by privations and poverty.

WHY HIM WRITING THIS.

Personally I cannot complain of my own treatment. Upon the time I entered I received much better treatment than the others. I was never punished. I had lighter work and was always treated with a certain amount of respect. It is not, therefore, any special spite I wish to vent that prompts me to place my experiences before the public, but an earnest desire to call the attention of thinking people to the miserable conditions of the inmates there.

When I reached prison I was brought before the head matron, who has entire charge of the female portion of the institution. This lady is the sister-in-law of the warden, and, of course, has a "pull." The warden is an old, feeble man, and seems to be under the influence of four women—his wife, his sister-in-law and daughter and a cousin. They are the real managers, the poor old gentleman being only a puppet in their hands. He has, however, a certain amount of firmness, and if he knew how his sister-in-law abuses the position she holds she would not hold it a week.

"ALLOWED TO TAKE A BATH."

The matron is about fifty years of age, tall and very stout, with a cruel, hard face and a sensual mouth. She makes a chilling impression on the newcomer. To me she was more than usually kind. She gave me a more civil reception than prisoners usually get, and assisted me to undress myself. Then she gave me a blue and white striped dress and blue checked apron, the usual prison costume. After my name, occupation and address were taken, I was allowed to take a bath, which was greatly refreshing after two weeks of the Tombs.

Prisoners are given a bath each week and furnished with a change of clothing.

"THE HOTEL," AS SHE CALLS IT.

The female wing consists of a large mess hall, with sixty-seven cells. A large room for the chapel and a ward for the sick. The cells are short and narrow, dark and damp. A piece of canvas stretched across two irons represents the bed, two blankets, a straw pillow and a pail completed the outfit.

It was near 5 o'clock when I retired to my "chamber." I sat down and commenced to think. "How shall I ever stand it in this hole?"

I fell asleep while meditating upon the subject, but suddenly I jumped to my feet, startled by a loud gong. One of the prisoners told me it was supper-time.

Supper consisted of a pan of a greasy black liquid called "coffee," which is a decoction made by pouring boiling water over burnt bread.

The "ladies" of the "hotel" seemed very hungry; they ate their portions in silence.

"Women are reforming," I thought, "for those seemed to have learned the lesson of keeping silent." Afterward I found out that their silence was not due to improvement, but to the rules, which forbid talking at meals. This was one of the hardest rules for new female boarders to obey.

Supper did not last longer than five minutes. Then they all went back to their cells. Then a loud voice said "Close!" and all the doors slammed together. The cells were locked, and one day of misery had passed.

THE ROUTINE OF A DAY.

At 5 o'clock in the morning I was awakened again by the clang of a bell, at which signal the cells were unlocked and the "ladies" went down to make [illegible] fastidious, for only five minutes are allowed for this purpose and they never are late.

After that they are driven like cattle to their cells again. Then the bell rings for breakfast and all the inmates march down to the mess-hall. This meal is a repetition of that of the night before; "coffee" and bread, then back they go to their cells, where they remain until 11 o'clock.

The air in these cells is shocking and nauseating. The women remain in them until a bell calls them down for a walk. With their pails in their hands they all walk to the river, a short distance from the prison. The "line" or "gang" is led by two matrons.

There are usually about seventy women in this institution. About twenty-five women work in the laundry, which is considered the hardest work. Five serve at the warden's house. Two serve the deputy warden. The others, who are not in the sewing department, do chamber-work for the keepers.

MADE FOREWOMAN OF THE SEWERS.

I was made forewoman in the sewing-room. I had to give out the work, do all the cutting and packing and keep the accounts of work sent in and sent during the week. Here the women mend shirts, sacks and pants for the male prisoners. The sewing women have to work very hard. Miss Wad was not only a very [illegible] but also a hard job. I had to be on my feet all day.

From 1:30 to 11:30 A. M. all is quiet. Then the washwomen come in and take their seats for dinner. The [illegible] for the four days of the week is invariably corned beef with [illegible] potatoes. On Friday there is a treat—fish and potatoes. A half hour is allowed for dinner and a half hour for rest. Then all start at work again until 4:30 P. M. On Saturdays the work is stopped at noon and the prisoners remain in their cells. On Sundays those who are religiously inclined are allowed to leave their cells and attend church services.

IN THE HOSPITAL.

I remained on the floor two months, when I had an attack of rheumatism. But not until I could no longer work was I transferred to the hospital.

Until that time, although my work had been arduous, I had not seen the real horrors of prison life. But what I witnessed in that hospital made my blood run cold and filled me with indignation and horror.

The hospital is large and airy. There are sixteen beds, and it is kept exceedingly neat and clean—considering patients do all the scrubbing and cleaning. There are three doctors—house-surgeon and junior.

A doctor from the city visits the wards three or four times a week. The others visit them twice a day.

After a month's illness I was made orderly in the ward, after which time I had full charge of all the medicines and patients. I had to wait on the doctors who take care of the sick and attend all operations. Although one matron is on day duty and one at night, all the work was left to me, and for seven long months I worked night and day.

The day matron is old and too infirm to take proper care of the sick. She has also to attend to other duties. While her will be good, she is unable to do the work. The night matron, who is on duty four nights in the week, is a noble, generous woman, kind and goodhearted. She makes every effort to make the burden of those poor, sick women lighter.

CHARGES AGAINST THE HEAD MATRON.

The greatest pleasure of the head matron is to torment and plague both her assistant and the prisoners. Nothing satisfies her, nothing pleases her. Her harsh voice is heard from one end of the place to another, and she keeps it in an uproar from morning until night.

She encourages prisoners to gossip about each other and about the under matrons. She often requires prisoners to spy upon the under matrons and report to her—a duty I flatly refused to do.

She has, however, one unaccountable mania. She is very fond of colored people. While I see no difference in races, I think all should be regarded as human beings. The most depraved, ignorant, repulsive black woman is sure of a warm reception from this head matron and is placed above the most intelligent white woman. No matter what they do, she will never punish them, but will deprive white women of their food and other comforts for them. They abuse, insult and even beat their white sisters in misery.

Some of this head matron's modes of punishment are as ridiculous as others are cruel. Fancy a full-grown woman standing all day facing a black-board! Prisoners receiving this punishment are also deprived of their dinner. If all these things fail then comes the dungeon, with its cold, dark dreariness—a most cruel and brutal punishment.

Many of the prisoners are kept in the dungeon for weeks.



EMMA GOLDMAN.

My imprisonment is over now and I do not regret it. It has been a school of experience for me and my time was not altogether lost. For it was my privilege to make the lives of some of the poor, helpless ones more endurable.

I was often shocked by the cruelties of the place, and I remember one woman who was not allowed to see a doctor, though her temperature was 103.

Another woman begged to be taken out of the stifling cell. She was choking—the kind matron said she was only "faking." A few days after I was sent for and hurried down with restoratives. But I saw as soon as I reached her that she was no longer in the power of prison authorities. The doctors said she died of heart trouble.

Another woman seventy years of age went there sick, but the brutal head matron put her to scrubbing. She was

(Continued on Second Page.)

My imprisonment is over now and I do not regret it. It has been a school of experience for me and my time was not altogether lost. For it was my privilege to make the lives of some of the poor, helpless ones more endurable.

I was often shocked by the cruelties of the place, and I remember one woman who was not allowed to see a doctor, though her temperature was 103.

Another woman begged to be taken out of the stifling cell. She was choking—the kind matron said she was only "faking." A few days after I was sent for and hurried down with restoratives. But I saw as soon as I reached her that she was no longer in the power of prison authorities. The doctors said she died of heart trouble.

Another woman seventy years of age went there sick, but the brutal head matron put her to scrubbing. She was

(Continued on Second Page.)

THEY SWEAR IT'S A GHOST.

Here Are Five Men Who Make Affidavit About This Apparition on Third Avenue.

IT'S A POLITE SORT OF SPECTRE.

Runs Right, Left and Centre, and Runs Not Complain When a Brick Is Shied Through It.

No fewer than fifteen persons are willing to take solemn oath that they saw this ghost in the front room of the first flat at No. 1353 Third avenue. This is an ordinary four-story building, the ground floor being a store, just like hundreds of others on Third avenue. The block between Seventy-second and Seventy-third streets is as busy as any other on that busy thoroughfare.

The ground floor of this building was occupied as a paint shop. It was burned out last Saturday. The parlor of the flat above was burned badly. The windows were destroyed altogether. John O'Connor, a bartender, his two sisters and his cousin, Thomas McKeown, occupy the flat.

The discoverer of this ghost is Simon Weinberg, who has a cigar store and a billiard parlor at No. 1352 Third avenue, which is directly opposite the haunted house. Mr. Weinberg is also a notary public. Mr. Weinberg does not look like a discoverer of ghosts. He has the reputation of being a sedate and conservative man. This is what he says of the ghost:

"I was sitting out in front on Wednesday night. It was just 10:15 o'clock when I saw it. It was a white figure in the window. I thought it was a woman in her night dress at first, and I didn't think much of it. Then it began to act strangely. Then I looked at it closely. It was like a man with a sheet over him. It stretched out its arms and waved them back and forth. It bowed to the right and then to the left. Then it bowed in front. It moved with a slow and stately movement.

"Three young fellows, who came out of the saloon in the middle of the block, saw it, too, and stopped suddenly. One of them yelled and the ghost darted out of sight. The young men walked on, and I thought it was some fellow playing a joke. Within a minute or two the ghost appeared again. It began to march back and forth in front of the windows, bowing right and left.

"I called to some young fellows who were on the corner. One, McLaughlin, lives upstairs. 'Come here, Mac,' I said, 'look across the street there's a ghost up there.'

"'Oh, rats,' Mac says, 'I don't believe in any such nonsense as that.'

"Then he looked over, and when he saw the ghost bowing he gave a jump. One of the other fellows began to shiver. I said I thought it was some one playing a joke. Then a young fellow with red hair and a straw hat picked up half a brick.

"'I'll soon settle whether it is a human being or not,' he said. With that he walked over towards the other side. He waited until the ghost was in the middle of the window and then he fired the brick straight at it. We saw that brick go right through the white figure, and we heard the brick fall on the floor with a crash. The ghost melted away."

Somebody suggested that they get a policeman. McLaughlin found Policeman Quinn, who was on post. "There's a ghost in No. 1353," said McLaughlin. "Come up and see it." The policeman told McLaughlin he had the willies, whatever they are, but he decided to investigate. Just as the window came within the policeman's vision the apparition appeared.

"Holy smoke!" exclaimed the policeman, only he didn't say smoke—"What hell?" Then he stopped. He watched the bowing of the white figure, the melting into air and the appearing again. Then he went over and interviewed Richard Stephens, who is employed to watch the burned paint-shop.

"Ghost?" said the watchman, "Huh!"

Then he laughed at the policeman. Quinn went to Morrison's saloon and saw O'Connor.

"What do you mean by letting some fool dress himself in a sheet and go bowing around in your flat?" he demanded.

O'Connor breathed hard and significantly tapped his forehead, but Quinn convinced him he wasn't fooling. O'Connor put on his coat and went with the policeman. But by that time the ghost had made its final appearance for the night.

Weinberg was a good deal disturbed about the ghost, and he told many people about it. They laughed at him and said he had "seen. All the same ten or fifteen of them made it their business to be around on Thursday night. Promptly at five minutes before 11 the ghost appeared at the window. It bowed as it had done the night before.

The discoverer of the ghost thought the matter over and decided that something should be done. He talked it over with some of those who had seen the apparition, and the result was that this affidavit was sworn to:

We, the undersigned, do swear that on the date, at about 11 P. M., we saw what appeared to be a ghost at the first-floor window of No. 1353 Third avenue New York City.

B. DREYFUS,
V. LEWIS,
J. McCAREN,
J. BOENNAN,
WILLIAM SALOMON.

Sworn to before me this 10th day of August, 1894.

SIMON WEINBERG,
Notary No. 122.

A reporter found that O'Connor's household was a good deal excited over the affair. "A ghost," said Miss Annie O'Connor, "sure, there's nothing of the kind about here. There's no room for a ghost in the flat. It's all the getting up of those men across the street."

"A ghost!" said Stephens, the watchman, "it's a natural ghost. I discovered what it was last night. It was a cat, a white cat. I saw it plain enough. But those fellows across the street would go before any court in the land and swear that it was a ghost. There ain't no such things as ghosts."

Every one of the men who signed the affidavit said a good many others were

(Continued on Second Page.)

MAUL'S BUBBLE TO BURST.

When Wedding Bliss Was Pulled Out to Love with Garage Slapper He Was Her Beau.

When the Rev. Dr. Roberts performed the ceremony which made Miss Nina H. Pillard, of Pillard, Livingston County, Mrs. George Francis, of New York City, in the John Hardy Fifth avenue church a month ago to-day, he did not know that the handsome young man was once an employee at the elegant Pillard home in Livingston County, and that he was taken up by the pretty and wealthy young woman and by her old-educated and put in the way of success in worldly affairs. Nor did he know that George Francis was once George Clapper, and that the Pillard and Clapper families in Livingston County are widely separated in the social scale.

The Pillard family went to the Genesee Valley with the salt boom, and the village which grew up about there was named Pillardville in their honor. It is now called Pillard for short. The family kept up a fine establishment at Pillard and another here.

The Clapper family was poor and the boys worked at odd jobs over the county. George was the most ambitious. He was studious and managed to take courses in bookkeeping at the Geneseo Normal School. The knowledge there gained secured him a place in a grocery store at Rochester, but he went back to Livingston County and somehow drifted into the employ of the Pillardes. While with them he frequently drove the carriage for the young ladies of the family.

Just how it happened only Miss Nina and the studious young employee know. But it did happen, and one day humble George Clapper packed up and went to Poughkeepsie, where he entered the business college and was finally graduated with honor.

Everybody in Pillard said Miss Nina knew where the money came from that supported the young man during those years and paid for his education.

George Clapper came from College a handsome and polished young gentleman, very different from his brothers and sisters at home, and the equal of the elegant Pillards in bearing and attainments.

But the transformation was not complete. One day George Clapper posted off to Albany, and after a little legal formality left the city as George Francis. Then he came to the metropolis, and soon fell into a good business which now brings him enough to support two in the style becoming to his assumed station in life.

But George Francis never forgot the Clapper kindly still, visiting along and jobs in Livingston County, and when he went back there to visit his old parents had many a good drive with him behind the best team George could find at the livery stables. A year or so ago he bought a house for the old folks, and they expect to die in it surrounded by the comfort and plenty they did not know when their boy was plain George Clapper.

During these visits whenever Miss Nina and George Francis met they greeted each other as old acquaintances, nothing more. That is why the news of their marriage has upset all Livingston County.

Dr. Henry O. Pillard, of No. 10 West Thirty-fifth street, is an uncle of the young bride. At the residence last night it was said that the family preferred to give out for publication nothing beyond the fact that the marriage had taken place at the time and place stated.

TOWSER GOT A BATH ALL RIGHT.

But as He Struggled to Get In the Swim He Dragged in His Master, and a Man Who Tried to Save Him Was Arrested.

Jacob Maul, of No. 236 Pleasant avenue, is not a fish by any means. He owns a Newfoundland dog, Towser, that stands nearly as many hands high as he does. He took Towser to the foot of East One Hundred and Seventeenth street for a swim after dinner yesterday. The dog was impatient to get into the water. He dragged his master about while the latter was trying to unhook the chain from his collar, and, suddenly, both dog and man were floundering in the river.

Two small boys on the dock yelled for help, and Louis Elgin, a plumber, of No. 346 East One Hundred and Seventeenth street, dived in. Maul instantly threw his hands around his neck and Elgin was powerless. He tried ineffectually to shake off the drowning man, and when he found it was useless he shouted to the boys to run for help.

John Quinn, of No. 446 East One Hundred and Fourteenth street, came along and jumped in. He managed to tow both men to the dock and they were dragged ashore.

Policeman Meickle, of the East One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Street Station, had been called. Maul was excited and dripping. He speaks indifferent English, and the policeman had an idea that he was accusing Elgin of having pushed him into the river. He arrested Elgin. Quinn and the boys accompanied Meickle and his prisoner to Harlem Police Court. There, through an interpreter, Maul told how the dog had dragged him into the water. When Elgin jumped in and grabbed him he was sure his would-be rescuer wanted to drown him. The small boys said it wasn't so, and Justice Tainter discharged Elgin.

The dog—well, he didn't act a bit like the Newfoundland dogs of the school books. He just swam around, and didn't worry about his splashing, spluttering master or the man who was making a collar-and-elbow effort to save him. Maul said when he was leaving court that he thought Towser had got rattled.

MRS. ASTOR WINS A RACE.

Ladies Steer Catboats at Newport in an Exciting Contest.

(Special to The World.)

NEWPORT, R. I., Aug. 17.—An exciting catboat race took place off this port this afternoon between local cats selected from those usually to be let for here from the Long Wharf. The crews were appointed by lot, and consisted of a lady and gentleman for each boat. The lady steered and the boat was disqualified if her companion touched the tiller. The steerswomen were Mrs. J. J. Astor, Mrs. Butler Duncan, Mrs. Harriman, Mrs. Ladenburg and another lady whose name was not disclosed.

Royal Phelps Carroll had charge of the procession, and the starting signal was given from the Navalces. The course was from a line between Navahoe and [illegible] and around the buoy on Bishops Rock and return. The wind blew strong from the east, making it a dead run to the mark and a beat back. A remarkably good race resulted in a win for Mrs. J. J. Astor, Mrs. Potter was a good second. J. J. Astor's electric launch Progresso accompanied the fleet around the course and a fleet of cats and naphthas covered round during the contest.

Ithuriel, Vaquero, Celia, Adelaide and Dorothy are ready for the twenty-one-foot race to-morrow for August Belmont's cup. This class will have a race off this port every day next week: Monday, second cat, for prize presented by Aperal Belmont; Tuesday, first cat race for cup presented by the ladies of Newport valued at $50; Wednesday, race for cup presented by Herbert Barrett; Thursday, second cat race for ladies; Friday, race for cup presented by Ralph Ellis; Saturday, deal for ladies' cup.

CAMPANIA IS QUEEN [illegible]

Arrives from Queenstown in Five Days Nine Hours and Twenty-[illegible] Minutes.

SMASHING ALL OCEAN RECORDS.

Her Passengers Left Behind [illegible] Stop in New York Friday Night—Odd Events Logged in Two Days.

To the eastward of Fire Island appeared at 4 P. M. yesterday the red funnels of the steamship Campania. She had sailed from Queenstown Sunday, and her passengers did not [illegible] America Friday night.

This wonderful voyage breaks [illegible] ocean record as it has not been broken for years, and the prophecies [illegible] where the big twin Cunarders,



STEAMSHIP CAMPANIA—QUEENST[illegible] TWIN

[illegible] and Lucania, were launched [illegible] been more than realized. But it [illegible] surprise even to those who had [illegible] so much of the highest [illegible] English ship-building skill. And [illegible] the sea-sharps got down to [illegible] they grew more and more amazed.

The Campania left Liverpool Saturday. At Queenstown she took [illegible] the remainder of the British mail, [illegible] those passengers who had elected [illegible] aboard at her last port. Just [illegible] soon the last sack and the last [illegible] passengers were aboard, and the [illegible] got under way. At exactly 12:01 Sunday she passed Daunt's Rock, [illegible] entrance of the harbor, and swung [illegible] to the westward. There was a [illegible] west, northwest wind blowing, [illegible] enough to ruffle the ocean. [illegible] was light and languid, and as the [illegible] pama left the land, sank down, [illegible] her, the open ocean laid as peaceful [illegible] a pond. Her twin screws sent a [illegible] swath of foam astern, and the [illegible] was so still that for hours it could be seen lying behind her in a broad [illegible]

From Sunday noon to midday [illegible] the twin engines, exerting their [illegible] effort of 30,000-horse power, [illegible] flyer over the knots. From Monday [illegible] till Tuesday at the same [illegible] weather was serene, and when [illegible] day observation was taken and [illegible] quest mathematical problems [illegible] solved, it was found that the Ca[illegible] had made just 525 miles more.

[illegible] through these tremendous [illegible] ances of speed the engines worked [illegible] easily as a well-oiled hub. When [illegible] ship's day ended on Wednesday, [illegible] showed that in the twenty-four [illegible] she had made 543 knots.

The west, northwest winds be[illegible] Aug. 16, Thursday, when the Ca[illegible] was off the Grand Banks—the h[illegible] fog and ice. Then they shifted [illegible] to the southeast, and from that [illegible] swung to the north, northeast [illegible] came with the shifting winds, [illegible] two hours the engines worked [illegible] duced speed. This was done as a [illegible] pre of safety for all afloat on [illegible] lantic, for if the Campania had [illegible] other vessel she would have [illegible] through her as a knife cuts through [illegible] low cheese. In the two hours [illegible] vessel crawled, her engineers [illegible] that she lost about eleven knots [illegible] about thirty minutes in time.

[illegible] fog didn't last long, and at the [illegible] the enforced delay the Campania [illegible] winging away to the westward [illegible] pace she had set from the Irish [illegible] As a result of the delay her run [illegible] Thursday to 525 knots. She made [illegible] a measure next day, however, and [illegible] the run, 548 knots, was announced [illegible] was a cheer from officers and passengers alike.

All hands knew about this time [illegible] the laurels of the Lucania—the world's [illegible] record of 5 days 12 hours and 17 [illegible] minutes—were lost, and bets were offered [illegible] but the wagers were, of course, [illegible] much she would beat the record. [illegible] had an idea that she wouldn't, but [illegible] man willing to gamble that she [illegible] lose could have had many an [illegible] money offered at two-hundreds to [illegible] odds. Every soul aboard was [illegible] for a trip through Thursday, [illegible] early hours of Friday morning [illegible] there were almost as many waiters [illegible] on the ship as there are at a [illegible] meeting.

Long before noon the excitement [illegible] high, and when the officers appeared [illegible] the bridge to take the observations [illegible] flew as fast as the foam that [illegible] under the Campania's counter. [illegible] announcement of the day's run made [illegible] money change hands, but most [illegible] on the time she would make to [illegible] was pretty well figured out that [illegible] nothing short of an accident could [illegible] the Campania from sighting Sandy [illegible] Lucania's time. The mathematicians [illegible] aboard knew the ship's position [illegible] noon observation, and from that [illegible] they knew it was in the neighborhood [illegible] of 120 miles to Sandy Hook. [illegible] Island was abeam at 4:25 P. M., [illegible] and was pretty well figured out that [illegible] the Island to the Hook the Campania [illegible] made the distance of thirty-four miles [illegible] in exactly one hour and twenty minutes.

At exactly 5:45 P. M. she crossed [illegible] bar at Sandy Hook, making the run [illegible] from Daunt's Rock in 5 days 7 hours [illegible] by 3 hours and 11 minutes. The [illegible] was 2,781 knots, a short course, for [illegible] this reason her performance is considered [illegible] to be navigators. [illegible] gineers in charge of the [illegible] chinery are of course those [illegible] most of the credit is due, for [illegible] of good seamanship could [illegible] for loyalty to this quarter.

Considering the time and the [illegible] covered the average hourly [illegible] Campania was 21.6 knots an [illegible] average daily run over 500 [illegible] high average that above [illegible] action.

This performance of the [illegible] entitles her to hold both [illegible] eastward records. Her [illegible] of 5 days, 11 hours and 57 [illegible] in November, 1893, [illegible] speed of 21.82 knots on [illegible] respect the Lucania is [illegible] the winter season, much [illegible] the one traveled over by the [illegible]

881014011

The Emma Goldman Papers

"My Year in Stripes" / Emma Goldman.– pp. 1-2 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. –(Aug. 18, 1894).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

...RS DEFEAT BOERS.

...l Police Sent to Relieve a Besieged Garrison Driven Off with Heavy Loss.

...CKE OF FARMERS' FAMILIES.

...Siege Prepared in the ...pproaching Storm—Northern Road Blockaded.

...TORIA, South African Republic, ...ELIM—Kaffir rebels have re... the force of Transvaal mounted ...ent to relieve the besieged post ...t Agatha. The police lost heavily ...

...ttacked by numbers the Kaffirs ...d the retreating troopers and at ...the main returns of the Boer ...The Kaffirs were driven back, ...d advance of the column has been ...d.



KAFFIR IN WAR DANCE

...the Boer settlements along the ...Niver come reports of severe ...between isolated parties of re... Moors and the Kaffirs, who are ...these homesteads along the ...

...ers are fleeing before the Kaf... now, taking with them all their ...property, but large quantities of ...he and cattle have fallen into ...ends.

...Boer families have been massa... the fiercest feelings have been ...against the rebellious natives.

...Coulpansberg district Sandilah ...have been perpetrated. Large ...of women and children have ...in and an immense amount of ...has been destroyed.

...nd passenger coaches have been ...to all the disturbed districts. ...assengers have been killed, and ...bee, after being looted, have ...cked, the mules being stolen. ...Murchison road is closed. The ...ers erected a strong barricade ...at a point where it passes be... two hills, and they are said to ...red to stoutly defend this pass. ...overnment is reinforcing its ...e rapidly as possible. It is es... that an advance in force will be ...om the Kaffirs to-day or to-...

...ffirs are the great warlike na... of South America. The Zulus ...Matabeles are branches of this ...the term Kaffir is usually ap... the parent stem. One rarely ...the Zulus and Matabeles as ...

...story of the Kaffirs affords in ...rticulars a parallel to that of ...the Indian tribe in this country. ...as or the Sioux, for instance. ...the owners of the most fer... healthy lands in South Af... have been gradually crowded ...subdued by the British and ...olonists. At times they have ...igorous resistance and have in... great losses on the invading set... ...ent the time that Europe was ...k the great Napoleonic wars ...ed men, women and children, ...waste the unprotected settle... required all the British forces ...Africa to overcome them. ...The most formidable inroads of ...rs was about sixty years ago, ...y burst across the frontier ...fighting men and slaughtered ...mbers of people. It required ...the use of hand-to-hand fighting to ...them. That war was commarable ...ense to the fight between the ...ettlers and the Maoris in New ...Fifteen years later there was ...ig war, and there was yet an... ...ugh not quite so extensive, in ...

...affirs differ from the North ...Indians in that defeat in ...does not mean decay. Under ...nd Dutch rule they are in... ...n numbers and undergoing the ...ixing process as the Saxons in ...try. They are almost the only ...n the diamond fields ...

... and morally the Kaffirs are ...ior to the other negro tribes. ...her south they live that is, ...the climate aroun—the higher ...qualities.

...of the Kaffir tribes have light ...brown complexions, and they ...erly 6 feet in height. They are ...proportioned, muscular. But ...n, owing to excessive work, are ...all respects to the men, ex... up two tribes where they are ...The Kaffirs are Greve, war... ...ble, and were more honest ...original state than since they ...contact with Europeans. ...ffirs making the raids in the ...belong to outlying tribes, in... those further south, and will ...d as soon as the settlers can ...ir forces. The Dutch of the ...and Orange Free State are ...border warfare, as the Eng... tried to conquer them, know.

...TES OF THE RACE-TRACK.

...and remarkable page of famil... who play the horses, by The ...ever black and white artist, in ...'s Sunday World.

...OTHER WOMAN CRUSADER.

...in an Thirty-fifth Street by ...a Property Owner Arrested.

...Imbued with the spirit that ...Mrs. Ballade on the warpath ...h life in Twenty-fourth street, ...a Neville has started out ...ge on Thirty-fifth street. Yes... ...e went to Jefferson Market ...got a warrant for the ar... ...William M. Benger, of No. 151 ...ty-fifth street, for "eating the ...ns." Nos. 147, 149 and 151 co... ...t, for immoral purposes. Ben... arrested last night, but was ...

...ville was the Fairy Marvel ...namela" spectacle at Woburn... ...ays that when she found out ...ter of the people who lived ...ors" she asked to have her ...ted, but Benger refused to do ...She brought suit against him ...amages for false representa... ...retaliated by serving a notice ...

...ewsman.

..."are so close to Broadway," ...last night, "that I considered ...rtunate, until I heard the ...revelry that came up through ...shaft. I have to keep my ...closed tightly, so that my sis... ...ter may not hear the dis... ...conversation."

...ville has been engaged to ...State for the Republican ...fall. She says she is not ...any free advertisement.

...Vanilla Limited Stands Alone.

...Vanilla Limited, which runs the ...express company from New York a... ...fast train of the year and one of ...the finest trains from New York, over ...Chicago & Alton R.R.

"MY YEAR IN STRIPES."

(Continued from First Page.)

...ours several days before the Female ...Hirschberg would admit that she was ...sick. When the doctor ordered her to ...be removed in the hospital the brutal matron still declared she was "faking," and continued to abuse her until the nurse resented the indecently foul and unwomanly ...and attention. Tired and ...sympathy seemed very late for she died just a day as as before she would have been free, legally murdered.

WHAT SHE SAW WILL HAUNT HER.

Again I say that I received no ...treatment. But that could not affect me ...to the sufferings of the poor inmates there. My friends were astonishing in their attention and gave me the tenderest care, and the first matron knew that if any harm had befallen me, even though the law did nothing, she would have had to account to my friends. ...I can never forget the faces of the dead, sickened and blistered by suffering. I can never forget the haggard, worn look of the living. These sights will haunt me to my dying day.

I do not know why, but one female monster seemed anxious to propitiate me, and used to send me steals from her own table which I never touched—and talked very confidentially to me. But I am not to be so taken in.

MORE OF AN ANARCHIST THAN EVER.

Yes, I am more of an Anarchist than ever.

I am more than ever determined to use every means in my power to spread my doctrines among the people.

I defy prison and prosecution.

I could never protect myself, now that I have seen the injustice of the law.

However pleasantly I might be situated, I could not banish from my mind the thousands who are oppressed and suffer from the injustice of the present system.

Society lies in its last convulsions. The people are awakening to their condition. Let them once fully realise it and the present system will go.

Man cannot be happy as long as they are slaves.

They cannot expect theft, murder, prostitution and oppression to be gotten rid of until the system which breeds rottenness is gone.

Mending of any kind won't do.

The earth must be swept of these parasites—human vampires, despots of crime.

As the last fragments of this system disappear, Anarchy will lift her proud head and crown out her blessings to all humanity.

For this I shall continue to work.

The true and loving mother of humanity, my motto is an ever, "Death to Tyranny."

Vive l'Anarchie!

Emma Goldman

Before Warden Fitchury, of the penitentiary, went away on his vacation, he left orders that no reporters should be admitted to Miss Goldman. Ordinarily, the prisoners released from the penitentiary leave Blackwell's Island on the 8 A. M. boat, which heads them at the foot of East Fifty-second street. But Miss Goldman, with the purpose of avoiding the newspaper men, who she knew would be waiting for her, was permitted to take the 6 A. M. boat, which carries back the officers who have been on night duty in the prison.

Arrived at East Fifty-second street, Miss Goldman was met by Edward Grady, ex-Alderman Anarchist, who was a witness for her at her trial. A few reporters were waiting for her, but she positively refused to speak to them. With Grady, she boarded a First avenue car and rode uptown a few blocks. Then alighting, they took an elevated railroad train downtown. She breakfasted at Dennett's, on Park Row. Then she went home and yesterday afternoon and last night she visited her friends and received their congratulations on her release. The group of Anarchists in this city made no organized demonstration of joy at her return.

Miss Goldman was vivacious; her cheeks were red and her eyes were bright. She wore a new straw hat with gay flowers on it, a blue linen shirt-waist and a black dress skirt. She lost five pounds in weight during her incarceration.

"Physically I am pretty well," she said to a reporter of The World, "but the mental strain on me has been very great. It is a frightful thing for a woman of intelligence to be so placed that she cannot exercise her own free will, that she is a mere machine. But worse it was to be surrounded by such degraded wretches as are prisoners in the penitentiary. You must understand that I hold it is not their fault that they are what they are. But there they were in prison, and I was among them."

"Have you made any plans for the future?" asked the reporter.

"I cannot go backward," she answered. I cannot go sideways I must go forward."

Miss Goldman will speak in English at what is announced as a "grand concert, mass-meeting and reception," at the Thalia Theatre to-morrow night. John Swinton, Charles W. Mowbray and others will also make addresses.

It was at a meeting of the unemployed at Union Square last August that Miss Goldman uttered the words that a jury decided were incendiary. Her trial was most sensational. It opened on Oct. 5, 1893, and after four days her trial ended in a conviction. Her sentence of one year's imprisonment, which began on Oct. 16, was commuted by her good behavior to ten months.

HE'S A KNIGHT ERRANT IN BLUE.

Policeman Newhan Gallantly Rescues Seven Imprisoned Working Girls and Is Promised a Treat of Ice-Cream.

Policeman Charles Newhan, of the Macdougal Street Station, is a very modest man. He blushed when he was married, not many months ago, and may say in the station-house that he has never got over the habit. So when he walked past Nos. 169 and 170 South Fifth avenue at 6 o'clock last night and saw a dainty handkerchief flirting from the fire-escape above him he said: "Go on with yours, I'm a married man," and forthwith patrolled his beat. Then he came back, as it was his duty to do. The handkerchief was then being waved violently.

"Surely, ma'am," said he, "if your intentions are honorable you'll speak your mind, and I'll come to your aid, ma'am."

"Come quick," a soprano voice answered him, "we're in a heap of trouble. We're prisoners."

Off went Officer Meehan's coat and shield. In two minutes he was on the landing of that fire-escape. A moment later he was seen struggling down the difficult descent with a fainting bundle of femininity in his arms. By this time a curious crowd had gathered and there was much excitement. All sorts of stories had got about.

"Somebody's gone and locked up a dozen young ladies and the copper's gone to do him," cried a wise small boy, so the crowd expected a scrap.

But there wasn't any. Policeman Newhan carried one young lady down, then he fetched another until he had landed seven on the sidewalk.

Then the girls explained it all. They were making paper boxes for the Monneck Manufacturing Company, and, as there was a rush of business, were working overtime.

...away, and not together to give them the key to the outside door, which shut with a snap-lock. So when their work was over they found themselves locked in, and forthwith hung out the distress signal which had caused Policeman Newhan such embarrassment. They said their names were Julia Wolf, Julia McKeogle, Anna Kamp, Lily Hiperia, Rosie Wood, Carrie Eurwarger and Julia Landers.

"To-morrow's Saturday," said Miss Wolf. "Come around and we'll blow you off to ice-cream, won't we girls."

"Sure Mike," said all in a chorus.

"Go on with you," said Officer Newhan, I'm a married man."

Jones's girl neighbors with a stubborn cough whom a sale convinced, may be had in Dr. JAYNE'S ALTERATIVE. Sold by druggists. Large bottle and valuable book for 50c.

DEMOCRATS WILL FIGHT.

Voted Against Mr. Root in the Albany Convention as a Warning on Apportionment Robbery.

WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS DECORATED.

Long Shore Lead to the Suggestion that It Would Be Well to Get Off the Floor of a Train.

Special to The World.

ALBANY, Aug. 17.—Chairman Becker, of the Constitutional Convention Committee on Apportionment, called to-day for an extension of time until next Friday to report the proposed apportionment amendment.

Mr. Stevens asked Mr. Becker whether the article was not nearly ready, and said that the general principles which he understood had been adopted were such that he was perfectly willing that Mr. Becker's time should be extended for a year. This caused a smile, and Mr. Becker replied that the article is in shape, but the committee desires time to perfect it. Mr. Becker's request was granted.

The analysis of the proposed apportionment scheme, as printed in The World this morning attracted very general attention. A dozen Republicans said they were convinced that the creators of the measure had gone too far from the line of justice, and predicted that the sober element in the Republican majority would succeed in persuading the headstrong to abandon their extreme policy.

Should the conservative Republicans not succeed in modifying the harshness of the Apportionment Committee's proposition it is not improbable that they will form a quadrangular with the Democratic minority for the purpose of amending the article. The conservative Republicans are aware that to go too far in partisanship to the apportionment matter will endanger other convention work before the people.

Mr. Marks's proposition to give property-owners in condemnation proceedings the right of electing whether a jury or a commission should determine the question of damages was brought up by Mr. Root, who wanted to kill it finally. The Committee of the Whole considered it last night, reported progress and ask leave to sit again. The convention refused, 88 to 56, to give this permission.

It was thought this killed the scheme, which, as The World has shown, is full of possible harm to the new underground road of New York City and of possible benefit to the Manhattan monopoly. But Mr. Root was defeated to-day—88 to 73—and the subject therefore may be taken up again by the Committee of the Whole.

Many Democrats who are opposed to the Marks proposition voted against Mr. Root's motion to kill it, as a sort of preliminary move in the apportionment struggle. If the Republicans insist upon passing an unfair apportionment the Democrats can rely to the support of the Marks Manhattan monopoly measure and send it to the people. It is almost certain unpopularity would help to drag the apportionment article down to defeat.

The new rule requiring sessions on Saturdays goes into effect to-morrow. It is likely that not more than a bare quorum will be present in the morning, and it is prophesied that at the afternoon meeting there will not be a quorum. Excuses from attendance for a day or two days were sought and obtained to-day by forty-six members, and for this reason a motion was made to abandon the sessions to-morrow. The motion was lost after President Choate had made a vigorous protest against wasting any opportunities. It is probable, however, that the Saturday afternoon session will be abolished. The really valuable members of the convention would rejoice if the Committee on Rules would take the verbosity situation in hand and arrange that there shall be less "yap," and thus give the members Saturday afternoon, Sunday and Monday until 8 P. M. for rest and private business.

Three-score members of the convention were decorated to-day with the badge of the Order of the Yellow Rose. These are the delegates who favored the woman suffrage cause with their votes the other night. The badges were distributed about the chamber by Mirabeau Lamar Towns. They were Marechal Niel roses and had been given in a basket to Mr. Towns by some of the women who led the suffrage cause. On the card fastened to the basket, placed on Mr. Towns's desk, were the words: "To Mirabeau Lamar Towns, the Tribune of the women."

Another basket of three-score roses was given to Mr. Lauterbach. It stood on his desk all the morning, and many read the card inscribed: "To the Noblest of his Race, the Leonine Champion of Woman Suffrage, Edward Lauterbach."

Mr. Merrenass's amendment to forbid the raising of salaries of public officials during their incumbency occupied the attention of the convention for a long time to-day. A. H. Green offered an amendment assuming the New York Board of Estimate and Apportionment.

A motion to recommend the amendment for a third reading was carried by the close vote of 64 to 62. On the motion in the open convention to send the matter to a third reading, the measure was defeated, 66 to 58.

The Committee on Industrial Interests has decided to report the following as an anti-conspiracy amendment:

No law shall be enacted making it unlawful for any number of persons to peaceably band themselves together for the purpose of raising the wages, decreasing the hours of labor or bettering the moral or material condition of themselves or others.

The sub-committee of the Cities Committee, having in charge the drafting of a section relating to the contracting of debts, have decided that no city, county, town or village shall loan money to any individual for any purpose, nor incur indebtedness of any kind except for city, county, town or village purposes, which indebtedness shall not exceed 10 per cent. of the assessed valuation of such division.

PLUCKY WOMAN CHASES A THIEF.

Resident Has Jewelry, Mo Had Stuck Other Valuable Property.

Mrs. E. S. Lehman, wife of a hosier on Sixth avenue, went driving yesterday. She reached her home, No. 111 Waverley place, just after dusk. Turning the corner of the stairway on her way to her flat on the second floor she came face to face with a slim, slight, fair-haired young man who made way for her to pass, bowed and passed downstairs. Then Mrs. Lehman found the door of her flat wide open. She had carefully locked it before she went out. She ran after the young man, and when she reached the street pointed him out to a policeman. Then followed a race along Waverley place, round into West Fourth street, the policeman following the man, until at Jones street another policeman in plain clothes jumped out of a doorway and caught the fugitive.

At the Charles street station the man said he was George Wilson, and he refused to give his address.

"If you say I stole your property I'll sue you," he said to Mrs. Lehman; but she willed when two diamond rings, a diamond scarf pin, a pearl pin, a gold watch, a pair of opera glasses, all her jewelry, and a number of articles of silverware were found on his person.

Detective Sergeant Titus, of the Charles street station, has been detailed to work up the case.

DYNAMITE GUN WORKED WELL.

The Sandy Hook Destroyer Shows What It Can Do in the Way of Coast Guarding.

The official test of the dynamite gun was continued on Sandy Hook yesterday before the Board of Ordnance and Fortifications. Four dummies and five loaded projectiles were fired. It was demonstrated that the gun could guard the Swash Channel as well as the main ship channel, and even could send its projectiles across the Romer Shoal into the East Channel and beyond.

Four of the "live" shots fired exploded. One failed to do so, but as the contents will only explode by a heavy concussion, no danger is anticipated from it. W. T. Kingman, the President of the Pneumatic Torpedo and Construction Company, who was present, was well satisfied with the test, and so was H. G. Batcheller, the superintendent. Tests will be continued as weather permits.

A Brave Irishman Dead.

Major John McCartan died at his residence, No. 79 East One Hundred and Twenty-seventh street, on Wednesday. He will be buried from his late residence to-morrow at 2 P. M. He was born in County Armagh, Ireland, in 1826, and came to this country in 1848. He was one of the founders of the Sixty-ninth Regiment. When the war started he was made a captain in the Eighty-eighth Regiment, of the famous Irish Brigade. He served with such distinction during the war that at its close he was brevetted major.

Van Winkle and Made Two Jersey Heroes.

Isaiah Van Winkle and Ernest Mace, of Bloomfield, N. J., were fishing in Greenwood Lake, Thursday, when a row-boat containing a Miss Sims, of Brooklyn, and a young lady from Jersey City upset. Both men jumped overboard to the spot, and Mace seized the Jersey girl. Van Winkle dived for Miss Sims, and caught her. In the mean time a third man had set out from the shore in a boat, and the party was rescued. Miss Sims was unconscious, and is yet under care of two physicians, who are also guests at the Casino.

Lester Wrench; Policeman's Gift.

The one hundredth performance of "The Passing Show" was given at the Casino last night to a crowded house. At the end of the first act, on behalf of the members of the orchestra, Conductor Ike De Angelis presented Conductor Ludwig Englander, the composer of the music, with a handsome gold wrist-watch. Later Mr. Englander gave Mr. De Angelis a three-hundred policeman's club.

WHISKEY THE CAUSE OF IT.

President Greenhut, of the Trust, Said to Have Had a Serious Quarrel with Nelson Morris.

THAT WENT TO SAG HARBOR LAST.

Offered to Lend a Half Million, but Morris President Refused Unless the Row Followed.

There is trouble among the big men in the Whiskey Trust. The much talked about loan of $1,000,000 to a long ...[illegible] delayed. THE air was full of sensational stories about the trust yesterday and the difficulty it was having to raising money, and a drop during the day to the stock from 21 1-4 to 11 3-4 on sales aggregating 14,700 shares was regarded by the Street as a sure sign that something was going wrong.

The first report, which was regarded as authoritative, was that Nelson Morris had refused to indorse any of the notes which the Trust proposed to give for cash advances. Then came rumors of a serious falling out between Morris and President Greenhut, of the Trust. Mr. Greenhut was downtown all day, but he, as well as the other officials and representatives of the Trust, kept out of the way of reporters. From persons who have business relations with the Trust and its officers it was learned late in the day that the present reported trouble in the Trust camp grew out of Nelson Morris's refusal to indorse the Trust's notes.

Morris had, it is said, agreed to lend his name to the paper, but was prevented from doing so by Goldman, Sachs & Co., brokers at No. 1 Pine street. It appears that this firm handles the paper of Nelson Morris & Co., on which Morris is the indorser.

This paper finds ready havers here among banks and brokers, but when it became known that Nelson Morris intended indorsing half a million or more of Whiskey Trust notes, Morris's brokers, Goodman, Sachs & Co., thought the knowledge might be detrimental to the value of the paper of Nelson Morris & Co. Accordingly, so the report went, Goodman, Sachs & Co. sent for Morris to come to see them and heard that he had agreed to be an indorser on Whiskey Trust paper, and told him that he must not indorse, and explained the reasons why.

President Greenhut also came to town yesterday and was not at all pleased when he found that Morris had heeded the advice of his brokers and declined to indorse any Trust notes. Without Morris as one of the indorsers, the prospect for raising $1,000,000 or any considerable part of it were very poor. But President Greenhut remembered what Russell Sage had promised to do when the trust had a million, so he, accompanied by Mr. Morris, and, it is said, one of the Wormsers went up to see Mr. Sage about 3 P. M. yesterday. Just what occurred at the conference with Mr. Sage is not known, but it was said after the meeting was over that Sage was ready to lend the money, provided Mr. Morris's indorsement was given for the loan.

Morris said he couldn't and wouldn't do this, and his refusal was the cause of an exchange of unpleasant words between the two men, and of their parting in anger. The reported row is regarded as a serious matter for the trust in view of the present...tariff situation. It was current rumor in Wall street that the heavy selling of whiskey stock yesterday was from the principals who were letting go their own holdings in order to raise money with which to release whiskey from bond.

President Greenhut was reported to be at the West End Hotel, Long Branch, last night. Inquiry there for him brought out the information from his friends that he was in New York at the Holland House. The clerks there said he was not in the establishment, but that they knew he was at the West End Hotel. Nelson Morris kept out of sight also. A mutual friend of the two men, who was found at the West End, said that it is true that a misunderstanding had arisen between Greenhut and Morris, but that it was of a trivial nature and that the conference in Russell Sage's office was not as sensational as reported.

A World man who called at Mr. Sage's country home at Lawrence, L. I., last night failed to see him. Mrs. Sage carried the reporter's request for an interview to him and returned with the message that he was very weary, and would not be disturbed.

"He says," said Mrs. Sage, "that a number of persons in New York City know as much about the row in his office as he does, and that there is no reason why he should talk about it."

KANSAS'S FIRST GOVERNOR DEAD.

Dr. Charles Robinson Was a Leader of That Band Which Fought to Desperately for a Free Soil.

Special to The World.

LAWRENCE, Kan. Aug. 17.—Charles Robinson, the first Governor of Kansas, died here to-day, after an illness of several weeks.

Dr. Robinson's name is indissolubly connected with the early history of Kansas. He was one of the leaders, the most fearless, the most aggressive and the most persistent, of that devoted band which waged there the long and desperately-bloody struggle for human liberty.

He endured bodily anguish for it; he was cast into prison; he was plundered of his property; his home was despoiled and burned; he was in peril of his life many a time. But neither his faith nor his courage was shaken. Hatred of slavery was a consuming passion with him. All his life he was a reformer, he had that exaltation of spirit and contemptuous disregard of personal consequences which make the martyr; and though he lived to see the triumph of freedom and to enjoy his reward, he remained the reformer to the end of his days.

Dr. Robinson went to Lawrence, Kan., in 1854, as confidential agent of the New England Emigrants' Aid Society. He became there the leader of the Free Soil party, was Chairman of its Executive Committee and Commander-in-chief of its troops. He led, too, in the Topeka convention of 1855, which adopted the Free State Constitution, and under it was the next year elected Governor. He was Governor upon the admission of Kansas in 1861, and as such organized most of the Kansas regiments for the civil war.

NO NEED TO BE IN A HURRY.

DOCTORS McCOY AND SNOW'S OFFER OF TREATMENT UNTIL CURED DOESN'T go into effect on September 1. They will send to be in a hurry. Take your time, and begin treatment when it suits you. This isn't the last month in which the offer holds good. The offer is that Doctors McCoy and Snow will treat all persons who apply at their offices absolutely free. No charge will be made except a small sum to cover the cost of the medicines necessary to effect a cure. Doctors McCoy and Snow will continue to treat persons free until cured for an indefinite period.

DOCTORS McCOY AND SNOW,

Offices, corner 4th street and Madison avenue, opposite the Grand Central Station, and corner Lexington avenue and Broadway, opposite Sherman Monument, New York. If you live in a distant city, write for a symptom blank. Address Doctors McCoy and Snow, Box 2, Station D, New York City.

FAT PEOPLE reduced 10 pounds per week without starving. Harmless. Reliable. Prepaid $1. Book free. Dr. PALMER M.D. Fond du Lac, Wis.

BANK TELLER IS HERE TO SUE.

"I'm the Cigarette-Smoking Prima Donna" She Says, and So Manager Whitney Now Has Two Wrecking Suits.

Marie Tempest, the "freedom about prima donna," and a passenger on the Adriatic Tuesday, arrived yesterday. The singer's return was anxiously anticipated, it having been understood by both the public and her manager, Fred C. Whitney, that she had consented to remain in London for the next three years under contract to Augustus Harris, of the Daly Theatre London. Mr. Whitney has hopes so far as to engage Miss Lawley Hamilton as the star for the company. Now, however, he finds it for granted that the rumors of Miss Tempest's defection were correct he made himself with an extra cuddle upon getting down on the beach.

"I was more than surprised this morning to find that my arrival was unexpected," said Miss Tempest, on the St. James Hotel last night. "My engagement as a prima donna was not gained by breaking contracts, and I do not propose to begin now. During the summer I had a number of advantageous offers to appear in London, but, as Mr. Whitney refused to consent to postponing my departure with him for another year I determined to return to New York, although I might easily have broken the contract. You can rely upon it that I will head the Marie Tempest opera company, which, my contract specifies, must be organized according to my ideas.

"Just what opera I will sing I cannot say until Mr. Whitney returns from Detroit. I have a new opera by Andrea and one by a new British composer, among others to choose from. Mr. Martus will be my stage manager, and Julius Steger my leading support. We will open in some town yet undecided upon on Sept. 10, and come to New York three weeks later."

Julius Steger, the baritone, returned on the Augusta Victoria with Marie Tempest. The prima donna was particularly anxious that it should be known that the statement that her negotiations with George Edwardes had fallen through because he refused to engage Steger was untrue. The baritone is under contract in the London manager after the expiration of his season with Whitney.

THE WICKEDEST SUMMER RESORT.

A startling and shocking expose by NELLIE BLY of one of America's most fashionable watering places in to-morrow's Sunday World.

MRS. M'CALL-WALL SILENT.

She Feels Her Burden Well, but Thinks Young MacAllister Should Speak.

If Heyward McAllister came to town from Newport yesterday, as it is said, he kept himself secluded. Up to 10 P. M. he hadn't called on Mrs. Lizzie McCall-Wall, although she had confidently expected him—or at least she said so. She waited with a fondly beating heart, but he didn't appear. Therefore she could not make the "statement" she had promised, because it wouldn't be just.



MRS. LIZZIE M'CALL-WALL.

She felt that this thing would ruin her, but she was determined to bear it for his sake. Still, he should have come forward, and if he didn't do so by to-day she would have something to say. She wasn't going to sue him, because there was nothing to sue him for. But she did think he ought not to leave her in this position before the public and she couldn't bear it much longer.

Deputies Sent Out to Meet Train Robbers.

SAGINAW, Mich., Aug. 17.—It was reported to Grand Trunk officials here that the passenger train on the Cincinnati, Saginaw and Mackinaw Railroad, due here at 5 o'clock, was to be held up at Berne, twelve miles south. A squad of deputies was sent to Berne, but found nothing more formidable than a few tramps so the train came through without incident.



WHEN YOU CAN'T EAT

without that uneasy or drowsiness afterwards then is time to take Dr. Pierce's Pleasant Pellets. They make digestion EASY. Keep a vial of them in your vest-pocket and take one after every hearty meal. It's time to take them, too, whenever you "feel bilious." They're specific for biliousness and act wonderfully upon the liver.

These tiny, sugar-coated Pellets—the smallest, the pleasantest to take, and the most natural in their ways—absolutely and permanently CURE Constipation, Jaundice, Biliousness, Indigestion, Sick or Bilious Headache, Sour Stomach, and every illness, stomach and bowel disorder.

CHRONIC NASAL CATARRH.

H. St. Hodges, Esq., of Lakeview, Rich Co., Utah, says: "I was suffering from chronic catarrh and bought a half-dozen bottles of your Dr. Sage's Catarrh Remedy, and I am happy to say I am permanently cured of that disease."

7 STORES TOGETHER.

Park Row and Chatham Square.

COWPERTHWAIT,

Park Row and Chatham Square.

THE VERY BEST

SEWING MACHINES,

ALL ATTACHMENTS

$1 Weekly for 35 Weeks.

EVERYTHING FOR HOUSEKEEPING.

FURNITURE, CARPETS, &c.

$1 Weekly on $65 Worth.

ONLY ONE VISIT NECESSARY.

Collections Made IF DESIRED.

DR. TOBIAS'

Venetian Horse Liniment

is also unequaled, superior to any other, cures PAIN, SPRAINS, BRUISES, STRAINS, &c.; and removes the lame in the world.

TOBIAS VENNY CONDITION POWDERS

are also unequaled, superior to any other, cures FEVER, HOVEL TROUBLE, &c., and removes the cause. Directions accompany each box. Sold by druggists, grocers and horsemen. Price of Liniment, 50 cents and $1 per bottle; Powders, 25 cents per box. Sold by all druggists and dealers.

53

881116012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Hailed Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. – (Aug. 20, 1894).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ANARCHISTS IN ACTION.



MOWBRAY. MARIE LOUISE. MISS GOLDMAN'S FRIEND. SCHWAB. SHE INTRODUCED MISS GOLDMAN. MISS GOLDMAN.

cried. "Do not use words, but strike! strike!

"All authority and all officials are rotten, from the dirtiest policeman up to the curs we call Presidents."

When she got through it was noted that her exertions had loosened her back hair and untied the bow of red ribbon she wore around her neck. She drank a tumbler of water and cooled off while stamping the floor with her foot.

HERE'S EMMA GOLDMAN.

Then came Emma Goldman, and her reception showed that her law-breaking and the punishment she received for it had almost deified her in the minds of her lawless admirers. When the fat Chairwoman had announced her as about to come on the stage pandemonium seemed to have broken loose. Nearly everybody who was sitting down stood up, and those who had been standing up jumped up in the air. The din and racket was worse than that on the baseball field when the home nine wins out on a tied score in the last inning.

She entered from the left wings and strutted to the front centre of the stage. There, dressed in simple black, save for a red ribbon at the neck, she stood with her head thrown back and glared up at the roof with her peculiar, half-closed eyes. The crowd was glad to see her. There was no doubt of that. There was whooping, howling, yelling and cheering, until finally she raised her arm and waved her handkerchief, while her coun-

SIX ARE STRANGELY SICK.

Doctors of Elizabeth, N. J., Mystified by the Illness of the Connolly and Hayes Children.

IT LOOKS LIKE A CASE OF POISON.

As It Was Neither Impure Milk Nor Impure Candy, an Official Investigation Will Be Held To-Day.

The good people of Elizabeth, N. J., are much wrought up over two seeming cases of wholesale poisoning which occurred there within twenty-four hours of each other, and which would indicate that some subtle malign influence hov-

SHOT AT BY VOGEL BEFORE.

Miss Bartlett Says He Threatened Her Many Times, and Tried to Kill Her in Milwaukee.

FOLLOWED HER FROM CITY TO CITY.

The Suicide's Brothers Arrange for His Burial and Cable the News to Their Father in Germany.

The body of William H. Vogel, the clothier's son, who shot himself Saturday afternoon after having attempted to kill his mistress, was left at the boarding-house, No. 123 East One Hun-

OUR SUNDAY A FAILURE.

We Need Swimming, Baseball, Music and Beer for Little and Big.

A POOR DAY FOR THE MAJORITY

Throw Away "Keep-Off-the-Grass" Signs, Let's Have More Parks and Gardens, and Give the Weary Recreation.

There are about 600,000 families in New York City.

Of these less than 25,000 are able to get away to the seashore for the summer. Of the remaining 375,000 families, not more than [illegible] are able to get out

streets too much with nothing to think of but mischief.

And as a matter of fact what is there for the man or woman, the boy or girl, with no money to spend beyond a few cents, a half dollar or seventy-five cents? How can they amuse themselves on Sunday, the one holiday of the week, the only time for resting the spots the harness has rubbed, for stretching the limbs, stiff with the routine of six days' labor?

First there is church. Well, but most of the people of New York do not go to church. A majority of those who do go go only in the morning, very early and for only a little while. The rest—well, the most of the rest—luxuriate at the seashore.

Then there are Coney Island and the other near-by summer resorts. But it costs money to go and come. It costs money to stay, more money than these masses of the people can afford every Sunday, more than many of them can afford any Sunday.

There are the parks. But baseball is not allowed in the parks, and there is no place to sit, except for a very few, who come early and, holding on to a good thing when they have it, sit late. One may not romp or play about in the parks on Sunday. There is music, it is true. But we must stand or move slowly up and down hard stone walks.

Such gardens as there are, are for the most part closed. And how many open-

SUNDAY AT GRAY GABLES.

President Cleveland Took His Ease on the Piazza with His Cigar and His Sunday Paper.

SOME TALK OF BRIGHT'S DISEASE.

Its Presence Would Not Be Surprising, but, at Any Rate, It Cannot Have Reached an Advanced Stage.

(Special to The World.)

BUZZARD'S BAY, Mass., Aug. 19.—Robert Lincoln O'Brien, the executive clerk, slipped away from Gray Gables last night unnoticed, bearing in his satchel the signed Sundry Civ[illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881116012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Hailed Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— p. 8 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. —(Aug. 20, 1894).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

HAILED EMMA GOLDMAN.

Anarchists Filled the Thalia Theatre to Celebrate Her Release from Jail.

BUT JOHN MOST STAYED AWAY.

Law, Government and Police Denounced in Several Languages, While the Audience Sweltered.

MARIE LOUISE, COMMUNIST, PRESIDED.

Police Made No Show, but Reserves Were Ready to Prevent an Outbreak—Goldman's and Mowbray's Fiery Words.

There was a polyglot assemblage in the Thalia Theatre last night.

Twenty-eight hundred Anarchists of New York welcomed Emma Goldman, just released after ten months' imprisonment on Blackwell's Island.

A Frenchwoman presided. There were speeches in English, Italian, French, German, Spanish and a jargon and a recitation in Russian.

In approbation of the speeches "vives," "vivas," "hochs," "bravas" and "bravos" rent the suffocating, humid air.

But there were no "hurrahs." It is doubtful if there were twenty people of American parentage in the big audience.

Incidentally the reception was turned into a source of revenue. It must have been profitable.

It is a nice question whether a short imprisonment does not pay a popular and accomplished Anarchist.

Those who paid ten cents each swaltered in the upper tier, those who paid fifteen cents sweltered in the balcony, those who paid twenty cents swaltered in the parquet. It was simply a question of sweltering at different altitudes.

Justus Schwab, his family and friends filled a box.

The police were very little in evidence. Inspector Williams was there in plain clothes, of course, and so was Capt. Berghold, who commands the precinct. But right back of the theatre, in Elizabeth street, all the reserves were on duty in the station-house.

Although the speakers called the police hard names, the police treated the audience with most distinguished consideration. They cleared the aisles, to be sure, but those who blocked the aisles violated the law. The fireman on duty at the theatre, a red-headed man, No 519, was very nearly violent in his efforts to clear the aisles. But perhaps his professional eye saw more clearly the danger that threatened should fire break out.

The Frenchwoman who presided was Marie Louise. She was one of the Paris Commune. She wore a black satin dress and a red necktie. She was as motherly a person as ever recommended the overthrow of all governments.

She said in a weak voice that they were there for two purposes:

1. To welcome Emma Goldman.

2. "To protest against organised tyranny, which hides behind that convenient thing called law."

Charles W. Mowbray, the English tailor, was the first speaker. He said, privately, that he was very well but he did not look well. It will greatly rejoice the English police to learn that Mowbray has a much better opinion of them. They have improved by comparison with the police of this country.

"I always used to abuse the police of England," cried Mowbray. "They are gentlemen compared with your police."

This was a very popular sentiment.

THEY CHEERED MOWBRAY.

When the obese French Communist in black satin, who presided, had introduced Mowbray, the British Anarchist received what he would call an "hovation." He did not look well. He needs new clothes, and he needs a rest.

"We are here," he said, "to welcome back to liberty a young woman whose crime was that she dared to tell the starving masses that they, who have created all that is valuable, all that is beautiful and all that is to be enjoyed, except that which nature has provided—that they had the right to enjoy life and their share of its comforts. She cried, 'Do not use words, but strike! strike!

"All authority and all officials are rotten, from the dirtiest policeman up to the czar we call Presidents."

When she got through it was noted that her exertions had loosened her back hair and untied the bow of red ribbon she wore around her neck. She drank a tumbler of water and cooled off while stamping the floor with her foot.

HERE'S EMMA GOLDMAN.

Then came Emma Goldman, and her reception showed that her law-breaking and the punishment she received for it had almost deified her in the minds of her lawless admirers. When the fat Chairwoman had announced her as about to come on the stage pandemonium seemed to have broken loose. Nearly everybody who was sitting down stood up, and those who had been standing up jumped up in the air. The din and racket was worse than that on the baseball field when the home nine wins out on a tied score in the last inning.

She entered from the left wings and strutted to the front centre of the stage. There, dressed in simple black, save for a red ribbon at the neck, she stood with her head thrown back and glared up at the roof with her peculiar, half-closed eyes. The crowd was glad to see her. There was no doubt of that. There was whooping, howling, yelling and cheering, until finally she raised her arm and waved her handkerchief, while her countenance lost its expression of opera-bouffe hauteur and assumed one of weariness. That secured silence. Then she said:

"Friends and Comrades: I have come back to you after having served ten months in prison for talking. If the representatives of your Government intend to prosecute women for talking, they will have to begin with their mothers, wives, sisters and sweethearts, for they will never stop women from talking. (Cheers.) But it was not Emma Goldman who was prosecuted. It was the thoughts of Emma Goldman, the principles of Anarchy, that were prosecuted, the views held by thousands of brave men and women who have died and are ready to die as did Santo. It was the right of free speech that was prosecuted in the Court of General Sessions, and not little Emma Goldman. (Shouts of "Vive l'Anarchie!")

"The authorities are afraid of those who are trying to open the eyes of the people to their sufferings. I hate the tyrants of the present system too much to have pity on them, but when I sat before Judge Martine listening to the inflammatory speech of District-Attorney McIntyre I could but feel sorry for him. I said to myself, Oh, you coward District-Attorney. It is fear, a false fear of society that makes you try to convince those jurors of the terrible things that would happen if Emma Goldman was not convicted and imprisoned. (Cheers.)

SHE LOATHES JUDGE MARTINE.

"I was found guilty, and then I was left to the tender mercy of Judge Martine. He gave me ten months because he could not give me any more. I loathe Judge Martine. (Cheers.)

"Oh, you Judges and you District-Attorneys, you can imprison and you can guillotine and send to the gallows all the Anarchists, but you need not delude yourselves with the idea that you can kill the spirit of Anarchy. (Cries of "Never!" "Vive l'Anarchie!")

DEFIANT IN TWO LANGUAGES.

"The future will be ours, brothers and sisters. I am as loyal as ever to liberty, the loving mother of the poor, the wretched, the miserable. I defy the Judges, the District-Attorneys and the police, and so I say let them go on with their dastardly work. They are working on their own coffin. Every blow they strike drives a nail. Every Anarchist they send to jail or to death takes another spadeful of earth from the hole into which their carcasses will be placed. (Cheers.)

"I am with you again under the red flag of Anarchy and liberty, and under it we will march together until we get [illegible] tution. We are children no longer, our eyes are open now. They cannot tell us any more that the judges and the district attorneys are in office to protect us. They are there to protect those who are driving men to desperation, women to wretchedness and sweet young girls to sell themselves body and soul. 'Vive l'anarchie' we will cry with our last breath."

There was another tornado of noise. Then Goldman repeated her harangue in German. When she had finished she strutted off in the same grotesque manner she had entered, but she had to come back and promise the crowd that they should hear again from her soon.

A very lady-like Anarchist then made an address in jargon. She was Miss Sarah Schmidt. She wore a black lace [illegible] with black silk as if her [illegible] Manning himself has said, that a starving man has a right to share his neighbor's food. Emma Goldman suffered the tortures of Blackwell's Island for ten months for this alone, and there are many others who would do the same if the capitalists had their way.

"This young woman comes back to tell us that she is just the same at heart as she always was, to show the capitalists and their slaves, the authorities, that conviction and imprisonment make no difference to those who have truly accepted the principles of anarchy. (Cheers.) The ideas of anarchy are the only ideas which hold out hope to those who are now suffering for the necessaries of life. Those who rely on the policeman's bludgeon for power fail to understand what anarchy is, and they [illegible]



ANARCHISTS

MOWBRAY. MARIE LOUISE. MISS GOLDMAN'S FRIEND.

SIX ARE STRANGELY SICK.

Doctors of Elizabeth, N. J., Mystified by the Illness of the Connolly and Hayes Children.

IT LOOKS LIKE A CASE OF POISON.

As It Was Neither Impure Milk Nor Impure Candy, an Official Investigation Will Be Held To-Day.

The good people of Elizabeth, N. J., are much wrought up over two seeming cases of wholesale poisoning which occurred there within twenty-four hours of each other, and which would indicate that some subtle malign influence hovers over a certain part of the town.

Up to last evening six victims had been reported, all of them under seven years of age, and as no plausible explanation has yet been reached by the doctors, the alarm felt by anxious parents is all the greater, for they know not against what to guard.

When Dr W. A. Mack, of No. 16 Third street, was called on Saturday morning to attend Bernard and Mamie Connolly, aged respectively four and two years, at No. 117 Wall street, he found them apparently dead. As their symptoms were those of poisoning, he concluded that they must have eaten something which they had found about the house or in the street. The children had been playing in the rear of the house all morning and had suddenly become deadly sick. Violent vomiting was followed by utter collapse.

It was two hours and a half after the doctor's arrival before the pulse of the little girl was perceptible. She was still quite weak yesterday. The boy was not so greatly affected. In both cases exhaustion was followed by feverish thirst, and the tongues of the children bore that irritated, red appearance that usually follows the swallowing of corrosive poison. Dr. Mack closely questioned the children, but he could not learn that they had eaten anything except their usual breakfast of bread and butter and coffee. There are two other children in the family and they ate and drank together, but only the younger ones were affected.

Dr Mack, who is one of the health officers of Elizabeth, was inclined to believe, in spite of the protestations of the family, that the sickness was caused by eating impure candy or something of that nature, but he changed his mind when he heard of another case of poisoning at No 151 Wall street, across the way from the Connollys'. Mrs. Hayes, a widow, lives there with her four children—John, aged six; Kate, aged four; Michael, aged two and a half, and Thomas, aged thirteen months. About 11 o'clock yesterday morning Mrs. Hayes's attention was drawn to the baby, whose stomach was evidently completely out of order. Immediately after Kate became similarly affected, and before [illegible] with all four children were lying helpless on the floor.

They showed exactly the same symptoms of the Connolly children. Dr Mack was sent for, but as he could not be found, County Physician O'Reilly, who lives near by, was called in. He found the baby and Kate almost dead, but the two other children had already recovered, though still weak. He followed about the same course of treatment adopted by Dr Mack, had external applications and soothing remedies for the stomach—but he [illegible] pronounce the young ones out of danger.

Now, the strangest thing about these cases is that the youngest victim is a babe in arms still feeding on milk, and absolutely unable to have partaken of any of the impure substances attributed as the possible cause of trouble [illegible]

SHOT AT BY VOGEL BEFORE.

Miss Bartlett Says He Threatened Her Many Times, and Tried to Kill Her in Milwaukee.

FOLLOWED HER FROM CITY TO CITY.

The Suicide's Brothers Arrange for His Burial and Cable the News to Their Father in Germany.

The body of William H. Vogel, the clothier's son, who shot himself Saturday afternoon after having attempted to kill his mistress, was left at the boarding-house, No. 123 East One Hundred and Sixteenth street, all day yesterday. Beyond the hiring of an undertaker by his brothers nobody seemed to care about it. The family did not come to town. The undertaker, James J. McLarney, of No. 1053 Third avenue, had instructions to remove the body to his establishment late at night, and avoid publicity as much as possible.

At the house of the Rev. Selig Rosenstamm, the father of Mrs. Adele Vogel, who got a divorce from Vogel last June, there was apparently a feeling of relief that he was out of the way.

Vogel had been living a wild, fast life. He needed money very badly at many times, and it was hinted yesterday that possibly it was not jealousy but financial troubles that caused his deed.

Louise V. Bartlett, the woman shot by Vogel, is still in Harlem Hospital, with a bullet lodged in her right hip. The physicians fear that peritonitis may carry her off. She is a handsome woman, and Vogel's infatuation with her was complete.

"I met him first Oct. 9, 1893, at the World's Fair," Miss Bartlett said last night. "We went to live together at No. 1238 Michigan avenue. He was insanely jealous of me from the first. He had a revolver. He gambled a great deal and often wrote to his father for money. He received amounts varying from [illegible] to $500.

"We went to St. Paul and later to Minneapolis. He was so jealous that our fellow-boarders thought him insane.

"I wrote to his father and asked him to take him home. I feared for my life. Then I left him and went to Milwaukee, where he followed me. One morning he fired four shots, none of which hit me. I then returned to Chicago and he followed me there. After a quarrel we separated again and I went to Boston. He came to Boston a week after and threatened to kill me if I did not accompany him to New York. We arrived here three weeks ago. Last Saturday morning he acted strangely. I did not know of the revolver in the bureau drawer. He came in saying that we would go down to Long Branch for a sail. I went to the closet to get my clothes, and when I turned I saw the revolver pointed at me and the next instant he fired without any word of warning.

"I dragged the mattress from the bed and shielded my body. He fired twice more and then shot himself."

Henry Vogel, the young man's father, is at Carlsbad, Germany. His has been called to and will return.

CAPSIZED OFF STATEN ISLAND.

Where Are the Passengers of the Jib and Mainsail Boat Josie G. H., Found Floating Keel Up?

Capt. J. Hemmes, of Clifton, S. I., towed a jib and mainsail boat of about twenty-two feet into the dock at Clifton last night. It is thought those who sailed the boat earlier in the day were drowned.

The craft was picked up by Capt. [illegible] about a mile southwest of [illegible] Island, in the lower bay. The [illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881116012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Hailed Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ;.43 cm. *In* The World. –(Aug. 20, 1894).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

"vivas," "vivas," "bochs," "bravos" and "bravos" rent the suffocating, humid air.

But there were no "hurrahs." It is doubtful if there were twenty people of American parentage in the big audience.

Incidentally the reception was turned into a source of revenue. It must have been profitable.

It is a nice question whether a short imprisonment does not pay a popular and accomplished Anarchist.

Those who paid ten cents each sweltered in the upper tier, those who paid fifteen cents sweltered in the balcony, those who paid twenty cents sweltered in the parquet. It was simply a question of sweltering at different altitudes.

Justus Schwab, his family and friends filled a box.

The police were very little in evidence. Inspector Williams was there in plain clothes, of course, and so was Capt. Berghold, who commands the precinct. But right back of the theatre, in Elizabeth street, all the reserves were on duty in the station-house.

Although the speakers called the police hard names, the police treated the audience with most distinguished consideration. They cleared the aisles, to be sure, but those who blocked the aisles violated the law. The fireman on duty at the theatre, a red-headed man, No. 819, was very nearly violent in his efforts to clear the aisles. But perhaps his professional eye saw more clearly the danger that threatened should fire break out.

The Frenchwoman who presided was Marie Louise. She was one of the Paris Communa. She wore a black satin dress and a red necktie. She was as motherly a person as ever recommended the overthrow of all governments.

She said in a weak voice that they were there for two purposes:

1. To welcome Emma Goldman.

2. "To protest against organized tyranny, which hides behind that convenient thing called law."

Charles W. Mowbray, the English tailor, was the first speaker. He said, privately, that he was very well but he did not look well. It will greatly rejoice the English police to learn that Mowbray has a much better opinion of them. They have improved by comparison with the police of this country.

"I always used to abuse the police of England," cried Mowbray. "They are gentlemen compared with your police."

This was a very popular sentiment.

THEY CHEERED MOWBRAY.

When the obese French Communist in black satin who presided, had introduced Mowbray, the British Anarchist received what he would call an "hovation." He did not look well. He needs new clothes, and he needs a rest.

"We are here," he said, "to welcome back to liberty a young woman whose crime was that she dared to tell the starving masses that they, who have created all that is valuable, all that is beautiful and all that is to be enjoyed, except that which nature has provided—that they had the right to enjoy life and their share of its comforts. She dared to tell the masses, as Cardinal Manning himself has said, that a starving man has a right to share his neighbor's food. Emma Goldman suffered the tortures of Blackwell's Island for ten months for this alone, and there are many others who would do the same if the capitalists had their way.

"This young woman comes back to tell us that she is just the same at heart as she always was, to show the capitalists and their slaves, the authorities, that conviction and imprisonment make no difference to those who have truly accepted the principles of anarchy. (Cheers.) The ideas of anarchy are the only ideas which hold out hope to those who are now suffering for the necessaries of life. Those who rely on the policeman's bludgeon for power fail to understand what anarchy is, and they dare not put forward a man or woman to argue the issue with us.

"People are beginning to learn that government exists not for their protection, but for the protection of the thieving capitalists who have them by the throat and are throttling them.

POLICE EXIST FOR BOODLE.

"The police are here to protect the thieves of society in their work of plunder. It is just as well that those men who wear the blue coats and the brass buttons should know the dirty work they are doing, for there may perhaps be a spark of manhood left in their breasts which will bring them to say that too long they have been armed and fighting against their fathers, their brothers and their friends.

"You are all a lot of cowards. Yet they call this a civilized nation!

"Civilization, what does it mean? It means to you that in a country won by the blood of your fathers, shed for the cause of liberty, you have gradually permitted yourselves to degenerate into cowards and slaves. Until you get into yourselves some of the courage which your fathers had you will remain the slaves of the capitalistic classes. (Cheers.)

"Arouse yourselves! be men! (Shouts of "We will.")

"Now give a hearty welcome to Emma Goldman, who comes to you to-night to show you and to show the capitalists how after imprisonment and torture she does not hesitate to say just what she said before and just what she was made to suffer for." (Cheers and shouts of "Vive l'Anarchie!")

THE ITALIAN SPEECH.

The crowd was such that this would bring Goldman to the front, but it did not. Instead, the chairwoman brought her treble voice into play to present Maria Rhoda, a black-haired, black-eyed, dark-skinned and black-gowned woman of uncertain age, not of no uncertain power of speech. She spoke in Italian.

And this little woman worked herself up into a terrific passion, waving her arms and mopping her perspiring face with a red handkerchief. At least it looked like a handkerchief. But the crowd soon wearied of her.

"All the people who are grinding us down should suffer the vengeance!" she

Then came Emma Goldman, and her reception showed that her law-breaking and the punishment she received for it had almost deified her in the minds of her lawless admirers. When the fat Chairwoman had announced her as about to come on the stage pandemonium seemed to have broken loose. Nearly everybody who was sitting down stood up, and those who had been standing up jumped up to the sky. The din and racket was worse than that on the baseball field when the home nine wins out on a tied score in the last inning.

She entered from the left wings and strutted to the front centre of the stage. There, dressed in simple black, save for a red ribbon at the neck, she stood with her head thrown back and glared up at the roof with her peculiar, half-closed eyes. The crowd was glad to see her. There was no doubt of that. There was whooping, howling, yelling and cheering, until finally she raised her arm and waved her handkerchief, while her countenance lost its expression of opera-bouffe hauteur and assumed some of weariness. That secured silence. Then she said:

"Friends and Comrades, I have come back to you after having served ten months in prison for talking. If the representatives of your Government intend to prosecute woman for talking, they will have to begin with their mothers, wives, sisters and sweethearts, for they will never stop women from talking. (Cheers.) But it was not Emma Goldman who was prosecuted. It was the thoughts of Emma Goldman, the principles of Anarchy, that were prosecuted; the views held by thousands of brave men and women who have died and are ready to die as did Santo. It was the right of free speech that was prosecuted in the Court of General Sessions, and not little Emma Goldman. (Shoots of "Vive l'Anarchie!")

"The authorities are afraid of those who are trying to open the eyes of the people to their sufferings. I hate the tyrants of the present system too much to have pity on them, but when I sat before Judge Martine listening to the inflammatory speech of District-Attorney McIntyre I could but feel sorry for him. I said to myself, Oh, you coward District-Attorney. It is fear, a false fear of society that makes you try to convince those jurors of the terrible things that would happen if Emma Goldman was not convicted and imprisoned. (Cheers.)

SHE LOATHES JUDGE MARTINE.

"I was found guilty, and then I was left to the tender mercy of Judge Martine. He gave me ten months because he could not give me any more. I loathe Judge Martine. (Cheers.)

"Oh, you Judges and you District-Attorneys, you can imprison and you can guillotine and send to the gallows all the Anarchists, but you need not delude yourselves with the idea that you can kill the spirit of Anarchy. (Cries of "Never!" "Vive l'Anarchie!")

DEFIANT IN TWO LANGUAGES.

"The future will be ours, brothers and sisters. I am as loyal as ever to liberty, the loving mother of the poor, the wretched, the miserable. I defy the Judges, the District-Attorneys and the police, and so I say let them go on with their dastardly work. They are working on their own coffin. Every blow they strike drives a nail. Every Anarchist they send to jail or to death takes another spadeful of earth from the hole into which their carcasses will be placed. (Cheers.)

"I am with you again under the red flag of Anarchy and liberty, and under it we will march together until we get rid of poverty, of misery and of prostitution. We are children no longer. Our eyes are open now. They cannot tell us any more that the judges and the district attorneys are in office to protect us. They are there to protect those who are driving men to desperation, women to wretchedness and sweet young girls to sell themselves body and soul. 'Vive l'anarchie' we all cry with our last breath."

There was another tornado of noise. Then Goldman repeated her harangue in German. When she had finished she strutted off in the same grotesque manner she had entered, but she had to come back and promise the crowd that they should hear again from her soon.

A very lady-like Anarchist then made an address in jargon. She was Miss Sarah Schmidt. She wore a black lace dress trimmed with pink silk, as if her anarchistic ideas were not colored with the deepest Anarchist dye.

During John H. Edelmen's speech he said 2,000,000 tramps were wandering over the highways and byways of this country.

"What is a tramp?" indignantly interrupted a man who had paid 20 cents for a seat in the parquet.

"I will tell you," answered Edelman, hastily. "A workingman who is out of work and waiting for another job. I know about tramps, for I tramped across the State of Iowa and studied them. My only surprise is that a workman who can earn only enough to support life, does not throw down his tools when he finds he can support life without work."

Anarchist Esitve spoke in Spanish. Marie Louise then advanced to the footlights and said, "I now introduce you to an old friend, John Most."

(Loud and prolonged applause.)

But no John Most appeared, and the audience went home, disappointed.

Killed as Old Man While Hunting Birds.

(Special to The World.)

CAMBRIDGE, N. Y., Aug. 19.—Two young sons of James W. Robertson, who lives near Shushan, were out hunting partridges Friday, when one of them, seeing a movement in the bushes, fired. The shot struck James Ferguson, eighty years of age, in the knees. The old man was picking berries at the time. Mr. Blackfan extracted fifteen shot from the wounds, but Mr. Ferguson, weak from age, did not rally from the shock, and died last evening.

New Yorkers in a New Railway Company.

LOUISVILLE, Aug. 19.—Articles incorporating the Southern Railway Company have been filed in the County [illegible] Samuel H. Spencer, Charles H. Foster, Francis Lynde Stetson, of New York; Alexander H. Anderson, of Raleigh, N. C.; William A. Ewen, of Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.; T. W. Bullitt, of Louisville, and William Baldwin, jr., of Washington. The capital stock is fixed at $1,000,000, and the indebtedness must not exceed $10,000,000.

[illegible]

IT LOOKS LIKE A CASE OF POISON.

An It Was Neither Impure Milk Nor Impure Candy, an Official Investigation Will Be Held To-Day.

The good people of Elizabeth, N. J., are much wrought up over two seeming cases of wholesale poisoning which occurred there within twenty-four hours of each other, and which would indicate that some subtle malign influence hovers over a certain part of the town.

Up to last evening six victims had been reported, all of them under seven years of age, and as no plausible explanation has yet been reached by the doctors, the alarm felt by anxious parents is all the greater, for they know not against what to guard.

When Dr. W. A. Meck, of No. 36 Third street, was called on Saturday morning to attend Bernard and Mamie Connolly, aged respectively four and two years, at No. 127 Wall street, he found them apparently dead. As their symptoms were those of poisoning, he concluded that they must have eaten something which they had found about the house or in the street. The children had been playing in the rear of the house all morning and had suddenly become deadly sick. Violent vomiting was followed by utter collapse.

It was two hours and a half after the doctor's arrival before the pulse of the little girl was perceptible. She was still quite weak yesterday. The boy was not so greatly affected. In both cases exhaustion was followed by feverish thirst, and the tongues of the children bore that irritated, red appearance that usually follows the swallowing of corrosive poison. Dr. Mack closely questioned the children, but he could not learn that they had eaten anything except their usual breakfast of bread and butter and coffee. There are two other children in the family and they ate and drank together, but only the younger ones were affected.

Dr. Mack, who is one of the health officers of Elizabeth, was inclined to believe, in spite of the protestations of the family, that the sickness was caused by eating impure candy or something of that nature, but he changed his mind when he heard of another case of poisoning at No. 61 Wall street, across the way from the Connollys'. Mrs. Hayes, a widow, lives there with her four children—John, aged six; Kate, aged four; Michael, aged two and a half, and Thomas, aged thirteen months. About 11 o'clock yesterday morning Mrs. Hayes's attention was drawn to the baby, whose stomach was evidently completely out of order. Immediately after Kate became similarly affected, and before the poor woman could collect her wits all four children were lying helpless on the floor.

They showed exactly the same symptoms of the Connolly children. Dr. Mack was sent for, but as he could not be found, County Physician O'Reilly, who lives near by, was called in. He found the baby and Kate almost dead, but the two other children had already recovered, though still weak. He followed about the same course of treatment adopted by Dr. Mack, had external applications and soothing remedies for the stomach—but he was too late before he could pronounce the young ones out of danger.

Now, the strangest thing about these cases is that the youngest victim is a babe in arms still feeding on milk, and absolutely unable to have partaken of any of the impure substances attributed as the possible cause of trouble with the Connolly children. The Hayes children had been playing all morning in their yard as usual. They had eaten nothing except their regular breakfast, and had been surrounded all the time by other children, none of whom were taken sick. There are many children in the block, and an impurity in the water would have naturally attacked many more.

It cannot be a case of impure milk, because the Connolly children drank none. The doctors are puzzled, the residents badly frightened, and an official investigation will be instituted to-day.

For a Memorial of P. S. Gilmore.

Alexander Bremer, of the Musical Protective Union of this city, has written a letter advocating the erection of a bust or other suitable memorial to the memory of Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore, who did so much for the cause of good popular music in this city and aided many worthy charities during his lifetime. Mr. Bremer says in his letter that similar works of art have been erected in this city to the memory of foreign composers and musicians, but that not one has been put up to an American, chiefly because of the lack of a suitable subject. The subject, he says, has now been found, and he has started a popular subscription which it is hoped will meet with a hearty response.

Crooks Should Keep Out of Court.

Archibald Woods was held in Jefferson Market Court yesterday, charged with having stolen a bicycle from Frank Albert, the ex-champion. Woods came to court to see the result of an excise arrest, and was recognized and arrested. He is said to have stolen bicycles at Stapleton, S. I., and other places.

At the Hotels.

Windsor.—Judge J. W. Tyler, of Cleveland.

Waldorf.—W. R. Hearst, of San Francisco; Franklin MacVeagh of Chicago; D. M. Riordan of Arizona, Arthur Lee, of St. Louis; Cortland Van Camp, of Indianapolis; W. S. Wilson, of Maryland.

Holland.—A. E. Burkhardt, of Cincinnati; Maurice L. Rothschild, of Minneapolis.

FOLLOWED HER FROM CITY TO CITY.

The Suicide's Brothers Arrange for His Burial and Cable the News to Their Father in Germany.

The body of William H. Vogel, the clothier's son, who shot himself Saturday afternoon after having attempted to kill his mistress, was left at the boarding-house, No. 123 East One Hundred and Sixteenth street, all day yesterday. Beyond the hiring of an undertaker by his brothers nobody seemed to care about it. The family did not come to town. The undertaker, James J. McLarney, of No. 1051 Third avenue, had instructions to remove the body to his establishment late at night, and avoid publicity as much as possible.

At the house of the Rev. Selig Rosenstamm, the father of Mrs. Adele Vogel, who got a divorce from Vogel last June, there was apparently a feeling of relief that he was out of the way.

Vogel had been living a wild, fast life. He needed money very badly at many times, and it was hinted yesterday that possibly it was not jealousy but financial troubles that caused his deed.

Louise V. Bartlett, the woman shot by Vogel, is still in Harlem Hospital, with a bullet lodged in her right hip. The physicians fear that peritonitis may carry her off. She is a handsome woman, and Vogel's infatuation with her was complete.

"I met him first Oct. 9, 1893, at the World's Fair," Miss Bartlett said last night. "We went to live together at No. 1235 Michigan avenue. He was insanely jealous of me from the first. He had a revolver. He gambled a great deal and often wrote to his father for money. He received amounts varying from $5 to $100.

"We went to St. Paul and later to Minneapolis. He was so jealous that our fellow-boarders thought him insane.

"I wrote to his father and asked him to take him home. I feared for my life. Then I left him and went to Milwaukee, where he followed me. One morning he fired four shots, none of which hit me. I then returned to Chicago and he followed me there. After a quarrel we separated again and I went to Boston. He came to Boston a week after and threatened to kill me if I did not accompany him to New York. We arrived here three weeks ago. Last Saturday morning he acted strangely. I did not know of the revolver in the bureau drawer. He came in saying that we would go down to Long Branch for a sail. I went to the closet to get my clothes, and when I turned I saw the revolver pointed at me and the next instant he fired without any word of warning.

"I dragged the mattress from the bed and shielded my body. He fired twice more and then shot himself."

Henry Vogel, the young men's father, is at Carlsbad, Germany. He has been cabled to and will return.

CAPSIZED OFF STATEN ISLAND.

Where Are the Passengers of the Jib and Mainsail Boat Jessie G. H., Found Floating Keel Up?

Capt. J. Hemmes, of Clifton, S. I., towed a jib and mainsail boat of about twenty-two feet into the dock at Clifton last night. It is thought those who sailed the boat earlier in the day were drowned.

The craft was picked up by Capt. Hemmes about a mile southwest of Swinburne Island, in the lower bay. The captain was in his steam launch Surprise. When sighted the yacht was floating keel up. She was taken to Swinburne Island, where she was righted and bailed out. She proved to be the Jessie G. H.

Her name was painted on the stern. Her sails were all set, and closely trimmed flat. From this it is thought she was on the port tack when she went over. If that was the case she was heading from Tottenville or Perth Ambuy. In the boat were a lady's hat pin and a number of bottles of soda water. The launch cruised about the spot where the boat was picked up, but could find nothing more.

The captain believes the boat was upset and that those who were in her were drowned. There was no other craft near her. The boat is at Heinmee's dock in Clifton.

A WICKED TWIN OF THREE.

He Crept Up Behind His Brother and Cut Off Two of His Fingers.

A young child of John Kelsey, of Centreport, N. Y., one of twins, was badly injured by his brother yesterday afternoon, who, in a fit of temper, took an axe and cut off two of the fingers of his right hand. The two boys were seated on a log when one struck the other, who went away and in a few minutes returned and crept up behind his brother and dealt him a blow with all his strength. The little hand was resting on the log alongside. The twins are not yet three years old.

Thoroughbreds and Thoroughbreds.

Along with the great lot of thoroughbred horses which arrived from England yesterday on the Mohawk, of the Cattle Transport line, were a number of theatrical celebrities. Mike [illegible] van, John L.'s former trainer, was one of them. Then there was Miss Margaret Morrington, author of "Capt. Letty Blair," Arthur Forrest, leading man with Mansfield; E. F. Cotton, of Frohman's Company, who sings of the hot dog, and the actresses Miss Morris and Miss Warren.

56

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880722004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Howls for Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.– p. 2 ; 43 cm.
In The New York Times. –(Aug. 20, 1894).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

linars

TABLE WATERS.

IN MILLIONS
SANY HOUSE-

ROACHABLE

ELL AS GOOD."
ARE RECOM-
DRINK IT."
ND FOR IT IS
NCREASING."

Times, London.

started. Fantasy was
con stood in the mile-
est mile was 2.15, less
what she had scored
style when a year

was a complete fail-
old form. Mr Mackey
California in charge
even more important
season, and was pro-
A complaining leg
and it was only after
fore that Silicon could
han Blake at Detroit
though a pronounced
ill luck followed her,
in moderate time, she
ally, when the struggle
third money and was
returning to Cleve-
ner, till one forenoon,
o 2 12, she stepped in
ramult with her train-

the Terre Haute Purse,
approaching, and the
were anything but
the preparation again
but it was not till
Buffalo meeting that the
old farm Goldsmith,
on carrying off the
heat, noted the im-
with much concern, as
piloted Dancourt to
they left Buffalo for
th drivers expressed
chances were in favor
who had seen so many
r brief career. Their
and, and Silicon, after
once more on the top
as the winner of the
given to one contest in

will moves nearer the
largely on the East-
attractions at Chicago
ary meeting at Pough-
shade. The revival of
on River Driving Park
derable interest, for
the regular line for
dropped out, finding it
large purses and play
hile the list of entries
commences next Tues-
any such sensations
at Washington Park,
aterial to insure good

LY FAMILY

an Who Remembers
Landstile.

Mail Journal

spoke a son of one of
ed the bodies from the
ide in the White Moun-
has been visiting in
and has had the story
himself
to them and I suppose
not fearful pulled when
ll for days with the
ddies are impressed
my mind than they
Father had taken up a
1821, and by 1826 had
y clearing the land and
barn. For two years
ng over the land, and
e looking forward to
work On the 28th
gan to rain, and many
Carroll County, were
lden that covered the
and rubbish in great
ail's tavern in Bartlett
Farmers were sitting
when in came a man
who told us about the
Willey farm.
the Willey farm, and
ix, concluded that they
re of a neighbor, Abel
was among us thought
ight Edward Melcher,
muel Tuttle, Abram
Ball and my

[illegible] ATTACK FROM FRANCE.

Premier Object to Bold and Calls Himself a Mimic Body.

From Correspondent London Telegraph.

M. Jules Simon's notes on his interview with the German Emperor will appear in the Revue de Paris to-morrow. The French politician and writer went to Berlin in order to attend the congress on Socialist questions, and he was most graciously received by the Emperor and Empress. The Kaiser somewhat resembled, according to M Jules Simon, a young Norman noble in appearance and manners. He was affable and gay, but there was something in his physiognomy which seemed to denote that it would not be well to differ with him on a serious question

When he received the delegates he was in a hussar uniform, covered with a mantle which was emblazoned with orders. The Empress was in mourning M. Jules Simon was astonished at the pure French and Parisian accent of the young monarch. "I must confess," he writes, "that he spoke better than I do, for I have a little of the Breton brogue left."

The Emperor, being complimented on his command of French, said that his teacher was a Parisian and a purist. "Have you heard me make use of an unorthodox expression?" asked the Kaiser. "Only once, your Majesty," replied the Academician. "When was that?" said the Emperor, showing a little surprise. "When you said that we were met here in order to tipple, (goinailler.)" "But the word 'goinailler' is in the dictionary of the Academy?" "It is," answered M. Jules Simon, "but it is never heard in the Academy or in the salons of the Academy." The Kaiser was much amused at this sally and promised to remember what he was told.

The conversation next turned on the works of French writers. The Emperor said that he was never so contented as when he dined quietly at home with his wife like a good burgher of Berlin, and read to her a chapter of a novel before retiring. He chiefly liked the works of Georges Ohnet, but it was in vain that M. Simon stood up for Zola. The Emperor admitted Zola's gifts as an inimitable story teller and a deep observer, but objected to certain methods of his.

M Jules Simon next tried to get the Kaiser to talk politics, but found it a difficult task. All that the young monarch said was that he thought it was better to do good for men than to terrify them; that he believed the French Army to be ready for an emergency; that the results of another campaign between France and Germany could not be foreseen, and that the man who should incite the two nations to go to war with each other would be either a madman or a criminal. M. Jules Simon concludes his interesting article with a description of the fall of Prince von Bismarck from power and of the departure of the Chancellor from Berlin amid the acclamations of the multitude, who had seemed to abandon him for a while when he had incurred the imperial disfavor.

THE WAR GOVERNORS.

Names of Men Who Served Their Country Well.

From The Columbus (Ohio) State Journal.

The death of ex-Gov. Austin Blair of Michigan removes the last but two of the famous "war Governors" of our time. The other exceptions are ex-Gov. W. P. Sprague of Rhode Island, afterward a United States Senator, who still survives, and holds the dignified position of policeman at Narragansett Pier, and ex-Gov. A. G. Curtin of Pennsylvania.

The late ex-Gov. Blair entered politics when the Republican Party was formed, in 1854, and in 1860 he headed the Michigan delegation to the Chicago convention, voting for William H Seward all the time. He was Governor of Michigan from 1861 to 1865, and gave active support to the National Government.

What a list of distinguished men is found in the "war Governors"! Many of them have been celebrated since the war, some of them have been Representatives, others have been Senators, and two have been Cabinet officers. California furnished Leland Stanford and F. F. Low; Connecticut, W. A Buckingham; Delaware, William Burton and William Cannon; Illinois, Richard Yates and Richard Oglesby; Indiana, Oliver P Morton; Iowa, S. J. Kirkwood and W. M. Stone; Kansas, Thomas Carney; Kentucky, B Magoffin and T E Bramlette; Maine, Israel Washburn, Jr., A. Coburn, and S. Cony; Maryland, A. W. Bradford; Massachusetts, John A. Andrew; Michigan, Austin Blair and H. H. Crapo; Minnesota, Alexander Ramsay; Missouri, H. R. Gamble; New-Hampshire, Isabod Goodwin and N. S. Berry; New-Jersey, Charles S. Olden and Joel Parker; New-York, Edwin D. Morgan and Reuben E. Fenton; Ohio, William Dennison, David Tod, and John Brough; Pennsylvania, Andrew G. Curtin; Rhode Island, W. P. Sprague; Vermont, Frederick Holbrook; Wisconsin, L. P. Harvey, Edward Salomon, and J. T. Lewis.

The "war Governors" of the Southern

HOWLS FOR EMMA GOLDMAN.

THALIA THEATRE FILLED WITH ENTHUSIASTIC ANARCHISTS.

Judge Martine and Assistant District Attorney McIntyre Attacked by Emma for Sending Her to Blackwell's Island—"Putting Nails in Their Coffins," She Said—Nowbray Railed Against the Police—Most Would not Talk.

Howls, screeches, handclapping, and thumping of feet greeted Emma Goldman last evening in the Thalia Theatre, on the Bowery, on her first appearance before the Anarchist public after her release from Blackwell's Island, where she had been doing unwilling work for New-York County as punishment for using incendiary language and inciting to riot and bloodshed.

The theatre was crowded from top to bottom. Men, women, and children kept trooping in. Every seat was taken, and the aisles were being filled until the firemen and police objected, and the order was given not to sell any more tickets. About a hundred persons were turned from the doors, and these got back their money after some squabbling at the box office.

The crowd was made up of various nationalities—Germans—but there were not very many of them—Italians, Russian Jews, Hungarians, Frenchmen, Cubans, and Spaniards. If there were any native Americans there they were so few as not to be noticeable, and yet Charles W. Mowbray, the English Anarchist, in his address, reminded them of the great struggle of their forefathers to shake off the galling English yoke. His hearers laughed heartily at this joke.

Long before the speakers appeared the air became stifling and sickening. But as many of those present were cloakmakers and tailors, who are accustomed to work in large groups in very limited space, they did not seem to mind it much.

Finally the Arbeiter Liedertafel, the Anarchist singing society, came out and rendered a revolutionary song. They are all Germans, and Justus Schwab is their leader. When the singers finished, a small crowd of Anarchists, men and women, came on the stage. Several took seats at a table in the middle of the stage, and Miss Voltairine de Cleyre, a Frenchwoman, became Chairman. She began talking in an extremely low voice, and some one shouted: "Louder!" She strained her voice to its utmost pitch, and gave her hearers the information that they were assembled to welcome back an Anarchist victim of capitalistic oppression who had dared to exercise her right of free speech.

This pleased the crowd immensely, and there was a roar of applause. Mowbray was then introduced, and he also told his hearers that they had come to welcome back a good Anarchist, who had dared to tell the starving masses that they had a right to live when their labor had made all that there was in society. He proceeded to quote Cardinal Manning, who, he said, had declared that a starving man had a right to his neighbor's food. Poor Emma Goldman, Mowbray continued, had suffered the tortures of Blackwell's Island, and if the capitalists could have their way she would still be in prison. But she was out, in spite of all, and she was still the same good Anarchist that she always had been. At this there was another howl.

Mowbray attacked capitalists and their agents, the police. He stigmatized the New-York police as a lot of pantalas. The English Army, he said, was no better. When he was an English soldier at Gibraltar the lessee of a valuable oyster bed complained to Gen. Napier about the depradations committed there. Gen. Napier offered to double the guard at the place, but the man begged him, for heaven's sake, not to do so.

"Please take away the guard that is there," he begged, "for it is the soldiers who steal my oysters."

The London police, Mowbray said, were gentlemen in comparison with the New-York police. He wondered how the American workingmen submitted to all the oppression and exactions of capitalists. They ought to look back with pride to their forefathers of the Revolution, who fought bravely to throw off the galling British yoke.

When Mowbray had subsided, a dark-complexioned Italian young woman, Maria Roda, came forward, holding up a red handkerchief. She called Emma Goldman the apostle of the new evangel and the preacher of humanity. She also attacked capitalists and all Governments that supported capitalists.

Roda was followed by Sarah Edelstadt, who made an address in the Jewish-German jargon. The crowd became [illegible]

NEW

ENGLAND

Lord Amherst [illegible] India for about [illegible] Mutiny of 1857 [illegible] years, and found [illegible] ready for him on [illegible] knew little about [illegible] he was called up [illegible] of the English [illegible] and was as ignorant [illegible] arts of war. Nevertheless, and England [illegible] indebtedness up, [illegible] extension of the [illegible] about through [illegible] the work is devoted [illegible] that war, and is [illegible] in a simple unpretentious [illegible] the operations of [illegible]

The English [illegible] know with the [illegible] edge of their [illegible] perception of [illegible] men. They found [illegible] over that the [illegible] people, and that [illegible] ingenuity in spite [illegible] ment and lack [illegible] tactics. The early [illegible] event of the war, [illegible] English fleet and [illegible] called for its surrender was thirty [illegible] and almost to [illegible] fired from the [illegible] to which one [illegible] piled, and the [illegible] tions missionary [illegible] a message from [illegible] inquired what [illegible] intimated that [illegible] other hostile demonstrations [illegible] all the European [illegible] at once. Before [illegible] Rangoon the [illegible] natives had discovered [illegible] city, and when [illegible] they found but [illegible] eight traders of [illegible] sionaries, the Am[illegible] English command[illegible] did not prevent [illegible] evacuation showed [illegible] capable of [illegible] and that the info[illegible] from it that they

What the Bur[illegible] the town and [illegible] whose [illegible] on account [illegible] country, they [illegible] reach of the [illegible] they could live [illegible] doubt they regret[illegible] they had the [illegible] army which had [illegible] besieged by [illegible] its supplies from [illegible] and Madras.

Meanwhile Mad[illegible] of the Burmese [illegible] the English safe [illegible] goon, moved an [illegible] frontier and att[illegible] was weak. At a [illegible] a decided victory [illegible] them flying before [illegible] were fell before [illegible] this operation the [illegible] lish an exhibition [illegible] says the author:

"While they [illegible] officers saw them [illegible] but presently the [illegible] rank were prostrate [illegible] fore long they were [illegible] ceased in couples [illegible] something after the [illegible] dwellings of prea[illegible] was not wanting [illegible] diers had with them [illegible] rial necessary for [illegible] which the siege [illegible]

This sort of w[illegible] edly, but in time t[illegible] stand that it was [illegible] tions against arm[illegible] the use of shell[illegible] cared but little.

Another charac[illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880722004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Howls for Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 43 cm.
In The New York Times. —(Aug. 20, 1894).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

...made. The revival of ...n River Driving Park ...nsiderable interest, for ...in the regular line for ...k dropped out, finding it ...large purses and play ...hile the list of entries ...t commences next Tues... ...e any such sensations ...d at Washington Park, ...material to insure good

...LEY FAMILY.

... Man Who Remembers ...t Landslide.

...ston (Me.) Journal

...Tasker, a son of one of ...uct the bodies from the ...slide in the White Moun... ...has been visiting in ... and has told the story ...e said

...boy then, and I suppose ...hat fearful period when ...out for days with the ...slides, are impressed ...n my mind than they. ...Father had taken up a ...n 1821, and by 1826 had ...ly clearing the land and ...d barn. For two years ...ng over the land, and ...re looking forward to ...his work. On the 28th ...gan to rain, and many ...Carroll County, were ...slides that covered the ...and rubbish in great ...ull's tavern in Bartlett ...Farmers were sitting ...when in came a man ..., who told us about the ...Willey farm.

...ed the Willey farm, and ...lly, concluded that they ...ns of a neighbor, Abel ...ers among us thought ...night Edward Melcher, ...Samuel Tuttle, Abram ...ge, Isaac Fall, and my ...started for the notch. At ...found the stream so ...ntleman Crawford, who ...nd Melcher carried him ...We had supper at Craw... ...that night. All night ...up through the notch ...ion. At last we arrived ...broke we commenced

...he mountain slide preg... ...back its track ...than three feet of the ...fell away one corner of ...rock and broken tim... ...d ended over along the ...he seemed to have sud... ...he lower end was more ...The upper crust hung ...rt, and formed several ...crowds had arrived, as ...ning family had spread ...sign could be found of ...last, noticing a cluster ...entrance of one of the ...led the attention of Mr ...to it, and the latter ...me out with a white, ...ared me, boy as I was, ...ip. He told the crowd ...hand of a man jammed ...and indicated where to

...Davis. After a hirsu... ...the body and clasp... ...was the body of Mrs ...of the rest of the ...ed in like manner with ...three of the children, ...e never recovered. ...had started to escape ...upon hearing the ava... ...upon them and had ...the flight. They had a ...ble bear to which they ...going. The house was ...deeply imbedded in the ...upted a beech tree ...the course of the ava...

...KEEP AWAKE.

...rkhouse That ...Credit.

...ndon Telegraph

...Poplar who work hard ...in order to pay their ...t be highly gratified to ...ve been wearing their ...to assist William Ed... ...of their workhouse, to ...It takes him half an ...up a pin and another ...herculean exertion he ...ed that he requires to ...in slumber to recruit ...He tried to induce ...cept a theory he had ...roved that the trouble ...in the morning was so ...his case it should be ...e arrangements and ...to his bedside. When ...e declined to acknowl... ...of this deduction. Ed... ...to carry his pet idea ...lously by crawling un... ...himself to a

...imperial disfavor.

THE WAR GOVERNORS.

Names of Men Who Served Their Country Well.

From The Columbus (Ohio) State Journal.

The death of ex-Gov. Austin Blair of Michigan removes the last but two of the famous "war Governors" of our time. The other exceptions are ex-Gov. W. P. Sprague of Rhode Island, afterward a United States Senator, who still survives, and holds the dignified position of policeman at Narragansett Pier, and ex-Gov. A. G. Curtin of Pennsylvania.

The late ex-Gov. Blair entered politics when the Republican Party was formed. In 1854, and in 1860 he headed the Michigan delegation to the Chicago convention, voting for William H. Seward all the time. He was Governor of Michigan from 1861 to 1865, and gave active support to the National Government.

What a list of distinguished men is found in the "war Governors"! Many of them have been celebrated since the war, some of them have been Representatives, others have been Senators, and two have been Cabinet officers. California furnished Leland Stanford and F. F. Low; Connecticut, W. A. Buckingham; Delaware, William Benton and William Cannon; Illinois, Richard Yates and Richard Oglesby; Indiana, Oliver P. Morton; Iowa, S. J. Kirkwood and W. M. Stone; Kansas, Thomas Carney; Kentucky, B. Magoffin and T. E. Bramlette; Maine, Israel Washburn, Jr., A. Coburn, and S. Cony; Maryland, A. W. Bradford; Massachusetts, John A. Andrew; Michigan, Austin Blair and H. H. Crapo; Minnesota, Alexander Ramsay; Missouri, H. R. Gamble; New-Hampshire, Icabod Goodwin and N. S. Berry; New-Jersey, Charles S. Olden and Joel Parker; New-York, Edwin D. Morgan and Reuben E. Fenton; Ohio, William Dennison, David Tod, and John Brough; Pennsylvania, Andrew G. Curtin; Rhode Island, W. P. Sprague; Vermont, Frederick Holbrook; Wisconsin, L. P. Harvey, Edward Salomon, and J. T. Lewis.

The "war Governors" of the Southern States were John G. Shorter and Thomas H. Watts, Alabama; H. M. Rector and Harris Flanagan, Arkansas; John Milton and A. K. Allison, Florida; Joseph E. Brown, Georgia; Thomas O. Moore, Louisiana; John J. Peters and Charles Clark, Mississippi; H. T. Clark and Zebulon Vance, North Carolina; F. W. Pickens, M. L. Bonham, and A. G. McGrath, South Carolina; Isham G. Harris, Tennessee; F. H. Lubbock and Pendleton Murrah, Texas; John Letcher and William Smith, Virginia.

From Stanford to Letcher there are many famous names, and the death of ex-Governor Blair recalls the fact that the "war Governors," both North and South, will soon be nothing more than a memory.

BEACONSFIELD'S PEACOCKS.

With Special Reference to One That Came to Tea.

From Our Animal Friends.

Some years ago I paid a visit to a friend who rented a cottage on Hughenden Manor, where the late Earl of Beaconsfield reared the celebrated white peacocks, which he ultimately bequeathed to Queen Victoria.

Soon after my arrival my friend, who was confined to a couch by a spinal affection, said

"I expect a gentleman to tea at 6 o'clock; would you, please, set the door ajar, for he cannot open it himself."

I thought this strange, but made no remark.

The sitting room was approached by a long, narrow passage, and presently—the tea service being laid—we heard the tap, tap of a regular tread approaching the room. Then followed a decided jab at the door, and in swept a magnificent peacock. No wonder, thought I, that in the early ages of chivalry the most solemn oath was taken on the peacock.

Our visitor walked straight to my friend, looking around as if in search of something. She produced some fruit and cake, which he ate out of her hand, and then picked up some crumbs soaked in milk from a saucer on the floor. I put forth my hand to caress him, upon which he raised himself on his toes and uttered a shrill cry, repudiating all my blandishments vigorously.

In the same manner he came every evening, remaining about half an hour. His affection for his hostess was evident, but I never got beyond his toleration.

Two months afterward my friend left Hughenden. Subsequently she wrote me:

"Poor Ralph is dead. That stupid gamekeeper never let him into the cottage nor fed him in the evening, as he promised me to do. I hear from the little maid you remember that the poor bird sat out in the rain and would lie for hours beneath the window, uttering occasionally a plaintive cry. At night he persisted in roosting in the cedar tree in the cottage lawn. Becoming too weak to fly upward, he lay among the shrubs in the dew, and was one morning found dead."

Of what did he die? Most probably of the passive cruelty of the gamekeeper.

The Colored Troops Did Nobly.

From The Anaconda (Mon.) Standard.

The military control of the Northern Pa-

Chairman. She began talking in an extremely low voice, and some one shouted "Louder!" She strained her voice to its utmost pitch, and gave her hearers the information that they were assembled to welcome back an Anarchist, victim of capitalistic oppression who had dared to exercise her right of free speech.

This pleased the crowd immensely, and there was a roar of applause. Mowbray was then introduced, and he also told his hearers that they had come to welcome back a good Anarchist, who had dared to tell the starving masses that they had a right to live when their labor had made all that there was in society. He proceeded to quote Cardinal Manning, who, he said, had declared that a starving man had a right to his neighbor's food. Poor Emma Goldman, Mowbray continued, had suffered the tortures of Blackwell's Island, and if the capitalists could have their way she would still be in prison. But she was out, in spite of all, and she was still the same good Anarchist that she always had been. At this there was another howl.

Mowbray attacked capitalists and their agents, the police. He stigmatized the New-York police as a lot of pantatas. The English Army, he said, was no better. When he was an English soldier at Gibraltar the lessee of a valuable oyster bed complained to Gen. Napier about the depredations committed there. Gen. Napier offered to double the guard at the place, but the man begged him, for heaven's sake, not to do so.

"Please take away the guard that is there," he begged, "for it is the soldiers who steal my oysters."

The London police, Mowbray said, were gentlemen in comparison with the New-York police. He wondered how the American workingmen submitted to all the oppression and exactions of capitalists. They ought to look back with pride to their forefathers of the Revolution, who fought bravely to throw off the galling British yoke.

When Mowbray had subsided, a dark-complexioned Italian young woman, Maria Roda, came forward, holding up a red handkerchief. She called Emma Goldman the apostle of the new evangel and the preacher of humanity. She also attacked capitalists and all Governments that supported capitalists.

Roda was followed by Sarah Edelstadt, who made an address in the Jewish-German jargon. The crowd became impatient, and called for Emma Goldman.

At last Emma came out from behind the wings, and all the Anarchists began to yell and clap their hands. This continued for nearly a minute, when Emma beckoned to them to stop. When silence was restored she began her speech.

"Here I am again," she said, "and, as you see, I am alive. You know it is impossible to kill a woman. Just fancy these American men prosecuting a woman!

"The representative men of America look across the ocean and beg the capitalists of Europe to help them drive out Anarchists like Emma Goldman. They teach us here to hate other nations, but when it comes to a question of prosecuting Anarchists, they unite with the Europeans."

Assistant District Attorney McIntyre and Judge Martine were bitterly attacked.

"When I listened to the speech of District Attorney McIntyre," she said, "and noticed the mean manner in which he tried to influence the jury against me, I said: 'You coward, it is your great fear of the doctrine of Anarchy that makes you speak so.' After he had poisoned the jury's mind, and it had convicted me, I was given over to the tender mercies of Judge Martine. And you know what he did. He gave me ten months on the Island because he could not give me more.

"Yes, they imprisoned me, but they could not imprison Anarchy. They did not succeed in breaking my belief, my faith in anarchy, our loving mother, and I defy Judge Martine and McIntyre to break Anarchy. The more they try the stronger we shall grow. They are driving nails into their own coffins.

"I am with you again under the flag of Anarchy to fight against our enemies until we bury them, and drive away misery and District Attorneys and Judges. These fellows live on our money and protect the wealthy robbers. Have we any freedom here? At every corner there are armed policemen. Do you call this freedom? If we were indeed free, we should not be here to speak thus. We should be talking about better things. So long as we have a drop of blood left, we will keep up the fight for liberty."

John Most had been announced as one of the speakers. Most and Emma Goldman have been deadly enemies, and have called each other names in the Anarchist papers. The Anarchists thought this would be a good opportunity to reconcile the two, and Most swallowed a bitter pill when he allowed his name to go on the list of speakers at the meeting.

Many of the Anarchists came on purpose to hear him speak. He came to the theatre and went as far as the wings, from where he took a peep at the audience. There were loud calls for Most, but one speaker after another was brought out, and the singing society sang another song, but still no speech from Most. At last it was announced that Most had gone away.

Justus Schwab moved an adjournment, but the crowd continued to shout for Most. Some cried out that there was fraud somewhere. Schwab picked up the Chairman's large boquet and followed her out behind the scenes. It was then realized that the "reception" was really over, and the audience slowly went out, muttering words of discontent at not having heard Most.

Widows and Widowers in Europe.

From The American Register, Paris.

International statistics prove that widows

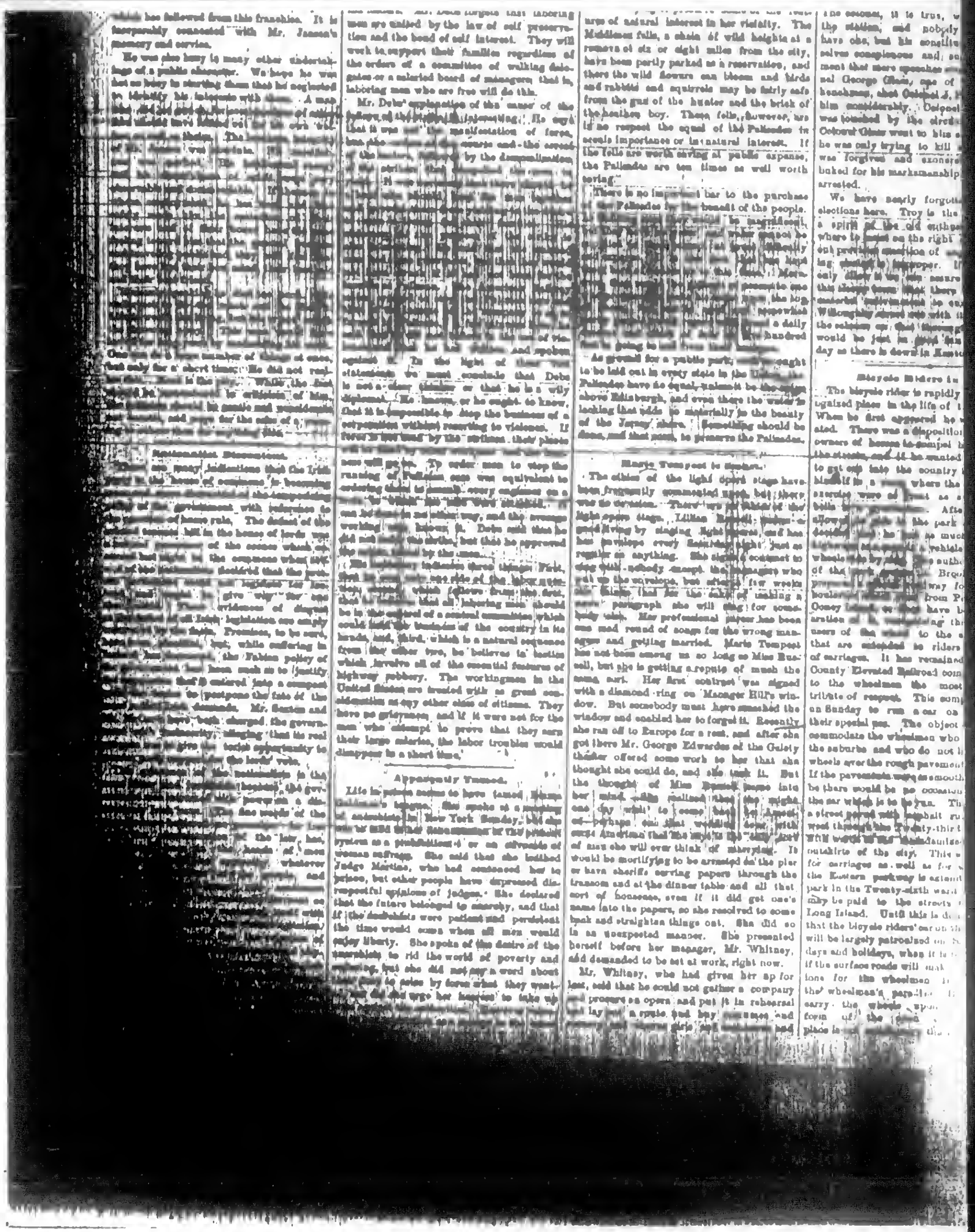
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

891215017

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Apparently Tamed / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The Brooklyn Daily Eagle. –(Aug. 21, 1894).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.



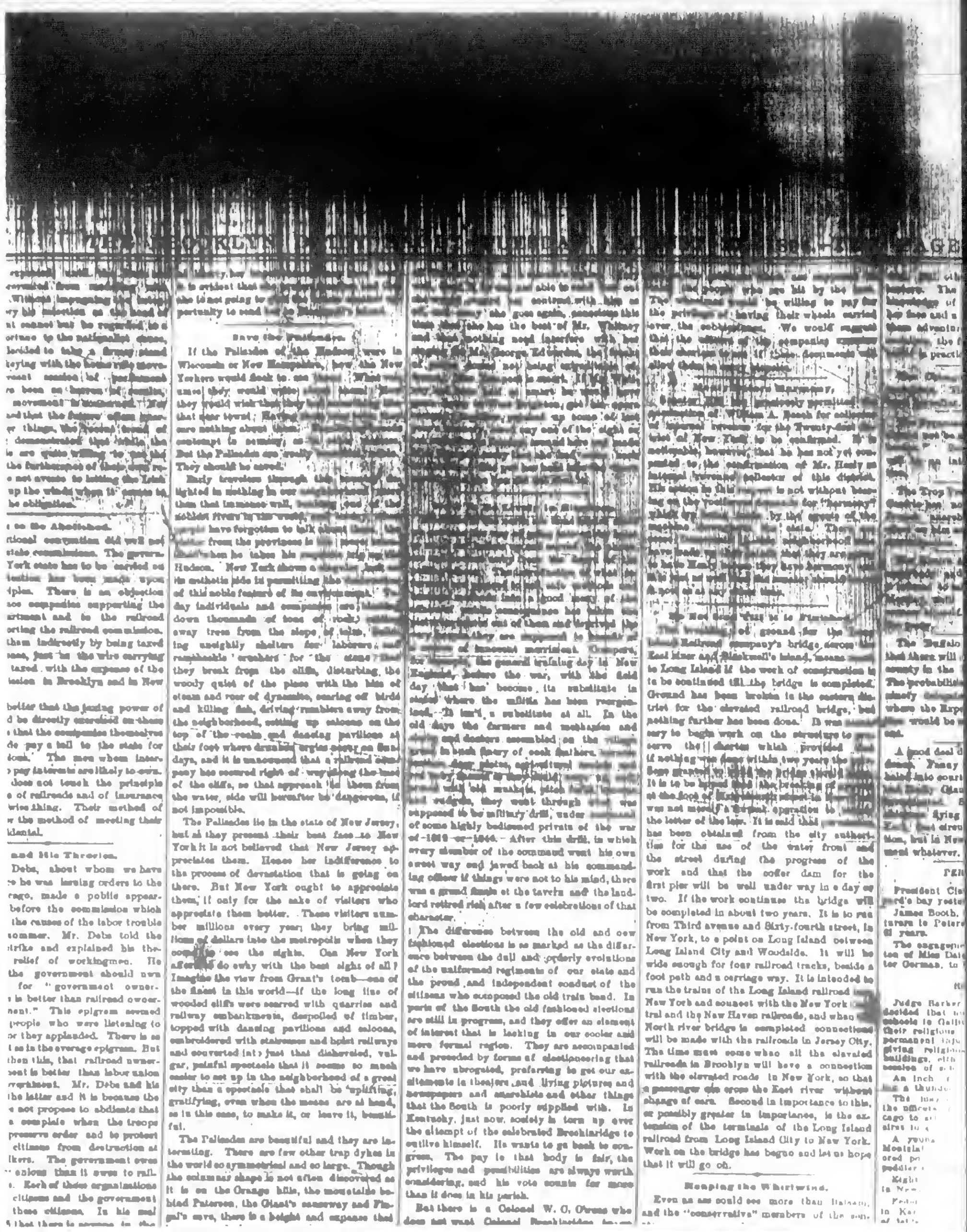
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

891215017

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Apparently Tamed / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The Brooklyn Daily Eagle. –(Aug. 21, 1894).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

871117002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Friends of Alexander Berkman] / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 31 cm. *In* The Firebrand [Portland]. – Vol. 1, no. 24 (July 21, 1895).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

adds the power of monopoly to the privilege of ownership. The difference in point of honesty between the two is, however, similar to that existing between sunlight and sunshine; the former finally necessitates the latter.

As regards money values, it is not necessary to refer to the authority of Judge Tiffany, and other government officials, to determine the fact that money is but the sovereign fiat of state authority, its material vehicle being a monopolized commodity, its intensified power, or value resulting therefrom, is yet but the embodiment of the sovereignity of law. Legal flats are equally as criminal as illegal counterfeits; the value of both is mythical, non-existent value. The beneficiary of counterfeit money is a criminal outlaw; the beneficiary of flatism is a capitalist by law. The monetizing of so called precious metals necessarily appreciates the commodity value of that portion of such metal not directly operative as money; as legal tender for debt, or for purchase. Money is but a creation of tyrannic state authority; simply an arbitrary privileged method of creating artificial capital, in order to control the wealth, and natural capital, of the producers. It is legalized, enforced robbery. The complete demonitisation of the accumulated metallic currency, the absolute extinction of representative values, and all forms of legal flatism, applied to each and every government existent, would undoubtedly open the eyes of the civilised producers. They would then abruptly discover ownership to be the foundation of this accursed system, and its beneficiaries to be the announcers and controliers of statuary government. They would discover that the fortified State exists as a bulwark to defend law and ownership, and to enforce the arbitrary levying of tribute.

With such defrauding institutions in vogue, asking the quiet consent of the producers to such tomfoolery tactics, the product of displaced labor soon passes into the hands of such criminal parasites. This monstrous regime is at bottom an absolute despotism, though not apparently so to the victimized producers. Such a system must completely and finally embrace the monopolization of both natural and artificial capital—of both ownership and government. The intrinsic value of metalic money is the commodity worth, and whatever that value is can be ascertained only after they completely cease their money functions; this value will be small compensation for the labor expended in production and the enslavment resulting therefrom. The fictitious legal value, or fiat, connected therewith, is valueless, and forever dependent upon the producers blindness and the fortified State for its existence; its beneficiaries ever require these provisions in order to enable them to manufacture such unless capital, and force their purchasing fiat into circulation amongst the producer's essential wealth, and real capital, its invented utilities. This criminal purchasing power coupled with other forms of legal privilege, united with the crime of ownership in the earth's resources, is what gives capitalistic society its exploiting power; being united with, and dependent upon the fortified State for existence, privilege and monopoly must live and die together with the State. The producer's wealth is thus quite easily obtained and their functions completely controlled by these magical processes; it is by such despicable methods that the wage and profit system is born and developed, hand in hand with government. The products of the wage slaves and producers of all classes, passing directly, also indirectly, into the possession of legalised brigands, through monopolisation of the land and the machinery of production, which is accomplished through the existion of, and monopolization of fortified statuary government, and its legal product, artificial capital. Labor's produce now presents itself in its ownership garb as commerce, with a price attached thereto, and being but the wealth of the producers abstracted therefrom under the guise of a wage system, and as profits, rent, interest and taxes; this being the case commerce is best defined as alien property, that privilege and monopoly deducts from producers. It is the price that producers pay for legal capital and government. It is the spoils of ownership-authority.

(to be continued)

Correspondence.

I beg to call the attention of THE FIREBRAND comrades, and liberty loving men and women everywhere, to the fact that the friends of Alexander Berkman are getting ready to appeal for a commutation of the excessive sentence imposed upon him, in 1892, for attacking Frick, the superintendent of the Carnegie iron works, during the labor troubles of that time. Most of your readers will, no doubt, remember the outrageous treatment labor received at the hands of capital, during the Homestead strike; how Pinkerton's men were engaged by Frick, smuggled down there and armed with Winchester rifles, with instruction from this man Frick, to shoot to kill. Now these hired assassins charged upon a group of defenceless men and women, who were armed with nothing but their courage and honesty of purpose, killing eleven and wounding many more. As usual the attention of the strikers was directed to the poor scabs, who are ever through circumstances compelled to take their places, while Frick, who was directly responsible for the trouble, who gave the order to drive the sick wives and children of the strikers from their homes, and who expressed the desire to have the working men massacred, rather than to see them win the strike, was not in the least molested. Even the capitalist press joined with many law-abiding citizens in denouncing Frick, and sympathising with the unfortunate workmen.

It was at this stage that Berkman appeared upon the field, July 23d., 1892. Though not a striker, and not suffering from the cruelty of Frick himself, he keenly felt the wrongs inflicted upon his brethren. Berkman, the noble youth, recognizing the man who was responsible for the sufferings of the strikers, determined to strike a blow at the cause of the evil, and the death of the eleven victims. The cries of starving mothers and innocent children gave him courage and will power to combat the enemy. He made an unsuccessful attack on Frick, slightly wounding him, but creating consternation in the enemy's camp. By the light of subsequent events it is shown that the act was not altogether in vain; Plutocracy has never raised its head so proudly since.

Utterly terrified, fearing a similar attack from other sources, the authorities hurried Berkman away to prison, where he was forced to remain two months, after which time he was brought before a prejudiced judge and jury, without council, or the least chance to defend himself. He was, on the 20th. of September sentenced to twenty-two years imprisonment; such a trial being illegal and without a precedent in the history of jurisprudence.

Today, while Frick, in perfect health, lives to enjoy his ill-gotten wealth, poor Berkman is languishing in a dark, musty cell, shut away from his friends and from the world, never enjoying a stray beam of sunshine; still dreaming of a dawn of perfect freedom, and a day when labor will no longer be crushed beneath the iron heel of wealth. For behind his prison bars his big warm heart still throbs with the hopes and fear of the downtrodden; he still keeps watch on the events of our times, and when permitted to write to his friends still encourages them not to give up the fight. Though but a boy in years, he has shown the philosophy and courage of a man; no word of complaint has ever passed his lips in all these three years, although he has been subjected to even more rigerous discipline than prisoners usually undergo.

Lovers of justice everywhere, even if not in sympathy with the feeling that prompted the act of 1892, must recognise the injustice of such a trial, under such circumstances, and by such a judge and jury, and must agree with us that when, according to the law he was accused of violating, the extreme penalty should have been seven years, the tactics pursued in order to sentence him for such a length of time were unlawful, as well as unjust and inhuman.

Berkman does not petition for a pardon, nor for a new trial, but simply for a reduction of tence. Comrades and friends that feel interested in this poor prisoner will bear in mind that money is required for every effort of this kind, and will help us all they can.

Those desiring further information, or desiring to contribute to the fund, should address, until further notice, Charles Schneider, 82 Hill street, 12th. Ward, Allegheny, Pa.

Emma Goldman."

Comrades:—The Journals of Europe have the defect that they do not give us an exact idea of the revolutionary movement in America. In order to be up to date with the progress of the emancipation of the people, it becomes necessary to read the papers in their original language. I subscribe for your paper, and the amount of subscription will be sent as soon as the paper is received.

Markaloff.

Rustchuk, Bulgaria.

All our exchanges who favor justice will please copy and request others to. The comrades everywhere will do well to exert themselves in Berkman's behalf. Get your local papers to mention this effort to free Comrade Berkman.

890127098

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview, Th]e Red Queen Is Here / Emma Goldman.– 36 cm. *In* The Pittsburgh Leader. –[(Sept? 1895, fragment)].

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

SINGLE COPY—FIVE CENTS

E RED QUEEN IS HERE.

a Goldman Says There Is No Prosperity in Pittsburg Except for the Employer.

IS GOING TO STUDY MEDICINE ABROAD.

perity! There's no prosperity cept for the employers. I find ers just as poor as they were was here last. Prosperity and e two different things; there is ut not prosperity."

was the sting of poignant sar- tbe words as they came from of Emma Goldman, the "Red of anarchism, as she made re- he question of a representative Sunday "Leader," "Why do you Pittsburg to speak when there uch prosperity?"

Goldman arrived in the city yes- and is staying with friends, fel- mmunists. She is just returning eight months' tour through the d southwest, having spoken in ncipal cities of California, Colo- ansas, Illinois and various oth- s. She is here now not so much ead the propaganda as to the sleeping Anarchists." Last s spoke in West Newton to a f sympathizing workmen. This ; she is to be heard at Collins- ar West Newton; on Tuesday Church on Thursday at Co- Turner hall in Lawrenceville; ay at Moorhead's hall, Grant nd Second avenue, under the of the Molders' union; at Tur- , Lawrenceville, on Saturday; lows' hall, South Side, on Octo- cDonald on October 3 and 4; at le avenue, Pittsburg, on Octo- he following night at Fayette the 9th at Roscoe; 10th at K. ll, 432 Wood street. After a day f rest among her friends she o New York, whence on Octo- e will sail for Europe. She ex- spend at least three years during which time she says she ve America a rest." The first ead will be spent in spreading propaganda in England, Scot- l France, and the two remain- s in Switzerland, where Miss



aldman, From Her Best Pic- ture.

expects to pursue the study of for the purpose of "minister- physical sufferings as well as g! sufferings of humanity." ready graduated as a trained t belie es she can be of better her fellows as a physician, not however, entertain any bandoning anarchy for medi-

rchist congress is to be held in 900, during the World's fair. s Miss Goldman is accredited can secretary and delegate American groups. The place of ng has not yet been desig- t the month of August has l upon as the time. This will st anarchistic congress held since 1878. It is fathered by Nowhenhas, editor of the ialist,' a German publication; ditor of a French socialistic d Reclus, the distinguished st of France. Speaking of the Miss Goldman said: may be trouble but if there ready for it; we are prepared o the bitter end."

ed that some effort may be France to prevent the assem- ris of foreign Anarchists in nts the Reds will make a l stand. As for herself she s no trouble. "I am an citizen," she said seeming for the moment to forget that anarchy recognizes no form of government or order, "and that may carry me through all right." Then she added, in response to a query, that she had never had any trouble in Paris, although she had spent some time there at a period, however, when there were no disturbances.

Miss Goldman's speeches here will be upon such topics as "Patriotism," "Politics and Its Corrupting Effect Upon Men," "Trade Unionism" and "Why I Am an Anarchist-Communist."

"I am here not so much to make a propoganda," she said to the "Leader" man, "as to awaken the people. I do not believe Anarchists are made; I think they are born. There is no prosperity for the workingman; there is work, 'tis true, but the toiler is not sharing in the fruits of his labor. Prosperity! That is for the employer. Why the miners are no better off to-day than they were when I was here before when there was so much talk of hard times."

An interrogatory as to what is being done in the case of Alexander Berkmann brought forth this explanation: "In the first place I was always opposed to any legal efforts in behalf of Berkmann because I knew in behalf of action was contrary to my views and principles. Still what I did for him was done in the name of humanity; would not retard anything that others might think proper in his behalf. The pardon board, you understand, has refused to hear the Berkmann case because Mr. Frick while he has not said 'nay' has intimated to the pardon board that it would not be to the interest of his class to do anything for the prisoner. So the Czar of Russia declares Berkmann shall not be pardoned. Nothing further is being done for Berkmann now."

Miss Gnidman related her experience at Spring Valley, Ill., this month on the occasion on which she was alleged to have wished to baptize some children with beer. "There was no truth whatever in the published reports," she said emphatically. "The facts of the matter are these. Between the time of my former visit to Spring Valley in May and the last one this month, 19 children had been born into Anarchist families. The women folks are not very far advanced and the men wanted to get them out to our meetings so I could talk to them on women's questions, so we played a little trick by inviting them to bring their children as a sort of reunion. I made a remark about the Christians baptizing with water and said if wine was good enough for them I was opposed to any adulteration and preferred the pure beer or wine. There was no reference to baptizing the children in beer, for in the first place we do not believe in baptism at all.

"I had some trouble with the police in Spring Valley on September 6. We had arranged for a parade and meeting on the public square; I carried the red flag at the head of the procession and it was just like waving a red rag in the face of a bull. The mayor threatened to arrest me if I spoke although he had already given permission for the meeting. I then remained in my room, but he still [illegible] not address the crowd and that they should disperse. I told him that the men were armed and were determined to hold the meeting, that if I were disposed to do so I could not influence them to leave, but that if he would not interfere with us I would guarantee that there would be no trouble. If, on the other hand, he did interfere I would not be responsible for what would happen. He finally said that I should be careful what I said. At all events we held the meeting and the newspapers roundly roasted the mayor for showing the white feather."

Regarding the Dreyfus case she said: "The Dreyfus case has done more to discredit anarchy than twenty-five years of active propaganda; it has done more to show the world how rotten the government of France is than anything else in history. Of course, the Anarchists are all for Dreyfus, they did a great deal of work in his behalf. Personally I do not believe Dreyfus is a sympathetic character. What the Anarchists did, however, was from a humanitarian point of view—a principle."

Miss Goldman was with a group of fellow Anarchists when the writer talked to her, among the party being Messrs. Bauer and Gordon, who were active in the movement for Berkmann's pardon. She looked remarkably well, and as she passed along Smithfield street the casual observer would never have suspected that an Anarchist of international notoriety was so close at hand. She wore a neat fitting black suit with tailor-made jacket and a small toque.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890123004

The Emma Goldman Papers

Alexander Berkmann / Emma Goldman.– p. 54 ; 47 cm. *In* The Torch [London]. –Vol. 2, no. 4 (Sept. 1895).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

I remember a gentleman stating as a proof of his truthfulness, when I cast a doubt upon an assertion that he had made, that he was a member of the Institute of Journalists, and wrote for a great many London newspapers. He seemed quite astonished when the crowd around laughed and howled. I was not surprised at all. E. Y.

EMMA GOLDMANN.

Our comrade, Emma Goldmann, from New York, who has been in London during the last few weeks, has thrown herself into the breach with all her accustomed energy, and has given a very much needed fillip to our open-air propaganda. She has addressed large and enthusiastic crowds at Regent's Park, Hyde Park, and at our different stations in the Canning Town district. On Friday, 13th, in company with Louise Michel, Lawrence, and others she addressed a meeting at South Place Institute, giving an account of the treatment our comrade Berkmann is subjected to in prison, and trying to interest the public in the efforts made to bring about a reduction of the cruel and vindictive sentence of 23 years passed on him. P.

ALEXANDER BERKMANN.

I beg to call the attention of the *Torch* readers and liberty loving men and women everywhere, to the fact that friends and comrades of Alexander Berkmann are about to appeal for a commutation of the excessive sentence imposed upon him in 1892 for attacking Frick, the superintendent of the Carnegie iron works, during the labor troubles of that time.

All our readers will remember the causes which led to the brave act of our comrade Berkmann, and even those not sympathising with the feeling that prompted the act of July 1892, must recognize the injustice of the sentence passed on Berkmann by American "justice," and must agree with us that when, according to the law which he was accused of violating, the extreme penalty should have been *seven years*, the tactics pursued in order to sentence him to 22 years imprisonment were unlawful, as well as unjust and inhuman. Berkmann does not petition for a pardon, nor for a new trial, but simply for a reduction of sentence.

Comrades and friends who feel interested in the welfare of our brave, courageous, imprisoned comrade are requested to give us their financial aid

Subscriptions will be received by Comrade Gunderson, 98, Wardour St., Soho Square, London, W.

EMMA GOLDMANN.

ITALY.

CAVALOTTI's heroic attempts to bring Crispi to justice and to force him to defend himself before a judge have, as we predicted, ended in failure. As already reported, the judge charged with the preliminary investigation of the documents collected by Cavalotti has decided that the accusations cannot be sustained. Part of the evidence he rejected as not bearing the construction placed on it, and with regard to the rest he declared that the court had no jurisdiction and that the parliament alone was competent to deal with it. As Crispi is absolutely sure of the votes of the thieves and lackeys who have sold themselves body and soul to him, he can continue to defy public opinion, and carry on the game which has made Italian politics stink in the nostrils of every honorable man.

It has been suggested that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the entry of the Italian army into Rome should be celebrated by a general amnesty. A ministerial council was held last week to discuss the question, but the outcome of its deliberations has not yet been made known Judging from the way the police are acting in Sicily, where the dissatisfaction amongst the peasants is constantly spreading, and isolated outbreaks are a matter of every-day occurrence, the talked-of amnesty will remain a pious aspiration of a few well-meaning journalists.

At Palermo twelve of the best-known leaders of the revolutionary Socialists have been arrested in virtue of the law of July 1894 and sent into *domicilio coatt.*. Amongst them is Prince Cuto, and the editor and most of the staff of the *Riscossa*, which, in consequence, has ceased publication. Several other warrants have not yet been executed, as the people against whom they are directed have disappeared. P.

FRANCE.

THE situation at Carmaux remains unchanged. The company demands the unconditional return to work of the glass-blowers on strike, while the latter persist in their demands. Public opinion is still on the side of the strikers, and subscriptions are flowing in from all sides. M. Jaures is doing his best to keep up the spirits of the workers, holding meetings continually, and working indefatigably on their behalf.

In spite of all the extensive precautions taken by the police not to lose sight of Senator Magnier he has managed to give them the slip, and to disappear. The papers assert that the watch kept on his house was nothing but an elaborate farce, and that it was never intended to arrest him, as he was mixed up with too many people, still high in power, who were afraid of the revelations he might make when brought to trial.

The perpetrator of the joke on Baron Alphonse de Rothschild has not yet been discovered. It is pretty evident that the affair has been grossly exaggerated. The letter most probably contained nothing but a cracker which was arranged to go off when it was opened, and thereby to frighten the recipient.

A young man entered Rothschild's bank in the Rue Lafitte about 3 p m. on the afternoon of the 5th September under suspicious circumstances, but was immediately taken up by a detective. When arrested he was seen to carry something which, on examination turned out to be a cocoa tin containing a mixture of chlorate of potash and gunpowder. He had attempted to ignite a fuse attached to the bomb with the end of a lighted cigarette, but did not succeed in doing so before the police overpowered him He first refused to give any information about himself, but admitted that he was an Anarchist and claimed to have had serious intentions of wrecking the bank. He turns out to be a man of education, a skilled workman of the name of Leon Boutelhe, and asserts in a letter that he addressed to the Juge d'Instruction that he intended to cause an explosion because the sight of wealth inspired him with a feeling of hatred, as he, as well as the majority of his fellow-workers, were obliged to spend their lives for the purpose of enriching millionaires.

Our Comrade Alexander Cohen, who returned last month to Paris to be retried in consequence of the sentence passed on him at the trial of the thirty, was acquitted last week and immediately expelled the country. The police did not even allow him to communicate the fact of his expulsion to his wife, but conducted him straight from the prison to the station. He revenged himself by making a detective, who accompanied him, carry a large and heavy dictionary, and giving generally as much trouble as possible. P.

BELGIUM.

FOUR Anarchists living at Anvers have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for having in their possession

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

63

880805006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in London / Emma Goldman.— pp. 173-174 ; 36 cm. *In* Liberty [London]. —Vol. 2, no. 22 (Oct. 1895).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

going doing!" Surely he has not retired altogether from the active part he has so long taken in the progressive movements of the age. Nor can it be that Inverness is so far north as to place him out of reach. He, at any rate is not forgotten: neither is his work. We shall be pleased to hear from him.

That the wheat crop this year is one of the smallest ever known in the United Kingdom is a fact of considerable interest, even to Anarchists, who are sometimes accused of indifference with regard to such subjects. That in the event of a war breaking out the people of this country might absolutely be without a supply of grain is the "bogey" generally trotted out on these occasions. Occasionally also—as was done the other day in the *Chronicle*—a correspondent points to the system of more intelligent cultivation recommended by Kropotkin. These ideas are, however, beside the question really at issue. What is necessary in order to solve the agricultural problem is the abolition of the present landlord system—in other words the (comparatively speaking) free use of land. Nothing short of this will put the cultivator of the soil in a position to truly benefit himself and the community at large.

Politicians, including some of the I. L. P., are beginning to notice the cloud "no bigger than a man's hand" that is rising on the horizon and which will overshadow the next School Board election. It is evident—clear as noonday—that the sectarians (Catholic, Church, Dissent,) have already acquired a power over the machinery of public education that is bound in the end to destroy anything and everything tending to promote secular and unfettered teaching in our schools. This is the outcome of pandering to compromise on a subject that should years ago have been placed outside the influence of both creeds and parties. As Anarchists we are called upon to support free education in the fullest and most comprehensive definition of the term. To all sectarians—be they of the class tolerant or intolerant—our warning is "Hands off. Teach your mysticism, or your theology, if you must teach such things, in your own schools, but not in public schools or with the money of the public."

Friends and comrades in America are about to appeal for a commutation of the sentence on Berkmann, and a fund is being subscribed for paying the expenses which must be incurred. The injustice and illegality of the sentence passed on Berkmann is described in the address given by Emma Goldman, on the 13th ult., and reported in this issue. It is earnestly hoped that English Anarchists will render all the assistance they can. Contributions will be received and thankfully acknowledged by Comrade Gunderson, 98, Wardour Street, Soho Square.

In answer to numerous enquirers we state with very much regret that the health of our Comrade and earnest co-worker L. S. Bevington remains in a very precarious state. Every reader of LIBERTY will join with us in sincerely hoping that rest, quiet, and bracing sea air may tend to ultimate renewal of vigorous life.

The labour war is being carried on at Carmaux by the strikers there with great pluck and determination, in defence of the right of organization, which in theory is allowed by law. Any attempt, however, to put the law into practice is immediately met by that brutal form of suppression so characteristic of the bourgeoisie. It is a marked feature in connection with this strike, that not one of the men will draw a franc from the strike fund so long as he has anything to sell or pawn. The fund in existence will require augmentation as the battle goes on, and if English comrades can assist and will send on their contributions to the office of LIBERTY, we will acknowledge and forward to the proper quarter.

EMMA GOLDMAN IN LONDON.

PUBLIC MEETING AT SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE, FINSBURY.

Emma Goldman, the woman who voiced the sufferings of the unemployed in New York in 1892, and who consequently suffered imprisonment for this so-called breach of the laws of the U. S. A., arrived in England on the 22nd of August. Her first appearance in public was in Regents Park, where she spoke to a large crowd. At later periods she addressed meetings at Hyde Park, Whitechapel, Canning Town, Barking, and Stratford, her speeches being recieved in every case with marked approval. And on Friday evening the 13th ultimo she delivered an interesting address in the South Place Institute, Finsbury.

The meeting was called to consider the subject "Political Justice in England and America." The chair was occupied by R. Peddie, and on the platform and amongst the audience were Louise Michel, Touzeau Parris, E. Leggatt, Henry Seymour, Amy Morant, C. Morton, G. Lawrence, and James Tochatti.

The Chairman having briefly stated the object for which the meeting had been called, Comrade Leggatt spoke on his imprisonment and said that a magistrate was always more severe on a man if he happened to be an Anarchist than upon an ordinary man, and that he as a working man would continue to assert his right to ride in comfort.

J. Tochatti said the question of Political Justice in England no one could afford to ignore, whatever their political views may be, nor could we allow the Continental system of "agents provocateur" to be introduced without strenuous opposition. Justice was not administered in accord with equity but used by the classes to suppress all advanced thought which threatened their interests. Acts of Parliament passed in panic had been strained in order to brutally punish men who had been trapped by the police. It had been admitted by ex-detective M'cIntyre that the Walsall Anarchists were victims of a police plot. It was difficult to believe that in England men like Charles and Battola were suffering through the infamy of men like Coulon and the reptile detectives of Scotland Yard, but such was the case.

Henry Seymour said the case of Berkmann, who got 22 years for a 7 years' offence because he happened to hold anarchistic views showed, according to American law, that if 7 years' imprisonment was a sufficient punishment for an attempt to kill, 15 years' imprisonment was the adequate penalty for daring to hold an opinion that American law was rotten. The case of the Chicago Anarchists made it manifest that the United States police were capable of every conceivable villiany. Torning our attention to our own country, the Walsall Case showed that the Secret Service, in the light of the revelations of inspector M'c Intyre, was an abomination not to be endured. Having recently taken an interest in the Maybrick Case, he said he was acquainted with its details, and could speak with assurance of the scandalous way in which the police manufactured evidence to secure a conviction, and an acquaintance with the case of John Hay revealed that Home Office officials were open to barefaced bribery. We might agitate and secure the reduction of unjust sentences in a few cases, but it must be understood that there is no radical remedy for this state of things except to put an end to the present inequitable economic conditions which permit the privileged few, who control the government, to live in opulence and ease at the expense of the degradation of the masses.

Emma Goldman dealt with the subject from an American point of view. She said three years had past, since Alexander Berkmann, the noble youth, attempted to avenge the wrongs inflicted upon the strikers at Homestead, during the labor troubles of 1892. Three years of struggle, hardship and privation for the working class, and wealth, extravagance, amusements and pleasure, for a privileged few.

"What(she asked) was Berkmann's crime?" Had he stolen the wealth labor had created? Had he robbed mankind of the necessary means of life? Had he invested the hard earned pennies of widows and orphans in swindling schemes? Had he built factories, where men women and half grown children, were slowly tortured to death? Had he plagued, cheated, enslaved, and tyrannized humanity? No! Had he done all that, he might have remained a free man, he would have been honored and respected as a good citizen, have had a chance of being elected to Parliament, Senate, or Congress, or chosen as President of the U. S. A. Berkmann was in prison, because he hated and opposed all this, because he was strong, and let the act follow the thought, because he attempted to destroy the life of a man, who had brought disaster and privation upon thousands of people. The condition of of the workers in America was just as miserable as in other countries, the strikes that had taken place within the last ten years demonstrated the long suppressed sufferings of the working classes. It was the Homestead strike of 1892, which revealed to the public the dreadful condition of the amalgamated steel and iron workers, and the brutal treatment they were subjected to by Frick, the superintendent; the workers were actually owned by Carnegie and Frick; the barracks they lived in belonged to Carnegie and Frick, the food, tools and clothing had to be bought at Carnegie's shops, and the prices they paid for these necessaries were enormous. The result of such tyrannical treatment was the strike of July 1892. The men were determined to fight for their homes and families, they were ready to die if necessary, they would not endure a life of drudgery any longer. Frick seeing the earnestness and seriousness of his slaves, engaged a number of Pinkerton's men at two dollars per day, smuggled them into Homestead and gave them the order to shoot and to kill. On the 6th of

880805006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in London / Emma Goldman.— pp. 173-174 ; 36 cm. *In* Liberty [London]. —Vol. 2, no. 22 (Oct. 1895).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

July these armed assassins charged upon a crowd of men and women, killing eleven and wounding many more. The strikers fought a brave battle; they energetically defended themselves and drove back the hired blood-hounds; Frick called upon the government to send the militia to his assistance. Of course the Government complied. What was the army in America for? what was an army kept for in England, or on the continent, if not to protect private property? But the militia would never have been permitted by the strikers to enter within the boundaries of Homestead, they would have had to pass over the bodies of the workers. The authorities saw the people were in earnest, they understood that to use force would mean a war, so they decided to use a trick. The strikers were promised full protection against the Pinkerton's men and that "scabs" should not be put to work in the mines; the poor deluded and confiding strikers, did not see this trap and the militia were allowed to march into the town cheered and applauded by the people; those people afterwards shot down like dogs by the cowardly brutes in uniform. Frick who schemed all those things, and who gave the order to drive the sick wives and starving children of the strikers from their homes, he who caused the death of the eleven victims on the 6th of July, who expressed the intention to have the workers massacred, rather than let them win the strike, was not in the least molested. It was then that Berkmann appeared; though not a striker himself and not suffering from the brutality of Frick, he keenly felt the wrongs inflicted upon his brethren. Alexander Berkmann decided to strike a blow at the cause of the evil. His hatred of tyranny gave him the requisite courage, and on the July 23rd, 1892, he made an unsuccessful attack on Frick, only wounding him but creating consternation in the enemy's camp. Utterly terrified and fearing a similar attack from other quarters the authorities hurried Berkmann away to prison, where he remained months without trial, after which time he was taken before a prejudiced judge and jury, and without counsel, or an opportunity to defend himself, was on the 20th of Sept. sentenced to 22 years' imprisonment. Such a trial was illegal and without precedent in the history of American jurisprudence. It was an open secret that America was ruled by a band of thieves who monopolized the land, machinery, rail-roads mines and factories, in fact all the wealth of the country. All laws were made and enforced by the few. The rights of free speech, assembly and the press, were things of the past, so far as the interests of the workers were concerned, and the constitution which provided equality before the law, had never been observed in the U. S. Men who were in power and had the almighty dollar could commit any crime, seduction, theft, etc. and remain unpunished. Every official from the policeman to the President could be bribed; but those not possessing the means were lost—were helpless. Frick and Carnegie used their stolen money freely in order to obtain a long sentence for Berkmann, and they succeeded. Twenty two years' imprisonment! Did it not make one's blood run cold to think of it? Could they imagine what it meant to be shut out from the world, to be buried alive for such a long term within prison walls? Could they grasp what it was to suppress one's feelings, wishes, passions and thoughts, to become a mere automatic machine, to see the same cold cruel faces of the watchmen, to hear the same harsh voices of the officials week after week, year after year—to have darkness around you all that time? No! no one who had not been in prison could understand it. Such however was the lot of hundreds of men and women in Siberia—in modern bastilles all over the world. Berkmann was one of the great army of free thinkers, revolutionists and Anarchists, who had sacrificed their life and liberty for the advancement and welfare of mankind. Frick to-day was in perfect health, was enjoying his illgotten wealth. The Brutus of the 19th Century was languishing in one of prisons of America, but was dreaming of the dawn, of a day of perfect liberty when labor would no more be crushed beneath the iron heel of Capitalism. Behind the prison bars, his big warm heart still throbbed with the hopes and fears of the down-trodden, he still watched the events of our times and when permitted to write to his friends encouraged them to continue the fight. No word of complaint had escaped his lips during those three weary years, although he had been subjected to even more rigorous discipline than prisoners usually were. The pistol shot of the 23rd of July had found an echo in the hearts of the oppressed and opened the eyes of many people to the fact that the Anarchists were not a gang of ruffians, as Society was pleased to call them. Anarchism meant the destruction of the existing brutal system of exploitation and robbery of the masses, but not by unnecessarily violent means, and its aim was to establish a society of complete freedom, and respect for one another, free access to the means of life and to every individual unrestricted liberty to own the proceeds of his labor, and the right to learn, study, enjoy, love and live according to his own tastes and desires. The acts of Berkmann, Caserio, Henri, Vaillant, Pallas, and other brave heroes were but the heralds of the coming Social Revolution.

Louise Michel addressed the meeting in French to the effect that the speakers preceding her had spoken of English and American justice, but had not mentioned French justice, probably out of politeness as there was nothing good to be said of it. As she was not a patriot but an Internationalist she would complete the picture without talking politics, which is the art of deceiving others for your own benefit. When they saw the robberies committed in the Southern Railway scandals and other Panamas known and unknown, and the immense Madagascar cemetery, they found that French justice was very hard on the disinherited and most gentle towards the privileged. It was the most unequal justice in the world. And this we call a republic! Res publica, a public thing representing all, but this republic only represents capitalists acting against the workers who were condemned in advance, while the capitalists were absolved. All French statesmen were thieves, some murderers, yet justice crept before those offenders, it was bribed by those whose crimes were heaped as high as heaven. Even the Empire of bloody memory dared not have committed such injustice for fear of being destroyed. Tyrants did well in showing themselves in their true light. It was good for propaganda. The political farces are nearly played out. Anarchists despise weapons used by the enemy for human butchery. When an obstacle to the Social Revolution is to be removed it may sometimes be necessary to use violence. French potentates however, for the time being, may rest in peace. They are too useful in showing the crimes that power commits for the Revolutionist to desire their immediate removal by any means, violent or otherwise.

T. Parris thought that the object of the meeting might have been more emphatically stated as "Legal Injustice" instead of "Political Justice." Unless the latter was intended to be sarcastic, and that was not apparent from the reading of the bill. He emphasised the fact that justice literally meant, what the law yielded us. Equity was usually meant when the word justice was used, but it was frequently proved that the laws were anything but equitable. However in the present case they had met to protest against punishments being given by Judges through prejudice, that even the law, that harshest of all taskmasters, had alloted for the offences charged against the prisoner Berkmann. The cause of this was class and social prejudices. Our rulers were the property class, and the laws were made and strained for the conservancy of their privileges. Our duty and work therefore was not to use their discredited means of coercion, but to educate the people in the principles of Socialistic Anarchism. And when so educated the power of the privileged classes would pass into the hands of the people, who would use it to destroy the present legal systems and promote equality of opportunity—the only possible basis of liberty.

Miss Amy C. Morant, of the Independent Labor Party, delivered an address which was received with considerable applause.

C. Morton told the audience that there had been a great deal of talk about brotherhood, but that he failed to see how that would improve matters, as brothers quarrelled and robbed each other. What was wanted was the abolition of government and exploitation.

Lawrence said that as those in possession of the wealth of the countries of Europe were the educated classes. It would be vain to preach the use of the weapons of brotherhood to the half educated workers, but seeing that the possessing classes are at all times prepared to use force to prevent the workers bettering their condition there was but one course open, and that was to teach resistance by like force.

A comrade having spoken in Russian, the meeting was brought to a close, having lasted three hours.

Emma Goldman left London for Scotland on Saturday 14th of September, and on the following evening addressed a large audience in Bredalbane Hall, Glasgow. The welcome accorded her by Glasgow comrades was most hearty. During the week she was very busy, her engagements including meetings in Edinburgh, and Maybole, as as well as in Glasgow. Her appeals on behalf of the Berkmann Release Fund were productive of good results —23/10 being collected by the cigarette makers of Glasgow, and at a social gathering 11.3 were subscribed. The various meetings were in every other way a great success, being largely attended, and the applause given to Emma Goldman and the other speakers most sympathetic. Our Comrade desires us to say that the reception she has met with in England and Scotland fills her with hope and energy for the strenuous continuance in the future of her labors for the cause of Liberty.

We have a few "Berkmann Subsription Lists," and will gladly forward one to any comrade who will undertake to get it filled up.

OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

We acknowledge with thanks the following publications: "The Firebrand, for the hurling away of the Cobwebs of Ignorance and Superstition," (Portland, Oregon).—"The Torch," (London).—"Freedom," (London).—"The Anarchist," (Sheffield). —"La Sociale," (Paris).—"Volne Listy," (Brooklyn, N. Y.)—"La Verdad," (Rosoario de Santa Fe, Argentina, S. A.)—"L' Avenire," (Montevideo).—"El Despertar," (Brooklyn, N. Y.)—"Freie Wacht," (Philadephia).—"La Question Sociale," (Paterson, N. J.)—"Les Temps Nouveaux," (Paris) —"Die Zukunft," (Vienna).—"La Education Integrale," (Paris).—"Der Socialist," (Berlin).

The plucky little "Firebrand," which by-the-bye, has hitherto prided itself on having been the only Anarchist-Communist periodical published in the English language in the U. S. A., is doing excellent work, and notwithstanding the fact that one of its contributors was "run in" and fined for delivering an address at a street corner, is not deterred from continuing its "burning" propaganda. The article that appeared in our last number, over the signature of W. O. Owen, was taken from "The Firebrand." "The Altrurian" issued from the same office has been stopped, but its writers will throw their energies into "The Firebrand."

The list given above testifies to the fact that the United States are not without vigorous Anarchist-Communist periodicals in other than the English language. The latest addition is "Volne Listy," the number of which to hand contains an article by Elisee Reclus.

"Der Socialist," with its interesting Literary Supplement, contains articles by Kropotkine and other able writers.

Pouget's "La Sociale" adds to its always striking cartoon a popular song. "Pere Peinard's Almanac for 1896" is announced for publication this month (October).

65

871117001

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Condition of the Workers of America / Emma Goldman. — pp. 3-4 ; 36 cm. *In* The Firebrand [Portland]. — Vol. 1, no. 41 (Nov. 17, 1895).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKERS OF AMERICA

By Emma Goldmann in The Torch, London.

"Mind your own business" is a proverb very frequently used by every American. But, unfortunately, its real meaning has so far been misunderstood by the great majority. It has never cared for its own affairs, but has entrusted its business, its life and welfare, to the hands of a few land, mine and railroad owners, and to merchants of every description.

This privileged minority, true to the teaching of Christ, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," has constantly robbed and exploited the people of America.

In fact only these "noble" gentlemen have grasped the meaning of the proverb "mind your own business." During the last century they have taken precious good care to get as much as possible out of the working class. They have cut down the wages of their employees at every favorable opportunity, driven them out of their homes, destroyed their happiness, suppressed all free thought, till at last they have roduced the country to a state of slavery and degradation.

The bourgeois class of America, which has increased its wealth year by year, battening on the toil of the people by an organized system of wholesale theft, blood-shed and robbery, has had at its disposal a whole host of officials, superintendents, managers and foremen, who have considered it their duty to assist their masters in the philanthropic work of tormenting the lives of those in their power.

While the Astors, the Goulds, the Vanderbilts, the Rockefellers, and the Dewits are spending their "valuable" time at the gambling tables of Monte Carlo, or trying to recruit their health, ruined by excessive drink and other vices, in Italy, Paris, or England, their humble servants are minding their affairs, inventing new schemes, and looking about for fresh means to delude and oppress the workor.

While the privileged few are getting richer and richer, the great mass of the people is sinking year by year lower and lower into poverty and distress. While millions of dollars are squandered in theatres, diamonds, dresses, and other luxuries, the downtrodden are leading lives of misery and starvation, working twelve, fourteen, and sixteen hours out of every twenty-four, in order to eke out a miserable existence.

I cannot deny the fact that a small proportion of the American workers are economically much better off than a great many of the workers of England and the Continent. But they are native-born American citizens who have banded themselves together for the purpose of excluding from the advantages they themselves enjoy all belonging to other nationalities. They look down upon all foreigners, and consider that nobody is as smart, as witty, as capable as they themselves.

Let us try to see who these brave, "free" Americans are.

We say in Russia "Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar," but if you scratch an American citizen, you find either an Englishman, Irishman, Dutchman, Frenchman, German, or a mixture of nationalities.*)

*) True, but they are Americans just the same, distinct in every respect from their ancestors. E. S.

The only true Americans were the native Indians, a kind and peaceful lot of people, who were cruelly robbed of their land and happiness by the ancestors of those who now rule the country. I should think myself disgraced had my ancestors been amongst those who mercilessly slaughtered the Indians wholesale, pretending to do so in the name of civilization.

Recently a few American missionaries were killed by an angry Chinese mob. According to the statement of one who escaped, the mob was provoked by the insolent, impertinent and overbearing behaviour of the missionaries; yet the American authorities were thrown into a state of terrible excitement by the "outrage", and the press joined with the clergy of every denomination in denouncing the poor chinese as savages, and urged the government to demand immediate satisfaction from China.

Were not the men who first settled down in America robbers and swindlers? Are the English, who are pretending to civilize Africa whilst killing hundreds of men and women, any better? Certainly not, and their conduct ought to be all the more strongly condemned inasmuch as they do it in the name of Christianity, whilst the Chinese and Negroes only act in self-defence when they resist the encroachments of the missionaries.

Let us now consider the condition of the American worker. As I said before, there is a small section which is in a good position, has comfortable houses, can efford to send their children to good schools, and so far has not felt the pangs of hunger.

Having inherited the business instincts of Dutch, English and Jewish ancestors, the Americans are first-rate hustness men. The average American is calculating, shrewd, and possesses wonderful skill, which enables him to cheat and swindle his neighbour of his hardly earned dollars.†) His chance of getting on in the world is, therefore, greater than that of his less samrt competitor. Bar-keepers, cashiers, clerks, newspapers distributors and collectors are workers in a good position,‡) but their numbers are so small that it would be unfair to judge the condition of the American worker by their example. The average wage of the working class in most branches is 6 dollars a week, for a working day of 12, 14, or even 16 hours. People working in the tailoring, cloak-making and cigarett trades do not earn more than 4 dollars a week, and there are thousands of people walking the streets of New York, Chicago and other great cities, who would work for even, less if they only could.

The unemployed movement of 1893 frightened the authorities to such an extent that, fearing a riot, they felt themselves compelled to do something for the people. But what these "charitable gentlemen" who feast on luxuriously prepared meats and drink sparkling wines, actually did was but a mockery in the eyes of the starving unemployed.

They arrested first the speakers and leaders of the unemployed, sentencing them to rigorous terms of imprisonment in the hope of breaking the spirit of the people by so doing. After that they opened a few kitchens where coffee and tea could be obtained for one cent, but, as they needed the cent first, these kitchens did not prove of much use to the starving. Some landowners gave a few hundred acres for the unemployed to work on, but the opportunities for work provided by it were but a few drops in the ocean of misery, especially as only a few families were supplied with the raw material and machinery necessary for tilling the soil.

Strange to say all this did not improve the condition of the unemployed. The number of people living in the slums of New York to-day is greater than it ever was before. Thousands of people live in the utmost poverty, surrounded by filth. They do not know where to turn for relief. Young women are compelled to sell their bodies on the street, and half-grown children, shivering with cold, without home or shelter of any kind, are forced to beg or steal, and some even to lie down in the streets and die.

Even the lot of those who have work is not much better.

Men, women and children have to work from morning till night, never enjoying a breath of fresh air, never seeing the sun in the clear heavens, living on a few cents per day, and having everlastingly before their eyes the terrors of starvation. All this misery exists side by side with wealth and extravagance unequalled elsewhere. These horrors abound in nearly the richest country in the world, a country on which nature has bestowed its richest gifts. The people who have created all this wealth, who have built the mansions, found the gold, woven the silk and tilled the land are living in misery and degradation, whilst those who have robbed them of everything they have created are living in luxury, feasting, gambling, and generally enjoying themselves at the workers' expense.

If the stones of the mansions in which the rich live, the diamonds, silks and satins they wear could speak they would tell a horrible tale — a tale which would shake the nerves of the blood-suckers and exploiters of labour, and make them dread the day when the people, tired of their long sufferings, the wretchedness of their lot, will rise to revenge themselves on those who are responsible for it all.

And the apathy and indifference which have so long crippled the energy of the masses is at last beginning to disappear. The strikes at Homestead, Tennessee, Buffalo, Chicago, Brooklyn and New York have prooved that the people of America are tired of leading the lives of dogs. The energy and enthusiasm displayed during these strikes, and the heroic way, in which the worker has met death in the fights with the police and militia have shown what the people were capable of. They have been an earnest of what the workers will do when called upon to fight the great fight for the recovery of their rights and the welfare of all dear to them.

Of course, the authorities have used every means to sap the courage of the strikers. They have instructed the police and the militia to shoot down the strikers and show no mercy to anyone who dares to rebel against their power. We are told that the police and the military exist only for the protection of the people, but it is a fact that always and everywhere they have been used to protect property and to defend and uphold the powers that be.

†) Not any more than other nationalities.

‡) Those positions are far from being well paid in the west. E. S.

871117001

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Condition of the Workers of America / Emma Goldman. — pp. 3-4 ; 36 cm. *In* The Firebrand [Portland]. — Vol. 1, no. 41 (Nov. 17, 1895).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

But bullets and imprisonment cannot destroy an ideal. Five men were murderod in Chicago on the 11th of November, 1887. Lawfully and rightly, say the upholders of the present social order. But their deaths have not been able to silence their voices, which sound louder and louder from beyond the grave, and their ideas live on. Alexanper Berkmann's brave act showed to all who wish to see the real cause of the people's misery. Anorchists are no longer looked upon as a set of fools or ruffians, and the principles of those who havo died on the gallows or are languishing in prison are to-day discussed in the press, in tho pulpit, and in the mansions of the rich. Hard work is before us, as it will not be easy to convince tho American workman, who prides himself on his fresdom, that he is a slave. But I see the day before me when the workers of America will unite with those of other countries, and tho people rising in righteous wrath will wreck the system of brutality and tyranny which today crushes the life-blood out of them. It is a systeu which gives to the few the power to enslave the many, which upholds corruption, prostitution and degradation, and which must be destroyed before freedom be possible.

On the ruins of the rotten system Anarchy will be established, snd Anarchy will render possible the wellfare and happiness of all.

CLIPPINGS AND COMMENTS.

Chicago, Nov. 9.—The bones of the Anarchists hanged for the Haymarket massacre are not to rest in peace. The bodies of Spies, Parsons, Lingg, Fischer, and Engel, now lying in Waldheim cemetry, will be exhumed and cremated. The ashes will be reinterred somewhere —it is not known where—but in a spot to whicb those who hold the memory of these men dear may visit when they wisb. This was the suggestion made at a meeting of socialists and trades unions of Chicago tonight. There was not a dissenting voice. The idea of such action was the outcome of the officers of the Waldheim cemetry refusing to permit the annual demonstration this year at the graves of the dead Anarchists on the anniversary of their execution.

All attempts to hold a parade in bonor of the memory of the executed Anarchists were abandoned this afternoon, when the police permit to hold the parade was given up.

Herr Most has been informed that no criticism on the national or municipal government is wanted from bim, and that if he makes any speeches tomorrow it will be bis interest to make them polite.—The Oregonian.

I have no faith in the dispatches of the associated press, and do not believe that the bodies of our murdered comrades will be cremated and worshiped in such a manner. But I have faith in the despotism and tyranny that is growing so very fast in this country of the "free and the brave."

It is evidently very annoying to the legal robbers, who have every cause to fear the awakening of the masses, that our murdered heroes are notforgotten. On the other hand, the vampires, or the government, which is identical, must be aware of their weakness and rascality if they fear the criticism of a single man; even a peaceable parade of a few men is dangerous to this "sacred" institution, called the government, or as it is called to-day, the conspiracy of the rich.

In the meantime the parasites of Chicago are making great efforts to free (sic!) Cuba from the tyranny of Spain; that is, they are jealous of Spain and are anxious to exploit the toilers of Cuba themselves, as there is not sufficient in this country to satiate their greedlness. A. I.

Correspondence.

A DEBATE ON METHODS.

When our series of lectures and discussions was commenced, a week ago last Friday, I sent a number of notes inviting many prominent populist orators to be present and oppose me, if they saw fit. Mr. G. Teats, the most eloquent, and apparently the fairest and most fearless of them all, was there and remarked that the hour was too late to go into a reply to my arguments, but would meet me in joint-debate.

Last Monday evening, Nov. 11th, the debate came off according to arrangements. Mr. Teats admitted that he was striving for the same end — perfect freedom — but contended for political action and the enactment of various reforms as the best and most practicable means to that end. On the other hand I tried to show that freedom could not be reached by increasing the powers of government; that the only way to become free is to abolish government.

Mr. Teats made as strong a plea for political action as any one could make, but if the applaud can be trusted as indicating the approval of the audience, the anarchist theories were far the more popular, dispite the fact that many of those present were Mr. Teats political and personal friends and admirers.

Anarchism is getting a hold in Tacoma that is pleasing and encouraging in the extreme.

H. A.

THEY ARE SPREADING OUR IDEAS.

The International Workmen's Educational Club of Waterbury meets every Sunday at 2:30 P. M. in our Hall, Bank, corner Jackson str. At our last meeting we have decided to arrange a mass meeting for the 10th of November. Comrade Dr. Smirnow will address the meeting. Subject: The 11th of November 1887. Admission free.*)

We hope that during this winter we shall be able to arrange mass meetings frequently and to distribute our literature as much as possible. At present we distribute 25 copies FIREBRAND, 25 copies FREIHEIT, 35 copies FREIE GESELLSCHAFT, 15 copies REBEL and 15 copies ARBEITERFREUND. We hope that the comrades of other towns will follow our example in spreading our ideas among our fellow workingmen.

Inclosed you will find $2.00 for THE FIREBRAND and literature. J. ARONBERG.

Waterbury, Conn., Nov. 1st '95.

*) This letter came in too late for our last weeks issue. A. I.

RECEIPTS.

Baltimore, Md.—The Group, $1.00. Los Angeles, Cal.—G. J., 50c.; W. F., 50c. Buffalo, N. Y.—The Croup, $5.00.; H. W., 50c. Portland, Or.—W. M., 25c. Tacoma, Wash.—A. M., 25.; Kl., 50c.; J. S. J. 50c. Chicago Ill.—O. W., 50c.; G. W., 50c.; K. C., 50c. Northampton, Mass.—P. S., 25c. Alleghony, Pa.—The Group, $2.00. Waterbury, Conn.—The Group, $1.00. Brooklyn, N. Y.—C. L., $1.00.

Fund for free distribution of THE FIREBRAND in Chicago:

A. S., 25c.; W. I., 25c.; Debating Club, $2.00; Sales; 75c.; R. N., $1.00.; A. E., $1.00.; Socialistic Federation, $1.00.; J. R., 25c.

WE are requested to announce the following:

Rev. A. W. Martin of the First Free Church of Tacoma, will lecture in the Unitarian Church, corner 7th and Yamhill streets, Portland, on "The Industrial Revolution," the last Sunday in November.

A series of lectures on the subject of Evolution, showing man's relation to nature, will be given by Rev. A. W. Martin, under the auspices of the Tacoma Debating Club, provided one bundred tickets can be sold to cover Hall rent and the expense for the stereotyped pictures used in illustrating the lectures.

Price of tickets, admitting to the full series of the lectures, will be fifty cents. Those interested in making these lectures a popular success, should call at Klemencic and Reed, corner 11. and A streets, for further information.

JEAN GRAVE'S BOOK.

THE DYING SOCIETY AND ANARCHY, translated by Olive Rosselti, is of the greatest value to anarchist propaganda.

Our friends ot the Torch publish it at the low price of 10 cents. All those who desire to get our friend's book should write to the Torch, 127 Ossulton St. N. W., London, England; or send orders to THE FIREBRAND.

ANARCHIST JOURNALS.

THE REBEL, monthly, 50c; 170 Hanover St., Boston, Mass.

THE TORCH, 127, Ossulton St., London, N. W.

FREEDOM, 7, Lamb's Conduit Street, London W.C.

LIBERTY, 7, Beadon Road, Hammersmith London, W.

THE ANARCHIST, D. J. Nicoll, Broomhall Sheffield.

All of England at 50 cts. a year.

LES TEMPS NOUVEAUX, J. Grave, 140 Rue Mouffetard, Paris.

LA SOCIALE.—E. Pouget, 23, Rue des trois Freres, Paris. France.

LA VERDAD, T. Carlo, Correo num. 228, Rosoario de Santa Fe, Argentina, S. A.; subscription voluntary.

EL PERSEGUIDO, B. Salbans, Casilla de cerros unm. 1120. Buenos Aires, Argenteria. S. A. Subscription voluntary,

L'AMI DES OUVRIERS, Hastings, Pa.

EL ESCLAVO, TAMPA, FLORIDA, weekly, subscribtion voluntary.

EL DESPERTAR, 51 POPLAR PL.—BROOKLYN, N. Y. $1.50 a year.

LA QUESTIONE SOCIALE, 325 Straight St. Patterson, N. J.; $1.00 per year.

FREIHEIT, John Mueller, P. O. Box No. 346 New York City.

DER ANARCHIST, Nic. Mauer, 174. E. Third St., New York City.

FREIE WACHT, 522 Berk St., Philadelphia, Pa.

DER ARME TEUFEL, No. 6 Champlain Street, Detroit, Mich.

DIE FACKEL OF VORBOTE, both No. 28-30 S. Market St., Chicago, Ill.

DIE ZUKUNFT. Semi-monthly, 75cts. per year. Send subscriptions to Wenzel Kubesh, IV, Shoenburgstrashe 5, 3. Slock, Vienna, Austria. Exchanges and publications to Alfred Sanftleben, Zurich, Oberstruss, Stupferstr, 1. Switzerland.

DEINICKE LISTY, 266 A. B, New York City.

DUCH VOLNOSTI, 19 Zion Place, Chicago, Ill.

VOLNE LISTY, Frania Lefner, 43 Johnson Ave., Brooklyn E. D., N. Y.

ANARCHIST, H. E. Kaspers, Stationstraat, Sappemeer, Holland.

DER SOCIALIST, Wilhelm Spohr, Berlin, P., Frankfurter Allee 105, 1 Treppe. Germany.

DIE FREIE GESELLSHAFT, a monthly Journal for the most advanced ideas in social science (hebrow language). Yearly $1.00. Address: I. Rudash, 162 Norfolk street, New York.

870701701

The Emma Goldman Papers

Between Ourselves / Emma Goldman. – p. 53 ; 28 cm. *In* Liberty [London]. – Vol. 3, no. 5 (May 1896).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

"LIBERTY" is a journal of Anarchist-Communism; but articles on all phases of the Revolutionary movement will be freely admitted, provided they are worded in suitable language. No contributions should exceed one column in length. The writer over whose signature the article appears is alone responsible for the opinions expressed, and the Editor in all matters reserves to himself the fullest right to reject any article.

All Communications—including orders for Papers or Pamphlets—should be addressed to The Editor, Carmagnole House, Beadon Road, Hammersmith, W

Subscription, 1s. 6d. per year, post free Per quire of 27 copies, 1s. 7d. post free.

The trade supplied by W. Reeves, 185, Fleet Street, E.C.

LIBERTY,

LONDON, MAY, 1896.

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

Emma Goldmann writes us from New York to the effect that she has returned from her visit to the continent, where the comrades gave her a most sympathetic reception. She wishes to be remembered to all English friends of the cause, and says she will send for publication in our next number some interesting details of the Socialist and Anarchist movement in the various continental towns and cities with which she has made acquaintance.

We learn from Pouget's *La Sociale* that the sentence of death passed on Lorion, and the execution of which he has been expecting any day for nearly twelve months (as mentioned in another part of this issue) has been commuted for one of five years' penal servitude. This means simply prolonged torture, something more cruel than any form of instantaneous execution. Lorion's health has already been destroyed, and his existence is now unmitigated pain and wretchedness. Next month we shall publish a letter he has written, in which he describes some of tortures to which his diabolical gaolers subject him.

We cannot help but feel encouraged by the success of the meetings held by Tom Mann at the Holborn Town Hall. There is no doubt that the effect will be a considerable addition to the ranks of Socialism, and, indirectly but as a necessary consequence, to Anarchism; for it is certainly true that nine Anarchists out of ten have arrived at their convictions along the path of Socialism: the

871117003

The Emma Goldman Papers

Eastern and European Propaganda / [Emma Goldman].– p. 2 ; 40 cm. *In* The Firebrand [Portland]. –Vol. 2, no. 16 (May 24, 1896).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

HOW ANARCHY WILL COME.

I do not know, but I have some idea as to how it will not come. It will not be ushered in or won by means of a violent revolution, at least, for several decades to come, although it may come sooner than any of us dare to hope, some other way. The enemy (the State) is too strongly fortified The money power is the State and the State is the money power, and the church completes the trinity. Church, Calf and State,—place the godheads in any order—it is all one. Fortress-like arsenals are already builded and being builded; cannon and arms and soldiers are prepared to vomit shot and shell and move at a cry to arms from law and order and tens of thousands of the toilers ready to shoot and bayonet charge at the bidding of uplifted hands of priests and clergymen and politicians. Superstition is in the field at the head of a well-armed host ready to fight for the trinity and defend every monopoly. The masses, in a large sense, only ask a little better wages and eight hours of toil or moil in shop, factory or mill.

Anarchy will not come through any political party—by the ballot-box, which would certainly be overridden unless declaring the will of the people by a stupendous, overwhelming majority, and how much likeliness there is of such a declaration is hardly open to conjecture.

Will a great strike usher in Anarchy,—such a strike as William Morris dreamed of in his prose-poem "News from Nowhere"? Possibly, within a decade; probably, a quarter of a century hence such a strike might win. I doubt if it is known how large the "don't care" or "let alone" party is today or how fast that party grows in numbers: that party (if party be a correct name—which it isn't) would not, I think, be arrayed against Humanity.

Any attempts to "set up anarchistic society here or there" must have us, indeed, Mr. Byington admits, a fairly numerous working minority, even to be object-lessons as suppressed experiments. I am not a pessimist, but think it only sane to try and see things as they are, and not through a rose-tinted medium. How long it will take to disprove to a sufficient number the everlasting misrepresentations of press and pulpit regarding Anarchy I would not venture to guess; a continual flow of falsehood can only be counteracted by a constant iteration and re-iteration of the truth. A fairly large minority won over, means the "beginning of the end" insofar as the downfall of monopoly is concerned. Today, propaganda would seem to be our most effective means of warfare.

I think it is nearly certain that any sudden change from present social disorder to communism is both undesirable and, anyhow, impossible.

A social revolution today, even if won (most improbable of impossibilities!) by the proletariat would only result in our enslavement to the crass ignorance, superstition and bigotry which dominate the world today: result in a change of masters, indeed, and for the worse: result in a slavery to priestcraft and demagogueism compared with which our present social disorder gives fair opportunities to work for "better things." On the other hand should the State win (nearly a certainty) progress would, it seems to me, be arrested,—for how long a period it is idle to attempt to guess. The Commune of Paris of 1871, resulted in the butchery of thousands of brave and honest men,—resulted so in my opinion, by reason of the predominance of crass ignorance and old-time, ingrained superstitions of the omnipresent, unnumbered fools. Why would a social revolution called into action today result in freedom? Would not the omnipresent fools be as numerous as ever? Would not such a war, here, today, "blossom thick with such mistakes?" How large a proportion of the people even know what self-hood, freedom, self-sovereignity mean?

Expediency must not be lost sight of. Liberty-lovers are only a small minority. The State Socialists deny self-hood and equal freedom—at least, State Socialism does so,—and the Populists are in the same boat: no more sense of freedom, quite as much enthralled by governmental superstition—and even more saturated with rant and feebleness. The unknown number of the "silent", of the freethinkers, of the all round radicals, would alone even stand neutral in a war today for equal freedom. The priest, demagogue and politician, inspired and directed by the money power, have the ears of the masses today, even as they had them yesterday. This is not to say that Anarchy makes no progress, but the road to "the land of equal freedom" is both rough and long. All Anarchists claim equal freedom and equality of opportunities and wish to get rid of the state. Individualists and Communists are on the same ground here. I believe myself [illegible] conditions will lead more and more to voluntaryism and Communism in all the necessities; how, equality of opportunities will surely abolish poverty, tend to equalize wealth and make happiness on earth a possibility to one and all.

State Socialism would end in failure, as they would only be able to experiment in more or less large communities. Their plan necessitates an autocratic rule, and the intelligent members would soon secede and wander away. Then the orthodox members would quarrel amongst themselves, by reason of the fact that all governmentalists believe that, personally, they need no government, but that everybody else needs a very large measure of it to keep them in the straight and narrow way that leads to "righteousness". The investigating skeptic will find this to be a truism.

I have no hope of "better things" through legislation, as all helpful legislation would be the repeal of unjust laws, of special and class laws. Monopoly cannot be too loudly and constantly execrated.

I would be glad to know just what Mr. Byington means by "expropriation", which he concedes "is possible". I do not think a few coal barons could prevent the miners receiving the full value of their labor, nor would their mining stocks be other than so much waste paper, as the people would never pay more than the cost of production and transportation for their coal in whatever way they paid for it. So would it be with all dividend-paying stocks—all monopolies, of course. Rent and interest could not be collected, and cost of production and delivery would be the price paid under a condition free from all monopoly, so that the vast wealth of individuals would be distributed so widely that it would, it seems to me, be very like expropriation, whatever name be given it. Monopoly of land could not be possible. Whatever we name the abolishment of privilege, to the monopolist it would be marvelously like "expropriation".

If Anarchy is liberty, and I think it is, the most real question is, How can equal freedom, that is to say, equality of opportunity, be brought about?

CLINTON LOVERIDGE.

Literature.

IRENE; OR, THE ROAD TO FREEDOM, by Sadie Bailey Fowler; H. N. Fowler & Co., Philadelphia; cloth, 50 cents.

This radical novel is interesting as a study in mental development, profound as a discussion of the social question, and but for its defects as a work of art, it could be commended without an adverse criticism.

In Nanie and Irene, two members of "the girl-trinity", we have some good charater-dellneation, but the other characters are indistinct, and one really wonders what it is in Florella that makes her one of the trinity. As the title suggests, it is woman's freedom in sex relations, primarily, that interests these people, and in the development of the story toward a solution of the problem it is seen that the relations of industrial and sexual life are so intimate that the solution of the one is the solution of the other. But it seems incongruous, if not actually pardoxical, that, in as radical a story as this, Irene, the most conservative spirit among the leading characters, should be presented in the role of heroine. The author could not have intended by this to convey the lesson that the radical element must be counterbalanced by the conservative in order to avert social disaster, because Irene is logically forced to surrender every position that is distinctively her own. Though she is gentle, firm and brave in her convictions, loving and lovable withal, bold, outspoken, radical Nan, who thought necessary sometimes to shock conventional society, and who shares largely in heroic honors, will be the favorite with progressive readers.

The plot is a rapid succession of "mysteries"—there are mysteries of birth and death, mysterious presences and mysterious absences—in fact so prevalent is this element as to be somewhat bewildering.

But if we cannot class the author in the front rank of artists, we can pronounce her work a success so far as the treatment of her chosen subject is concerned. She gives evidence of much study and originality of thought. Hers is the best and most thorough fictional discussion of the social question that I have read. One follows the [illegible] interest, and the philosophy is as engaging as the fiction.

J. H. M.

[illegible] PROPAGANDA.

[illegible]arn that you did not know of comrade John Turner's propaganda in this country. I think it very important for the western friends to know how the propaganda is going on in the east.

I cannot say we have an Anarchistic movement of any importance in the east, but I am confident we could work one up if there were people both able and willing to participate in the work. Just what could be done we have seen by Comrades Mowbray and Turner's visits to the States. Mowbray has traveled as far west as St. Louis, holding good meetings all over, not to speak of the success met with in Boston. Thanks to his work, the Anarchists held a May day demonstration on the 3d and the Central Labor union arranged meetings for Comrade Turner — things never before heard of here. We see that if a man is determined and has the ability to make his way he succeeds. It is foolish to say the American workingmen have no wish to study Anarchistic ideas. Give them a chance and they will do it. Of course our principles must be propagated in a plain and popular language, such as THE FIREBRAND uses.

Comrade John Turner has left his work in London and come over to the "freest land in the world", though he was aware of the fact that the Americans are a hard lot to preach Anarchism too. He is a very energetic and earnest fellow, a fine speaker and an excellent debator, and, above all, he is not conceited like many others who know less. We could successfully spread our ideas if he knew the localities and did not have to depend on those comrades who are willing enough to help, but who have not the least experience and understanding as to how to arrange meetings.

Comrade Turner has addressed three meetings in New York City, which have been well attended. Not so those in Newark and Paterson; but certainly Comrade Turner is not to blame for that. On the 30th of April we gave a farewell entertainment to our comrade. The hall was packed. A number of detectives and policemen were present, looking for a job. Comrades Edelman, Mowbray, Turner, Whithington and myself spoke, but we did not seem to gratify the wishes of the officials, as they went away without running any of us in. I am sorry to state that the financial result of the affair was not satisfactory.

—We have formed a group,—meeting for the present at 50 E. First street. Our work for the summer will be to raise a fund large enough to carry on propaganda next fall and winter. So far, we have issued an Anarchist May day manifesto, of which several thousand were distributed on the 2d at the demonstration of workingmen at Union Square.

I can also inform THE FIREBRAND readers that our brave Comrade Alex. Berkmann's case is being pushed. No definite step can be taken until 1897. All we want to do now is to get money, and the more the better, as we will need about $1000. I beg the comrades of THE FIREBRAND to appeal for aid; if all will help we are sure to liberate him some day.

I have made a trip through different countries on the continent, where I found our ideas marching on wonderfully. In England and Scotland meetings are held several times a week in halls and parks, thousands of workingmen and women listening eagerly to the speeches, where leaflets, manifestos and papers are distributed in large quantities. In France the admirable acts of Ravachol, Henry, Vaillant, Cæsario and others have done more for the spreading of our principles than ten years of writing and speaking. Les Temps Nouveaux (formerly La Revolte), has increased its circulation from 8000 to 18,000, and La Sociale (formerly Pere Pienard) from 8000 to 20,000. Anarchist publications are springing up in all parts of France. In Austria the comrades have to confine themselves to a clandestine propaganda, as the authorities make daily arrests, imprisoning or expelling everyone who takes any noted part in the movement. The plutocrats are confident now that they have annihilated Anarchistic propaganda, but they will soon find out that imprisonment and suffering cannot stop the tide from flowing on.

Not a grave of the murdered for Freedom but grows
seed for Freedom in its turn to bear seed
Which the winds carry afar and resow and the rains
and the snows nourish.
Not a disembodied spirit sees the weapons of the
tyrants let loose
But it stalks invisible over the world, whispering,
counseling, cautioning.

—Walt Whitman.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

69

880921019

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Propaganda in the East / [Emma Goldman]. – p. 2 ; 41 cm. *In* The Firebrand [Portland]. – Vol. 2, no. 18 (June 7, 1896).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI.

Here again is a sample of his logic; "Communism is possible under Individualism; but under Communism Individualism would be out of place." That is to say, Communism is compatible with Individualism, but Individualism is not compatible with Communism. To put it mathematically, twice three are six, but thrice two are — not six! The only basis for such a course of "reasoning" is his assumption that Communism is authoritative; that is, that choice would be forbidden the individual. Further evidence of the State Socialist.

Yes, I fancy it would be rather "awkward to say Society is Communistic, notwithstanding many are Commercialists", etc., because it would not be true. Society cannot be Communistic while a part of it is un-Communistic. Holders of private property are not Anarchists—they are Invaders. Private property is a denial of freedom of opportunity; it is monopoly. Every individual is equally entitled to any and all natural advantages, and under liberty only on condition that he has access to the products of labor applied to the more favorable advantages will any individual accept the less favorable. If the principle of liberty has a basis in nature it lies in this proposition. But this assertion of liberty includes Communism as the only condition of realization.

The only surprise that Dr. Rossi's conclusions after his Cecelia experience occasions me is to find him such a superficial thinker. Conditions denied his colony freedom of association, which is an essential matter. The colonists were compelled to associate regardless of compatibility, and the natural result was, and will always be under such conditions, discord and disruption.

Mr. Fulton further shows his misconception of Communism when he assumes that it proposes the equal distribution of wealth—State Socialistic regulation again. Perhaps he never read the Communistic formula: "From each according to ability; to each according to need." And it depends upon his idea of an "equitable distribution" whether it would be better realized under Individualism than under Communism. If by equity he mean liberty, I think I have shown that the Individualist private property proposition is incompatible with equity.

J. H. M.

PROPAGANDA IN THE EAST.

NEW YORK AND VICINITY.

PROPAGANDA in New York started with an address on Anarchist-Communism before the Manhattan Single Tax Club, which gave rise to a very animated discussion. The room was filled and the members, while holding to their one idea, had to admit that progress would not stop at its realization. The idea of Anarchy had been discussed among themselves and some had come to the conclusion that it was sound. Altogether they were a very intelligent, earnest lot of men, and there is a good field among them for the spread of our ideas. It is hoped the American Group of New York will not neglect them, as they gladly welcome any one among them.

This was Saturday, April 18th. On the Sunday the Socialist Labor Party was visited, and Comrade Turner took part in the discussion after a lecture on "The Class Struggle", showing clearly that this struggle is only confused by polititical issues and political action. A very lively time followed.

On Tuesday, April 21st, the first lecture under the auspices of the American Group took place in Clarendon Hall. It was a good audience, mostly Americans, and the subject was "Anarchy an Essential of Socialism", a good discussion and Social Democratic opposition following.

On Wednesday, April 22d, a flying visit was paid to Philadelphia to give a lecture on "The Anarchist Ideal" before the Ladies' Liberal League. This was a success in every way—a good audience, a good discussion, with a little weak opposition from members of the Socialist Labor Party. Though desirous of returning to New York, Comrade Turner was pressed to remain over the 23d to attend a meeting of the Single Taxers, which he did, taking part in the discussion and showing the insufficiency of their teaching.

Returning to New York on the 24th, the second lecture in Clarendon Hall was "The Policy of the Future", reviewing the different methods of the past, pointing out their various strengths and weaknesses, and advising an active, energetic propaganda both inside and outside of organized labor, so as to create a feeling of solidarity among all the workers, even the tramps and so-called criminals, whom the respectable workers in steady employment have been taught to despise, confident that if they once caught the idea of Anarchism the methods of overthrowing existing institutions would suggest themselves. The abstention from the polls on election days and the holding of public meetings declaring the solidarity of labor, and the class struggle was put forward as an idea to start with.

April 26th, in the same hall, the subject was "The Power of Capitalism", and industry, politics, government, literature, the press, religion and education were passed under review to show how in every department of modern life the poison of this power is felt.

On the 27th a visit was paid to Newark and a lecture on "Church and State, Twin Enemies of the People" was given before a very interested audience, Comrade Lathrop Withington in the chair.

On Wednesday, April 29th, Comrade Mowbray made a trip from Boston and accompanied Comrade Turner to Paterson, where a mass meeting was held at which both spoke, returning to New York next day.

Thursday, April 30th, in Clarendon Hall a farewell meeting and entertainment was given previous to Comrade Turner's leaving next day for Boston. The hall was crowded and, it is pleasing to say, was the largest of the meetings held. Songs, recitations and singing by the German choir, together with speeches by Comrades Edelmann, Lathrop Withington, Mowbray, Turner and Emma Goldman kept every one interested and pleased until eleven o'clock, when the floor was cleared for dancing, which was kept up till the early hours. Thus ended a little over a month's propaganda in and around New York by Comrade Turner, and it shows what could be accomplished if only a few propagandists were in the field. Everything is ready for it, and though the first ones might find it hard work and sometimes discouraging, it would not be long before a strong and vigorous movement would be the outcome.

BOSTON AND PROVIDENCE.

Saturday morning, May 2d, Comrade Turner arrived in Boston and was met at the depot by Comrade Kelly, who accompanied him to the house of J. O'Sullivan, president of the Boston Central Labor Union, who entertained him to breakfast. On the Sunday he was the guest of the Central Labor Union and spoke at the regular session in the afternoon, time being granted for the purpose. Speaking as an Anarchist, he pointed out the strength and weakness of Trade Unionism and showed that unless it was built up with intelligent members who had an ideal of some kind superior to capitalism it would continually crumble up in the conflicts forced upon them in time of trade depression. The rapid growth of Socialist and Anarchist ideas in the ranks of the English Trade Unions was pointed out and a belief expressed that with the same conditions here similar results would follow. He was wonderfully well received.

On Monday, May 4th, a public meeting of welcome was called by the Central Labor Union, at which Comrade Turner delivered a rousing address calling upon Trade Unionists to study deeper the political and economic situation and rise superior to past efforts. A collection was taken for Anarchist propaganda.

Sunday evening, May 3d, a May Day meeting was held in Puritan Hall, at which comrades Miller, Kelly, Mowbray and Turner spoke in English and Most in German. There were also speeches in French and Italian. The meeting was a big success, the hall being packed. All the speakers dwelt on the solidarity of labor and spoke of the aspirations of the workers all over the civilized world. It was one of the best and biggest Anarchist meetings ever held in Boston.

On Tuesday Comrade Turner spoke at a meeting of striking hoisting-engineers, and while encouraging them in their battle, urged them never to be satisfied until they had abolished masters [illegible] in conjunction with their fellow workers established a free co-operative condition of industry.

On Wednesday, May 6th, he also spoke at a meeting of electrical workers who are organizing a union; and there, too, while advising them to combine for protection in their work, and to assist one another in this craft, he urged them to never rest satisfied with mere organization, but to see to it that they should [illegible] it is that work is always so precarious and men always out of work, ready to snatch at another's job; how it is that the more there is produced in society the more tramps there are, and when they had learned that to see to it that their organization should become a force to destroy the cause of their misery and at the same time to rebuild a newer and better condition.

Friday, May 10th, a visit was paid to Providence and a lecture on "Anarchism or Social Democracy?" was given, which evoked some opposition from local Socialists, one of whom, however, entertained Comrade Turner that night.

On Sunday afternoon, May 12th, a meeting was arranged by Providence comrades in Onleyville, but when the hall was reached the sweltering heat prevented many from coming inside, so it was decided to try an open air meeting in the shade. This was a big success and Comrade Turner was listened to with great attention, only interspersed occasionally with applause. A solitary policeman came along when the meeting was half through and seemed unable to grasp what was up. After listening some time with evident interest he moved off perhaps to report before taking any action.

At the close of the meeting Comrade Turner took the train back to Boston and lectured in the evening on "Anarchism and Socialism", many of the Central Labor Union officials being present and carefully following the points of the lecture. Questions and discussion followed.

On Thursday, the 14th, a joint debate took place in Clarendon Hall, where the Central Labor Union meets, between Turner and Mr. Spillane, a Socialist, on "Trade Unions or the Ballot?" before a large audience. Despite the fact that Spillane was the strongest opponent the Socialists could put up, they had to admit that he failed to show the use of the ballot to the workpeople.

Altogether the visit to Boston has been a big success, both financially and for the propaganda. If comrades elsewhere would arrange things the same way a most encouraging tour could be carried through. It rests now with them to say how far he shall go on. There has been some delay in New York, necessitated by the fact that things had to be organized a bit before our comrade could leave there. Here he went immediately into the heart of the organized labor movement on account of the influence local comrades have with their unions and the Central Labor Union, and himself being president of his union in England did the rest. Since he has been in Boston he has received a letter from President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, who had heard of his arrival here, and who wishes him success, and says he hopes to meet him as he goes west and will send him a letter of introduction to Trade Unionists wherever he may go. If, therefore, comrades who are in the organized labor movement set to work in their unions they can arrange through them for some big meetings.

On Friday, May 15th, an entertainment and social was arranged by the Rebel Group to bid goodbye to Comrade Turner. Mr. J. O'Sullivan and many prominent labor men of Boston were present. They have treated our comrade right heartily, vieing with one another in their efforts to make his visit both enjoyable and profitable. A very pleasant evening was spent in song, talk, recitation, and hearty good wishes toward our comrade's further efforts.

He leaves here for New York again to solidify his previous work, then a week in Philadelphia, where six meetings have been arranged as a result of his previous visit to the Ladies' Liberal League. After that, to Buffalo, and then, Westward, ho! It is hoped the comrades everywhere will do their utmost to make the most of his visit. Correspondence should be sent to H. M. Kelly, 170 Hanover St. Boston, who will arrange dates.

A PERSONAL STATEMENT.

Before I became an Anarchist I was a State Socialist. While Communism had its attractions for me, as it naturally would one who had previously held collectivist views, there were nevertheless some things in Communism of which I had grave doubts of being reconcilable with Anarchy or liberty. As I confounded Individualism with the so-called individualism of today, as taught in the University of Chicago, I could not consider it seriously for an instant; hence I took greedily to the many features of Communism which I did like and swallowed the various poluts I did not like in a lump. The statement of Comrade Owen in The Firebrand some time ago that he found himself gradually slipping away from Communism, kept me from declaring myself in very positive tones as being a Communist. Comrade Holmes in writing to me made it pretty plain that Communism, rightly understood, was not incompatible with Individualism, nor altruism with selfishness. In his book, "Bases of Anarchy," he even shows that groups, as groups, might be in relation to one another as individual to individual. J. H. M., in a recent number of The Firebrand, holds that communes would be composed of agreeable natures to the exclusion of the seriously objectionable. Once the independence [illegible]

871117005

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Berkman Fund Again / Emma Goldman.– p. 2 ; 41 cm. *In* The Firebrand [Portland]. –Vol. 2, no. 29 (Aug. 23, 1896).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

and a denial or invasion of the rights of all other persons.

Now government is primarily for the maintenance of property, and property cannot exist without government, because the parceling of natural opportunity necessitates courts of decision and officers of administration. The values which belong to and result from the restriction made possible by property, are the only object in the way of the free exchange and consumption proposed by Communism. With the abolition of the power to restrict production, which inheres in monopolization of opportunity, in accordance with economic principles the abundance of products in relation to man's wants will destroy value, or price. Under private ownership we see the coal barons close the mines in order to maintain prices, while speculators in grain and cotton lock those products up for the same purpose, and the result is suffering for want of warmth, clothing and food. Thus does property strike at the right of existence. But if these people were free to produce—that is if opportunity was not monopolized—the values placed on those accumulated products would vanish into thin air. Restriction of opportunity is a necessary adjunct of "markets" and commerce, notwithstanding the fact that its whole tendency is self-destructive.

Communism, then, means equality of opportunity and what follows: free production, free consumption and the grouping of individuals according to congeniality and mutual choice. This cannot be construed to mean that individuals must group, any more than the "right to worship God according to the dictates of one's conscience" means that one must worship. Eventually such a construction would lead to the violation of the principle laid down.

My friend will now understand why the so called communistic colonies have failed. They placed the entire charge of affairs in the hands of their little government, not infrequently an autocracy, and the whole life of the individual was subject to dictation and direction; and when enforced incongenial association is added, it is no wonder the attractions of outside society have almost invariably proved irresistable.

As to the sex question, I see no insurmountable difficulties. present arrangements in that particular are a part of the property system, and there is no doubt in my mind that it will disappear with the abolition of that system. It is accepted as the proper thing because it is the traditional thing, and when people begin to question customs that particular one will hardly escape. I have never met a thorough Communist who still clung to church or marriage superstitions. Communism with its economic freedom will establish interdependence of the sexes and provide for free association in this as in all other respects.

Yes, Anarchist-Communism has for its aim "the greatest good of all," and it cannot be a contradiction in terms, for the reason that it accords to each the right to decide for himself what is good. By what comparison may we decide the perfection or imperfection of human nature? It is lauded as the highest thing in nature: shall we compare it with something outside of nature? It is a product of its environment, and perfectly selfish; moreover, there is no need of unselfishness anywhere. All that is necessary is to understand that the primary condition to self-development is liberty and that our own liberty is only insured in the liberty of all.

J. H. M.

The Berkman Fund Again.

You have published an attack upon me written by a certain P. Franco, in The Firebrand of July 26th, and I hope you will not refuse to publish my reply.

First of all I must emphasize that I do not write these lines in order to satisfy the impudent inquisitiveness of P. Franco, or others like him, who would not hesitate a moment to besmirch one's honor at any cost whether they are false or true.

I did not expect the comrades of The Firebrand to defend me, as I can very well defend myself; nor did I ask them to make me acquainted with the contents of private letters, as that comrade Isaak received from one of The Firebrand readers and which, according to Isaak was directed against me, stating that I had spent the money collected for Berkmann for my personal use, during my tour on the Continent. The man who has thus expressed himself about me to comrade Isaak has also written one to me, in which he says among other things; "Of course, I do not mean to say that you had used the money collected for Berkmann for yourself." This letter I have sent to comrade Isaak, which ought to convince him that the man has either written a falsehood to him, or has not moral courage enough to uphold the same accusations in his letter to me. P. Franco in his letter to The Firebrand has lied, as well, as the man in his letter to Comrade Isaak. Franco says he did not ask me about the Berkmann fund, because he can speak neither English nor German. Now, those who know him are acquainted with the fact, that he can speak English enough to be understood, enough to make disturbance in meetings, as he did both in London and here, and that he knew enough English to spread false reports about Comrades Mowbray, Merlino, Cipriana and other well known men who have suffered in the movement long before anyone knew of the existence of Franco. The reason why he did not ask me about the Berkmann fund is, because he is a coward, ready to admit this any time himself. Well, I do not care to take up too much space in talking of Franco; it is beneath any honest and decent person to spend time with such a miserable creature.

J. H. Morris, in his comment on Franco's letter says: "According to the principles of Anarchist association any member of the group, whose object is the release of Berkmann may know what is done with the fund to which he has subscribed." Certainly, and Comrade Morris could have saved himself the trouble to tell me that, as I claim to understand the principles of Anarchist association. According to my understanding of Anarchist principles, those who have NEVER subscribed a cent, NEVER CARED for Berkmann's release, have no right to ask any accounts of whomsoever, and to poke noses into other people's affairs. I am the last one to give information to people like P. Franco or the conceited and impertinent fellow who wrote to Comrade Isaak.

To those who have assisted me in my work for my friend Alexander Berkmann, I say this: The money collected abroad by myself and other comrades amounts to about $20 and was sent to Charles Schneider, Pittsburg, Pa., who was appointed at the time as treasurer of the Berkmann fund by the Pittsburg comrades. Anyone wishing to know how the money was used will do well to address him.

As to Berkmann, he is not only my comrade, but also my friend and a very dear one, too. I shall continue to work for him as energetically as I have until now and all impertinent attacks and slanders will not induce me to give up the fight.

I am very sorry The Firebrand has taken up personal matters, and can only predict that if its publishers continue in the same way, they will only put nails to their own coffin. EMMA GOLDMANN.

New York, Aug. 5., 1896.

The publishers of The Firebrand certainly have a right to publish whatever they please, but they have no right to publish any accusations without knowing

We are glad to publish the above information in reply to inquiries received at this office, but we are sorry Comrade Goldmann takes the matter in the spirit here exhibited. We have published no accusations, and we could not know the truth or falsity of any we may have received without an accounting from her. The letter referred to as having been received by Comrade Isaak was not a private letter, but written to The Firebrand. In the most friendly spirit Comrade Goldmann was informed of the question raised as to the disposition of the fund, and we are sorry to say the reply consisted of bluster similar to the above. It was not our personal business to know the truth or falsity of any accusations or to settle matters between Comrade Goldmann and her questioners; but The Firebrand, as a representative of the movement, has been made a "go-between" in the case, and however much we may regret it, we have been able to see no fair way to avoid it. Were we to follow her suggestion as to personalities, her own letter would furnish the first occasion for exclusion, because it is the first to indulge in personalities and hard names. Personal enmity may have prompted those letters of inquiry, but we are not omniscient and could have no knowledge of this. Personally, I want to say that what I said concerning the principles of Anarchist association was not intended for Comrade Goldmann's enlightenment, but was in the nature of a reason for publication of the inquiry coming, supposably, from a contributor to the fund; also as a hint to such inquirers as were not contributors. If, as appears from the above letter, the two inquirers mentioned are non-contributors, it is hoped they will have the good sense to keep still in the future. At any rate the matter closes here, so far as The Firebrand is concerned.

J. H. M.

More Concerning Methods.

IN the last issue of The Firebrand I remarked that "industrial warfare will continue to break out" with the probability of violence attending such outbreaks increasing. I think all who have noted the trend of events in the industrial world must have noticed that gradually all peaceful means for combating the employer is being taken away from the employe. Boycotting is now punishable as conspiracy in a number of states, and striking, quitting work in a body, is enjoined by the courts. This shows that the government will be drawn more and more into the struggle between employer and employe, and always on the side of the employer. Attempts to make use of the government for their own advantage will continue for a time by the workingmen, prompted by such hybred organizations as the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, but a few more instances of the calling out of the militia to shoot strikers who have assembled, a few more instances of imprisonment of strikers on charges of riot and conspiracy, must show a large number of the trades unionists that they can expect nothing but lead and iron from the government. If the Anarchist propagandist is busy among the union men he can without doubt, by calling attention to these things, turn the hatred of the trades unionist away from the poor scab—the more unfortunate victim of monopoly—to the power that creates and maintains monopoly.

Then, too, in such industries as are not so easily monopolized, industries that can be started with but few tools and a small amount of stock, the tendency for striking workmen to form competing companies—so-called cooperative companies—will increase.

Joint stock companies among the workingmen will be tried for a time, but the internal troubles that will arise and the final monopolization of the stock by the shrewd few, must soon prove this form of cooperation futile. But the example of other cooperative concerns that work on a truly cooperative—not stock company—basis, will tend to show them that they can manage their own affairs without imitating the methods of capitalism.

There are some industries that cannot be established or operated on a small scale, and usually in those industries the operators become physically incompetent to readily adjust themselves to any other kind of employment. The workers in these industries must fight it out on the grounds, and they and the railroaders form an immense army.

When the workingman get over their servitude to the union bosses, the leaders who always call the strike off before it is really won, and stand together regardless of the action of the leaders, they will begin to learn their strength and their employers will find themselves powerless without government aid. When government aid is invoked and the struggles of these industrials for better conditions are crushed by the militia and the regular soldiery, men shot down and the blood and iron theory in full force, then a general strike, aiming to "teach the government a lesson", may be looked for. Once started, such a strike would spread, as shown by the great railroad strike of 1894, from one trade to another until even the farmers would do all in their power to assist it.

The organization of the various cooperative associations that will have gone on will very materially assist in a general strike. All the mechanics, artisans and laborers can refuse to work for money, but accept the certificates of these associations in payment for their labor. In this manner the workers

890320000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Here / Emma Goldman.— p. 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Leader. —(Nov. 20, 1896).

Obtained from the State Library of Pennsylvania. Institutional Location: Special Collections.

hose first mortgage bonds
rkee came into possession of
d assigned to the government
tion and collection on ma-
he benefit of his heirs. This
is came to maturity in 1894.
ell explained to a reporter
was brought in the court of
ay, 1893, and that what the
was an accounting from the
with leave to make applica-
nking fund in liquidation of
rtgage indebtedness of cor-
d to be a lien prior and par-
hat of the United States.

FIRE IN CLEVELAND.

Slightly Burned While
g From the Building.

VELAND, November 20, 1896.
ick block owned by ex-
Parsons, and occupied
kelemeyer & Sons, whole-
e, was destroyed by fire this
he building, valued at $75,000,
valued at $100,000, were both
Both were insured. One of
s of the firm and two em-
burned about the faces and
they could escape from the
e fire was caused by an ex-
rnace gas.

ERAL OF M'CREA.

the Officer Reach Butler.
ement To-Morrow.

BUTLER, November 20, 1896.
ns of Thomas E. McCrea, the
rden killed at Emsworth yes-
brought here this morning
and are at the residence of
James on Washington street.
ns, of Erie county, accompa-
rpse, and when seen at the
se, said he did not think a
murder in the first degree
referred against Cronin as
o premeditation. They were
g on the platform, and al-
rea was the stronger, Cronin
vantage of going down the
nped off, McCrea holding him
nd and followed in discharge
to his death. A charge of
r will probably be made, and
he convicted on this count
will be held to-morrow morn
Clearfield church, this county,
nt will be in that cemetery.
fe and son and daughter from
n from Rochester, N. Y., ar-
fternoon, and several of the
are expected this evening.
sentenced to the Columbus
for 2 years and 4 months for
bery, and his aged father se-
ardon for him. Mr. Evans
k Cronin dragged McCrea off
purposely.

AD THREE WIVES.

., Woman Pursuing Mr.
ltzel in Indiana.

E, IND., November 20, 1896.
Peltzell, living near Angora,
this city this morning, in
husband, of whose duplicity
rtling evidence. Mrs. Peltzel
of but two months when
erted by her husband. Soon
appearance, wife No. 1, living
turned up and an investiga-
hed the fact that a second
ing in Cleveland, O., where
bride followed him, going
ty to South Bend, where all
was lost. Mrs. Peltzel will
city to Chicago, where with
he is confident she can find
a husband, whom she is de-
prosecute.

AN SHOT A DEER.

ndidate Was Not an Suc-
His Fellow Huntsmen.

RVE, MO., November 20, 1896.
m J. Bryan, Senator Jones,
ne and most of the party
ylug a short sojourn at this
hunting yesterday, but the
tial candidate was not as
the other huntsmen.
g of a deer yesterday was
the trip. It is a rule of the
y to kill a certain number
fall, and the allowed number
ed a few weeks ago, but in
. Bryan the rule was sus-
the chief guest of the party
o have a shot at one of the
nimals. About 4 o'clock yes-
noon, the party found a fine
r was not badly frightened
ground until Mr. Bryan sent
its left side.
ill leave on Saturday, as Mr.
be in Denver next Tuesday.

CHIEFS CONFER.

fet at Chicago To-Day.

NICAGO, November 20, 1896.
ds of five railroad brother-
session at the Sherman
They are: P. M. Arthur,
otive Engineers; P. H. Mor-
Railroad Trainmen; E. E.
Conductors; F. P. Sargent,
notive Firemen, and W. V.
e Railroad Telegraphers.
the heads of these brother-
to outline a policy for the
talk over matters of inter-
ganization that have come
e preceding twelve months.
nothing of a sensational na-
meeting. It is said, as the
are enjoying peace at pres-

EMMA GOLDMAN HERE.

FAMOUS WOMAN ANARCHIST TO LECTURE IN PITTSBURG.

In an Interview With a "Leader" Man, She Talks Interestingly of Her Beliefs—Her Experience While in Blackwell Island Prison for Inciting Riot—It Is Believed She Is Raising Funds for Berkman.

Miss Emma Goldman, perhaps the foremost Anarchist of the United States at the present time, arrived in Pittsburg this morning quite unannounced. She was seen by a "Leader" reporter, and talked very interestingly of her plans and the cause for which she is famous. The impression prevails that the purpose of her visit here is to raise money in an endeavor to have Berkman, the man who shot H. C. Frick, pardoned. Miss Guldman would not admit this, and evaded the question, prefering to speak of her work in general. She said that she will remain here at least a week, delivering lectures nearly every day during her stay. The first one will be delivered in the Duquesne Dancing academy on Wylie avenue to-morrow night. It will be especially for the German residents, and that language will be used by Miss Goldman. She will lecture Sunday afternoon at the same place in English. The subject of to-morrow night's talk will be "The Effect of the Recent Election on the Condition of the Workingmen," and that of Sunday afternoon, "Anarchism in America."

Miss Goldman intends to visit all the large cities of the west, and has just come in from a tour of the eastern cities, and was last in Philadelphia. In speaking to the "Leader" man of her mission this morning, she said:

"I want to correct an impression that has prevailed about my having been in Pittsburg in the interests of the cause I represent before this visit. I believe at the time Berkman was tried and sentenced it was said I was here, but it was not so. At the time I was in Baltimore, and, as I am not ethereal, I could not very well be in two places at once. Yes, I worked in the interest of Berkman at the time, and assisted in holding several meetings in his behalf. You know, the Central labor unions of both Boston and Philadelphia passed resolutions expressing their belief that Berkman had acted from conscientious motives."

"Is it the purpose of your visit to help Berkman?" was asked.

"Well, no; not exactly. Of course every true Anarchist has his interest at heart, and will do all they they can to



Emma Goldman, the Anarchist.

have his sentence commuted or have him pardoned—at least I will. But that is not the only object of my visit. Pittsburg is a large city, containing an immense number of workingmen, and it is them that I came to talk to."

Miss Goldman was asked if she thought or knew of any one having prompted or urged the attempted assassination of Mr. Frick, to which she replied that she did not think so.

"Anarchists," said he, "do not or should not act on the advice of any outsider when they feel that it is their duty to perform something for the sake of their principles. If I felt it my duty to perform something of the kind would do it without asking any one whatsoever about it; neither would I advise any person to do something for which they might have to forfeit their lives. We can all tell the difference between right and wrong, and that should alone govern us in our actions. The impression that anything of this kind is arranged at a meeting and lots drawn to see who will perform the act is erroneous."

"But do you think it is the right way to gain your ends?" the reporter asked.

"We are opposed to governments as of themselves harmful, and there was never yet a change in reformation without revolution. Remember I do not advise any one to rebel and place their

spoken of. She gave as a reason for not taking a more active part in it her residence in another state, which debarred her from working personally for the commutation.

A SOLDIER'S WIDOW.

Sequel to the Story of an Attempted Suicide—Mrs. Crouse Entitled to a Pension.

Some time ago, it will be remembered by the readers of this paper, a demented woman was picked up by the police after she had attempted suicide, and was taken to St. Francis hospital, where she said her name was Mary Hannahan. Afterwards she said that her name was Crouse, she having married a young machinist by the name of Harry Crouse during the war, and that three days after the wedding he left her and went to the front, since which time she has never heard a word from him.

The story was given wide publicity at the time, but nothing was ever heard from any of Crouse's relatives. After the woman had recovered from the illness subsequent to her attempt to kill herself, she was turned over to the department of charities and sent to the city home at Marshalsea.

This morning a man named Harry J. Burg came to the office of the department on Fourth avenue, and said he thought he could tell something about the woman's husband. He said that he picked up an old paper during an idle moment the other day, and in it saw an account of the woman's attempt at suicide. The name of Harry Crouse recalled to his mind a young man of that name who had gone to the war and never returned. The man he knew was a machinist, and was supposed to be a single man, none of his acquaintances knowing anything of his marriage.

This Harry Crouse became a lieutenant in his regiment, and one day while crossing a bridge was fired upon by sharpshooters and his body was seen to fall from the bridge into the creek below, from which it was never recovered. Mr. Burg said that Harry Crouse was a member of a good family, who were well known in these parts, and that if his wife could prove her identity, he thought she would have no trouble in getting a pension, and thus would not be a charge on the city. He says he has a photograph of Mr. Crouse which the latter sent him from the army, and he will bring it to the department to be shown to Mrs. Crouse, to see if she would recognize it as that of her husband. Mr. Burg, who gave this information, lives at 4632 Greenwich street, Pittsburg.

DIDN'T GET A LIST.

Mrs. Collins Pays Her Respects to Superintendent of Police Leslie.

It was learned to-day that Mrs. J. S. Collins, who called at City hall early in the week to see Superintendent of Police Leslie about a list of names and addresses of the keepers of immoral houses, had called again last evening. It will be remembered that at the time of the first call of the lady the superintendent was absent from his office and she did not get to see him. Last evening she was more fortunate—for the time being. The superintendent was in, but the conversation between the parties was very brief. As soon as Mrs. Collins introduced herself the head of Pittsburg's "finest" remarked to her that he had been told of her previous visit, its object and that he had written her telling her that he had no list as she desired.

"But," said Mrs. Collins, "the newspapers have published such a list."

"I can't help that," said the superintendent. "If the newspapers have such a list in their possession why not get it from them?"

At this point Mrs. Collins intimated that she had got but little information from Mr. O'Mara when he was superintendent of police, and she guessed there wasn't much to be had from police officials as to the location of immoral houses,' saying which she left.

RABBITS GALORE.

The Packets Morena and H. K. Bedford Bring Large Numbers of the Little Animals.

The packets Lorena and H. K. Bedford arrived at the Pittsburg wharf last night, and this morning they began unloading their freight. The most prominent feature about the cargo was the large number of rabbits which the boats brought up. There were hundreds of them, and they found ready buyers. This is the first lot of rabbits brought up on the boats this season.

The Pittsburg Coal Exchange and Harbor No. 25 Masters and Pilots are making an effort to procure legislation regarding bridge lights in and around Pittsburg. Resolutions have been prepared and will be sent to congress to be presented at the next session.

In reply to the request of Harbor No. 25, Major Heuer, of Cincinnati, has said in regard to the dredging of the Ohio at the head of Phillisee Island that it would be impossible to get the work done before the bad weather sets in. It would require time to secure the necessary appropriation from congress, and there are other things which would hinder the work.

The river is still falling slowly, and is expected to continue doing so until more rain comes. The marks at the wharf this morning showed 3.7 feet, and at Davis Island dam they showed 5.6 feet.

PATRIOTS HAVE RIGHTS.

GENERAL TRACY SPEAKS OF AID GIVEN THE CUBANS.

United States Citizens May Sell Arms, Organize Expeditions at Sea Outside Shore Limits and Do Anything Except Violate the Letter of Statutes Intended to Preserve Neutrality.

NEW YORK, November 20, 1896.

The trial of the alleged Cuban filibusters in the U. S. court reached a climax as regards public interest this afternoon, when ex-Secretary Benj. F. Tracey began his address for the defense. He said:

"This is an important case from whatever standpoint you may view it. It involves," he continued, "issues that may hereafter arise between the government of the United States and the government of Spain. This case is alleged to involve a violation of a statute of the United States. This government owes certain duties to other nations. It has not attempted, however, to control the sympathies of our people for Cuba. An American citizens we must and we will give the right hand of sympathy to those Cubans who are striving to obtain their freedom and to have the privileges which we enjoy. Let the national government do its duty, but we shall continue to extend our sympathies to the Cubans and we will not judge harshly any Cuban who seeks in this country to aid his brethren in their native isle."

General Tracey declared that there is no limit to the aid that the people of this country may extend to the Cubans except such as is absolutely forbidden by the statutes. "American citizens," he said "are forbidden to organize any military expeditions within the limits of the United States to aid Cuba. If the organization be formed out at sea, outside the waters of the United States, then it is not within the command of the statutes. Any merchant may sell arms to either of the belligerents and not violate law. In all cases of war commerce is open."

HAVE BIG WOOL INTERESTS.

Nevada People Sorry They Voted Against McKinley.

CANTON, November 20, 1896.

Major McKinley had several callers this morning. They came for the most part while he was driving with Mrs. McKinley, and awaited his return. Ferdinand Peck, of Chicago, stopped on his way from New York, to have a chat with the President-elect. Mr. Peck said that he did not know that Illinois would press a man for the cabinet, though several men from Chicago had been mentioned. Discussing the rumor which referred to Lyman J. Gage as a cabinet possibility, Mr. Peck said:

"The selection of Mr. Gage for the position now held by Secretary Carlisle would seem to be a happy one. Mr. Gage is an expert financier, and a broad-minded man of high reputation and standing. How the appointment would be regarded from a political point of view I do not presume to say."

Ed Perkins was another caller at the McKinley residence this morning. He told Major McKinley he had been in Idaho since the election, and the people there are sorry they voted for free silver and free trade for their wool interests are six times as great as their silver mining interests. General Nelson A. Miles will arrive here at 4 o'clock this afternoon.

The Japs Reach Chicago.

CHICAGO, November 20, 1896.

N. Oshima, G. Yernaga, J. Tokoyama, F. Obana and K. K. Komhura, imposing-looking Japanese, arrived at the Auditorium this morning. They are interested in railroad development in Japan and are making a tour of the leading railroad centers of this country, to study American methods.

MEETINGS.

Office of the Monongahela Water Co.,
Pittsburg, Pa.,
November 18, 1896.

NOTICE is hereby given that by order of the president and board of managers of this company, there will be a meeting of the stockholders held at the offices of the company, 1113 Carson st., S. S., Pittsburg, at 2 o'clock P. M., Saturday, December 5, 1896, to consider and pass upon the advisability of entering into a contract with the Chartiers Valley Water Company and such other business as may be brought before the meeting. Martin Prenter, secretary. 11-19-28-s

ASSIGNEE'S SALES.

ASSIGNEE'S SALE—To the highest bidder, $3,000 stock of new furniture, at No. 36 West Diamond, near Market st., Saturday, at 10 o'clock. 11-19-a

OPTICIANS.

DR. LITTLE is a specialist in fitting glasses. Charges for glasses only. 536 Smithfield st. 11-18-ay

PERSONAL.

PERSONAL—Superfluous hair, moles and other facial blemishes permanently destroyed by the electrical needle, without scar, by Miss Streng, 903 Penn ave., Dickson building. 1-16-syb

CHRISTY—J... ing, November ... his residence, ... after a brief ... Funeral service... Saturday afterno... ment private later.

DEWAR—At 5:30 ... ber 20, 1896, Mrs. R... of Alexander Dewa... her age.
Funeral services at ... Woodlawn avenue, ... vue, Sunday after... ment private at a...

HAWK—At Ashe... day, November 18, 18... Hawk, in his 28th ...
Funeral services at ... 6523 McPherson str... day at 2 o'clock P. ...

KEIL—On Thursd... nt his residence, ... Main streets, Shar... Jacob Keil, Sr., in h... Funeral services at ... Lutheran church, ... day, November 21, ... the family are res... lend. Interment ...

LEWIS—On Thur... ber 19, 1896, at 11 ... Lewis.
Funeral services at ... Broad street, Eas... vember 21, at 2:30 ... vate.

LUCAS—On Friday ... 2:30 A. M., Rev. Cha... First Christian chu... 48th year.
Funeral services at ... Montgomery avenu... 3 o'clock Sunday ... later in Virginia.

ORTGIES—On Fri... at 5 A. M., William ... t month and 11 d...
Funeral on Monday ... residence, 216 F... gheny. Friends o... spectfully invited ...

WALLACE—Asle... day, November ... Nevin Wallace, you... and Ada P. Wall... John Hinchcliff, ... months.
Funeral on Sunday ... the residence of h... hard street, at 2 ... vate.

THE UNIO... OF PI... 335, 337 and ... Capital ... Executes Trusts. ... Allows Interest on ... to Check.

YOUR ENTIRE ES... PENNS... Title and ... 410 Smi...

CHEAP HYACIN... AND TULIPS. ... Fall planting... orde... and Shrubs now. ... street, Pittsburg.

Bann... PURE...

J. B. ST... ACCOU... Room No. 8 — ... Sixth ...

LEGAL.

HUGH S. CRAIG ... Diamond st. Es... Keon, late of the ... ceased. Notice is h... lers of administrati... said decedent have ... undersigned. All pe... estate are requeste... and those having ... against the same w... without delay to Ka... istratrix, 99 Center ...

OFFICE of A. J. ... Fifth avenue. ... sasser, deceased.—N... that letters of admi... the estate of Anto... late of Penn towns... to the undersigned ... indebted to said e... make immediate pay... ing claims or dema... will make them k... Catharine Eisasser, ...

NOTICE is hereby ... tion will be ma... the state of Penney... of December, A. D. ... the general assem... wealth of Pennsyl... plement to an act ... provide for the inc... tion of certain ... April 29, 1874, provi... ment, ... the charters ... the second ... the incorpora...

72

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890320000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Here / Emma Goldman.— p. 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Leader. —(Nov. 20, 1896).

Obtained from the State Library of Pennsylvania. Institutional Location: Special Collections.

...ell, living near Angora,... city this morning. In ...tand, of whose duplicity ... evidence. Mrs. Peltzel ... but two months when ... by her husband. Soon ...rince, wife No. 1, living ...ed up and an investiga... the fact that a second ...in Cleveland, O., where ...ide followed him, going ...South Bend, where all ...s lost. Mrs. Peltzel will ... to Chicago, where with ... confident she can find ...sband, whom she is de...ecute.

SHOT A DEER.

...ate Was Not as Suc... Fellow Huntsmen.

...Mo., November 20, 1896. ...Bryan, Senator Jones, ...and most of the party ...a short sojourn at this ...ting yesterday, but the ...ed here was not as ...ful huntsmen. ...deer yesterday was ... It is a rule of the ...kill a certain number ...and the allowed number ...few weeks ago, but in ...ryan the rule was sus... chief guest of the party ...ave a shot at one of the ...ks. About 4 o'clock yes..., the party found a fine ...was not badly frightened ...nd until Mr. Bryan sent ...left side. ...eave on Saturday, as Mr. ...in Denver next Tuesday.

...HIEFS CONFER.

...e Railroad Brother... ...at Chicago To-Day.

...ago, November 20, 1896. ...of five railroad brother... ...session at the Sherman ...hey are: P. M. Arthur, ...e Engineers; P. H. Mor... ...ailroad Trainmen; E. E. ...nductors; F. P. Sargent, ...re Firemen, and W. V. ...ailroad Telegraphers. ...heads of these brother... ...outline a policy for the ...ik over matters of inter... ...ization that have come ...receding twelve months. ...hing of a sensational na... ...eting, it is said, as the ... enjoying peace at pres... ...country. The five grand ... about 150,000 organized ...en. They will be in ses... ...days.

...LER'S OPINION.

...k Carry Was Killed ...ular Initiation.

...ung, November 20, 1896. ...eller, grand exalted ruler ...ath to believe that E. W. ... of the Iowa Democratic ...of injuries received while ...a lodge of Elks in Des ...tualistic work," said Mr. ...hatically forbids subordi... ...n conferring degrees, to ...anner candidates for in... ...g of this character has ... the past in the order of ... full particulars are re... ...ath to believe that the ...ted while taking an Elk ...re many side or club de... ...es may confer, but these ...me, disciplins and written ... prescribed by the grand

...RABLY INSANE.

...r, Drowned at Cleve... ...ne From Omaha.

...AND, November 20, 1896. ... man found in the lake ...uirson street, Wednesday ...en identified as that of ...who recently came to ...Omaha. He had been em... ...a clerk in the New En... ...was stricken with ty... ...hort time ago and taken ...hospital, from where he ...Wednesday. It is thought ...himself in a fit of tempo...

...hiladelphia Fire.

...HIA, November 20, 1896. ...brick yard plant of Gunn ...th and Erie avenue, was ... last night to the extent ... The loss is principally ...d on a large quantity of ...ins which were damaged ... property is insured for

Hotel Closed.

...URO, November 20, 1896. ...s closed the Commercial ...t, proprietor, at Irwin, at ... A. Kline and others, and ...rniture and bar fixtures

...unnel Cut Through.

...URO, November 20, 1896. ...ebaugh tunnel was cut ...ing and the opening an... ...ing of all the whis...



Emma Goldman, the Anarchist.

"Well, no; not exactly. Of course every true Anarchist has his interest at heart, and will do all they they can to have his sentence commuted or have him pardoned—at least I will. But that is not the only object of my visit. Pittsburg is a large city, containing an immense number of workingmen, and it is them that I came to talk to."

Miss Goldman was asked if she thought or knew of any one having prompted or urged the attempted assassination of Mr. Frick, to which she replied that she did not think so.

"Anarchists," said he, "do not or should not act on the advice of any outsider when they feel that it is their duty to perform something for the sake of their principles. If I felt it my duty to perform something of the kind I would do it without asking any one whatsoever about it; neither would I advise any person to do something for which they might have to forfeit their lives. We can all tell the difference between right and wrong, and that should alone govern us in our actions. The impression that anything of this kind is arranged at a meeting and lots drawn to see who will perform the act is erroneous."

"But do you think it is the right way to gain your ends?" the reporter asked.

"We are opposed to governments as of themselves harmful, and there was never yet a change in reformatihn without revolution. Remember I do not advise any one to rebel and place their lives in jeopardy, but put the situation before the working people and ask them to think and act for themselves. If I see which way duty leads me, that is the way I will go."

Miss Goldman was asked to tell something of her experience in prison three years ago, when she was sent to Blackwells island for a year on a charge of inciting riot.

"Oh, I did not fare so badly and in fact I gained a great deal of valuable knowledge from that experience. You know I only served ten months, getting two months' commutation for good behavior. They told me I was a model prisoner and I had no reason not to be, for the treatment they gave me was as good as possible. I had no luxuries except that my friends kept me supplied with wholesome food, one thing that is very bad at the women's prison. Taken all in all, I feel none the worse for that experience. It was unjust for this reason: The officers who testified in the case grossly misrepresented my words to the workingmen in the street the night I made the speech on the street. I urged them to be men and stand for their rights, but at no time advised them to kill and burn or commit any violence. As I said before, an Anarchist may do such things on his or her own responsibility, but no true one ever advises others to do it."

"What stand did the Anarchists take in the presidential election just passed?" queried the reporter.

"They were not exactly on either side, because it would be making a government in either case. But most of the Anarchists, I think, favored the silver question, as it tended much more to the alleviation of the workingmen's wrongs that the gold side, which was the upholding of the powers of monopolists and the rich classes. These Anarchists do not think that the change can be brought about by a political party. It has never yet been done without a revolution and I don't think ever will."

The personality of Miss Goldman will surprise one who is acquainted with her only by reputation. She is rather good-looking and of petite figure. But the most pleasing feature about this famous atheist and Anarchist is her powers of conversation. Her voice is exceedingly pleasant and smooth; the language, slightly tinged with her native Russian accent, is of the best and comes readily to the lips. Her ability for argumentative power is well known.

During the interview the reporter tried several times to get her to talk on the Berkman case, but beyond the few guarded words given she said very little about it and seemd to not have it especially in mind, although she said her efforts, in a way, would be devoted to gaining the commutation

...ailment from his office and she did not get to see him. Last evening she was more fortunate—for the time being. The superintendent was in, but the conversation between the parties was very brief. As soon as Mrs. Collins introduced herself the head of Pittsburg's "finest" remarked to her that he had been told of her previous visit, its object and that he had written her telling her that he had no list as she desired.

"But," said Mrs. Collins, "the newspapers have published such a list."

"I can't help that," said the superintendent. "If the newspapers have such a list in their possession why not get it from them?"

At this point Mrs. Collins intimated that she had got but little information from Mr. O'Mara when he was superintendent of police, and she guessed there wasn't much to be had from police officials as to the location of immoral houses, saying which she left.

RABBITS GALORE.

The Packets Lorena and H. K. Bedford Bring Large Numbers of the Little Animals.

The packets Lorena and H. K. Bedford arrived at the Pittsburg wharf last night, and this morning they began unloading their freight. The most prominent feature about the cargo was the large number of rabbits which the boats brought up. There were hundreds of them, and they found ready buyers. This is the first lot of rabbits brought up on the boats this season.

The Pittsburg Coal Exchange and Harbor No. 25 Masters and Pilots are making an effort to procure legislation regarding bridge lights in and around Pittsburg. Resolutions have been prepared, and will be sent to congress to be presented at the next session.

In reply to the request of Harbor No. 25, Major Heuer, of Cincinnati, has said in regard to the dredging of the Ohio at the head of Phillsee island that it would be impossible to get the work done before the bad weather sets in. It would require time to secure the necessary appropriation from congress, and there are other things which would hinder the work.

The river is still falling slowly, and is expected to continue doing so until more rain comes. The marks at the wharf this morning showed 3.7 feet, and at Davis Island dam they showed 5.6 feet.

WEARY WAYFARERS.

Three of Them Before Magistrate Mackrell This Morning.

Magistrate Archibald Mackrell resumed his duties at the Twelfth ward police station this morning after having spent the past few days in the woods. His honor is quite a sportsman and is now busily engaged in telling his numerous friends of his experiences in the woods.

At the station house this morning the judge had an easy time of it, having to dispose of only three cases, the unforunates having been taken in last night on the charge of vagrancy. Officer Rogers dragged them from a comfortable bed under a pile of iron in the rear of Schoenberger's mills last night on the complaint of the manager of the mill, who alleges that he has been annoyed with the same trio for the past week. He had ordered them away from the mills on several occasions, but they persist in loitering in that vicinity. The trio gave their names as Frank Smith, Frank Wigle and William Schrinhoit. The former acted as spokesman for his comrades and commenced to tell a "hard luck" story, but the magistrate cut him off by sentencing them to jail for five days each.

GOSPEL TEMPERANCE MEETING.

Children Address a Large Crowd at Mission Hall, South Side.

The South Side mission hall was crowded last night with a very appreciative audience. Rev. Muckle had announced a gospel temperance meeting, to be addressed by children under 16 years of age—the result being that crowds were unable to obtain admittance. Miss Lorena Coster presided, and fifteen children gave addresses, which were received with great applause. Mr. Huckle sang "No One Cares for Me." Addresses were also made by Mrs. A. M. Hammett, Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Huckle. Mr. Cyril Huckle and Willie Vockel made the speeches of the evening. The success of this meeting will result in a number of similar gatherings in the near future.

SOUTH SIDE PARKS.

The Twenty-Second Street Site Will Be Boomed To-Night.

A meeting of the citizens' park committee of the Twenty-fifth ward will be held this evening at the office of Alderman [illegible] to take active measures regarding a location of the South Side park. It is understood that the committee will recommend and strongly urge the sub-finance committee of councils to select the South Twenty-second street site as the most central and desirable location.

...Lyman J. Gage as a cabinet possibility, Mr. Peck said:

"The selection of Mr. Gage for the position now held by Secretary Carlisle would seem to be a happy one. Mr. Gage is an expert financier, and a broad-minded man of high reputation and standing. How the appointment would be regarded from a political point of view I do not presume to say."

Ell Perkins was another caller at the McKinley residence this morning. He told Major McKinley he had been in Idaho since the election, and the people there are sorry they voted for free silver and free trade for their wool interests are six times as great as their silver mining interests. General Nelson A. Miles will arrive here at 4 o'clock this afternoon.

The Japs Reach Chicago.

CHICAGO, November 20, 1896.

N. Oshima, G. Yernaga, J. Tokoyama, F. Ohana and K. K. Komura, imposing-looking Japanese, arrived at the Auditorium this morning. They are interested in railroad development in Japan and are making a tour of the leading railroad centers of this country, to study American methods.

MEETINGS.

Office of the Monongahela Water Co., Pittsburg, Pa., November 19, 1896.

NOTICE is hereby given that by order of the president and board of managers of this company, there will be a meeting of the stockholders held at the office of the company, 1112 Carson st., S. S., Pittsburg, at 2 o'clock P. M., Saturday, December 5, 1896, to consider and pass upon the advisability of entering into a contract with the Chartiers Valley Water Company and such other business as may be brought before the meeting. Martin Prenter, secretary. 11-19-28-a

ASSIGNEE'S SALES.

ASSIGNEE'S SALE—To the highest bidder, $3,000 stock of new furniture, at No. 36 West Diamond, near Market st., Saturday, at 10 o'clock. 11-19-a

OPTICIANS.

DR. LITTLE is a specialist in fitting glasses. Charges for glasses only. 535 Smithfield st. 11-18-sy

PERSONAL.

PERSONAL—Superfluous hair, moles and other facial blemishes permanently destroyed by the electrical needle, without scar, by Miss Streng, 903 Penn ave., Dickson building. 1-16-gyb

PERSONAL—Massage—Medicated baths for nervous prostration, rheumatism. Mrs. Schwartz, 2118 Center ave., near Erin street. 9-8-gyb

PERSONAL — Mrs. Ward, seventh daughter of the seventh son, 190 Washington st., Pittsburg. 11-1-y-g-30

CUT GLASS

BOWLS.....

Over 100 styles and shapes—produced by the best makers.

A large size, richly Cut Berry or Salad Bowl for $8.00.

A choice line of other effective designs and sizes at $5 to $20.

PUNCH BOWLS, $25 TO $75.

A hundred other commodities in rich, rare and sparkling cut glass shown in our Art Rooms.

E. P. Roberts & Sons,

Cor. Fifth Ave. and Market St.

FIDELITY

Title and Trust Co.

CAPITAL $1,000,000

Executes Trusts of All Kinds.

Loans Made on Collateral.

LOANS MADE ON MORTGAGES

4-2-tu-f-s

...of Pittsburg.
ASSETS, $417,1[illegible]

No. 311 Wood St.

ALEXANDER NIMICK, President.
JOHN B. JACKSON, Vice President.
WM. P. HERBERT, Secretary.

Fall ... and ... street, Pittsburg.

Ba...

PURELY ...

J. B. STEV...

ACCOUNT...

Room No. 8. — Ste...

Sixth Av...

LEGAL NOT...

HUGH S. CRAIG, at... Diamond st. Estate ... Koon, late of the city ... ceased. Notice is hereb... ters of administration u... said decedent have bee... undersigned. All person... estate are requested t... and those having cla... against the same will p... without delay to Kate J... istratrix, 59 Center ave.

OFFICE of A. J. Ba... Fifth avenue. Estate ... sessor, deceased.—Notice ... that letters of administ... the estate of Anton K... late of Penn township, ... to the undersigned, to ... indebted to said estate ... make immediate payme... ing claims or demands ... will make them known ... Catharine Eisenser, ad... n.

NOTICE is hereby give... tion will be made t... the state of Pennsylvan... of December, A. D. 1896 ... the general assembly ... wealth of Pennsylvania ... plement to an act ent... provide for the incorpor... tion of certain corpor... April 29, 1874, providing ... ment, amendment an... the charters of ... the second class, ... the incorporation of ... companies," approved ... of June, A. D. 1883, a... corporation amendment ... approval of a certain ... charter of the Fidelity ... Association, of Pittsbur... the petition for the ... amendment, viz: By ... ting and altering the f... letters patent, which ... "First—The name of t... poration is the Fidelity ... Association of Pittsburg ... "First—The name of the ... tion is the Vigilant B... Association of Pittsburg ... solicitor.

OFFICE of Jackson ... at law, 413 Grant ... Estate of Sarah Dell... 324 September term, 1... given that by virtue ... orphans' court of Alle... the above number and ... signed will expose at ... premises, on Friday, ... at 2 o'clock P. M., t... scribed real estate of t... DeRoy, deceased: A lo... Seventh (7th) ward of ... burg, Pa., beginning o... the distance of 22 fee... Colwell street; thence t... 13 feet 7½ inches; then... with Logan street 45 ... thence along said all... Logan street 7 feet ele... well street, thence tow... 99 feet; thence paralla... 4 feet 6 inches; thence ... street at the place of ... is erected a two-story h... real estate being sold f... debts of the decedent. ... One-third cash, balance ... nual payments, with ... bond and tight mortga... administrator of estate ... deceased. A. J. Pentec... general auctioneer.

T. R. STONER, attorn... mond street. Noti... that on the 9th May, ... Wynkoop presented hi... court of common plea... gheny county, Pa., at ... 1894, asking to have his ... David Evans, and upon ... thereof said petition w... filed, and on the 6th ... petition having been on ... three months in accord... of assembly in such ca... vided, a decree was m... changing the name of ... Wynkoop to David Eva... David Evans.

WILLIAM HUNTE... 416 Grant st. Es... Schmitt, deceased. Not... that letters of adminis... tate of Ferdinand Schm... of Pittsburg, Pa., hav... the undersigned, to w... debted to said estate ... make immediate payme... ing claims or demands ... will make them know... Catherine Schmitt, a... Penn ave., city.

73

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890320002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] A Woman Anarchist / Emma Goldman.— p. 6 ; 44 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Leader. —(Nov. 22, 1896).

Obtained from the State Library of Pennsylvania. Institutional Location: Special Collections.

ight, and it is
ay, be done.

ALL.

m, a Formee
ident.

en, relict of
r, resident of
ni her 67th year,
ke of paralysis,
ago, which left
. She lost the
ys before her
s ago she was
s and general
her husband in
ail rapidly. She
th county, Ire-
ountry with her
. She settled in
mained three a
lity [illegible] to
[illegible]nity.
[illegible]addock
to John Mc-
Thirteen chil-
ouple of whom 9
Mrs. Mary Ann
ott, of Idlewood,
Mrs. John Mc-
cKay, Mrs. La-
McMullen, Mrs.
Rose McMullen,
Ellen Bott, wife
egle. There are
12 great grand-
t Mrs. McMullen
of the St. Thom-
addock, and the
among the first
services will be
at 10:30 o'clock,
nducted by Very
y, and the inter-
hela cemetery.

**ed War Vetee-
Home.**

nber 21.—A tele-
John C. Dickey
hat Major N. B.
known as "Dr."
at the Soldiers'
e major enlisted
ment, Pennsylva-
c war broke out,
ed to the Fifty-
nteers, serving in
thout two years.
hassified with re-
battles they were
eft. Of the three
nts in the service
econd on the list.
l in the battle of

ticed dentistry in
New Castle, Pa.,
n both cities. He
the home about
rn in New York
his boyhood days
t, and was about

**ang Consolidat-
Clerk.**

esterday morning
old fever at his
th avenue, Alle-
was, previous to
lapstcher of the
Co. for many
olidation he re-
f the company at
house. Mr. Stu-
, and unmarried.
hree brothers sur-
hurled by Hilman
d Schenley Lodge
funeral will take
noon at 3 o'clock
e.

**ng, a Monongа-
aper Writee.**

ovember 21.—Miss
ghter of the late
ed of consumption
mother on Main
in her 25th year.
or on the Monon-
an" for nearly five
o be one of the
e state had she
lived. Miss King
Woman's Press
d well known in
was highly respect-
s. Miss King was
ort time to Harry
ent young man of

**a Well-Known
Citizen.**

of the most wide-
idents of Wilkins-
morning at his resi-
30 Wallace avenue.
ge. Mr. Boeringer
ber of General Cus-
U. W., also Elsas-
interstutzungs vere-
Allegheny, respec-
will have charge of
gements for which
pleted.

**aler of the Iron
Bank.**

l-known resident of
ast night at 11:45
s very well known
ing been cashier of
nk for a number of
rgess of Mt. Oliver,
ber of the Masonic

ealhs.

on of late Richard
, died yesterday at
rother, Walter, 161
The funeral will
on at 2 o'clock.

n, mother of the

A WOMAN ANARCHIST.

EMMA GOLDMAN TEACHES ANARCHY to 250 LABORING PEOPLE.

Her Lecture in German to an Audience in the Duquesne Dance Hall on Wylie Avenue Last Night—She Pours Red Hot Anarchy into the Mass and Leaves It to Work—Her Criticisms of Politics.

A motley crew was the 250 men and women who assembled in the Duquesne dancing hall, on Wylie avenue, last night to listen to a lecture by Emma Goldman, the Anarchist. The men in the audience mostly kept their hats on and puffed industriously at vile-smelling stogies and cigarettes. The air was dense with smoke and reeking with fumes when Miss Goldman came in about 8:30 o'clock.

H. Gordon, president of the Pittsburg Socialistic society, opened the meeting with a short talk, and then introduced Miss Goldman. The latter is a short and rather good-looking young woman, whose deep gray eyes and gold eyeglasses give her a decided air of intellectuality and finesse. Miss Goldman began at once her lecture, which was delivered in the German language, and in a full, clear voice she continued to exhort her audience for over an hour and a half.

In substance she said:

"Fellow-workmen and fellow-workwomen, you know it is an old saying that Anarchists do not believe in a God. Yet, were I a praying woman, I should certainly pray that God would take pity on the poor laboret and give us fair weather for our meeting to-morrow. Moses of old led the children for 40 long years through the wilderness, wanderers on the face of the globe, before they at last reached the land of promise, and from that day to this have the Jews been a persecuted race, hunted from land to land, until finally they turned to America, the new land of promise, where they can all do what they please, until a big policeman with a club comes along and tells them to desist. The difference between the life of the Jew in Russia and in America is that there he is under the surveillance of the gendarmes, who are a poor class like themselves, while here in America they are ordered about by burly policemen who live at ease and draw fat salaries. There he must work like a galley slave whether he will or no. Here he is free—free to starve, free to be robbed and swindled on every hand. But the moment he seeks to organize labor, or assert his rights or strike for the defense of his dearest interests he is no longer free, but is apprehended and thrown in prison. The greatest hope of the few in this country is that he can save enough from his earnings to make him a wealthy man when he returns to his family in Europe. He forgets that here in this free land when he earns $5 he must at once spend it to feed and clothe himself.

Most Jewish youths when they come to this country know no trade, for in Europe it is a disgrace for them to work at a trade—that is left to the lower classes among the Gentiles, while the Jews are the tradespeople. Consequently when he gets here and finds all mercantile pursuits filled by Americans, he is destitute of a means of support, and very soon learns that when it comes to cheating he is far outstripped by the American born.

"Are not the richest people here Americans? Is there any place in the 400 for a Jew? All the capital is in the hands of Americans and they control every interest. The Jew has every opportunity, according to law, of rising officially and can fill any office except that of President. Then why does he not rise unless because he is kept down and deprived of his rights by Americans? The Americans rail at the European and blame all our social evils on 'those foreigners.' They forget that their forefathers, the English, the Dutch, French, etc., came to this country and in the name of justice, of civilization, and of God, robbed and murdered the innocent savage, the sole possessor of the land for ages. Moses, brough us ten laws, one of which was 'Thou shalt not steal.' This law has come to be applied only to a certain class. For example, a poor, starving wretch, dying from hunger and cold, steals bread or clothing or money. Brought before a judge it is demanded of him if he did not know of the Divine prohibition of theft. Then he is given a so-called trial and imprisoned. If the man of wealth steals whole estates, whole factories, entire railroads or immense fortunes on change he is called a 'shrewd man' and honored with rank and title. (Applause.)

"If a rich woman is caught shoplifting, the wealthy court has a new word [illegible] and says she is afflicted with

is not for Me is against Me." 'Workmen of all lands, unite, and we shall be free," cried the lecturer. "What wonder we are despised and trodden down when we do not resist, but say: 'God will protect us.'"

Continuing, Miss Goldman told the fable of the old, old man who was seen planting trees, and when asked why he did so when he could hope to eat none of their fruit, replied that he had posterity to provide for. So, she said, should the Socialist do who, though in ignorance himself, and consequently in poverty, should see to it that his children are educated, so that what they earn shall go to themselves and not be taken away to feed the rich. She made a bitter attack on Carnegie. "He slaves you and robs you to feed his already fat purse and then turns about and to conciliate you, presents you with a fine library, music hall, and all that sort of thing when you are too poor to even pay to hear the music."

She urged upon her hearers that they fight for shorter hours and more pay. She bewailed the necessity of child labor and its results. "When such scenes of starvation as are daily noted about us become common it is time to cry 'Give us liberty or give us death,'" she said. Then lowering her voice from its high key of excitement to the modulated tones of a conversation she began to speak of Alexander Berkman, the Anarchist who is now serving a twenty-two year sentence in the Western penitentiary for attempting the life of H. C. Frick at the time of the Homestead strike. She pictured Frick in the enjoyment of health while Berkman languishes behind prison bars.

"To be an Anarchist is enough to get yourself hung in America for attempting even a small crime," she asserted. The judge, she said, knew Frick to be a millionaire, while his assailant was a hated Anarchist.

"Alexander Berkman," she exclaimed, "is good, brave, noble. What he did he did of his own accord, prompted only by a spirit of resentment against the brutality and mishandling he had suffered from the superintendent of the mills. We Anarchists make no distinction as to race or color, so it is our duty to intercede for him because he stood for our interests. Therefore I appeal to you to contribute a little to alleviate the misery of his prison existence."

Miss Goldman herself took up the collection, which amounted to $10.78.

"When I was in prison, to my shame, for ten months, I did not find rich women ever confined. Only the poor are punished. The rich do not commit crimes. In the name of Berkman I thank you for your gift and will say that no one knows what may happen in this country before his long sentence expires. The day may come when he shall see the walls of his prison fall down, blown up by the hand of the revolutionist."

This closed the lecture after which followed a sort of question box, conducted by Miss Goldmann. She announced for a meeting in the same place this afternoon at 3 o'clock to be addressed in English.

F. DEWITT TALMAGE SPOKE.

Wylie Avenue Rescue Mission Crowded Last Night—Other Speakers.

The Rev. Frank De Witt Talmage, of the Second Presbyterian church, Pittsburg, was present last night at the Wylie Avenue Rescue mission, and delivered a short address. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the room was crowded.

Rev. Talmage was late in reaching the mission, and while waiting, President John W. Moreland spoke of the great good being done by the mission and cited several instances where prodigal sons had been returned to their homes and families, and who now led upright lives, when but a few months ago they were out in sin. He said the mission was a beacon light against the saloon, and that there were more paupers made from the use of rum in Allegheny county than the rich could care for.

He was followed by Comrade Thomas Smith, an old soldier. Smith said that he had been separated from his family for seven years all on account of strong drink, but that he had at last been saved. He implored those present to at once sign the pledge. Captain Barbour made one of his short but pointed arguments relating his experience and the results. Mr. George Webb, a member of Rev. Talmage's church, said: "I had lost home, friends and everything on earth, and was saved through the influence of Rev. Talmage." Other speakers gave their experiences.

Rev. Talmage was then introduced and his address was confined to the curse of rum. Among other things he said:

"If our churches would stand together shoulder to shoulder, as the saloonkeepers do, we could close every saloon in the city. I am not a crank. Some people would like you to live on wind pudding. I would take a drink of whisky for snake bite, but the difference is that I will take my drink after the bite, and you fellows will take yours before. A man loses all moral feeling, and becomes a dead beat; he is kicked out of his position; his friends forsake him and from the use of intoxicants he becomes a drunken sot.

"If you won't stop by the grace of God, for God's sake stop some way. Some of you will go straight from this meeting to a saloon. When you go home think of what you have heard here to-night and decide to change your life before it is too

TO HELP ARMENIANS.

THE REV. B. FAY MILLS WILL PLEAD THEIR CAUSE TO-DAY.

Says 40,000 Christianized Armenians Will Perish Unless Aid Is Sent Them—Will Deliver Two Lectures in This City and One in Allegheny. Expects to Realize a Large Sum for the Victims.

The Rev. B. Fay Mills arrived in this city last night and registered at the Hotel Anderson. To-day he will address three meetings in aid of the suffering Armenians. The first address will be made this morning at 10:30 o'clock in the Second Presbyterian church in this city. In the afternoon at 3:30 o'clock the Rev. Mr. Mills will address a meeting at Carnegie hall, in Allegheny, and in the evening he will speak at the Sixth U. P. church, Pittsburg. The statement which appeared in one of the evening papers to the effect that he would address a union meeting of ministers this afternoon is incorrect. A "Leader" reporter called on the Rev. B. Fay Mills at the Hotel Anderson last night, and found him, though the hour was late, busily engaged in getting together his notes for the three addresses which he will deliver today.

The Rev. Mr. Mills is a young man of striking appearance, and he is the possessor of a remarkably rich and melodious voice, which he uses to advantage when delivering lectures which is his present employment. The lectures he delivers are based on the social evils of the day and their character may be gathered from their titles, such as, "What Must Society Do to Be Saved?" "The Emptying of Hell, or the Story of a Carrot," "The Kingdom of Heaven On Earth," and "The Christianization of Christianity."

While engaged in evangelical work some years ago the Rev. Mr. Mills became interested in the Armenians and he made a close and exhaustive study of the subject. Whenever he can get a moment from the demands made upon his time in fulfilling engagements on his lecturing tours, he spends it in working for the Armenian cause. In this manner, through the collections taken up by him, he has turned in the sum of $25,000 to the national Armenian relief committee, of which the Hon. David J. Brewer is chairman, and Brown Bros., the well-known New York banking firm, treasurers. It must be remembered that the work done by the Rev. Mr. Mills is purely voluntary and that he is not acting under the direction of any of the Armenian relief societies.

Last summer while attending the convention of Christian Endeavor held in Washington, D. C., the Rev. Mr. Mills delivered a lecture on the horrors of Armenia, among his audience was the Rev. Dr. McMillan, of Allegheny, who was much impressed with the lecture. Some days ago, finding that he would be in this neighborhood, the Rev. Mr. Mills wrote to Dr. McMillan and offered to deliver an address in aid of the suffering Armenians. His offer was promptly accepted, and today's program is the result.

The Rev. Mr. Mills said that he had received a letter from the Armenian relief committee to the effect that unless foreign aid is sent to support them, 40,000 Armenian Christians will perish from starvation and pestilence during the winter.

The Rev. B. Fay Mills was born in Rahway, N. J., in 1857. He is the son of Dr. Thornton Mills, a well-known Presbyterian minister, and is himself a member of the presbytery of Albany. He graduated from the Lake Forest university, Ill., in 1879. The Rev. Mr. Mills divides his lectures under the following heads:

I. Historical. 1. The first Christian nation of the world has been oppressed and persecuted by the Mohammedans for 600 years, and has witnessed a good confession. The persecutions would have ceased any hour that they would have abandoned their faith. Only a little more than one-tenth of the original 20,000,000 are left. 2. Since 1890 there has been an attempted extermination, caused by Mohammedan fanaticism, the conscienceless shrewdness of the Turkish sultan, the growth in intelligence of the Armenians and the utter failure of European nations to fulfill their obligations. Since August, 1894, 60,000 have been killed with great atrocity, and 500,000 rendered homeless and foodless.

II. Political. 1. Turkey has been kept in existence for fifty years by the jealousy of the European powers. Russia wants it all, and England is determined she shall not have it. 2. By the treaty of Berlin (1878) the powers granted the security of life and property of Armenians in Turkey, and Great Britain assumed the position of their special protectur. She has utterly failed to keep her vow. 3. The United States has failed to protect American citizens and property, or to require indemnity or apology for direst outrages distracted the attention of Great Britain when she seemed about to strike a decisive blow.

III. The present need. Thousands have died of pestilence and starvation and cold. England and America have sent $600,000 when we should have sent $5,000,000, at the least. The relief is perfectly administered. Not a farthing has been misapplied. Forty thousand more will die before January unless we send more money.

FINNEGAN CONVICTED.

The Pittsburg Pugilist Goes to the Workhouse for 18 Months.

WASHINGTON, PA., November 21, 1896. John Finnegan, the Pittsburg pugilist [illegible] court her on the charge

TURKEY DRESSING FOR THANKSGIVING DINNER.

But you want as well as the T you to a T. L or Overcoat to well dressed for pointment here.

BEST CAPA

We employ more tail make better work, and Our popular prices act t

Pants to ord
Suits to orde
Overcoats to

Samples and rules samples and prices and

MATCH
IF YOU C
954 an
S

CROKER SAID NOTH

**The Tammany Leader Arr
From England Yeste**

NEW YORK, Novemb

Richard Croker arrived hon
gland this afternoon on the
Louis and was welcomed by
of Tammany leaders. He wa
ing to talk about his race ho
was reticent concerning polit
asked why he did not come o
the Tammany forces durin
paign.

"Well, I thought I would
run the machine," he said
glance.

"Are you satisfied with t
Sheehan ran the machine?"

"I prefer to say nothing at
duct of the campaign as yet.

"What is your opinion of S
attitude?"

"That is another subject I
to discuss at present."

"Do you think the result o
will end the silver agitation
try?"

"I get my impression from
men who are informed. I
an opportunity to do this
not in a position to say an
it."

"Did you approve of the e
the Tammany machine in
an?"

"I have not said I disap
Mr. Croker quickly. "Lat
have something to say."

"Have you returned to ass
ership of Tammany Hall?"

"Oh, now, I am not read
yet."

Mr. Croker laughingly
Hanna?" when the name
man was mentioned. When
immense amount of money
by the Republican campaig
defeat Bryan he said sen
wasn't necessary. All the R
to do was to leave Bryan
cerning the fate of the fo
Gilroy and Gratt, Senator
other braves who bolted th
Mr. Croker would not tal

EMERY WHEEL B

**One Man Killed and An
ly Injured at South
Penn.**

74

890320002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] A Woman Anarchist / Emma Goldman.– p. 6 ; 44 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Leader. –(Nov. 22, 1896).

Obtained from the State Library of Pennsylvania. Institutional Location: Special Collections.

...g Consolidat...
...Clerk.

...sterday morning ...id fever at his ...n avenus, Alto... ...as, previous to ...apatcher of the ... Co. for many ...lidation he re... the company at ...uss . Mr. Stu... and unmarried. ...ree brothers sur... ...uried by Hinman ... Schenley Lodge ...neral will take ...oon at 2 o'clock

...s, a Monongа...
...per Writer.

...vember 21.—Miss ...hter of the late ...d of consumption ...mother on Main ...n her 25th year. ... on the Monon... ...r" for nearly five ... be one of the ... state had she ...ved. Miss King ... Woman's ... well ... ... respect... ...s King was ...me to Harry ... young man of

...Well-Known ...Citizen.

...f the most wide... ...ents of Wilkins... ...rning at his resi... Wallace avenue. ..., Mr. Boeringer ...r of General Cus... ...J. W., also Elsas... ...erstutzungs vere... ...Allegheny, respec... ...ll have charge of ...ements for which ...leted.

...er of the Iron ...Bank.

...known resident of ...t night at 11:45 ... very well known ...g been cashier of ... for a number of ...ess of Mt. Oliver, ...r of the Masonic

...ths.

... of late Richard ...lled yesterday at ...ther, Walter, 161 ... The funeral will ... at 3 o'clock.

... mother of the ...ent coal operators ...here yesterday of ...

...on Friday evening ...nklin street, Alle... ...he funeral will oc... ...n.

MURDER.

...s the Death of ...onald.

...Coroner McDowell ...laremont on the ...naid. McDonald ... a difficulty with ... at the corner of ...nues. McDonald ...d and died from ... The jury held ... recommended the ...nd jury. ...ree witnesses was ... were P. C. Duffy, ... Officer Joseph ...at on the day of ... met probably for ...aid was intoxicat... ...gled a short time ...away. McDonald ...is a cripple, and ...cDonald over the ...arried—one of the ...e campaign with

...ted and the next ... sent to the work... ...rged. McDonald ...hen at the station, ...officers blamed his ...en he went to the ...ians there discov... He died on Fri...

... which confirmed ...

...ly now. They have ...ospitals and cheap ... He claimed he ...hood of Knoxville,

...OF $25.

...With the Deed ...iled on His Per...

...to Officer Michael ...d told him that an ...lender had robbed ...lans. Valender was ...ear and the latter ...robber and locked ...station. While this ...an who claimed to ...peared and the of... ...s name. Valender ...suspicious person. ... $1,300 was found. ...ed up in a small ...ne of his legs. He ...s his own.

they are ordered about by burly policemen who live at ease and draw fat salaries. There he must work like a galley slave whether he will or no. Here he is free—free to starve, free to be robbed and swindled on every hand. But the moment he seeks to organize labor, or assert his rights or strike for the defense of his dearest interests he is no longer free, but is apprehended and thrown in prison. The greatest hope of the few in this country is that he can save enough from his earnings to make him a wealthy man when he returns to his family in Europe. He forgets that here in this free land when he earns $5 he must at once spend it to feed and clothe himself.

Most Jewish youths when they come to this country know no trade, for in Europe it is a disgrace for them to work at a trade—that is left to the lower classes among the Gentiles, while the Jews are the tradespeople. Consequently when he gets here and finds all mercantile pursuits filled by Americans, he is destitute of a means of support, and very soon learns that when it comes to cheating he is far outstripped by the American born.

"Are not the richest people here Americans? Is there any place in the 400 for a Jew? All the capital is in the hands of Americans and they control every interest. The Jew has every opportunity, according to law, of rising officially and can fill any office except that of President.' Then why does he not rise unless because he is kept down and deprived of his rights by Americans? The Americans rail at the European and blame all our social evils on 'those foreigners.' They forget that their forefathers, the English, the Dutch, French, etc., came to this country and in the name of justice, of civilization, and of God, robbed and murdered the innocent savage, the sole possessor of the land for ages. Moses, when he came down from Mt. Sinai, brough us ten laws, one of which was 'Thou shalt not steal.' This law has come to be applied only to a certain class. For example, a poor, starving wretch, dying from hunger and cold, steals bread or clothing or money. Brought before a judge it is demanded of him if he did not know of the Divine prohibitinn of theft. Then he is given a so-called trial and imprisoned. If the man of wealth steals whole estates, whole factories, entire railroads or immense fortunes on change he is called a 'shrewd man' and honored with rank and title. (Applause.)

"If a rich woman is caught shoplifting, the wealthy court has a new word for her, and says she is afflicted with 'kleptomania' and pities her. (Applause and laughter.)

"We are told by the good Christians that we must live and endure these evils in God-like patience, awaiting our reward in heaven. What do I care what awaits me in heaven! I have to live now on earth! They tell us laws will regulate these evils. Through study and education we are becoming more and more convinced that the more laws men have the more miserable is their condition.

"In politics there are no good parties. When these parties place their candidates before the public they fill their mouths with sweet-sounding promises of good to be done and reforms to be achieved, but when these selfsame men come to power they not once forget their good words and spurn the laboring man, who elected them, underfoot, calling him a fool. Bryan is an intelligent man and an advocate of the people. McKinley is also a good man, but his past record as governor is against him. But you cannot put your trust in any of them, fellow-workmen! Cleveland was paid $200,000 for his four years' service to this country, and yet he became a multi-millionaire. Perhaps God was good, and rained down money like manna of old. No! Cleveland it is who made a contract with the Czar of Russia, the greatest tyrant on earth, stipulating for a consideration of a few million to send back suspect Nihilists to Russia, where they could be cast in prison or executed. Cleveland it is who even now is receiving money from Spain for refusing to listen to the cry of distress from king-ridden Cuba. From President to policeman it is the same, save that where the 'cupper' is tipped a dollar Grover rakes in a million. I will not prophesy of McKinley, for he is not yet in the chair, and has not been tried, but let us hope he will not spend the time of his administration fishing and duck shooting. (Laughter.)

"It is not the inclination of any man in power to better the condition of the laboring man unless his own is greatly helped."

Miss Goldman then repeated in glowing details the story of the creation of the first man and woman, and their expulsion from the garden because they ate of fruit that gave them knowledge. "God was right," she said. "When He kept them in ignorance he had absolute control over them, and now our potentates are just as wise as God, and would forbid the mass of the people eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, for they know that then they will appreciate their degradation and rebel."

She likened the condition of the Anarchist now to that of the Saviour in His last days, when He said, "Whose ... expires. The day may come when he shall see the walls of his prison fall down, blown up by the hand of the revolutionist."

This closed the lecture after which followed a sort of question box, conducted by Miss Goldmann. She announced for a meeting in the same place this afternoon at 3 o'clock to be addressed in English.

F. DEWITT TALMAGE SPOKE.

Wylie Avenue Rescue Mission Crowded Last Night—Other Speakers.

The Rev. Frank De Witt Talmage, of the Second Presbyterian church, Pittsburg, was present last night at the Wylie Avenue Rescue mission, and delivered a short address. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the room was crowded.

Rev. Talmage was late in reaching the mission, and while waiting, President John W. Moreland spoke of the great good being done by the mission and cited several instances where prodigal sons had been returned to their homes and families, and who now led upright lives, when but a few months ago they were out in sin. He said the mission was a beacon light against the saloon, and that there were more paupers made from the use of rum in Allegheny county than the rich could care for.

He was followed by Comrade Thomas Smith, an old soldier. Smith said that he had been separated from his family for seven years all on account of strong drink, but that he had at last been saved. He implored those present to at once sign the pledge. Captain Barbour made one of his short but pointed arguments relating his experience and the results. Mr. George Webb, a member of Rev. Talmage's church, said: "I had lost home, friends and everything on earth, and was saved through the influence of Rev. Talmage." Other speakers gave their experiences.

Rev. Talmage was then introduced, and his address was confined to the curse of rum. Among other things he said:

"If our churches would stand together shoulder to shoulder, as the saloonkeepers do, we could close every saloon in the city. I am not a crank. Some people would like you to live on wind pudding. I would take a drink of whisky for snake bite, but the difference is that I will take my drink after the bite, and you fellows will take yours before. A man loses all moral feeling, and becomes a dead beat; he is kicked out of his position; his friends forsake him and from the use of intoxicants he becomes a drunken sot.

"If you won't stop by the grace of God, for God's sake stop some way. Some of you will go straight from this meeting to a saloon. When you go home think of what you have heard here to-night and decide to change your life before it is too late."

—Miss Jennie Martin, sister of City Clerk E. J. Martin, entertained a number of her friends on Thursday evening. Singing, dancing and euchre were the principal features. The singing was rendered by a quartet composed of Messrs. Welsch, Van Halter, Demore and Martin. Excellent string music was furnished by Messrs. Neckerman and Hull.

Expressions of Sorrow at the Death of J. B. Murdock, M. D., by the Faculty of the Medical Department of the Western University of Pennsylvania.

Death has removed from us our beloved friend and eminent co-worker, J. B. Murdock, M. D., and we, the faculty of the medical department of the Western University of Pennsylvania, while deploring his loss, bow in humble submission to the Divine will, and render thanks for the consolation afforded in contemplating the work and services of our fellow-member as being beyond that, and complete r than we could have asked. We acknowledge also our gratitude for his worthy example of exalted life, for his lofty exemplification of patience in suffering, and for the comforting evidences of victory over death.

As a faculty we will miss his counsel, his judgment and the infinite resources of his intellect and heart. Engrafted upon our memories will remain his magnetic presence, admirable individuality, lofty humor, vivid imagination and refined moral sensibilities.

We believe it wisdom to thus commiserate each other, and also to recount the pleasures, hopes and virtues which his living presence has awakened, believing that we may thereby receive inspiration to endeavor, like him, to reach the full measure of the image in which we were created.

Into the broken home circle, of which he was the dignified and genial center, we extend our condolence, and commend each one to Him whose promises are so inclusive that "Even His rod and staff are comforting."

We direct that a copy of these expressions of sorrow be sent to the family of the deceased, and that they be printed in the daily papers and Pittsburg "Medical Review."

W. T. ENGLISH,
J. D. THOMAS,
T. L. HAZZARD,
Committee.

$145 $145 $145

Buys a 7 1-3-octave Upright Piano, of handsome design, latest improvements and reliable action, at the music store of J. M. Hoffmann & Co., 537 Smithfield street.

...vention of Christian Endeavor held in Washington, D. C., the Rev. Mr. Mills delivered a lecture on the horrors of Armenia, among his audience was the Rev. Dr. McMillan, of Allegheny, who was much impressed with the lecture. Some days ago, finding that he would be in this neighborhood, the Rev. Mr. Mills wrote to Dr. McMillan and offered to deliver an address in aid of the suffering Armenians. His offer was promptly accepted, and today's program is the result.

The Rev. Mr. Mills said that he had received a letter from the Armenian relief committee to the effect that unless foreign aid is sent to support them, 40,000 Armenian Christians will perish from starvation and pestilence during the winter.

The Rev. B. Fay Mills was born in Railway, N. J., in 1857. He is the son of Dr. Thornton Mills, a well-known Presbyterian minister, and is himself a member of the presbytery of Albany. He graduated from the Lake Forest university, Ill., in 1879. The Rev. Mr. Mills divides his lectures under the following heads:

I. Historical. 1. The first Christian nation of the world has been oppressed and persecuted by the Mohammedans for 600 years, and has witnessed a good confession. The persecutions would have ceased any hour that they would have abandoned their faith. Only a little more than one-tenth of the original 20,000,000 are left. 2. Since 1890 there has been an attempted extermination, caused by Mohammedan fanaticism, the conscienceless shrewdness of the Turkish sultan, the growth in intelligence of the Armenians and the utter failure of European nations to fulfill their obligations. Since August, 1894, 60,000 have been killed with great atrocity, and 500,000 rendered homeless and foodless.

II. Political. 1. Turkey has been kept in existence for fifty years by the jealousy of the European powers. Russia wants it all, and England is determined she shall not have it. 2. By the treaty of Berlin (1878) the powers granted the security of life and property of Armenians in Turkey, and Great Britain assumed the position of their special protector. She has utterly failed to keep her vow. 3. The United States has failed to protect American citizens and property, or to require indemnity or apology for direst outrages upon Americans. The Venezuelan message distracted the attention of Great Britain when she seemed about to strike a decisive blow.

III. The present need. Thousands have died of pestilence and starvation and cold. England and America have sent $600,000 when we should have sent $6,000,000, at the least. The relief is perfectly administered. Not a farthing has been misapplied. Forty thousand more will die before January unless we send more money.

FINNEGAN CONVICTED.

The Pittsburg Pugilist Goes to the Workhouse for 18 Months.

WASHINGTON, PA., November 21, 1896.

John Finnegan, the Pittsburg pugilist who was tried in court here on the charge of assaulting James Munn, at Finleyville, last summer, was convicted this morning and sentenced to 18 months in the workhouse.

James Munn and James Rennie were convicted of stoning a B. & O. train at the time the assault occurred, and were sentenced to each pay $5 fine and the costs.

OFFICERS RE-ELECTED.

Trumbull County, O., Fair's Profits Only $38.

WARREN, O., November 21, 1896.

J. L. Kennedy, of Howland, and O. D. Morgan, of Warren, were re-elected secretary and treasurer of the Trumbull County Agricultural society this afternoon. The society cleared only $38 on the last fair after paying several old accounts.

ELDER HANAWALT INJURED.

The Steely Boys' Pastor Fell From a Haymow.

GREENSBURG, November 21, 1896.

Elder George Hanawalt, pastor of the Dunkard church, at Bnucher, in Ligonier valley, yesterday fell through the haymow and sustained injuries that will cause his death. His kneecap was split and he was injured internally.

He became famous through being the pastor of Joe and Dave Steely, who murdered old man Umberger, in Somerset county, and who were hanged April 2, 1891. Elder Hanawalt on the following Sunday afternoon preached their funeral sermon.

NO LITHOGRAPH COMBINE.

Erie Item Refused to Join With Buffalo and Cincinnati Concerns.

ERIE, November 21, 1896.

The report that the "Courier" lithograph company have gone into a combine is denied by the Erie end of the business. F. J. Walker, of the Erie company, stated that his company had refused to combine. Walker says their business this year will amount to between $200,000 and $250,000.

Butler's Paper Solvent.

RALEIGH, N. C., November 21, 1896.

Senator Marion Butler's paper here, the "Caucasian," is no longer in the sheriff's hands. Judgments against the paper which aggregated only $213, were paid today. There is no issue this week. The paper is entirely solvent.

Brakeman's Hand Smashed.

George Harris had his left hand smashed while coupling freight cars in the Valley railroad Forty-third street yards yesterday afternoon. He was attended by a physician and sent to his home on Forty-eighth street.

954 and ... S...

CROKER SAID NOTH...

The Tammany Leader Arri... From England Yester...

New York, Novembe...

Richard Croker arrived home... England this afternoon on the s... Louis and was welcomed by a ... of Tammany leaders. He was ... ing to talk about his race hor... was reticent concerning politi... asked why he did not come ov... the Tammany forces during ... paign.

"Well, I thought I would le... run the machine," he said w... glance.

"Are you satisfied with the ... Sheehan ran the machine?" w...

"I prefer to say nothing abo... duct of the campaign as yet."

"What is your opinion of Se... attitude?"

"That is another subject I d... to discuss at present."

"Do you think the result of ... will end the silver agitation in... try?"

"I get my impression from t... men who are informed. I ha... an opportunity to do this ye... not in a position to say anyt... it."

"Did you approve of the emp... the Tammany machine in h... an?"

"I have not said I disappr... Mr. Croker quickly. "Later ... have something to say."

"Have you returned to assur... ership of Tammany Hall?" ho...

"Oh, now, I am not ready ... yet."

Mr. Croker laughingly ask... Hanna?" when the name of ... man was mentioned. When t... immense amount of money ha... by the Republican campaign ... defeat Bryan he said senten... wasn't necessary. All the Repu... to do was to leave Bryan a... cerning the fate of the form... Gilroy and Grant, Senator ... other braves who bolted the R... Mr. Croker would not talk.

EMERY WHEEL BU...

One Man Killed and Anot... ly Injured at South ... Tenn.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., Novemb...

By the bursting to-day of a ... wheel in the works of the Bla... foundry at South Pittsburg, ... Howk, who was engaged near ... was instantly killed and Geo... some distance away, was s... flying fragment and so badly ... he will die. The shop was ... up.

CAPTAIN FORD HONO...

Ford City Formally Celeb... Plate Glass King's Bir...

FORD CITY, Novemb...

This afternoon the J. B. For... sociation, the members of wh... officials and employees of the ... plant of the Pittsburg plate ... pany, formally observed the ... day of the founder of the ... glass industry, Captain J. B. ...

The association was formed ... ago when a monument in ho... tain Ford was erected in t... this place. Each year sinc... ciation has fittingly celebrate... ation as well as the anniver... birth of Captain Ford. To... a drizzling rain, there was ... tendance. Friends were pr... Pittsburg, Tarentum and Kl... pleasing feature was the ... Captain Ford himself, who h... home from a western trip th... attend the meeting.

The exercises were held in ... hall. M. R. Pepper preside... prayer by Rev. Mackey, of th... M. E. church, the audience ... sang "America." Miss Lil... recited an original produc... "Captain Ford and Wife." ... of the day was made by Orr... Esq., of Kittanning, who pai... life-work of Captain Ford, ... his enterprise had benefited ... workmen and added untold w... county. His congratulatory ... Captain Ford were heartily ... statement of the associatin... its present financial conditio... by J. M. Nelson. Music ... by the Ford City band and ... lin club. There were sin... school children and the Germ... and a violin solo by Dr. S. ... of Kittanning.

MISS A. HARE C...

Erie Man Owns a U... Dated 1783.

ERIE, Noven...

E. W. Chellis, manager o... roofing company, is the ow... of great value. It is a U... copper of 1... similar co... by ex-President Harrison ... leading railroad companies ... other one of which they ... under the Northwest ...

890313003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] For Berkmann and Anarchism / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 44 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Post. —(Nov. 22, 1896).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Pittsburgh Libraries. Institutional Location: Darlington Memorial Library.

LS WILL DROP DECEMBER 1.

THORITATIVE STATEMENT
T PRICES WILL BE LOW-
ERED BY THE POOL.

EMENT IS ABROGATED.

Cutting to Discourage Mush-
room Competition.

W GLASS IS ADVANCING.

nail prices are likely to take a
as a result of the meeting of
nufacturers' associations to be
the Waldorf, New York, Decem-
Assurance is given "The Post"
anufacturer identified with the
l association that a reduction
made. To what extent the base
ble will not be known until the
turers get together, but it is
that cheaper wire and cut nails
ad after the first of next month
uction has been anticipated, but
information to this effect has
king.

ssociation price for wire nails
$2 55 for carload lots, f. o. b.,
g, but this base is not adhered
ly. Jobbers have been generally
and manufacturers outside the
operly underselling the pool
t is anticipated that the base
ll be reduced from $2 55 to $1 25
The reduction will be made to
the demand of the jobbers and
purpose of driving the mushroom
, which have sprung up all over
try, out of the field. In expecta-
a big drop in prices, jobbers are
ying any stocks, and the small
likewise shy of the situation and
aded up at the present time.

o Kill the Small Fry.

tements which have enabled the
maintain high prices will be off
nd of the month, and may not
ved immediately. It is believed
e purpose of the manufacturers
he trade of the small fry, and
price about $1 25 the small pro
who must buy wire will not be
compete. If the pool is success-
ontrolling the market, it is be-
rices will not be put up to such
again as to give cause for com-
it is generally conceded that $2
is a fair price, and if the as-
can hold it at that figure no
kick. Nails are selling in Chi-
low as $2, and lower for carload
brokers are offering big lots
prices, and are believed to be
or pool manufacturers.

hought that the dissatisfaction
among the manufacturers may
e disruption of the pool at the
rk meeting, but the jobbers do
to see it go by the board, as
en a benefit on the whole, and
uld not like to see the old con-
establishied. The attack made
ool by L. C. Bramkamp will be
d at the New York meeting.
ns that the existence of the
y maintained by the Wire and
nufacturers' association is con-
the interstate commerce law
violation of the Sherman anti-
of 1890. The attorney for the
made no attempt to deny the
gations of the bill.

ade to Boom Prices.

actically admitted that such a
had existence in fact. He ar-
the object of such combinations
nhance the price of wire nails
ited the bill and the argument
to show that it had
the price from 80 cents per
omething over $2, resulting in a
several million dollars. He
at the object of the Sherman
to protect interstate commerce
ic, and he maintained that con-
d no right, or if it had, it had
sumed it, to attempt to regu-
ate contracts within a state.

ill cannot be supported at all
e Sherman act of 1890. If the
ts entered into a conspiracy
an advance, and are satisfied with the terms now paid, as they know they are receiving the highest wages possible at the present time.

The miners in the vicinity of Brownsville are still on strike, but it is reported that the Beaumont and Knob diggers have agreed to return to work to-morrow morning for $3 1. The miners' committee will meet with the operators at the coal exchange to-morrow to discuss the demand for an advance in the mining rates. It is generally understood that the operators will not concede the advance.

SUFFERING ARMENIA.

Evangelist Mills Arousing Ministers to Petition Congress to Act.

Rev. B. Fay Mills, of Fort Edward, N. Y., is in the city to work among local clergymen in the interest of Armenia. He will address a mass meeting this morning in the Second Presbyterian church, Penn avenue and Seventh street, another in the afternoon at 3:30 o'clock in Allegheny Carnegie hall, and in the evening at the Sixth U. P. church on North Highland avenue. Mr. Mills is the evangelist who has recently taken up the cause of the Armenians, and his addresses are rather from a political than a religious standpoint.

"Yes," he said last night in his room at the Hotel Anderson, "I believe that the United States government has been sadly negligent in taking decisive action in regard to Armenia and the depredations which have been committed on Americans residing there. They have allowed a whole year to pass without securing a cent of indemnity or the arrest of a single offender in connection with the Harpoot outrage of November 11, 1895, where 15 honored American citizens had their homes destroyed by the Turkish soldiers and mob. The Turkish government is making a deep and far-reaching plan to expel all the American missionaries, and now is the time that the ministers and others should use their influence in petitioning congress to do something. This winter will be the hardest for the Armenians they have ever experienced, and there will be more starvation and exposure. Hence we are making especially strong the canvass for funds to help them. The National Armenian relief association of New York, of which David J. Brewer, supreme court justice, is president, is the place for money to go. There are sure to be hundreds of refugees coming to this country this winter, and I only hope the government will not disgrace itself by keeping them out, contrary to our constitutional pretensions, as it did a month or so ago."

DEAD NEARLY A MONTH.

Boys Saw the Body Two Weeks Ago, but Supposed It That of a Drunken Man.

Coroner Heber McDowell was notified yesterday that the body of an unknown man had been found on the Stonecipher farm, near Oakdale. Deputy-Coroner A. B. Moreland went out last night, made an investigation and held an inquest. Saturday, November 14, some boys saw the dead man's body lying where it was found yesterday, but they supposed the man was drunk, and were afraid to go near him. Yesterday afternoon Nicholas Meyers was passing along the same place and saw the body. He reported the matter to Chris Mantz, who sent word to the coroner's office.

The body was badly decomposed. The dead man had a black steel calendar watch in his pocket, which had stopped Sunday, October 25. He had one small memorandum book, in which were written the names: Hermann Kohl, William Russel and Frederick Kruckemeyer, but he had a German bible, a hymn book and German and English text book, in which the name of Hermann Kohl only appeared, and that is supposed to be his name.

The man was about 40 years old, 5 feet 8 inches high, and weighed about 175 pounds, and partially bald. He wore light trousers, blue coat and vest, a gum coat, and high boots, laced up in the front. He is supposed to have been an oil driller. Among some small papers in his clothes was a prescription No. 1863, filled at the McDonald pharmacy on October 20, 1896. The pharmacy was communicated with, but word was received that it

FOR BERKMANN AND ANARCHISM.

EMMA GOLDMANN LECTURES BEFORE A LIMITED AUDIENCE OF KINDRED SPIRITS.

GUARDED IN HER REMARKS.

Courts and the Present System of Government Condemned.

RAISING MONEY FOR A PARDON.

Anarchy and the liberation of Alexander Berkmann were the subjects of a lengthy address in German, delivered by Mrs. Emma Brady, better known as Emma Goldmann, in the Duquesne dancing academy, 512 Wylie avenue, last night. The woman, who several years ago became famous in New York for making incendiary speeches, for which she was sent to Blackwell island for 10 months, had a typical audience. There were about 150 men, women and children present. Nearly all were Russians or Poles. There were others, many of them Americans, who dropped in for a few moments, apparently to satisfy their curiosity. Two policemen were auditors for a short time, taking their places near the door. They did not remain long. There were fumes of tobacco smoke thick enough at times to cut, but this did not seem to have any effect on the speaker.

She was introduced by Harry Gordon, a machinist. He made an extended harangue in a Russian-German-Hebrew jargon, which was difficult to understand. He finally introduced the speaker, who at once sailed into her subject with a vim. She is a small woman, with an intelligent countenance, decorated with gold-rimmed eye glasses. She was neatly attired, in an up-to-date navy blue dress, puff sleeves and masculine shirt front, collar and tie. She spoke in a clear, resonant voice, and at once gained the interest and attention of the audience. Barring the appearance of a small barking dog, and the cries of an omnipresent small boy with a big voice, her speech was not interrupted. At the outset she stated that owing to the preponderence of Hebrews in her audience she would change the subject of her lecture.

She Changed Her Topic.

She had intended speaking on "The Effects of the Recent Election on the Condition of the Workingman," but changed it to "The Jews in America." As an introduction she said a God had caused it to rain on an evening when there was to be an Anarchist meeting, hoping that many would be kept away.

She launched into her subject by referring to Moses and the promised land, which so many of the Hebrews in foreign countries thought to be America. They came here, she said, under the impression that gold could be picked up on the streets, and they would be free men. This she claimed they found out to their sorrow was untrue. They soon learned that they were a species of slaves who paid the salaries of policemen, judges and other officers. Referring to President Cleveland she said the laboring men of the country paid him $50,000 a year for hunting and fishing. She handled the millionaires of the country without gloves, and intimated that should they be relieved by death the country would not suffer. She impressed her hearers with the importance of educating their children in the doctrine of self-preservation and anarchy, claiming that their forefathers had neglected a duty which a present generation should perform. She did not openly advocate revolution or a resort to arms, and did not go into the details of how relief from the present conditions could be sought. Her hearers were left to form their own conclusions. She berated the courts and high officials for giving the rich liberties the poor did not enjoy. She argued that when a poor man committed a crime he was given the full extent of the law, while the rich man by committing crime made himself eligible

FATALLY HURT, THOUGHT DRUN

**TWO DOCTORS FAILED TO DI
NOSE CORRECTLY PETER
M'DONALD'S CASE.**

HIS SKULL WAS FRACTUR

**Was the Victim of an Assault T
Ended in His Death.**

THE CORONER HOLDS AN INQU

The inquest into the death of P
McDonald, the workhouse prisoner
died last Friday evening from inj
received prior to his incarceration,
held yesterday at the workhouse,
oner McDowell conducting the inq
The evidence produced shows a
of care on the part of certain pers
or else proves how doctors are liab
be mistaken in their diagnosis of a
of drunkenness. The facts show
McDonald was considered to be
drunk when he was arrested, was
to be only drunk when he was rece
at the workhouse, and was still
sidered only drunk for two days
his arrival at Claremont. He died
fractured skull.

McDonald and Frank Kelly were
rested by Policeman Joseph Thom
October 29. At the hearing next m
ing it was proved that Kelly had
saulted McDonald, striking him on
head with a McKinley cane, a tin af
containing the head of the p
dent-elect. McDonald was known
the police to be very quarrelsome,
Kelly's story that the old man had
assaulted him was believed. Kelly
discharged and McDonald was sen
the workhouse for 30 days. About
days afterward the superintendent
the workhouse telephoned to Supe
tendent of Police A. H. Leslie that
Donald was dying. Mr. Leslie sta
out that night with three detect
visiting all of Kelly's haunts, but
unable to find the man. Kelly wa
comparative stranger in the city,
was known as a "macer," a street
gar. He could not be found, and
supposed he left town.

An Unprovoked Assault.

William McMahon, a driver for B
& Giltinan, the Grant street livery
said he was standing in front of the
ery stable, and saw McDonald wal
north on Grant street. Kelly was sit
on the steps in front of Dr. Oldshue's
fice at Grant street and Webster ave
When McDonald got opposite to
Kelly arose and struck him on the
with a cane. McDonald fell, and Mc
hon saw Officer Thompson rush ac
Webster avenue and arrest both
They were sent to the central statio
a patrol wagon.

P. C. Duffy, who keeps the hote
Webster avenue and Grant street,
Kelly strike McDonald and told Tho
son to make the arrest.

Officer Thompson testified that
Mr. Duffy spoke to him about the
he turned and saw McDonald lying
the ground, and saw Kelly strike
with a cane as he lay there. Thom
placed both under arrest. The cane w
Kelly used was "all mashed up."
sent both to the central station in
patrol wagon. Thompson was at
hearing the next morning before M
trate McKenna. McDonald was bro
out supported by policemen. The ma
trate refused to hear the case, and
the man back to his cell, and told Dr
L. Taylor to go back and examine
Dr. Taylor started back to the cell
Thompson went home.

Dr. Taylor testified that he was at
hearing, examined him and decided
there was nothing the matter with
except intoxication, and reported the
sult of his examination to the magist
The hearing was then held.

Treated as a Common Drunk

Dr. G. M. Kelly, surgeon at the w

The s
train of ar

76

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890313003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] For Berkmann and Anarchism / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 44 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Post. —(Nov. 22, 1896).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Pittsburgh Libraries. Institutional Location: Darlington Memorial Library.

...ught that the ... ng among the manufacturers may the disruption of the pool at the York meeting, bot the jobbers do ish to see it go by the board, as been a benefit on the whole, and would not like to see the old con- established. Tho attack made pool by L. C. Bramkamp will be ered at the New York meeting. aims that the existence of the oly maintained by the Wire and manufactorers' association is con- to the interstate commerce law violation of the Sherman anti- law of 1890. The attorney for the e made no attempt to deny the allegations of the bill.

Made to Boom Prices.

practically admitted that such a oly had existence in fact. He ar- hat the object of such combination o enhance the price of wire nails e cited the bill and its argument ...to show that it had ced the price from 80 cents per something over $2, resulting in a of several million dollars. He that the object of the Sherman as to prolect interstate commerce affic, and he maintained that con- had no right, or if it had, it had assumed it, to attempt to rego- rivate contracts within a state. ld:

bill cannnt be supported at all the Sherman act of 1890. If the ants entered into a conspiracy the only object of the conspir- as to keep up the price of wire If they show 5 that such con- interefered with interstate trade nterference was an incident, not ect, of the conspiracy."

wire nail manufacturers are con- hat they are operating within the nd while not looking for the ap- of the courts on some of the ac- which are seemingly unjust, they tisfied that the final decision will heir favor. It is thought that the n of the supreme court in the trust case has nullified the Sher- aw so far as it is applicable to combinations. It is held on good authority, according to a trade l, that an agreement to establish inerative price is not a violation mon law. If general trade condi- would abnormally depress prices. patch from Philadelphia last night he National hardware jobbers' as- on at its annual meeting just decided to fight the wire nail nd will start independent nail mills pete with the pool plants. No ity is given for this statement. If true, is a change of attitude on rt of the jobbers' association. fore it has been friendly toward l pool.

---

ring to the discharge of a num- the employes of the Consolidated n company, District Master Work- McFarland said yesterday: "I investigated the matter and what I have learned from es who are in a position to I am satisfied that the company making an attempt to break up ganization, as some of the em- believe. The company is not on the union, and as I under- it all the men discharged have t go for cause."

---

ow glass prices are rapidly ad- on account of the depleted owing to the delay in starting dories. The manufacturers have o change in prices, as they have ss to sell. The jobbers having are reaping big profits. In New he jobbers have reduced the dis- to 60 and 5&5 on domestic and 60 per cent on French on ac- of the great scarcity.

port from Jeannette says the mer- of the town on account of the of the wage negotiations last became uneasy and have been on nt of stopping further credit to ass workers. The grocers who en carrying the workers through mmer feared that they would be to collect their accounts, and at ing held Friday night a resolution dopted not to accept credit cer- s issued by the Window glass s' association. Another meeting ...their action was reconsidered. A ion was adopted which pledges ...brekeepers "to stick to the work- till they win their fight."

...hers at the South Tenth street ... the Oliver iron and steel, com- have asked an advance on the now being paid at the mill, ac- g to a report, which has been in tion since the day after elec- Inquiry was made some days ago employes of the finishing depart- and they stated that they had not ted any wage changes. A repre- ...ve of the company stated that

yesterday that the body of an unknown man had been found on the Stonecipher farm, near Oakdale. Depoty-Coroner A. B. Moreland went out last night, made an investigation and held an inquest. Saturday, November 14, some boys saw the dead man's body lying where it was found yesterday, but they supposed the man was drunk, and were afraid to go near him. Yesterday afternoon Nicholas Meyers was passing along the same place and saw the body. He reported the matter to Chris Mantz, who sent word to the coroner's office.

The body was badly decomposed. The dead man had a black steel colonial watch in his pocket, which had stopped Sunday, October 6. He had one small memorandum book, in which were written the names: Hermann Kohl, William Russell and Frederick Krulnkemeyer, but he had a German bible, a hyma book and German and English text book, in which the name of Hermann Kohl only appeared, and that is supposed to be his name.

The man was about 40 years old, 5 feet 8 inches high, and weighed about 170 pounds, and partially bald. He wore light trousers, blue coat and vest, a gum coat, and high boots, laced up in the front. He is supposed to have been an oil driller. Among some small papers in his clothes was a prescription No. 1855, filled at the McDonald pharmacy on October 20, 1896. The pharmacy was communicated with, but word was received that it must have been a very old prescription refilled. The body was sent to the receiving vault of the Oakdale cemetery. The verdict was death from an unknown cause.

ADDED TO THE MUSEUM.

Two Suits of Ancient Armor Now on Exhibition.

Two full suits of ancient armor from Venice are now on exhibition in the Carnegie museum. They were purchased by Andrew Carnegie, and are in the center room near the mummies. They are attracting much attention. One is a suit worn during the reign of Ferdinand I of Germany, and the other is a fac-simile of one worn by Henry IV. of France, in 1588. The original suit, worn by the French king, who was afterward assassinated, was presented to the arsenal at Venice, where it now is.

The museum was visited the last week by a class from the Ursuline academy, one from the Allegheny schools and one from the Pittsburg high school. The school children who are to write a prize composition on their visit to the museum were out in full force yesterday. The place is growing in popular interest from day to day.

Ended in a Free Fight.

Braddock went to McKeesport yesterday to play the crimson team, and got the worst of the deal by getting unfair decisions. The first half was good, clean ball, and the Tigers had the ball in their possession all through. The ball was on the five-yard line when time was called, but in the second half, two minutes was played when the Tigers made a touchdown, and the crimsons started a free-for-all fight. Then Braddock claimed the game.

His Victim May Die.

William Kant, a well-known young business man of McKeesport, was arrested last night by Constable Charles Moore. A few days ago Kant quarreled with William Pohl and kicked him in the stomach. Pohl's injuries are of a very serious nature, and the doctors say he cannot recover. Kant gave bail for a hearing before Alderman Skelley Wednesday at 2 o'clock.

LOCAL NEWS IN PARAGRAPHS.

—William Devine was yesterday sent to jail without bail by Alderman F. J. Shellman. He is charged with a serious offense by Pearl Pancost.

—John Schultz was probably fatally injured by a street car on Penn avenue last night. His breastbone was broken and he was otherwise injured. He was carried to his home, 311 Main street.

—John Hanlon was struck by car 106 of the Butler street line at Twelfth street and Penn avenue last night, and received quite a number of flesh wounds, none of which are serious.

—The body of Joseph Dohak is at the morgue. He died last evening at Mercy hospital. He was a miner and was employed by the Stockdale Coal company in their mines. Thursday a piece of slate fell on him. He was 45 years of age.

—The unknown man who fell on the pavement on Liberty avenue opposite Tenth street Friday and died at Homeopathic hospital yesterday, has been identified as John Stu...

be an Anarchist meeting, hoping that many would be kept away.

She launched into her subject by referring to Moses and the promised land, which so many of the Hebrews in foreign countries thought to be America. They came here, she said, under the impression that gold could be picked up on the streets, and they would be free men. This she claimed they found out to their sorrow was untrue. They soon learned that they were a species of slaves who paid the salaries of policemen, judges and other officers. Referring to President Cleveland she said the laboring men of the country paid him $50,000 a year for hunting and fishing. She handled the millionaires of the country without gloves, and intimated that should they be relieved by death the country would not suffer. She impressed her hearers with the importance of educating their children in the doctrine of self-preservation and anarchy, claiming that their forefathers had neglected a duty which a present generation should perform. She did not openly advocate revolution or a resort to arms, and did not go into the details of how relief from the present conditions could be sought. Her hearers were left to form their own conclusions. She berated the courts and high officials for giving the rich liberties the poor did not enjoy. She argued that when a poor man committed a crime he was given the full extent of the law, while the rich man by committing crime made himself eligible to hold office and was looked upon as an exemplary citizen. Her talk was somewhat disconnected, but the sentiments expressed seemed to be in accord with those of her audience, as she was frequently applauded.

An Appeal for Berkmann.

In conclusion she made a plea for Alexander Berkmann, who is serving a sentence of 22 years for shooting H. C. Frick during the troubles at Homestead four years ago. She said the law of the state fixes the maximum penalty for the crime committed at seven years; Berkmann, she said, was sent up for 22 years, not because he shot Frick, but because he was an anarchist. She maintained that she did not defend Berkmann's crime, which she said was committed in defense of the workingman. Whether he acted foolishly or not, he was made a victim of a judicial system favorable to the capitalists. She intimated that Berkmann's aim was not as good as it might have been, and as Frick was today enjoying the best of health, Berkmann should be shown some consideration. To help his cause she passed through the audience and took up a collection. She reported that she had collected $10 78, which she said would be used in giving relief to the prisoner. She said that when Berkmann would leave the penitentiary he would be just as much of a revolutionist and friend of the workingman as when sentenced.

After the lecture she said in private conversation that under the present state administration there was little hope for a pardon, but that the agitation would be kept up. She invited those present to ask any questions, which she would answer. In the course of her replies to questions she said nothing was to be accomplished by voting for any candidate of any party, as it was an admission that leaders and bosses were needed. Anarchists, she claimed, needed no leaders and could have a government without laws as they are made at present. During her remarks she quoted Leibnitz, who once said that "it would require guts, not ballots, to settle the labor problem." This is the only time she referred to revolutionary tactics, and did so very gourdedly.

She will speak this afternoon at the same place in English on "Anarchism in America." Next Thursday afternoon she will speak at 1012 Penn avenue on "The Effects of the Recent Election on the Condition of the Workingman."

Treasured in His Trousers.

A man walked up to Officer Michael Hannigan last night and told him that an Italian named Don Valender had robbed him of $25 in Howard's lane. Valender was pointed out to the officer, the alleged robber was locked up, and while this was being done the man who claimed to be robbed disappeared, and the officer did not secure his name. When Valender was searched $1,200 was found. He had the money tied up in a small bag, fastened around one of his legs. He claimed the money was his own.

Chamber of Commerce Banquet.

The chamber of commerce banquet committee yesterday decided to hold the annual banquet Tuesday, December 18. Covers for 300 will be laid and for as many more as will buy a ticket. The committee intends making the affair a brilliant one, and have invited several noted speakers and statesmen to be present. Tickets will be on sale on November 27 from 11 a. m. to 1 p. m. at the ... of commerce rooms. Wash and

with a cane. McDonald fell, and ... hon saw Officer Thompson rush ... Webster avenue and arrest both ... They were sent to the central stat... a patrol wagon.

P. C. Duffy, who keeps the ho... Webster avenue and Grant street ... Kelly strike McDonald and told T... son to make the arrest.

Officer Thompson testified that ... Mr. Duffy spoke to him about the ... he torned and saw McDonald lyi... the ground, and saw Kelly strik... with a cane as he lay there. Tho... placed both under arrest. The cane ... Kelly osed was "all mashed up." ... both to the central station ... patrol wagon. Thompson was a... hearing the next morning before ... trate McKenna. McDonald was bt... oot sopported by policemen. The ... trate refused to hear the case, an... the man back to his cell, and told ... L. Taylor to go back and examin... Dr. Taylor started back to the ce... Thompson went home.

Dr. Taylor testified that he was ... hearing, examined him and decide... there was nothing the matter wit... except intoxication, and reported t... soit of his examination to the magi... The hearing was then held.

Treated as a Common Dru...

Dr. G. M. Kelly, surgeon at the ...



The s... rain of ... colo... of win... grain ... manganat... potash w... den sever... sand tim... weight of ... The mo... fling d... will disa... every or... the bod... cause ev... diseas... death. I... little at... neglected... make th... diseases. ... serious d... have th... ception in a disordered digestion and ... nutrition. This is true of that most ... of diseases—consumption. It is al... of nervous prostration and exhausti... also of all forms of wasting disease... ments of this description may not ... prevented but cured by a resort to th... remedy.

An unfailing cure for all diseas... have their origin in disorders of the ... tion and faulty nutrition is found ... Pierce's Golden Medical Discover... cures digestive disorders, restores th... tite, invigorates the liver, purifies a... riches the blood, builds healthy fle... muscle and drives out disease-germ... cures 98 per cent. of all cases of co... tion. Thousands have testified to ... facts. Druggists who suggest sub... are dishonest.

Mrs. Ursula Dunham, of Sistersville, T... W. Va., writes: "I should have been dea... not been for your medicine. I was nea... when I began taking Dr. Pierce's Golde... eal Discovery. I had a pain in my side ... time, had but little appetite, and grew ve... The 'Golden Medical Discovery' prompt... the pain, restored my appetite, and in... my weight."

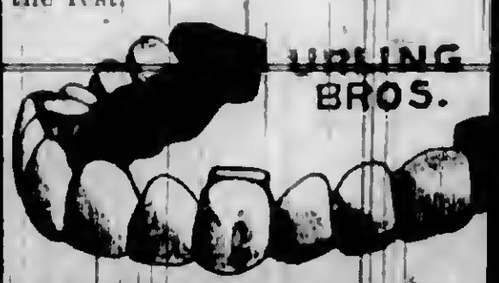
Dr. Pierce's wonderful free book, ... People's Common Sense Medical Ad... will be sent paper-bound, for twe... cents in one-cent stamps to pay t... of mailing *only*. Address Dr. R. V. ... Buffalo, N. Y. For handsome, ... cloth covers, beautifully stamped, s... cents more (thirty-one cents in all), ... extra cost for this style of binding.

OF COURSE

YOU CAN AFFORD

Crown and Bridge at $5 a Too... cheap enough for anybody. (... things are too cheap.) $5 A TOO... just right. We guarantee the ... and material; our reputation in ... the rest.

URLING BROS.



Gold Fillings, $1.00 up Silver Fillings ... Extracting..... ... Odontunder or Gas FOR PAIN... URLING BRO...

304 SIXTH ST. (Cor. Penn Av...

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

89032000l4

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Again / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 44 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Leader. –(Nov. 23, 1896).

Obtained from the State Library of Pennsylvania. Institutional Location: Special Collections.

Curzon, Lady Randolph
Lady Lillian Churchill, Sir
Lady Sophia Scott, Lord
Mr. and Mrs. Greenfell,
George Curzon and his Amer-
Hon. Arthur J. Bal-
of the government party
of commons, and Rt. Hon.
lin, member of parliament
nt of the board of agricul-

will be spent in hunting
tes.

Y DID NOT VOTE.

**iunty Where People Did
w an Election Was to Be**

TLANTA, November 23, 1896.
n the office of the secretary
that Charlton county not
ot take part in the recent
election, but did not know
as to be held.
o secure election returns
ed there The Oke-
swamp s most of the
are several towns
Traders Hill being the

D ROBBER BRUTES.

**innati Woman Beaten So
at She May Die.**

CINNATI, November 23, 1896.
k last night, while the
mily were at church, three
, two white and one negro,
their house and assaulted
s. Buckholz, who was alone.
ed her down and demanded
e said she had none. The
beat her until she was un-
nd took a purse containing
from her pocket. The rob-
caped. Mrs. Buckholz was
ed, and, owing to her age,
cover from the injuries and

nsylvania Pensions.

HINGTON, November 23, 1896.
have been granted to resi-
estern Pennsylvania as fol-

Isaac A. Moore, Stahls-
moreland.
James Marsh, Harrisville,

widows (reissue)—Louisa J.
Brighton, Beaver.

IRED FIVE SHOTS.

**as Tried to Kill His Wife
dis Mother-in-Law.**

ucas, formerly employed as
t A. M. Byers & Co.'s South
as recently sued by several
om whom he had taken mon-
mised them work. He was
urt trial, but the case has
fixed up. His wife left him
trouble and it is said that
been having trouble since.
y hard yesterday afternoon
wife and his mother-in-law,
a Williams. A revolver was
he shooting took place at
ms' house, Fulton and
reets.
ed at Mrs. Williams' house
k yesterday afternoon, say-
ed to have a talk with his
t they might live together
Williams said that any talk
ave with her daughter was
presence. Lucas said that
ll right, and he and Mrs.
Mrs. Williams sat in one of
or half an hour talking on
lects.
mised to reform his ways if
ld live with him again. Mrs.
hen she saw the reconcilia-
left the room.
s changed his manner, and
g his wife for leaving him,
ew a revolver, and said:
will settle this right here."
n backed toward the door
wo shots at his wife. The
fired struck Mrs. Lucas as
towards the door. It plow-
over her scalp. She threw
ds as the second shot was
bullet aimed at her head en-
rm.
s fell forward, and as she
husband stepped up to her
the muzzle of the revolver
ad. She grasped the weap-
red and the bullet entered
n.
n dashed out of the room.
ns, having heard the shots,
the room and met Lucas.
ce at her, but both bullets
mark.
anis cried for help, and the
shed in, while Lucas dashed
att Foster was called in.
wound in the abdomen was
and he refused to allow
to be removed to a hospital,
ey might prove fatal.
Howard, of Alderman Ca-
arrested Lucas on Wylie
ward was about to take his
when Officer Frank Sut-
and demanded that Lu-
over to him, as the case
ng to an alderman. After
ward gave up his prisoner,
taken to No. 2 police sta-

where he made his home during his congressional career as well as since he left congress when he is in Washington.

Private Secretary Thurber denies the report that the President is going to appoint him to a life position before the close of his administration, as has been the custom of chief executives to provide for such officials. Mr. Thurber says he longs for the day when the heavy weight of official office is lifted from his frail shoulders and he can return to the peace and quiet of private life. He expects to return to Detroit and resume the practice of law with Don Dickinson. Mr. Thurber is probably the most unpopular private secretary that ever occupied that position in the White house. He is a man without the necessary knowledge of public men and affairs to fill the office satisfactorily, and it has been the wonder of people who had business with the President that he retained him until the end of his administration. As private secretary to the President Dan Lamont was popular, but as secretary of war he is just as unpopular as he was popular during President Cleveland's first administration. It is fully as difficult to see Secretary Lamont as it is to see the President. But, then, Daniel has become an aristocrat as well as a millionaire since he first came to Washington. That makes quite a difference with some people.

The friends of H. Clay Evans, of Tennessee, are booming him quite vigorously for a cabinet place. Mr. Evans was one of the assistant postmaster generals during the Harrison administration and showed himself to be a very efficient official. After the inauguration of President Cleveland Mr. Evans returned to Tennessee and ran for governor on the Republican ticket. He was elected, but was counted out by a Democratic legislature. He was a candidate for the vice presidential nomination at St. Louis and received in the neighborhood of 300 votes. He would like to be postmaster general.

The board of trade of Washington, to which matters of the kind are usually referred, has recommended the appointment of Mr. S. W. Woodward, a sound money Democrat, to Chairman Hanna to be chairman of the general committee having in charge the ceremonies attending the inauguration of President-elect McKinley. Mr. Woodward is the senior member of the big dry goods firm of Woodward & Lathrop, of this city. He has been a lifelong Democrat, but he repudiated the Chicago platform. He was one of the largest contributors to the campaign fund of McKinley and Hobart in Washington.

The friends of General Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, are urging his appointment as chief marshal of the inaugural parade, and it is generally believed that he will be appointed.

The civil service commission will shortly take up the cases reported to it of officials levying campaign assessments on subordinates. A test case will be made of a postmaster in Indiana. If conviction follows the other cases will be taken up. The case against State Chairman Garman, of Pennsylvania, and County Chairman Howley, of Allegheny, will be among the first ones to be investigated after the test case is made, so Commissioner Proctor says.

Comptroller of the Currency Eckles is figuring on serving out his full term of five years. He was appointed by President Cleveland shortly after his inauguration, and unless charges are preferred in which the senate concurs the new President cannot remove him until his term expires, which is more than a year after next March.

For the second time since its birth the Republican party this year carried the electors of New Jersey. The first time was in 1872, when Horace Greeley was the Democratic candidate and the electoral vote of the state was cast for Grant and Wilson. In 1860 the electoral vote of the "Mosquito" state was divided between Lincoln and Douglas, the former getting four and the latter three. In 1840, 1844 and 1848 the state voted for the Whig candidates. It voted for Pierce in 1852, Breckinridge in 1856, McClellan in 1864, Tilden in 1876, Hancock in 1880, and Cleveland in the three elections in 1884, 1888 and 1892. New Jersey also breaks the record by giving for the Republican national ticket the largest majority ever given for any candidate, also for the first time in its history by sending one of its citizens to the national capital as Vice President.

The unofficial cabinet makers have already picked out a successor to United States Marshal Wilson, of the District of Columbia. They say that Major McKinley has already decided upon Joseph P. Smith, ex-state librarian of Ohio, an old personal friend of the President-elect. It is also said that Mrs. McKinley and Mrs. Smith are such close friends that they desire to be near each other. The office of marshal, formerly paid $6,000 a year, taken from the fees collected, but at the last session of congress the fee system was abolished and the salary of the District marshal was fixed at $5,500.

—The first English riding academy was founded by William III.

Pie for Thanksgiving.

Your Thanksgiving dinner should have a fitting finale, a pie of Heinz's Mince Meat.

THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION TO BE PRESERVED.

Chairman Bynum Talks of the Plans to Keep up a Fight Against Free Coinage — Tariff for Revenue Revision Needed—Campaign for a Cabinet Position Under McKinley is Opposed.

NEW YORK, November 23, 1896.

William D. Bynum, chairman, and J. P. Frensel, treasurer of the national committee of the sound money Democrats, is in the city for the purpose of discussing plans for future organization with national leaders in this state.

"The national Democracy will certainly continue as a national party," Mr. Bynum said. "Nothing but permanent organization was ever contemplated from the outset. We are the only true Democrats, guided by the genuine principles of the Democratic party. If the currency question should be an issue four years from now, and the free coinage of silver should be advocated, a national Democrat will surely be nominated. The question now is how best to keep our work, how extensive it shall be, and what shall be its general character. There will be a meeting of the national executive committee either in Indianapolis or Chicago before January 15.

"Our plans for the immediate future will be agreed upon, and probably an address to the people will be issued. I do not think the issues in the Chicago platform, other than that of free silver, to which we were antagonistic, will survive four years. I do not regard the tariff issue as important. All we need is a tariff bill which will raise the revenue required. I know the present tariff law is, in general, satisfactory to the manufacturers. The passage of a high tariff bill would be disastrous, and it is not needed, because of the fall in prices.

"Unquestionably, the public mind is set on reform in the currency. We, in the west, believe this is the cause of all our troubles. The Indianapolis board of trade has issued a call to join with it in calling a national convention to consider what should be done. This convention will be undoubtedly held."

Mr. Bynum expressed himself as opposed to any movement on the part of sound money Democrats to secure a place in McKinley's cabinet.

EMMA GOLDMAN AGAIN.

An Address Delivered on Anarchism in America—$10.74 Raised for Berkmann.

Emma Goldman yesterday delivered a lectors on "Anarchism in America" in the Duquesne dancing academy, on Wylie avenue. It was attended by about 200 persons, made up rather evenly of both men and women.

The lecturer graphically reviewed the incidents leading to the Homestead strike and the disastrous results. She said that the Pinkerton detectives were hired to shoot down workingmen, which was contrary to law and civilization. After it was found that their efforts to drive the strikers to submission proved futile, the militia were called out. She alleged that no military could ever be called out to defend the workingmen, but, according to the laws made by monopolists, it was called out for monopolistic protection only.

She referred to the time of slavery, when the negroes were the property of rich men. She said the black slaves were better cared for then, because they were of money value to their owners. Now, she said, it was all different. She compared the workingmen to slaves, and said the time would come when they would all be released from bondage.

She said there were some persons in the audience who would like to hear her utter something of a revolutionary nature, in order that she might be arrested and thrown into prison. She claimed that as Anarchists they were not in favor of bombs, dynamite and violence. Just how to accomplish their ends she failed to state. She maintained that a revolution was approaching. If there was a gallows on every street corner it would not prevent the assertion of the rights of the workingman, which, she said, was bound to occur in the future. She said the labor question would be settled by blood, and that was the only way it would be settled. She berated all the political parties, claiming that when officers were elected, in a few months after they had warmed their seats they would forget that there was such a thing as laboring men's rights.

She made an appeal for Alexander Berkmann. She said he was unjustly sentenced to a term of 22 years in the penitentiary, when the maximum limit by law for the offense committed was, but seven years. She asked for funds to purchase for him some comforts which he would be allowed to enjoy. She passed a hat through the audience, and $10.74 was dropped into it.

Knights of Honor.

Supreme Protector L. H. Lockhard, of the Knights and Ladies of Honor, will be here this week. There will be three union meetings of the thirty lodges in the county held in his honor. The first will be conducted by Riceville Lodge No. 800, at Silver Palace hall, Fifth avenue, November 25; the second by Thomas A. Armstrong Lodge, No. 1330, at 17 Sixth avenue, November 26, and the third by Banner Lodge No. 484, at 200 Ohio street, Allegheny.



BEFORE BUYING SEE OUR $8.65, $12.00 AND $15.00 OVER-COATS.

At $8.65 we equal Any $12 Coats.
At $12 we equal Any $15 Coats.
At $15 we equal Any $20 Coats.

ARNFELDS
1125, 1127 PENN AVE., NEAR ELEVENTH ST.

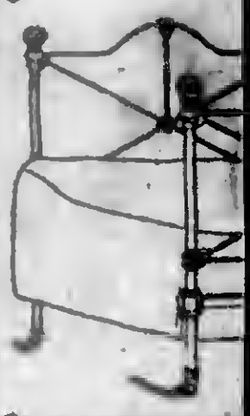
YOUR OFFICE

Is incomplete without a telephone—therefore your business is not what it should be.

Every business man should recognize this fact and have this most important fixture placed at once.

C. D. & P. TEL. CO.

A TERRIFIC Cough is difficult to master, but like all other complaints of the respiratory organs, it gives way before the anti-inflammatory and soothing operation of Baker's Pure Cod Liver Oil. It can be readily taken by the most delicate. Ask your druggist. Jno. C. Baker Co., Philadelphia.

Men's
and Winte
Scotch
either Lac
die, Cottage
don, Frenc
sizes and
of Goodyea
W.
MARK
HER
YOU
CHA
—such a
does not o
not in these
values — th
is higher—
with the va

IRON
—couldn't
bed now for
net—we go
—just 480—
now—going
AT
—bed 6 ft.
in.—handsc
pattern — th
tically no we
—they'll las
you ever bo
be sure to g
bodo.
Ferree, Stop
18 to 42
28 to 37 River
TRY

78

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890313005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Another Talk on Anarchism / Emma Goldman.— p. 8 ; 43 cm.
In The Pittsburg[h] Post. —(Nov. 23, 1896).
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Pittsburgh Libraries. Institutional Location: Darlington Memorial Library.

ANOTHER TALK ON ANARCHISM.

EMMA GOLDMANN, THE WOMAN AGITATOR, LECTURES TO A TYPICAL CROWD.

MORE MONEY FOR BERKMANN

Capitalists, Millionaires and the Militia Roughly Handled.

PREDICTS A BLOODY REVOLUTION

Captialists, millionaires, the present form of government, Pinkerton detectives and the state and national military had abuse heaped upon them during a lecture delivered by Emma Goldmann yesterday afternoon. It was the second of a series to be delivered in this city, and was listened to by a much larger audience than the one of the evening previous.

More than 200 persons gathered in the Duquesne dancing academy at 512 Wylie avenue. Small dodgers announcing that a lecture on "Anarchism in America" would be delivered, were scattered about in some of the most densely populated portions of the city. As a result the audience was composed chiefly of the employes of sweatshops and toby factories, the Hebrew faith predominating by a large majority. There were about 100 chairs in the room, which were occupied mostly by women, while the remainder of the audience stood for nearly two hours listening to an exposition of anarchy.

A noticeable feature of the gathering was a continual stream of people coming and going. They did not come to hear the lecture, but to get a glimpse of the speaker. After listening for a short time they would retire, evidently satisfied with knowing what Emma Goldmann looked like and her mode of expression. The visiting class were from the higher walks of life, who had read much of the woman anarchist. Unlike the evening previous, there was no smoking permitted, and the audience was cleaner and much better dressed.

The lecture was delivered in English. Although a foreigner, she has excellent command of the language, and her efforts at word-painting made her at times eloquent. She spoke with an earnestness that at once enlisted the sympathy of her audience, and frequent were the approvals of sentiments uttered by cheers and applause. This was especially the case when she poured volleys of bitter censure on Andrew Carnegie. She graphically reviewed the incidents leading to the Homestead strike and the disastrous results. She said that the Pinkerton detectives were hired to shoot down workingmen, which was contrary to law and civilization. After it was found that their efforts to drive the strikers into submission proved futile, the militia was called but. She argued that no military could ever be called out to defend the workingmen, but, according to the laws made by monopolists, it was called out for monopolistic protection only. And for this, she claims, the workingmen paid the cost.

She referred to the time of slavery, when the negroes were the property of rich men. She said the black slaves were better cared for then, because they were of money value to their owners. Now, she said, it is all different. She compared the workingmen to slaves, and said the time would come when they would all be released from bondage.

She said there were some persons in the audience who would like to hear her utter something of a revolutionary nature, in order that she might be arrested and thrown into prison. She claimed that as anarchists, they were not in favor of bombs, dynamite and violence. Just how to accomplish their ends she failed to state. She maintained that a revolution was approaching. If there was a gallows on every street corner it would not prevent the assertion of the rights of the workingman, which, she said, was bound to occur in the future. She said the labor question

KAUFMANN

"THE BIG STORE"

FROM THE STOCKS Representing the Stupendous Aggregate VALU

MOORE & BEIR, N. St. Paul St., Rochester, N. Y.

M. SAMPTER SONS & CO., 11 to 19 E. 4th St., New York.

SCOOPED IN BY OUR REA

AND TO BE OFFERED TO PITTSBURG CLOT

All last week twenty-seven men were kept as busy order to facilitate matters as much as possible, both for ou quality, into as few lines as possible. This, in spite of the help of a much increased sales force, will assure prompt a

Choice From All $8, $9, $10 an

Overcoats and Ulsters for Only

Every garment in this line is strictly All-Wool, and of this season' simeres and Cheviots, and the Overcoats and Ulsters are made of Kerse fit perfectly. The rule is: First come, first served. Come at once, and

ONLY $5.75

All $14, $15 and $16 Men's Suits, Over

Coats and Ulsters, Included in These Pur chases, Thrown in Our Famous Line at

The advantage thus accruing to men who wi from our reinforced $8.65 line during the next fev derful. This same price of $8.65 will give them after counter of first-class Melton and Kersey Over ford and Cheviot Overcoats, first-class Chinchilla an extra quality Frieze, Chinchilla and Shetland Uls table of perfectly fitting and finished finest Americ

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890313005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Another Talk on Anarchism / Emma Goldman. — p. 8 ; 43 cm.
In The Pittsburg[h] Post. —(Nov. 23, 1896).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Pittsburgh Libraries. Institutional Location: Darlington Memorial Library.

...ssue. Small dodgers announcing ... a lecture on "Anarchism in America" would be delivered, were scattered about in some of the most densely populated portions of the city. As a result the audience was composed chiefly of the employes of sweatshops and toby factories, the Hebrew faith predominating by a large majority. There were about 100 chairs in the room, which were occupied mostly by women, while the remainder of the audience stood for nearly two hours listening to an exposition of anarchy.

A noticeable feature of the gathering was a continual stream of people coming and going. They did not come to hear the lecture, but to get a glimpse of the speaker. After listening for a short time they would retire, evidently satisfied with knowing what Emma Goldmann looked like and her mode of expression. The visiting class were from the higher walks of life, who had read much of the woman anarchist. Unlike the evening previous, there was no smoking permitted, and the audience was cleaner and much better dressed.

The lecture was delivered in English. Although a foreigner, she has excellent command of the language, and her efforts at word-painting made her at times eloquent. She spoke with an earnestness that at once enlisted the sympathy of her audience, and frequent were the approvals of sentiments uttered by cheers and applause. This was especially the case when she poured volleys of bitter censure on Andrew Carnegie. She graphically reviewed the incidents leading to the Homestead strike and the disastrous results. She said that the Pinkerton detectives were hired to shoot down workingmen, which was contrary to law and civilization. After it was found that their efforts to drive the strikers into submission proved futile, the militia was called out. She argued that no military could ever be called out to defend the workingmen, but, according to the laws made by monopolists, it was called out for monopolistic protection only. And for this, she claims, the workingmen paid the cost.

She referred to the time of slavery, when the negroes were the property of rich men. She said the black slaves were better cared for then, because they were of money value to their owners. Now, she said, it is all different. She compared the workingmen to slaves, and said the time would come when they would all be released from bondage.

She said there were some persons in the audience who would like to hear her utter something of a revolutionary nature, in order that she might be arrested and thrown into prison. She claimed that as anarchists, they were not in favor of bombs, dynamite and violence. Just how to accomplish their ends she failed to state. She maintained that a revolution was approaching. If there was a gallows on every street corner it would not prevent the assertion of the rights of the workingman, which, she said, was bound to occur in the future. She said the labor question would be settled by blood, and that was the only way it would be settled. She berated all the political parties, claiming that when officers were elected, in a few months after they had warmed their seats, they would forget that there was such a thing as laboring men's rights.

She made an appeal for Alexander ...mann. She said he was unjustly ...nced to a term of 22 years in the ...ntiary, when the maximum limit ... for the offense committed was ...ten years. She asked for funds ...hase for him some comforts ...e would be allowed to enjoy. ...d a hat through the audience ... was dropped into it.

...ZART CONCERT.

...cial Event of the Week ...To-Morrow Night.

...social events have been ...morrow night to make ...ening concert of the ... club season, which ...ne importance in the ... and will probably ... the limit. The list ... for this year is a ...patrons have been ...summer months, ...ost solid business ...ine for the sup- ...ran musical or- ...f the first bal- ...en place for ..., brilliant ap- ... of various ... in evening ...thout hats. ...s will be ...ow morn- ...rchestra ...s hall.

...OOPED IN BY OUR BUY...

AND TO BE OFFERED TO PITTSBURG CLO...

All last week twenty-seven men were kept as busy ... order to facilitate matters as much as possible, both for ... quality, into as few lines as possible. This, in spite of th... help of a much increased sales force, will assure prompt ...

Choice From All $8, $9, $10 an...

Overcoats and Ulsters for Only

Every garment in this line is strictly All-Wool, and of this season's ... simeres and Cheviots, and the Overcoats and Ulsters are made of Kers... fit perfectly. The rule is: First come, first served. Come at once, an...

ONLY $5.75

All $14, $15 and $16 Men's Suits, Ove...

coats and Ulsters, Included in These Pu... chases, Thrown in Our Famous Line at ...

The advantage thus accruing to men who w... from our reinforced $8.65 line during the next fe... derful. This same price of $8.65 will give the... after counter of first-class Melton and Kersey Ove... ford and Cheviot Overcoats, first-class Chinchilla a... extra quality Frieze, Chinchilla and Shetland U... table of perfectly fitting and finished finest Ameri... Serge, Cassimere, Worsted and Diagonal Suits, i... approved by fashion, and in all different sizes.

MEN'S SILK DRESS VESTS,
Also English Corduroy Vests, custom tailor-made, full line of patterns, all sizes; **worth $3 and $4,** at **$1.77**

MEN'S CASSIMERE PANTS,
Also Cheviot Pants, in new dark patterns, well made and trimmed, all sizes; **worth $1.50 and $2,** at..... **77c**



All S...

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890313007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Goldman's Cry Against Society / Emma Goldman.— p. 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Post. —(Nov. 27, 1896).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Pittsburgh Libraries. Institutional Location: Darlington Memorial Library.

ement was started two years
that time a real fox hunt was
and the animal was run down
nds. Only tame foxes can be
for this purpose, and many
of the riding club thought the
el, not to mention unsports-
The real fox hunt was con-
It was attended by only five or
Last year a steeplechase was
but it was found that neither
horses nor horsemen were
to this degree of equestrianism,
fair was a melancholy failure.
he paper chase local society has
the proper equestrian sport.
e yesterday was a complete
The only unsportsmanlike
the hunt was the bicycle at-
This seemed unnatural, and
never be repeated. Local
much pleased at the success
per chase, and it is likely an-
be arranged for next year, and
sooner. The sport will be the
introducing a better class of
ses into this city, as the pres-
ers used so much are unfit for
ork. All things considered, it
an assured fact that paper
the future sport for Pittsburg
rsemen and horsewomen.

HEARTS MADE HAPPY.

**nnual Distribution of
sgiving Supplies at
's—Gave Away More Than**

s of poor families who might
hered yesterday at cheerless
ere made happy by Mrs. J.
through her annual contribu-
rkeys. Not only turkeys, but
cranberry sauce, were includ-
generous gift. A stock of al-
n hundred birds, all dressed,
sed of in a few hours.
as 6:30 o'clock the crowd be-
ther. Tickets had been given
Vincent de Paul societies of
ral and of Father Tobin's par-
point, to the Allegheny Re-
ation and the Association for
vement of the Poor, so that
the deserving ones would be
It was a peculiar gathering.
e little tots, certainly no more
rs old, two or three of them
basket; decrepit old men and
ith thin, wan countenances,
s of suffering from hunger;
d, but not in years, cares of a
ttle ones weighing them down.
ashamed of having to ac-
ty upon this day of days, and
ew faces were traces of tears.
omen wore heavy veils.
e door was opened there was
ush, and it was found neces-
them come in installments.
ed the door, walked to the
window where the food had
d and passed out by another
they approached the window
was taken and the applicant
w many the food was desired
upply was regulated accord-

le were, for the most part,
suming folk, who accepted
given them, uttered a word
and passed out. They ap-
he window eagerly expectant
away happy, often weeping
y. But the inevitable kicker
nd. As the stock became low
one of those with square
a firm mouth, came up. She
a turkey, but did not like the

want that," she said, and at-
climb in the window in order
r the stock. "Give me a big

lingered after the cranberries
had been thrust upon her,
hey wouldn't give her a chip

, half-starved looking little
e up, followed by a big, red-
h lady."
a family of nine," she said,
ing voice.
't believe 'er. I know she's
ree," came from the rear,
e little woman's surprise and
ment. She turned around,
the disciple of the tub ex-

yer parding, ma'am; it's a
made."
woman got supplies for her
n the big woman landed she
. She likely found her food
if she told the truth, for the
rge were not inclined to be
ith her.
turks disappeared at a rapid

GOLDMAN'S CRY AGAINST SOCIETY.

NOTED FEMALE ANARCHIST DEPLORES THE FATE OF THE HAYMARKET MURDERERS.

BOMBTHROWER'S NOBLE ACT.

Doesn't Believe in What She Calls the Ballot-Box Swindle.

A COLLECTION FOR BERKMANN.

Not much edified with the condition of anarchism in Allegheny county, but still hoping for the best, Emma Goldman left the city last night for the west. Emma's last words formed an appeal to local anarchists to join together and carry on the "good work," and to forget all personal differences and cease from bickering.

The famous anarchist's address was made in a hall at 1012 Penn avenue. The attendance was but sparse, applause was rare and there was not much enthusiasm. Once when Miss Goldman told what a shame it was that workingmen starved and were scantily clad while the store windows were filled with things good to eat and wear, that they might take by simply reaching out their hands, utter silence followed her remark. Pittsburg anarchists seem to approve of a law against taking what belongs to someone else, and they were not prepared to go to the length of taking unlawfully what is not theirs. So they did not applaud that part of Miss Goldman's speech.

Miss Goldman was introduced as one who would discuss the "murder of November 11, 1887," namely, the execution of the anarchists. Miss Goldman is a petite, blonde, good looking woman, to whom a pair of spectacles give a professorial look. She advanced to the platform and plunged right into her subject. Her address was in German.

"Jesus was crucified, Huss was burned, Bruno was killed," she said, "because they were opposed to the order of things existing in their day and dared to advocate the rights of humanity."

"The execution of the Chicago anarchists November 11, 1887," she continued, "was a horrible crime. What had those men done? Had they made widows and orphans, had they murdered, had they robbed?"

They Committed No Crime.

"No," she continued, "I do not believe that anybody can say with a clear conscience that the Chicago anarchists committed a crime. They did one thing, a thing that from time immemorial had been punished by society with death and prison—they dared to think. They explained to the people in a popular way the writings of Rosseau, Paine and Jefferson, that all men are created free and equal and have equal rights. They were simply anarchists, and because they were anarchists they were dragged to the scaffold on November 11, 1887.

"They were on a great strike for an eight-hour day, and patiently they waited to have their wrongs righted. They held a demonstration in the Haymarket. They were workingmen, they were quiet and they were peace-loving citizens. After most of the workingmen had gone home, and when nearly all the speeches were finished, Inspector Bonfield and his men threw themselves upon these men and began to shoot them down.

"Although no one knows who threw that bomb, although the closest investigation has failed to displose his identity, I must confess that I hold that he who threw the bomb did a deed that was great and holy. And that bomb was an echo of the miserable condition in which the workingmen of America find themselves.

Eight policemen fell. Society doesn't care for the police. It considers them as its servants and slaves, but society thought: 'To-day they threw a bomb at the police; to-morrow they may direct a bomb at society itself.' Society knows it is sitting on a volcano; it knows that to-morrow the storm may break forth she said. "Of course an intelligent being admires intelligence. We sympathize with an intelligent man like Bryan. He is also energetic, and we must honor those qualities in anybody. Who could respect the little-souled McKinley, Mark Hanna's echo? Nevertheless, the election of Bryan would not have benefited us anarchists, as the old order of society would have been maintained under him as well as under McKinley.

"Why is it that while flour, groceries, meat and clothing are plentiful the workingman starves? He sees plenty everywhere. The stores are full of it. All the workingman needs is to stretch out his hand for it and take it, and yet he is such an ass that he does not grasp it, but says instead: 'There is no food, no clothing for me and my family.'"

Director J. O. Brown's determination to arm the firemen and teach the police to shoot straight Miss Goldman ascribed to a desire to enable them to hit striking workingmen. She spoke of the "old, played out" cry that the ballot-box would right all ills, and remarked:

"I prophesy that the time will come when the workingmen will throw this whole ballot-box swindle overboard and right their wrongs in another way."

The collection for Berkmann amounted to $6 47, and Miss Goldman ordered that another be taken up, as the expenses of the hall in which the meeting was held had to be met.

After her speech Miss Goldman invited anybody who desired to defend the "ballot-box swindle" to step forward. She issued the invitation several times, but as no one accepted the meeting was adjourned.

To-morrow a meeting will be held in Turner hall at McKeesport. Herr Johann Most, the king bee of anarchists in this country and a noted advocate of the gold standard, will speak.

WAS A POPULAR PROGRAM.

Thanksgiving Matinee of the Pittsburg Orchestra Was a Success.

The Thanksgiving matinee of the Pittsburg orchestra was better attended than the preceding afternoon concerts, and the audience was more than usually enthusiastic and demonstrative. The program was essentially popular, and with the one exception of the Mendelssohn overture was lighter in quality throughout than is usual at the orchestra concerts; presumably on account of its being a holiday performance.

Goldmarck's symphony, "Rustic Wedding" (Laendliche Hochzeit), which might be more intelligently called a "suite," was delightfully played. The second movement, a bridal song, was very dainty, and in the third movement, the "Serenade," the wood-winds did some very beautiful work. The fifth and last movement was a curious commingling of gaiety and color, with a tender, plaintive little melody coming in quite as a surprise from the preceding garden scene.

Madame Vizay was heard for the first time in the well-known cavatina from "Robert le Diable," which was a change from the program as announced last week. She made a good impression in this number, but a still better one in the three lovely German songs which she sang after the intermission, and to which Mr. Archer played a particularly pleasing piano accompaniment. She was recalled a number of times, and can have no fault to find with the reception given her by her Pittsburg audience, who seemed quick to recognize her artistic merit, her singing being decidedly the best we have had here this season.

Bizet's Egyptian dance carried the audience straight to the Orient and held them there under an enchanting spell. The "Lohengrin Vorspiel" having been omitted by reason of the unusual length of the program, the most important number left on it was Mendelssohn's overture to the "Hebrides," one of the most interesting works of the great master and one of the most beautiful things the orchestra has yet played. Even people who are not analytically musical or in the least imaginative can hardly fail to get into the spirit of this marvelous achievement of suggestive rather than descriptive writing.

Lacombe's "Aubade Printanniere" was bright and pleasing, and in the "Sabre" march the audience, as is the custom at all orchestra concerts, received the usual signal for dismissal, a blare of trumpets and resounding taps on the bass drum.

LAST DAY.

Final Opportunity for That Great Encyclopedia Bargain.

Some time during the day the last one of those valuable sets of the New National Encyclopedia will be claimed, and hereafter it will not be possible to secure the work except at the regular

Daily Doings of the Socially Inclin

The marriage of Miss Margaret Grea daughter of M. J. Grealish, comman of the arsenal, to Charles Gustave took place yesterday morning at 10 o'c in Sts. Peter and Paul's Roman Cat church, East End. The ceremony preceded by a solemn high mass, at w Rev. Father Makin, of Rock Island, assisted by Rev. Father Werner, o Philomena's, and Rev. Father Suehl Sts. Peter and Paul's, were the offici The music, which was of a very elab character, was under the direction Prof. John Vogel, and consisted of a lected quartet, Mrs. Agnes Vogel Rob Mrs. A. H. Seidel, Joseph Breil an Victor Laurent, and a chorus of 60 vo The organ was in charge of Prof. M gold, and in addition there was a p phony orchestra, of 30 pieces. A det ment of soldiers from the arsenal s ranged in the middle aisle, and as bridal party passed toward the altar silent order of "present arms" gav military brilliance to the event. bride, who is tall and of the brun type, wore a gown of white m trimmed with duchess and point lace, the bridal veil, which clouded the time, was fastened with orange blos and a diamond star. Her maid of ho Miss May O'Bryan, daughter of J O'Bryan, of the East End, wore pale satin and a picture hat trimmed plumes. Little Maud Grealish, siste the bride, was the flower girl. She white organdie and blue ribbons over silk, and the little page, Master R Heath, son of Captain Heath, was court costume of pale blue satin. A the reception a breakfast was serve the home of the bride, and a recep followed from 4 to 6, after which the ple left for New York, and from t will sail to Florida, where the honeym will be spent. They expect to retur Pittsburg about the first of the new y and will later depart for Europe, w some months will be spent in travel, Moll is a wealthy, retired business m and has in the past years done a g deal of entertaining on musical and a tic lines in his bachelor apartments South Highland avenue. He is pop and has a large social circle, as atte by over 1,000 invitations, which were sued for the wedding, chiefly among personal friends, as the bride's family comparative strangers here, having w in the past couple of years come f the south to this city. The crowd at church was the largest ever seen a Pittsburg wedding, fully 5,000 people b in attendance, and there were at l 1,000 more who could not gain admissio

* * * *

Miss Margaret Ann Young Robb, dau ter of Attorney and Mrs. John S. R was wedded last evening to John drew Donaldson, of Cleveland, a o'clock, at "High Cliff," the beau home of the Robbs at Emsworth. special train leaving the Allegheny d at 7:15 o'clock bore a large numbe Pittsburg and Allegheny guests to scene of the festivities. The 200 inv tions extended brought guests from W moreland, Washington and Beaver co ties, and a special car from Clevel accommodated the 25 guests who w present from that city. The officia clergyman was Rev. W. S. Harper, D., of the Emsworth Presbyte church. Dr. Harper's good Presbyte theology has never been brought question. The alleged heterodox vi of his cousin, W. H. Harper, presid of the University of Chicago, have b widely discussed lately. The bride's tendants were her two sisters, M Mary Evans Robb and Miss Cam Hemingray Robb. Two little cous Elizabeth Foster Robb and Mary Am Robb, were the flower maidens. best man was Andrew Mark Robb cousin of the bride, and A. H. Clark Cleveland, was an additional groo man. The ceremony was performed the large drawing room of the ho The wedding colors were green white, and in one corner was plac massive palm, one of Mr. Robb's ch collection. Its height reached the ceiling, and clustered around it were le palms and white chrysanthemums. side this embankment the bridal pa stood while the ceremony was perfo ed. The bride's gown was of he white satin, of the creamy tint of magnolia petal, trimmed with lace corsage was high, with a lace yoke satin stock. The sleeves were sh Empire puffs, and she carried a bou of white roses. Over the whole wa filmy veil of tulle, fastened with aigulette of pearls and diamonds, groom's gift. The bridesmaids w gowns of the sheerest white organ made low in the neck and trimmed

890313007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Goldman's Cry Against Society / Emma Goldman.— p. 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Post. —(Nov. 27, 1896).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Pittsburgh Libraries. Institutional Location: Darlington Memorial Library.

but the deserving ones would be ited. It was a peculiar gathering. were little tots, certainly no more 5 years old, two or three of them ing a basket; decrepit old men and n, with thin, wan countenances, g tales of suffering from hunger; n, old, but not in years, cares of a of little ones weighing them down. were ashamed of having to ac- charity upon this day of days, and t a few faces were traces of tears. al women wore heavy veils.

en the door was opened there was ger rush, and it was found neces- to let them come in installments. entered the door, walked to the o the window where the food had stored and passed out by another As they approached the window icket was taken and the applicant or how many the food was desired the supply was regulated accord-

people were, for the most part, unassuming folk, who accepted was given them, uttered a word anks, and passed out. They ap- hed the window eagerly expectant went away happy, often weeping eir joy. But the inevitable kicker n hand. As the stock became low man, one of those with square and a firm mouth, came up. She given a turkey, but did not like the of it.

on't want that," she said, and at- ed to climb in the window in order k over the stock. "Give me a big

still lingered after the cranberries celery had been thrust upon her, if they wouldn't give her a chip t.

poor, half-starved looking little n came up, followed by a big, red- "wash lady."

ave a family of nine," she said, rembling voice.

don't believe 'er. I know she's ut three," came from the rear, to the little woman's surprise and rassment. She turned around, upon the disciple of the tub ex- med:

egs yer parding, ma'am; it's a ke I made."

little woman got supplies for her When the big woman landed she leven. She likely found her food shy, if she told the truth, for the n charge were not inclined to be us with her.

noble turks disappeared at a rapid and at 9 o'clock it was decided to until all tickets had been taken in hen turn the rest of the supplies to the many applicants who had without tickets. More food was out this year than ever before. ecullar feature of the affair was mber of Armenians who applied. are evening matters up.

TRIARCH AND HIS FLOCK.

y-Two-Year-Old John Hamil- ton Enjoys Himself.

Hamilton, an aged and respected nt of Shousetown, held a family re- yesterday to celebrate his 82d birth- which falls on the 30th inst. This reunion is according to a custom d by Mr. Hamilton for years. Hamilton was born near Waddock's and has been living and keeping at his present place for over fifty Mrs. Mary H. Bateman, a daugh- es with him.

g the 50 guests the following were at the reunion: J. D. Hamilton, gist of Coraopolis, with his family; I. Cooper, merchant, of Cochran- nd family, a son-in-law; George on, a son, of the county commis- oner of Mercer county, with his Mr. and Mrs. Geo. E. Alverson, of on, Ky.; Mr. and Mrs. J. W. of Shousetown; Mrs. J. J. Ander- Monongahela; Mr. and Mrs. Q. C. nbek, of Idlewood; Mrs. E. J. Kurns, and Dr. E. Porter.

Hamilton was postmaster for many He is a staunch Republican and Methodist, regular in his church He is cheerful, happy and re- and enjoys an ideal old age.

G BRYAN MAJORITIES.

l Figures From Missouri and nown Results in Texas.

ERSON CITY, Mo., Nov. 26.—The ry of state has completed the of the vote for presidential elec- Missouri. It shows a total vote 674,018, divided as follows: Dem- 363,652; Republican, 301,940; Pro- n, 2,199; Socialist Labor, 610; Pal- ckner, 2,355; National Prohibition, ynn's electors had 58,712 votes than McKinley and 53,286 more ll combined.

LAS, Nov. 26.—It is evident hat Texas at the election of No- 3 cast more than 550,000 votes, hat the plurality of Bryan and over McKinley and Hobart is nt 50,000. If the Bryan and Watson

Miss Goldman was introduced as one who would discuss the "murder of November 11, 1887," namely, the execution of the anarchists. Miss Goldman is a petite, blonde, good looking woman, to whom a pair of spectacles give a professorial look. She advanced to the platform and plunged right into her subject. Her address was in German.

"Jesus was crucified, Huss was burned, Bruno was killed," she said, "because they were opposed to the order of things existing in their day and dared to advocate the rights of humanity."

"The execution of the Chicago anarchists November 11, 1887," she continued, "was a horrible crime. What had those men done? Had they made widows and orphans, had they murdered, had they robbed?"

They Committed No Crime.

"No," she continued, "I do not believe that anybody can say with a clear conscience that the Chicago anarchists committed a crime. They did one thing, a thing that from time immemorial had been punished by society with death and prison—they dared to think. They explained to the people in a popular way the writings of Rousseau, Paine and Jefferson, that all men are created free and equal and have equal rights. They were simply anarchists, and because they were anarchists they were dragged to the scaffold on November 11, 1887.

"They were on a great strike for an eight-hour day, and petitioned to have their wrongs righted. They held a demonstration, peaceably. They were workingmen, they were poor and they were [illegible]. After most of the workingmen had gone home, and when nearly all the speeches were finished, Inspector Bonfield and his men threw themselves upon the men and began to shoot them down.

"Although no one knows who threw that bomb; although the investigation has failed to disclose the identity, I must confess that I believe the man who threw the bomb did a deed that was great and holy. And that bomb was an echo of the miserable conditions in which the workingmen of America find themselves.

Eight policemen fell. Society doesn't care for the police. It considers them as its servants and slaves, but society thought: 'To-day they threw a bomb at the police; to-morrow they may direct a bomb at society itself.' Society knows it is sitting on a volcano; it knows that to-morrow the storm may break forth that will hurl it to destruction. Therefore, and for no other reason, it punished the Chicago anarchists."

Bombthrower's Noble Deed.

Miss Goldman's statement that the men gathered in the Haymarket were peace-loving citizens, followed by her praise of the man who threw the fatal bomb, coupled with the knowledge of the audience that the anarchists were hung, not because they had thrown the bomb, but because their teachings and speeches were directly responsible for the deed, proved a little too illogical for her auditors to stomach, and silence followed her remarks. She continued:

"Our murdered brothers now rest in Waldheim, but, as Spies predicted, their silence in the grave is mightier than their speeches were upon earth. Anarchy will live until society of to-day has been shattered to pieces and freedom reigns."

Miss Goldman then took up the case of Alexander Berkmann, who shot H. C. Frick. She said it was his belief that if the capitalists used Winchester rifles and bayonets on workingmen they should be answered with dynamite Berkmann, she said, picked out the man who was responsible for the trouble at Homestead, the man who had hired the Pinkertons. She said Alexander Berkmann did not succeed in his attempt, and yet he was sent to the penitentiary for 22 years, although for his deed the laws of Pennsylvania prescribed a punishment of not more than seven years.

While a collection was being taken up for Berkmann, Miss Goldman said he had not stepped into the breech for love of notoriety, but that it was his love for workingmen that led him to his deed. Whether his motives were noble or not, she claimed, it must be admitted that from the standpoint of law his sentence was unjust and excessive.

She spoke of the last election and the "patriots" who, with a full stomach and clad in broadcloth, had a good time calling on the poor to suffer patiently the ills of this life so that they could enjoy with greater zest the glories of the kingdom to come.

"It would make no difference to us anarchists if Bryan had been elected,"

[illegible] afternoon concerts, and the audience was more than usually enthusiastic and demonstrative. The program was essentially popular, and with the one exception of the Mendelssohn overture was lighter in quality throughout than is used at the orchestra concerts, presumably on account of its being a holiday performance.

Goldmark's symphony, "Rustic Wedding" (Landliche Hochzeit), which might be more intelligently called a "suite," was delightfully played. The second movement, Pastoral, was very dainty, and in the third movement, the "Scherzo," the wood winds had some very skillful work. In this and last movement was a curious contrast of gayety and color with a tender, pensive little melody coming in quite as a surprise from the preceding garden scene.

Madame Vizay was heard for the first time in the well-known [illegible] from Robert le Diable. While [illegible] the [illegible] work [illegible] a good impression [illegible] the audience. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

871117007

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage / E[mma] Goldman. – p. 2 ; 40 cm. *In* The Firebrand [Portland]. – Vol. 3, no. 24 (July 18, 1897).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

Marriage.

How much sorrow, misery, humiliation; how many tears and curses; what agony and suffering has this word brought to humanity. From its very birth, up to our present day, men and women grown under the iron yoke of our marriage institution, and there seems to be no relief, no way out of it.

At all times, and in all ages, have the suppressed striven to break the chains of mental and physical slavery. After thousands of noble lives have been sacrificed at the stake and on the gallows, and others have perished in prisons, or at the merciless hands of inquisitions, have the ideas of those brave heroes been accomplished. Thus have religious dogmas, feudalism and black slavery been abolished, and new ideas, more progressive, broader and clearer, have come to the front, and again we see poor downtrodden humanity fighting for its rights and independence. But the cruelest, most tyranical of all institutions—marriage, stands firm as ever, and woe unto those who dare to even doubt its sacredness. Its mere discussion is enough to infuriate not only Christians and conservatives alone, but even Liberals, Freethinkers, and Radicals. What is it that causes all these people to uphold marriage? What makes them cling to this prejudice? (for it is nothing else but prejudice). It is because marriage relations, are the foundation of private property, ergo, the foundation of our cruel and inhuman system. With wealth and superfluity on one side, and idleness, exploitation, poverty, starvation, and crime on the other, hence to abolish marriage, means to abolish everything above mentioned. Some progressive people are trying to reform and better our marriage laws. They no longer permit the church to interfere in their matrimonial relations, others even go further, they marry free, that is without the consent of the law, but, nevertheless, this form of marriage is just as binding, just as "sacred", as the old form, because it is not the form or the kind of marriage relation we have, but the thing, the thing itself that is objectionable, hurtful and degrading. It always gives the man the right and power over his wife, not only over her body, but also over her actions, her wishes; in fact, over her whole life. And how can it be otherwise?

Behind the relations of any individual man and woman to each other, stands the historical age evolved relations between the two sexes in general, which have led up to the difference in the position and privileges of the two sexes to day.

Two young people come together, but their relation is largely determined by causes over which they have no control. They know little of each other, society has kept both sexes apart, the boy and the girl have been brought up along different lines. Like Olive Schreiner says in her Story of an African Farm "The boy has been taught to be, the girl to seem." Exactly; the boy is taught to be intelligent, bright, clever, strong, athletic, independent and selfreliant; to develop his natural faculties, to follow his passions and desires. The girl has been taught to dress, to stand before the looking glass and admire herself, to control her emotions, her passions, her wishes, to hide her mental defects and to combine what little intelligence and ability she has on one point, and that is, the quickest and best way to angle a husband, to get profitably married. And so it has come that the two sexes hardly understand each others nature, that their mental interest and occupations are different. Public opinion seperates their rights and duties, their honor and dishonor very strictly from each other. The subject of sex is a sealed book to the girl, because she has been given to understand that it is impure, immoral and indecent to even mention the sex question. To the boy it is a book whose pages have brought him disease and secret vice, and in some cases ruin and death.

Among the rich class it has long been out of fashion to fall in love. Most of society marry, after a life of debauchery and lust, to build up their ruined constitution. Others again have lost their capital, in gambling sports or business speculation, and decide that an heiress would be just the thing they need, knowing well, that the marriage tie will in no way hinder them from squandering the income of their wealthy bride. The rich girl having been brought to be practical and sensible, and having been accustomed to live, breathe, eat, smile, walk and dream only according to fashion, holds out her millions to some title, or to a man with a good social standing. She has one consolation, and that is, that society allows more freedom of action to a [illegible]

riage she will be in a position to gratify her wishes otherwise. We know, the walls of boudoirs and salons are deaf and dumb, and a little pleasure within these walls is no crime.

With the men and women among the working-class, marriage is quite a different thing. Love is not so rare as among the upper class, and very often helps both to endure disapointments and sorrows in life, but even here the majority of marriages, last only for a short while, to be swallowed up in the monotany of the every day life and the struggle for existence. Here also, the workingman marries because he grows tired of a bordinghouse life, and out of a desire to build a home of his own, where he will find his comfort. His main object, therefor, is to find a girl that will make a good cook and housekeeper; one that will look out only for his happiness, for his pleasures; one that will look up to him as her lord, her master, her defender, her supporter; the only ideal worth while living for. Another man hopes that the girl he'll marry will be able to work and help to put away a few cents for rainy days, but after a few months of so called happiness he awakens to the bitter reality that his wife is soon to become a mother, that she can not work, that the expences grow bigger, and that while he before managed to get along with the small earning allowed him by his "kind" master, this earning is not sufficient to support a family.

The girl who has spent her childhood, and part of her womanhood, in the factory, feels her strength leaving her and pictures to herself the dreadful condition of ever having to remain a shopgirl, never certain of her work, she is, therefore, compelled to lookout for a man, a good husband, which means one who can support her, and give her a good home. Both, the men and the girl, marry for the same purpose, with the only exception that the man is not expected to give up his individuality, his name, his independence, whereas, the girl has to sell herself, body and soul, for the pleasure of being someone's wife; hence they do not stand on equal terms, and where there is no equality there can be no harmony. The consequence is that shortly after the first few months, or to make all allowance possible, after the first year, both come to the conclusion that marriage is a failure.

As their conditions grow worse and worse, and with the increase of children the women grows despondant, miserable, dissatisfied and weak. Her beauty soon leaves her, and from hard work, sleepless nights, worry about the little ones and disagreement and quarrels with her husband, she soon becomes a physical wreck and curses the moment that made her a poor man's wife. Such a dreary, miserable life is certainly not inclined to maintain love or respect for each other. The man can at least forget his misery in the company of a few friends; he can absorb himself in politics, or he can drown his misfortune in a glass of beer. The woman is chained to the house by a thousand duties; she cannot, like her husband, enjoy some recreation because she either has no means for it, or she is refused the same rights as her husband, by public opinion. She has to carry the cross with her until death, because our marriage laws know of no mercy, unless she wishes to lay bare her married life before the critical eye of Mrs. Grundy, and even then she can only break the chains which tie her to the man she hates if she takes all the blame on her own shoulders, and if she has energy enough to stand before the world disgraced for the rest of her life. How many have the courage to do that? Very few. Only now and then it comes like a flash of lightening that some women, like the Princess De Chimay, has had pluck enough to break the conventional barriers and follow her heart's desire. But this exception is a wealthy woman, dependent upon no one. The poor woman has to consider her little ones; she is less fortunate than her rich sister, and yet the women who remains in boudage is called respectable: never mind if her whole life is a long chain of lies, deceit and treachery, she yet dares to look down with disgust upon her sisters who have been forced by society to sell their charms and affections on the street. No matter how poor, how miserable a married woman may be, she will yet think herself above the other, whom she calls a prostitute, who is an outcast, hated and despised by everyone, even those who do not hesitate to buy her embrace, look upon the poor wretch as a necessary evil, and some goody goody people even suggest to confine this evil to one district in New York, in order to "purify" all other districts of the city. What a farce! The reformers might as well demand that all the married inhabitants of New York [illegible]

out because they certainly do not stand morally higher than the street woman. The sole difference between her and the married woman is, that the one has sold herself into chattel slavery during life, for a home or a title, and the other one sells herself for the length of time she desires; she has the right to choose the man she bestowes her affections upon, whereas the married woman has no right whatsoever; she must submit to the embrace of her lord, no matter how lothsome this embrace may be to her, she must obey his commands; she has to bear him children, even at the cost of her own strength and health; in a word, she prostitutes herself every hour, every day of her life. I can find no other name for the horrid, humiliating and degrading condition of my married sisters than prostitution of the worst kind, with the only exception that the one is legal, the other illegal.

I cannot deal with the few exceptional cases of marriage which are based on love, esteem and respect; these exceptions only verify the rule. But whether legal or illegal, prostitution in any form is unnatural, hurtful and despicable, and I know only too well that the conditions cannot be changed until this infernal system is abolished, but I also know that it is not only the economic dependence of women which has caused her enslavement, but also her ignorance and prejudice, and I also know that many of my sisters could be made free even now, were it not for our marriage institutions which keep them in ignorance, stupidity and prejudice. I therefore consider it my greatest duty to denounce marriage, not only the old form, but the so-called modern marriage, the idea of taking a wife and housekeeper, the idea of private possession of one sex by the other. I demand the independence of woman; her right to support herself; to live for herself; to love whomever she pleases, or as many as she pleases. I demand freedom for both sexes, freedom of action, freedom in love and freedom in motherhood.

Do not tell me that all this can only be accomplished under Anarchy; this is entirely wrong. If we want to accomplish Anarchy, we must first have free women at least, those woman who are economically just as independent as their brothers are, and unless we have free women, we cannot have free mothers, and if mothers are not free, we cannot expect the young generation to assist us in the accomplishment of our aim, that is the establishment of an Anarchist society.

To you Freethinkers and Liberals who have abolished one God and created many whom you worship; you Radicals and Socialists, who still send your children to Sunday school, and all those who make concessions to the moral standard of to day; to all of you I say that it is your lack of courage which makes you cling to and uphold marriage, and while you admit its absurdity in theory, you have not the energy to defy public opinion, and to live your own life practically. You prate of equality of the sexes in a future Society, but you think it a necessary evil that the woman should suffer at present. You say women are inferior and weaker, and instead of assisting them to grow stronger you help to keep them in a degraded position. You demand exclusiveness for us, but you love variety and enjoy it whereever you can get a chance.

Marriage, the curse of so many centuries, the cause of jealousy, suicide and crime, must be abolished if we wish the young generation to grow to healthy, strong and free men and women.

E. Goldman.

New York, July, '97.

Note and Comment.

Comrades Pope, Bloserve, the Little Anarchist and myself celebrated the fourth of July by picking and putting up twenty-five quarts of wild blackberries. Who spent the "glorious fourth" more pleasantly or profitably?

* * *

The philosophy of the Statists would, if carried to its logical ultimate, claim the wild blackberries as the property of the community, and the "masters"—land committee I presume—would tell the people when they might pick them, and how to dispose of them when picked. Would not that be nice?!

* * *

It may seem rediculous to talk of the State claiming the control of wild blackberry picking, but it is a logical ultimate of the claim of the State to the ownership of the land, for if the State owned the land it would surely own all that is produced spontaniously thereon. If it owned the timber that grows on the land then it would own the blackberries, and have as much right to control the picking of wild blackberries as the cutting of timber.

July 18

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881018005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Joy at the Death of Canovas / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 43 cm.
In The New York Times. —(Aug. 17, 1897).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

claimed the dispensary system would diminish drunkenness, protect the health as well as the morals of the people by furnishing them with only chemically pure liquors. Furthermore, it was said the system would pay $1,000,000 yearly into the State Treasury—more than enough to run the State Government and public school system. In short, it would relieve the taxpayers of State taxes.

Received with Disfavor.

Despite this argument the institution was received with the reverse of favor. The Conservative, or anti-Tillman, element refused to see anything good in what Tillman had done, and thousands of them registered vows never to take a drink of "Tillman's liquor." The papers took up the constitutional and moral questions involved, and with few exceptions denounced the new system.

The "reformers" even resented having to sign their names to applications for pints and half pints of corn whisky as a restriction and an infringement on their liberties. As a result "blind tigers" were opened in every town.

The consequence was what Tillman had foreseen when he drew up the bill and provided for a dispensary constabulary. The State was placed under semi-martial law. In every town and village two or three constables paraded the streets armed to the teeth with rifles and revolvers.

They had almost unlimited powers, which included the right to enter and search private houses where liquors were known or supposed to be stored, also to examine the baggage of passengers on railroad platforms.

Occasionally in searching a house a woman was insulted, and occasionally in examining baggage a woman's trunk was opened and the crowd treated to a sight of dainty silks and muslins tumbled in a heap on the ground.

The newspapers kept track of these occurrences and served them up to their readers under appropriate headings until at the next session of the General Assembly they had made the institution so unpopular that the salary of the State dispenser was raised on account—as his friends said in open debate—of the "odium" attached to the office.

The constables, recruited from a class whom "odium" could not deter, were as insolent as Claverhouse's dragoons. Women who barred entrances to private apartments were slapped in the face while their husbands "covered" with pistols looked on helpless.

Violence of Constables.

The majority of the people submitted quietly to the exactions and impertinences of the constables, but there were conflicts. At Darlington there was a pitched battle in which two constables and two citizens lost their lives. Near threescore persons have been killed by the constables since the enforcement of the law began, but none of those guilty of the taking of life has been punished.

The reformers probably would have abandoned Tillman and his scheme years ago but for the affair at Darlington. They already had begun to grow tired of being dragooned by the constables, and the high price of the dispensary liquors added to their discontent.

But Tillman was too astute a politician to let the opportunity pass the opportunity he found in the Darlington affair. As it happened, the fight at Darlington was between the constables on one side and Conservatives on the other. Tillman immediately denounced it as an anti-Tillman uprising, and made a great display of fearing assassination; having himself guarded, first in the Governor's mansion and then in the State Penitentiary.

The reform papers took up the cry, and in an amazingly short time had convinced their readers that the dispensary was a "reform measure" to be defended with their lives. Excitement ran high and Conservative militia companies which had refused to obey the Governor's orders were replaced by companies of enthusiastic Tillmanites who gave expression to their devotion by dubbing themselves "Ben Tillman Rifles," "Ben Tillman Volunteers," and "Ben Tillman Guards."

The absorption of dispensary whisky became a test of loyalty to the cause, and for a time the blind tigers had to depend upon the Conservative element, while their enemies bankrupted themselves out of pure patriotism.

Meanwhile the courts had been appealed to until so many conflicting opinions rendered that no one could pretend to keep the run of them. But at length, a short time after the Darlington war, the Supreme Court decided the law unconstitutional. This closed the dispensary and reopened the barrooms.

Remodeled the Court.

But at the next session the Legislature changed the complexion of the Supreme Court and passed a new Dispensary bill. The [illegible] was reversed, of course, and since that time the institution has been running full blast. But it has never been out of trouble in the courts.

Tillman during his last term as Governor had the Legislature pass a bill empowering the Executive to appoint metropolitan police over towns and cities which failed to enforce the dispensary law. He held it over Charleston to the end of his term, but did not use it.

Charleston had been unusually submissive before, the metropolitans were put in charge, but since then has spared neither money nor pains to uproot the system. The State courts being hopelessly closed against the Charleston people, they have appealed

The [illegible] as "premeditated murder," court to impose the death penalty.

Lieut. Gorris, whom the Court had assigned as counsel for Angiolillo, urged that the prisoner was demented at the time of the shooting, and made a strong appeal to the benevolence of the Judges. While his counsel was presenting this plea, Angiolillo listened in silence. Then he asked permission to speak for himself, which was granted. He thanked Lieut. Gorris for his efforts and denied that he had any accomplices or that he was an accomplice of those who committed the bomb-throwing outrage at Barcelona, or that he had participated in secret gatherings of Anarchists. When he began to discuss Anarchist theories, the President of the court interrupted him and threatened to stop him if he pursued that line of remark or touched upon any matters not connected with the trial.

Angiolillo persisted in speaking of politics and of the wars in Cuba and the Philippines. The President said: "All that has nothing to do with your crime." Angiolillo replied: "I must justify myself." The President retorted: "That is no justification. Moreover, you can convince nobody in that way."

Angiolillo began again, but the President declared the trial ended, and ordered the court room cleared.

After the prisoner had been conducted to his cell the Judges deliberated for an hour and then announced the sentence of the court.

JOY AT THE DEATH OF CANOVAS.

Emma Goldman and Her Friends Loudly Praise the Assassin Golli.

Emma Goldman was the leading spirit at the Anarchist mass meeting last night at Clarendon Hall to celebrate the assassination, or "removal," of Canovas del Castello. About forty policemen and detectives, under command of Acting Capt. Dimond, were scattered through the hall to prevent a riot. Emma did not like this, and when she got a chance she said so.

She was in her element among "reds" of half a dozen nationalities, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and people from North and South America and the West Indies. She wore a bright pink waist, and ruled the Chairman and the speakers and everybody else. There was an absence of red flags or other emblems in the hall, and only two portraits were visible, that of Casserio, who "removed" Carnot, and of the Spanish Anarchist, Pallas.

A mild-looking young Irishman by the name of H. M. Kelly took the chair and opened the meeting. He showed an inclination to do all the talking himself, but the woman leader pulled his sleeve and whispered to him to give the others a chance. Kelly subsided and introduced one speaker, and when he had finished started out on another harangue. Again Emma pulled his sleeve and scolded him, and he again subsided. He kept repeating himself, but the gist of his argument was that Canovas was a very bad man who had tortured and killed Anarchists, and consequently his "removal" was good riddance to bad rubbish. All Anarchists should feel happy.

The first speaker was introduced as Abelardo Moscoso. He was a very dark Frenchman from San Diego, and had very little to say besides telling the audience that he had once received a poinard thrust for freedom and was willing to die for liberty. He, also, was happy at Canovas's death. S. Pallavecini, the delegate from the Italian Typographical Union, lauded Golli, and said that he was so affected by the reading of the suffering of the Anarchists in Spain that he would have killed any hundred of Canovases if they were before him.

Emma Goldman was warmly greeted when she got up to speak. She said that every sensible person ought to feel glad over the death of a monster, and she really wondered that some Cuban had not removed the Spaniard before. She talked in this strain for some time, and then remarked that the United States seemed to sympathize with Canovas because it had sent so many policemen and detectives to the meeting. However, she sympathized with them, because they also were workingmen. Then she added: "They are the kind of workingmen who are too lazy to work in factories for $6 a week, but find it easier to stand on a corner swinging a club."

HAVANA TO HONOR CANOVAS.

Funeral Services to be Held in the Cathedral To-day.

HAVANA, Aug. 16.—Funeral services in honor of the late Premier of Spain, Señor Canovas del Castillo, will be held at the Cathedral here to-morrow. All the Government offices will be closed and the business houses will also close for the day as a mark of respect for the dead.

JUSTICE FIELD'S LONG TERM.

Over Thirty-four Years of Service on the Supreme Court Bench.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 16.—Justice Stephen J. Field of the United States Supreme Court to-day established the record for longest service on that bench. Until to-day the service of Chief Justice John Marshall had been the longest in the history of the court, covering thirty-four years.

The [illegible] case used in the [illegible] made it a little [illegible] did not think it was intended [illegible] railways, although perhaps it was [illegible] of that interpretation. He advised [illegible] Canadian press to keep cool about [illegible] ter, because, he added, it would be [illegible] enough for Canadians to adopt a [illegible] tion when the authorities at W[illegible] interpreted the clause as some [illegible] parties were anxious to have it interpreted.

A PHOTOGRAPHER AND A CALF.

The Latter Took Umbrage at a Red Kite and Spoiled a Picture.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J., Aug. 16.—A calf frustrated an attempt to take a bird's-eye view snapshot of this city last Saturday. George H. Parsell, an architect, who is an enthusiast in photography, made the attempt to photograph New Brunswick from the clouds. A box kite was to convey the camera high in the air, and then, by means of a string, Mr. Parsell was to click the camera.

A crowd of young people went out to see the flight, and when the party entered a field on the Canburt turnpike they never noticed that a half-grown bull calf was pasturing there. The architect had made the mistake of constructing the kite from red cheesecloth, and this fact aroused the calf's ire. Mr. Parsell made his preparations, all the time blissfully ignorant of the fact that the calf was preparing for a charge. But just as the architect started to throw the kite skyward without the camera on a trial trip the animal made his rush.

There was a shriek as the young people fled from the scene, a rush of something, and then Mr. Parsell saw from his recumbent position on the turf a calf speeding out of the field with a kite trailing behind him. Pursuit was useless. Mr. Parsell said he was thankful that he had not sent up the camera. Later the calf was found amusing itself by demolishing the remains of the kite. Although the attempt was a failure, Mr. Parsell will try again with a different pasture and a different colored kite.

ATLANTA'S NEW PROFESSOR.

W. E. B. Du Bois Appointed to the Chair of Economics and History.

ATLANTA, Aug. 16.—Atlanta University has just appointed W. E. B. Du Bois, Ph. D., to the Professorship of Economics and History left vacant by the death of Prof. John H. Hincks. Dr. Du Bois is a member of the race for whom Atlanta University is chiefly doing its work.

After two years of post-graduate study he received from Harvard the degree of Ph. D., one of the few ever conferred by that institution for work in economics and history. Dr. Du Bois then went to Germany, where he continued his studies for two years. Returning to America he taught for two years in Wilberforce University, Ohio, and then was called a year ago by the University of Pennsylvania to undertake a statistical investigation among the negroes of Philadelphia, upon which he is still engaged.

Dr. Du Bois is the author of "A History of the Suppression of the Slave Trade in the United States," which has been published by Harvard University as the first volume of its "Historical Series." He is a contributor to the Annals of the American Academy of Social Science and other periodicals. The August number of The Atlantic Monthly contains an article from his pen.

Woodcock and Partridge Plenty.

MIDDLETOWN, N. Y., Aug. 16.—Local hunters in quest of woodcock and partridge had splendid success to-day, the first day on which the hunting of these birds is allowable under the game laws of the State. Half a dozen hunters returned to-night with their game bags well filled.

THE WEATHER.

The local forecast may be found at the top of this page to the right of the title.

The storm has moved from Ontario to the St. Lawrence Valley, giving showers to the whole country east of the Mississippi River.

The pressure is high off the Middle Pacific coast, and a ridge of high pressure extends from Southern Florida to Alberta.

[illegible] in the Atlantic States, has risen in the Upper Mississippi Valley and the Rocky Mountain regions, and has generally fallen elsewhere.

The record of temperature for the twenty-four hours ended at midnight, taken from THE NEW YORK TIMES's thermometer and from the thermometer of the Weather Bureau, is as follows:

	—Weather Bureau.— 1896.	1897.
3 A. M.	70	[illegible]
6 A. M.	70	[illegible]
9 A. M.	72	74
12 M.	74	[illegible]
4 P. M.	76	[illegible]

881018007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy in Spain and in New York / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1-2 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. – (Aug. 17, 1897).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

SDAY, AUGUST 17, 1897. PRICE [illegible]

ANARCHY IN SPAIN AND IN NEW YORK.

Golli, Assassin of Canovas, Condemned to the Garrote.

HE TRIED TO HARANGUE.

But the President Cut Him Off and Brought the Trial to an End.

HORRIFIED BY THE SCAFFOLD.

Angiolillo Expected that He Would Be Shot Like Other Anarchists.

HIS TRIAL WAS SUMMARY.

Government Ordered It Hastened—Great Precautions Taken Against an Outbreak.

(Copyright, 1897, by the Press Publishing Company, New York World.)

(Special Cable Despatch to The World.)

VERGARA, Spain, Aug. 16, via Bayonne, Aug. 16.—Angiolillo, the anarchist who shot Prime Minister Canovas, has been sentenced to die by the garrote in the middle of the week, within the walls of Vergara prison.

The Government suddenly determined on Saturday to hasten the trial and execution of Angiolillo. Telegrams from the War Office were sent to Vitoria and San Sebastian that obliged the members and president of the court martial and the public prosecutor, to start from that garrison in the middle of the night, arriving at Vergara about daybreak.

The local authorities, also instructed, hurried preparations in the Civil Courthouse. A strong guard was posted all around. Other precautions were taken. All suspicious-looking foreigners and strangers were closely watched, because the authorities of Vitoria had arrested on Saturday two Germans, alleged workmen on a tramp in quest of work, but who had anarchist and socialist papers on their persons, and could not satisfactorily account for their movement.

All the members of the court, according to custom, first heard mass in the principal Vergara church. Then they proceeded, in full uniform, with an escort, to the Hall of Justice.

The court-room was not large, but was well lighted by several windows. At the upper end, with back to the wall, sat in the centre the President, Colonel of Artillery Elicegui, a severe-looking officer, having on his right and left six captains of infantry and artillery, while the public prosecutor, Capt. Auditor, sat on the right of the judges. Counsel for the defense, Lieutenant of Artillery Gorria, sat on the left, looking grave, under the difficult task assigned to him by the authorities because the prisoner refused to select counsel from a list of six officers proffered to him.

Civil guards, soldiers, with fixed bayonets, stood at the doors. Comparatively few people were present except officials, though everybody in Vergara knew the trial was taking place.

Curiosity centred in the prisoner, whom priests again visited early Sunday morning, in an endeavor to shake his resolute obstinacy.

When the prison officials informed him he was wanted for trial he stood up as erect as his irons permitted, made his toilet, had his cravat set right and his coat cleaned, and spouted out more than usual about his anarchist ideas, though his jailers reminded him that he must behave himself. With their assistance he was speedily conveyed to a room near the court, where he was closely watched by a strong escort with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets under a captain.



EMMA GOLDMAN.
Addressing an Anarchist meeting last night.

Anarchists Here Applaud the Assassination of Canovas.

GOLLI HAILED AS A HERO.

Emma Goldman Excites Cheers by a Wild, Bloodthirsty Harangue.

THE POLICE LISTEN INACTIVE.

"I Glory in the Murder of Canovas," Screamed the Frantic Woman.

PRESIDENT M'KINLEY ASSAILED.

"We Are Enemies of Government. Government Is Tyranny," the Goldman Woman Said.

"President McKinley and Mark Hanna are shedding crocodile tears over the killing of Canovas del Castillo. In their own hearts they are saying 'Perhaps I will be the next.'

"I do not advise anybody to kill, but whether I advise it or you advise it fortunately makes no difference. Heroes like Golli do not ask permission of me or of anybody else to do their duty as they see it.

"So long as tyrants oppress mankind Gollis will be found to execute them.

"We are not enemies of society. We are enemies of government, for government is tyranny."

One thousand men and women cheered this sentiment uttered by Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, at a meeting held at Clarendon Hall, Thirteenth street, between Third and Fourth avenues, last night.

The crowd was not one upon which the hand of poverty seemed to rest very heavily. They were, as a rule, more than comfortably dressed, and they looked well fed.

Such a crowd could not have been brought together in any other American city than this. They listened to speeches in five languages—English, French, German, Italian and Spanish—and they interrupted the speakers with expressions not only in those languages, but in a variety of patois and dialects.

Celebration of a Crime.

A circular that had been widely distributed brought the crowd together. The circular was really an invitation to rejoice over an assassination. It read:

MASS-MEETING TO
CELEBRATE
THE DEATH OF THE
LEADING DESPOT OF SPAIN,
CANOVAS DEL CASTILLO,
EXECUTED BY
ANARCHIST MICHEL ANGELO GOLLI.

The meeting was the first at which the spirit of anarchy as it exists in this city has dared to show itself with any strength since Herr Most, High Priest of the Order of Disorder, was made to serve a term in the penitentiary. He [illegible] night.

Police Were Informed.

The police were fully informed of the purpose of the meeting, and Acting Captain Diamond, of the Fifth Street Station, was present with twenty men, who had to stand by to hear themselves called "dogs and thieves," the meeting was not broken.

Emma Goldman evidently hoped it would be, and did her utmost to [illegible] something that would cause the police to act.

The Goldman woman [illegible]

SHOT A MAN, THEN PRAYED.

One Deputy Mortally Wounds Another in a Fight and Asks God's Forgiveness.

(Special to The World.)

PITTSBURG, Aug. 16.—Deputy Sheriff Stober Kerr was shot and fatally wounded by Deputy Frank Anderson at the Plum Creek Mines of the New York and Cleveland Gas Coal Company this afternoon.

Anderson had been placed temporarily in charge of the squad of officers protecting miners from violence at Plum Creek. He ordered Kerr to go on what is known as the noonday relief.

The men had some words, and Kerr refused to carry out Anderson's orders. He cursed the chief deputy, and the latter struck him in the face. Kerr knocked Anderson down. Anderson tried to argue with Kerr, but was knocked down again. As Kerr came over to kick him Anderson shot Kerr in the abdomen.

Anderson arose, handed his revolver

WARRIOR TO BECOME A PRIEST.

Gen. Olmsted, Who Raised the First New York Regiment for the War, a Catholic Convert.

(Special to The World.)

LA PORTE, Ind., Aug. 16.—Living in priestly seclusion at Notre Dame University is Gen. W. A. Olmsted, who enlisted with the New York troops at the outbreak of the civil war and retired from the service a commissioned brigadier-general.

Gen. Olmsted, in his declining years, has become a convert to the Catholic religion. The faculty of the university is reticent concerning him, but it is known that he will be ordained a priest before leaving the college.

Gen. Olmsted raised at Troy the first company of volunteers in New York for the late war and it became Company B, Second Infantry. He was promoted to colonel June 10, 1863, and later given command of the Second New York Regiment. He commanded this regiment at the battle of Chan[illegible]

881018007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy in Spain and in New York / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-2 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. —(Aug. 17, 1897).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ered It Hastened—
utions Taken
Outbreak.

Press Publishing Company,
rk World.)
patch to The World.)
n, Aug. 15, via Ba-
giolillo, the anarchist
inister Canovas, has
die by the garrote in
eek, within the walls

suddenly determined
asten the trial and
illo. Telegrams from
e sent to Vitoria and
obliged the members
he court martial and
or, to start from that
idle of the night, ar-
about daybreak.
ities, also instructed,
ns in the Civil Court-
guard was posted all
caut.ons were taken.
king foreigners and
sely watched, because
Vitoria had arrested
ermans, alleged work-
n quest of work, but
t and socialist papers
and could not satis-
for their movement.
of the court, accord-
st heard mass in the
church. Then they
uniform, with an es-
of Justice.
was not large, but was
veral windows. At the
back to the wall, sat
President, Colonel of
a severe-looking of-
his right and left six
antry and artillery.
prosecutor, Capt. Au-
right of the judges.
defense, Lieutenant of
sat on the left, looking
difficult task assigned
uthorities because the
to select counsel from
ers proffered to him.
ldiers, with fixed bay-
the doors. Compara-
were present except
everybody in Vergara
as taking place.
ed in the prisoner,
ain visited early Sun-
an endeavor to shake
nacy.
son officials informed
ted for trial he stood
irons permitted, made
his cravat set right
ened, and spouted out
l about his anarchist
s jailers reminded him
behave himself. With
he was speedily con-
near the court, where
atched by a strong es-
muskets and fixed bay-
aptain.
in Angiolillo gazed de-
curiously scrutinizing
g for somebody.
s were conducted rapid-
ts of witnesses and doc-
n conclusions were read
d quickly by the clerk.
cutor read his sternly
the crown, based upon
onfession of premedita-
rous lying in wait, his
ing out the deed, anar-
and complicity in oth-
rcelona, finally asking
ence Angiolillo to death

the prisoner, who ex-
t like other Anarchists,
nd horrified. The coun-
nse read a brief argu-
to show that his client
imploring indulgence of
sat with hard, unmoved

then asked Angiolillo
say. He stood up and
ar voice, with resolute
timing to show that he
ordinary murderor, but
tor and avenger of his
ts who were shot and
rcelona.

his protests and gestic-
shing eyes and excited
e a strange aspect to
tures, uncombed beard
as the guards led him
confinement, from which
y to be led to death be-
of Vergara Prison. An-
r nothing of the outer
body but the priests.
cleared for half an hour

on Second Page.)



EMMA GOLDMAN.

Addressing an Anarchist meeting last night.

SHOT A MAN, THEN PRAYED.

One Deputy Mortally Wounds Another in a Fight and Asks God's Forgiveness.

(Special to The World.)

PITTSBURG, Aug. 16. Deputy Sheriff Robert Kerr was shot and fatally wounded by Deputy Frank Anderson at the Plum Creek Mines of the New York and Cleveland Gas Coal Company this afternoon.

Anderson had been placed temporarily in charge of the squad of officers protecting miners from strikers at Plum Creek. He ordered Kerr to go on what is known as the noonday relief.

The men had some words, and Kerr refused to carry out Anderson's orders. He cursed the chief deputy and the latter struck him in the face. Kerr knocked Anderson down. Anderson tried to argue with Kerr, but was knocked down again. As Kerr came over to kick him Anderson shot Kerr in the abdomen.

Anderson arose, handed his revolver to other deputies and telephoned to Sheriff Lowry. Then he went to a platform where religious services are held. Getting on his knees he prayed that Kerr's life would be spared.

With the other deputy sheriffs gathered around him, their heads bowed and uncovered, and the dying man not a hundred feet away, he asked the forgiveness of God, saying he had to kill Kerr to save his own life.

TAUGHT HER MUSIC AND LOVE.

A New Orleans Belle Rides Away from Her Bicyclist Lover to Marry a Violinist.

(Special to The World.)

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., Aug. 16.—There came from New Orleans, a year ago, Miss Flossie Tomlinson, eighteen years of age and very comely. With her mother she visited in Derby, and fell in love with a fine young man. They rode bicycles together and showed signs of desiring to wheel through life on Love's tandem.

But alas! That tandem, like every other, is not proof against the accidents.

Miss Tomlinson took lessons on the violin of Prof. McDougal, leader of the orchestra in the Stirling Opera-House, at Derby. As the lessons progressed the old love faded and a new love came. But they never told of it to others.

Last night teacher and pupil crossed the Sound to Port Jefferson, and Pastor Peck, of the Presbyterian Church, united them. They went back home to Shelton and kept the marriage secret. But to-day the announcement was made.

And the young man of the bicycle—alack, for his hopes, they have had a puncture.

WARRIOR TO BECOME A PRIEST.

Gen. Olmsted, Who Raised the First New York Regiment for the War, a Catholic Convert.

(Special to The World.)

LA PORTE, Ind., Aug. 16.—Living in priestly seclusion at Notre Dame University is Gen. W. A. Olmsted, who enlisted with the New York troops at the outbreak of the civil war and retired from the service a commissioned brigadier-general.

Gen. Olmsted, in his declining years, has become a convert to the Catholic religion. The faculty of the university is reticent concerning him, but it is known that he will be ordained a priest before leaving the college.

Gen. Olmsted raised at Troy the first company of volunteers in New York for the late war and it became Company B, Second Infantry. He was promoted to colonel June 10, 1861, and later given command of the Second New York Regiment. He commanded this regiment at the battle of Chancellorsville.

He became Colonel of the Fifty-ninth New York Veteran Volunteers, and later was assigned to command the first brigade of the second division, second corps of the Army of the Potomac. He remained in this command until the final year of the war.

Gen. Olmsted is sixty years of age and remarkably well preserved.

GIRL'S FATHER SAVES ASSAILANT.

Tells Would-Be Lynchers that He Prefers to Let the Law Take Its Course.

(Special to The World.)

DALTON, Ga., Aug. 16.—Miss Sallie Jones was assaulted by a negro near Lafayette last March and for three months was in peril of death from her injuries. Many colored men were taken before her, but her assailant was not among them. Recently a photograph of William Phillips, a negro, was sent from Arkansas, and she said he was the man.

Phillips was brought here to-day and an effort to lynch him was stopped by Miss Jones's father, who said that as the county court would meet this week he preferred to let the law take its course.

Phillips was placed in jail, but there is still some talk of lynching.

CROSS SAVES A FAST TRAIN.

(Special to The World.)

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., Aug. 16.—John Cross, a laborer on the Vanderbilt mansion, at Hyde Park, discovered a broken rail on the Hudson River Railroad while on his way to work.

He reported it at Hyde Park. Then he returned to the spot and stopped the fast mail, preventing almost certain accident.

[illegible] Wyman said:

"President McKinley and Mark Hanna are shedding crocodile tears over the killing of Canovas del Castillo. In their own hearts they are saying 'Perhaps I will be next.'

"I do not advise anybody to kill, but whether I advise it or not, to-day will certainly make no difference. Heroes like Golli do not wait permission of me or of anybody else to do their duty as they see it.

"So long as tyrants oppress mankind Golli will be found to execute them.

"We are not enemies of mankind. We are enemies of government, for government is tyranny."

One thousand men and women cheered this sentiment uttered by Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, at a meeting held in Clarendon Hall, Thirteenth street, between Third and Fourth avenues, last night.

The crowd was not one upon which the hand of poverty seemed to rest very heavily. They were, as a rule, more than comfortably dressed, and they looked well fed.

Such a crowd could not have been brought together in any other American city than this. They listened to speeches in five languages—English, French, German, Italian and Spanish—and they interrupted the speakers with expressions not only in those languages, but in a variety of patois and dialects.

Celebration of a Crime.

A circular that had been widely distributed brought the crowd together. The circular was really an invitation to rejoice over an assassination. It read:

MASS-MEETING TO
CELEBRATE
THE DEATH OF THE
LEADING DESPOT OF SPAIN,
CANOVAS DEL CASTILLO,
EXECUTED BY
ANARCHIST MICHEL ANGELO GOLLI.

The meeting was the first at which the spirit of anarchy as it exists in this city has dared to show itself with any strength since Herr Most, High Priest of the Order of Disorder, was made to serve a term in the penitentiary. He has been quiet a while and was not present last night.

Police Were Informed.

The police were fully informed of the purpose of the meeting, and although Acting Captain Diamond, of the Mott Street Station, was present with twenty men, who had to stand by, and hear themselves called "dogs and thieves," the meeting was not broken up.

Emma Goldman evidently hoped that it would be, and did her utmost to say something that would cause the police to act.

The Goldman woman entered the big hall after it was crowded, accompanied by young and pretty girls, who seemed to idolize her. They were followed by as many young men, who wore red neckties and vainly tried to look unconcerned.

Cheers for Goldman swelled into frantic shouts of approval as she went to the platform and hung up two pictures. One was a picture of Pallas, the Barcelona bomb thrower. The other was a picture of Santo, who assassinated President Carnot, of France.

Red Flag Not Displayed.

The red flag was not displayed in the hall, for the police had ordered that it should not be, but scores of the women wore flaming red shirt waists and the men waved red handkerchiefs.

One queer feature of the meeting was that several of the women carried babies in arms and there were a great many boys and girls there.

A consumptive little man named H. M. Kelly was called upon to preside. He tried to make a fierce, bloodthirsty speech, but his feeble piccolo voice was not equal to the task, and the crowd shouted for something stronger.

He Did His Best.

Kelly struggled on though, and, among other things, said:

"We are here to-night as Anarchists to express our emphatic indorsement of the execution of Canovas by Golli on Aug. 8.

"We are so anxious to have peace all over the world that we celebrate and rejoice over the death of the Spanish despot. Canovas has gone! May his like never be seen again!"

A German made a short speech in which he called Canovas "a beast" who was "only fit for slaughter."

He was followed by a dark-bearded and dark-skinned man from Porto Rico

86

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881018007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy in Spain and in New York / Emma Goldman.– pp. 1-2 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. –(Aug. 17, 1897).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

named Richards ... in Spanish. His ... that the tortures inflicted upon the men arrested in connection with the Barcelona bomb throwing had of inhumanity signed the death warrant of Canovas and that Anarchists everywhere should rejoice that the warrant had been executed.

Went Into Mysteries.

An Italian named Pallavencini claimed to speak as the delegate of the Italian Typographical Union. He became so excited in his speech that at times he laughed and cried hysterically. His countrymen in the hall went quite as wild.

"They say that we Anarchists are ferocious beasts, who should not be allowed to exist," he said. "Not so! Canovas was a beast, and had no right to live in this enlightened age. I have seen documentary proof of his heinous acts.

"The man who killed Canovas is a martyr to the cause of humanity and progress. The police knew fifteen days before the execution that the act was decreed, for they know that anarchy works with precision and with certainty.

"Just Retribution."

"The killing was an act of just retribution. The day of the emancipation of the world is not far away. Anarchists do not fear the guillotine or the gallows. Anarchy will soon be the religion of the world.

"Anarchists think it is better to kill a ruler who is a tyrant than to have a revolution in which thousands have to die because of his acts.

"All honor to the Italian people for furnishing the assassin. They call us all assassins. Well, Italians do sometimes try their hand at that game.

"I am a peaceable man, but when I read of the torture of the Anarchists of Barcelona my blood boiled, and if there had been one hundred Canovases I would have rejoiced to have killed them all."

After Blood-Money.

The feeble voiced Kelly got up and plaintively announced that it cost money to hold Anarchist meetings, that bills for rent and printing had to be paid. He asked for $100. The rent of the hall alone was $40.

The pretty girls passed the collection baskets, with Emma Goldman directing them. When they got through and counted up they found that they had only $12.80.

Emma Goldman looked savagely through her gold-rimmed glasses at the big crowd, which just then was cheering the statement of a Spaniard named Arrango, who said that the killing of Canovas by Golli was the act of a slave rising against long oppression.

Emma Goldman Speaks.

Goldman was introduced. The woman talks with wonderful speed in a high pitched, harsh voice with a strong German accent. Although a small woman she is very masculine in her actions and manner, and seems to delight in saying risqué as well as blood-thirsty things in order to evoke applause.

"Some people think it cruel that we should celebrate the death of such a great and noble man as Canovas," she said. "Those who have read history and know what Canovas has done to the people of Spain, of Cuba and of other Spanish colonies will know, however, that we are perfectly justified in rejoicing over the death of such a beast.

"If it was an honest workingman who was dead we would be sorry for him, or sorry for his family, but we cannot even be sorry for the family when the dead man was nothing but a monster. He has spent his whole life devising methods of torturing and killing men.

"I Glory in the Death of Canovas."

"I glory in the death of Canovas. I am ashamed of the Cuban patriots that they did not execute this monster long ago. I glorify the killing of Canovas by Golli, the hero, because it removes an obstacle from the path of progress.

"They tell us that Canovas was really not to blame for it all; that he was but an instrument in the hands of others. I say he—Canovas—was the tyrant and the tans of thousands of Spanish soldiers were his instruments. Down with all such!

"The tyrants of men are all cowards. Look at President Faure, of France. He hired a man to throw a bomb in order that he might become notorious, and then used his miserable scheme to try and punish and kill innocent men.

"They tell us that by despatching one tyrant we will not change society: that another tyrant will take his place. Yes, my friends, that is true, and another Golli will come up to meet every such new tyrant. Wherever there is a Caesar



been allowed to live so long. His atrocious acts, inhuman almost beyond conception, against Cubans and Americans, deserve death. He murdered Dr. Ruiz, an American citizen. What is America going to do about it? Sue Spain for $50,000. Shame on such a cowardly country, I say!

Woe Unto Tyrants!

"Do not think that if they kill the brave Golli they will put down Anarchy! The silence of the martyred anarchists of Chicago in their graves is more eloquent than were their voices when they lived. Woe unto the tyrants of the world! We have thousands of Gollis!"

The crowd had cheered itself hoarse by the time that the Goldman finished speaking, but many remained to hear speeches by a Frenchman and another Spaniard. When Chairman Kelly got up to adjourn the meeting a big man got up and shouted in English:

"Long live Anarchy!"

The crowd echoed the sentiment in all tongues as it filed out of the hall.

ANARCHY IN SPAIN.

(Continued from First Page.)

of deliberation. Sentence of death was passed unanimously.

The people hissed the assassin with visible indignation.

WHAT ANGIOLILLO SAID.

His Speech in the Court-Room—When Cut Short He Said He Wanted to Justify Himself.

VERGARA, Aug. 16.—Angiolillo, heavily manacled, sat between two gendarmes and immediately in front of his judges at his trial. On a table nearby lay his revolver and other material evidence of his crime.

A written statement of the prisoner was read among other papers by the clerk of the court. Angiolillo in the course of the statement said that he left Foggia in October, 1886, and went to Marseilles and Barcelona, where he took the name of Jose Santos. At first he had no thought of becoming an Anarchist, but while at Coromina he began to be interested in Anarchist doctrines. He then returned to Marseilles, and after his expulsion from that city he went to Belgium and London, where he passed most of his time in the society of Anarchists.

When the execution took place at Barcelona on May 4 of five of the Anarchists convicted of participation in the bomb outrage at the feast of Corpus Christi he conceived the idea of assassinating Canovas. Without seeking an accomplice he proceeded to Spain and carried out the resolution.

Angiolillo went on to say that the passion for vengeance led him to commit the crime. As he was unacquainted with the manufacture of explosives, he used the revolver.

While his counsel was presenting in his behalf a plea of insanity, Angiolillo listened in silence. Then he asked permission to speak for himself, which was granted.

He thanked his counsel for his efforts. He denied that he had any accomplice, or that he was an accomplice of those who threw the bombs at Barcelona, or that he had participated in secret gatherings of Anarchists.

When he began to discuss Anarchist theories the President of the court interrupted him and threatened to stop him if he pursued that line of remark or touched upon any matters not connected with the trial.

Angiolillo persisted in speaking of politics and of the wars in Cuba and the Philippines.

The President said, "All that has noth-

PLEADED FOR THEIR HOME.

Mrs. Kelly Was Too Poor to Support Her Two Little Boys.

ASKED TO HAVE THEM SENT AWAY

But Children Clung to Their Mother in a Brooklyn Court and Would Not Go.

Two boys, one five years old and the other seven, clung to their mother yesterday in the Lee Avenue Court, Brooklyn, E. D., while she implored Justice Kramer to place them in an institution where they might be cared for until they arrived at an age when they could aid in supporting their mother and other members of the family.

The woman said she was Mary Kelly and that she lived at No. 146 Grand street. She was unable to support the boys, as her husband had been an invalid from cancer in the face for seven years.

Mrs. Kelly said she had three other children, the elder a girl of seventeen, who earned $4 a week with a firm in New York. Little of this was left after paying ferriage and carfare. The other children earned nothing.

Mrs. Kelly told Justice Kramer that if the two boys were put away she would be able to care for her husband and the others.

Two little ones clung to their mother's garments and implored her not to send them away.

"I will be a big boy soon, mamma," said Willie, the elder, "and I will work to support you."

Tears rolled down the little fellow's cheeks, and even Justice Kramer drew a handkerchief across his eyes.

"Judge," said little Joseph, "I am only five years old. Don't let my mother put me away. If she will keep me a few years I will go to school, and when I am big enough I will give her all the money I earn."

Agent Meyer, of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, said he believed the boys would be better cared for in some institution than at home. The woman he knew worked hard, but was unable to support her family.

Justice Kramer said he would place the boys in the care of the Children's Society. Agent Meyer advanced to take the children from their mother, but they resisted and refused to go with him.

Their mother tearfully pushed the sobbing children from her and hurried from the court-room.

GAMBLER DIVED TO DEATH.

Excursionists on the City of Worcester Say Heffernan Had Lost Heavily at Roulette.

The Norwich line steamboat City of Worcester made an excursion from Greenport, L. I., to Newport on Sunday. Most of those who went on the excursion were from Brooklyn. Passengers who returned yesterday said that a young man named Heffernan, crazed by drink and heavy losses from playing at roulette, jumped overboard into Long Island Sound on the way back.

A boat was lowered, and the steamer's searchlight was turned on the water for an hour, but nothing more was seen of the man.

The manager of the excursion said that Heffernan had attempted to jump into the walking-beam opening, and that his friends promised to look out for him.

FOUGHT AN ANGRY BEAR.

Thrilling Struggle of a Guide and a Texas Youth in the Catskills.

HURLED OVER A CLIFF.

Wounded Bruin, Defending Her Cubs, Falls to Her Death in a Charge on the Hunters.

(Special to The World.)

TANNERSVILLE, N. Y., Aug. 16.—Exhausted and bleeding from many wounds, two men staggered into the grocery store and post-office here Saturday afternoon and sank upon a bench. They were Frank B. Knight, jr., of Austin, Tex., a youth, and "Jim" Deutcher, a Catskill guide.

The crowd of loungers gazed wonderingly at the men, who carried guns and looked as if they had undergone some terrible experience.

Early that morning, they said, they had started out from the Hotel Kasterskill to hunt small game and incidentally explore the far-famed Stony Clove. They found game scarce and after shooting ten gray squirrels decided to return home.

Turning their steps towards the rugged old Kasterskill Mountain they started homeward. They had walked several miles when the guide slipped on a loose stone and fell. He arose, but uttering a yell sank back again. He had sprained his ankle.

After a brief rest he was assisted to his feet by Knight. Leaning on his young companion's shoulder the guide hobbled on slowly and painfully.

Suddenly Deutcher grasped Knight's arm excitedly and telling him to remain quiet pointed to a log at the right of them. The log was decayed and had been torn asunder, the pieces of dry punk being scattered about the ground for several feet.

"Some animal has done that," whispered the old guide. They circled about the log in search of traces.

"Bear?" queried young Knight with suppressed excitement.

"Bears! Three of 'em, an old un and two young uns," said the guide. "I'd like to take a big bear skin back with me when I go," said the youth eagerly.

"Well, I dunno. Might as well try for a shot at the peaky critters," replied the guide.

The trail of the bears was found and followed cautiously. The black bear of the Catskills will run from a man if it has the chance to escape. If it is cornered, and especially if it has young, it will fight to the death.

In the excitement of the chase the old guide forgot his injured ankle. The trail led to a spring hole and there, in the soft and spongy ground around the hole could be plainly seen the huge footprints of the old bear and the smaller tracks of cubs.

After an hour or so of exhausting effort the hunters arrived at the foot of a cliff that rose above them 200 feet, apparently barring further progress.

[illegible] diotions on his unhappy plight the mountaineer said:

"We'll climb the rock, Knight. I mean to try for a shot at the old bear if kin get near her."

Toiling upward they scaled the cliff. As they stood on a rocky plateau resting for a moment the growl of a bear was heard. Not fifty feet from them the hunters saw her. She was standing upright with her legs outstretched. Her big yellow teeth showed in sharp relief against the dull red of her heavy jaws. Close to the bear was an old pine, up which the cubs had climbed at the first warning growl.

Behind the hunters, as they faced their enemy, was a precipice. For both the man and the bear retreat was cut off.

87

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881018007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy in Spain and in New York / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-2 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. —(Aug. 17, 1897).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

alone was $40.

The pretty girls passed the collection baskets, with Emma Goldman directing them. When they got through and counted up they found that they had only $12.60.

Emma Goldman looked savagely through her gold-rimmed glasses at the big crowd, which just then was cheering the statement of a Spaniard named Arrango, who said that the killing of Canovas by Golli was the act of a slave rising against long oppression.

Emma Goldman Speaks.

Goldman was introduced. The woman talks with wonderful speed in a high pitched, harsh voice with a strong German accent. Although a small woman she is very masculine in her actions and manner, and seems to delight in saying risque as well as blood-thirsty things in order to evoke applause.

"Some people think it cruel that we should celebrate the death of such a great and noble man as Canovas," she said. "Those who have read history and know what Canovas has done to the people of Spain, of Cuba and of other Spanish colonies will know, however, that we are perfectly justified in rejoicing over the death of such a beast.

"If it was an honest workingman who was dead we would be sorry for him, or sorry for his family, but we cannot even be sorry for the family when the dead man was nothing but a monster. He has spent his whole life devising methods of torturing and killing men.

"Glory in the Death of Canovas."

"I glory in the death of Canovas. I am ashamed of the Cuban patriots that they did not execute this monster long ago. I glorify the killing of Canovas by Golli, the hero, because it removes an obstacle from the path of progress.

"They tell us that Canovas was really not to blame for it all; that he was but an instrument in the hands of others. I say no. Canovas was the tyrant and the tens of thousands of Spanish soldiers were his instruments. Down with all such!

"The tyrants of men are all cowards. Look at President Faure, of France. He hired a man to throw a bomb in order that he might become notorious, and then used his miserable scheme to try and punish and kill innocent men.

"They tell us that by despatching one tyrant we will not change society; that another tyrant will take his place. Yes, my friends, that is true, and another Golli will come up to meet every such new tyrant. Wherever there is a Caesar there must be a Brutus.

A Shot at the Police.

"It seems to me that this glorious and free country is in great sympathy with Canovas. Otherwise, they would not send so many policemen and detectives here to watch us to-night. I do not blame the policemen. They find it easier to stand around a corner twirling a club and watching for a chance to crack some honest man's skull with it than they do to go to work in the shops for twelve or fourteen hours a day. Some of them may be good men. There is honor even among thieves, you know.

"The authorities of this country, including President McKinley and Mark Hanna, who promised you prosperity a few months ago but are giving you starvation, are shedding crocodile tears over the death of Canovas. In their minds they are perhaps saying to themselves, 'Maybe I will be the next.'

Assails the President.

"This man McKinley said he had Cuba's cause at heart before he was elected. Now he is expressing his sorrow over the death of this Canovas who has killed thousands of our Cuban friends.

"If this man Canovas believed in a heaven he is probably sitting on the right hand of the throne now telling the angels all about his life. All tyrants go there, I believe. All of us Anarchists, free-thinkers, revolutionists and philosophers go to hell, and we have a lively time there. When I die I would rather go to hell than to heaven.

"It is a shame, I say, that we cannot hold a peaceable meeting here unmolested. Look at the watchdogs around you. I understand that they are here to make an arrest if they find any excuse for doing it. Well, I will not bridle my tongue one bit, even at the risk of having one of them put his [illegible] hand on my shoulder and say 'Come with me.'

Murders Predicted.

"Canovas is not the only man who will have to die violently before the social revolution is accomplished. There are hundreds of people all over the world only waiting for the opportunity to show that they are tired of despotism and tyranny.

"It seems to me queer that such a contemptible wretch as Gen. Weyler has

of deliberation. Sentence of death was passed unanimously.

The people hissed the sentence with visible indignation.

WHAT ANGIOLILLO SAID.

His Speech in the Court-Room—When Cut Short He Said He Wanted to Justify Himself.

VERGARA, Aug. 16.—Angiolillo, heavily manacled, sat between two gendarmes and immediately in front of his judges at his trial. On a table nearby lay his revolver and other material evidence of his crime.

A written statement of the prisoner was read among other papers by the clerk of the court. Angiolillo in the course of the statement said that he left Foggia in October, 1895, and went to Marseilles and Barcelona, where he took the name of Jose Santos. At first he had no thought of becoming an Anarchist, but while at Coromjoa he began to be interested in Anarchist doctrines. He then returned to Marseilles, and after his expulsion from that city he went to Belgium and London, where he passed most of his time in the society of Anarchists.

When the execution took place at Barcelona on May 4 of five of the Anarchists convicted of participation in the bomb outrage at the feast of Corpus Christi he conceived the idea of assassinating Canovas. Without seeking an accomplice he proceeded to Spain and carried out the resolution.

Angiolillo went on to say that the passion for vengeance led him to commit the crime. As he was unacquainted with the manufacture of explosives, he used the revolver.

While his counsel was presenting in his behalf a plea of insanity, Angiolillo listened in silence. Then he asked permission to speak for himself, which was granted.

He thanked his counsel for his efforts. He denied that he had any accomplice, or that he was an accomplice of those who threw the bombs at Barcelona, or that he had participated in secret gatherings of Anarchists.

When he began to discuss Anarchist theories the President of the court interrupted him and threatened to stop him if he pursued that line of remark or touched upon any matters not connected with the trial.

Angiolillo persisted in speaking of politics and of the wars in Cuba and the Philippines.

The President said, "All that has nothing to do with your crime."

Angiolillo replied, "I must justify myself."

The President retorted, "That is no justification. Moreover, you can convince nobody in that way."

Angiolillo began again, but the President declared the trial ended and ordered the court-room cleared.

YOUTH CUTS HIS MOTHER'S THROAT.

Then Sets Fire to the House—Says He Intended to Spend Insurance Money on a Variety Actress.

GALVESTON, Tex., Aug. 16.—Mrs. Kate Gallagher, for twelve years a school teacher in this city, who lived with her son Virgil, was found dead to-day with her throat cut and her body charred beyond recognition.

After killing her the murderer had set fire to the bed.

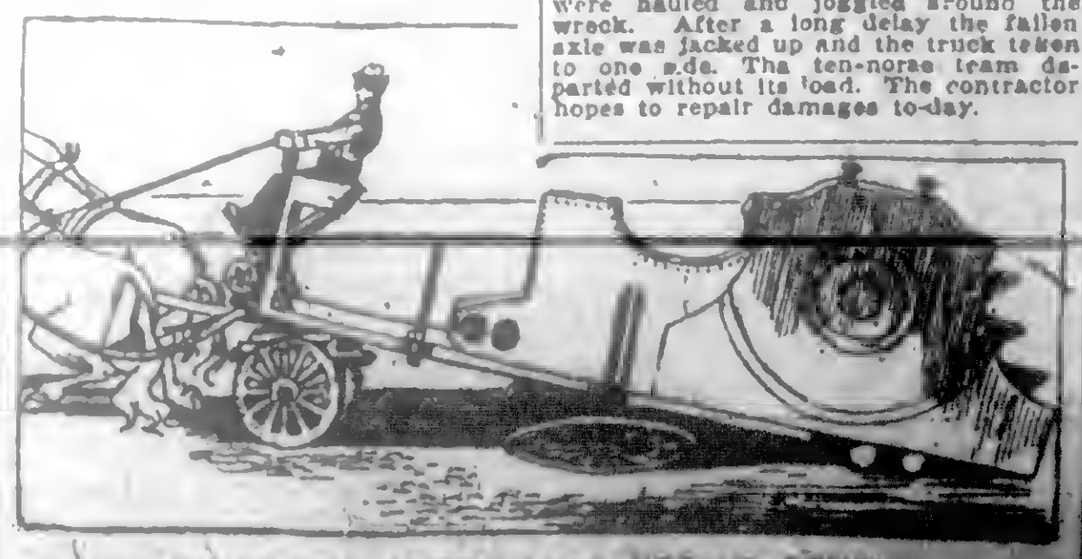
The son Virgil, who is twenty years old, was arrested and confessed that he murdered his mother to get money to spend on a variety actress.

The young man had packed his trunk and had had the furniture insured, and with the money he expected to leave Texas as soon as the fire insurance could be adjusted.

Honest Cabman Has a Lost Watch.

John Wackarman is the name of an honest hack driver at West Brighton, Coney Island. For two weeks past he has been trying to find the owner of a diamond-studded watch, left in his coach at Manhattan Beach.

He can't sleep and take care of it, he says.



M'LARNON'S 22-TON LOAD BREAKS DOWN.

Mrs. Kelly said she had three other children, the eldest a girl of seventeen, who earned $5 a week with a firm in New York. Little of this was left after paying ferriage and carfare. The other children earned nothing.

Mrs. Kelly told Justice Kramer that if the two boys were put away she would be able to care for her husband and the others.

Two little ones clung to their mother's garments and implored her not to send them away.

"I will be a big boy soon, mamma," said Willie, the elder, "and I will work to support you."

Tears rolled down the little fellow's cheeks, and even Justice Kramer drew a handkerchief across his eyes.

"Judge," said little Joseph, "I am only five years old. Don't let my mother put me away. If she will keep me a few years I will go to school, and when I am big enough I will give her all the money I earn."

Agent Meyer, of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, said he believed the boys would be better cared for in some institution than at home. The woman he knew worked hard, but was unable to support her family.

Justice Kramer said he would place the boys in the care of the Children's Society. Agent Meyer advanced to take the children from their mother, but they resisted and refused to go with him.

Their mother tearfully pushed the sobbing children from her and hurried from the court-room.

GAMBLER DIVED TO DEATH.

Excursionists on the City of Worcester Say Hefferman Had Lost Heavily at Roulette.

The Norwich line steamboat City of Worcester made an excursion from Greenport, L. I., to Newport on Sunday. Most of those who went on the outing were from Brooklyn. Passengers who returned yesterday said that a young man named Hefferman, crazed by drink and heavy losses from playing at roulette, jumped overboard into Long Island Sound on the way back.

A boat was lowered, and the steamer's searchlight was turned on the water for an hour, but nothing more was seen of the man.

The manager of the excursion said that Hefferman had attempted to jump into the walking-beam opening, and that his friends promised to look out for him.

The officials of the Norwich line said yesterday that no gambling is allowed on their boats.

Mrs. Letts, who keeps a cafe at No. 33 Clinton street, thinks the young man was Michael J. Hefternan, who was formerly employed by her as a bartender.

An official report of the suicide is expected when the City of Worcester arrives from New London to-day.

M'LARNON'S LUCK PURSUES HIM.

Big Machinery Truck Breaks Down Again on Familiar Ground Under 22 Tons of Load.

"McLarnon's Bad Luck," they call the block on Seventh avenue between Thirty-second and Thirty-third streets. It seems a fatal block for him.

McLarnon is the man who carts the heavy stones and machinery about the city. He had a champion load last night. It was a steel casting, weighing twenty-two tons, the bed plate for the machinery which will make power for the Fourth Avenue underground trolley line.

With his strongest truck and ten horses, McLarnon came up Thirty-seventh street to Seventh avenue, from the dock to the power-house, and then turned onto the downtown street car tracks.

At "McLarnon's Luck," a bind wheel of the truck went all to smash, the casting was thrown down and the front wheels tilted two feet in the air.

Here was a pickle! The drivers cursed, but this didn't restore the wheel. Crowds gathered and watched the fun. Cars piled up behind the truck, but were hauled and joggled around the wreck. After a long delay the fallen axle was jacked up and the truck taken to one side. The ten-horse team departed without its load. The contractor hopes to repair damages to-day.

had [illegible] from the Hotel [illegible] erskill to hunt small game and particularly [illegible] far-famed [illegible] They found game scarce and after shooting ten gray squirrels decided to turn home.

Turning their steps towards the rugged old Kaaterskill Mountain they started homeward. They had walked several miles when the guide slipped on a loose stone and fell. His arms, but uttering a yell sank back again. He had sprained his ankle.

After a brief rest he was assisted to his feet by Knight. Leaning on his young companion's shoulder the guide hobbled on slowly and painfully.

Suddenly Deutcher grasped Knight's arm excitedly and telling him to remain quiet pointed to a log at the right of them. The log was decayed and had been torn asunder, the pieces of dry punk being scattered about the ground for several feet.

"Some animal has done that," whispered the old guide. They circled about the log in search of traces.

"Bear?" queried young Knight with suppressed excitement.

"Bears! Three of 'em, an old un and two young uns," said the guide. "I'd like to take a big bear skin back with me when I go," said the youth eagerly.

"Well, I dunno. Might as well try fer a shot at the pesky critters," replied the guide.

The trail of the bears was found and followed cautiously. The black bear of the Catskills will run from a man if it has the chance to escape. If it is cornered, and especially if it has young, it will fight to the death.

In the excitement of the chase the old guide forgot his injured ankle. The trail led to a spring hole and there, in the soft and spongy ground around the hole, could be plainly seen the huge footprints of the old bear and the smaller tracks of cubs.

After an hour or so of exhausting effort the hunters arrived at the foot of a cliff that rose above them 200 feet, apparently barring further progress.

Gritting his teeth and uttering maledictions on his unhappy plight the mountaineer said:

"We'll climb the rock, Knight. I mean to try for a shot at that old b'ar if I kin get near her."

Toiling upward they scaled the cliff. As they stood on a rocky plateau resting for a moment the growl of a bear was heard. Not fifty feet from them the hunters saw her. She was standing upright with her legs outstretched. Her big yellow teeth showed in sharp relief against the dull red of her heavy jaws. Close to the bear was an old pine, up which the cubs had climbed at the first warning growl.

Behind the hunters, as they faced their quarry, was a precipice. For both the men and the bear retreat was cut off.

"Quick; fire after I do, my boy," said the guide, as he raised his gun.

Knight, trembling and excited, caught the trigger of his gun in the branches of a small bush and exploded it. The guide fired immediately point blank at the bear and she charged at the hunters. The guide dodged and escaped. Knight was struck a glancing blow by one of the forepaws of the infuriated animal and hurled perilously near the edge of the cliff.

A snarl from the cubs in the tree caused the old bear to turn. As she did so Deutcher fired his second barrel at her, the heavy charge of shot striking her in the right flank. Knight, who had regained his feet, took careful aim at the brute and fired, striking her in a vital spot.

Wounded to the death the shaggy animal charged at Knight, who stood his ground. She struck him on the shoulder with her claws, tearing his coat sleeve and deeply lacerating his arm. So great was her momentum that the animal lost her equilibrium and fell headlong over the cliff.

The hunters descended the cliff safely and made their way to Tannersville. A party of hunters started for the scene in hopes of meeting the male bear. They failed to find him, but skinned the dead bear and brought the skin home to young Knight. The cubs were not found, although the hunters searched long for them.

KAHN-KAHN IN TRENTON.

Two Sisters Marry Two Brothers and the Family Name Goes All Around.

TRENTON, N. J., Aug. 16.—Samuel and Jacob Kahn, haberdashers here, surprised their friends two months ago by announcing their engagement to two New York women of the same name. The brothers had declared themselves for bachelorhood. But early in May, the two pretty and accomplished daughters of Elkan Kahn, a New York music dealer, living at No. 179 East Eighty-fifth street, visited Trenton and soon [illegible] suicidal course.

On Sunday Miss Emma Kahn was married to Samuel Kahn, and Miss Jennie Kahn was married to Jacob Kahn. The families are not related.

Sought Death for More Wages.

Louis Reitmeyer, forty years old, No. 297 First avenue, fearful that he could not support his wife and three children because his wages as a weight puller in a Bleecker street [illegible] had been [illegible] cut, [illegible] sulphuric acid. [illegible]

88

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

88012005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman: Rochester Anarchist Has Broken Out Once More / Emma Goldman.— p. 10 ; 29 cm. *In* The Rochester Union and Advertiser. — (Aug. 21, 1897).

Obtained from the Rochester Public Library, Rochester, NY.

Aug 21, 1897
p10
Vol 72 No. 198

10 THE

EMMA GOLDMAN

Rochester Anarchist Has Broken Out Once More.

Addressed a Big Meeting That Celebrated the Assassination of Canovas.

Gloried in the Death of the Spanish Leader, Denounced President McKinley and Predicted Murders.

Emma Goldman, Rochester's representative in the ranks of the Anarchists of New York, has broken out again and is advocating murder and carnage as a cure for the great evil of government and law. The woman has been quiet for some time, but has seized upon the assassination of Canovas in Spain as a chance to once more attract attention to herself and doctrines.

She first attracted attention in this city when she lived on Hebard avenue with her parents at the time of the anarchist riots in Chicago. In wild harangues at that time and at meetings held in the rooms of the Liberty men and women who believed that the gang of Reds in Chicago and the prisoners at the Haymarket were martyrs and martyrs. A little later she went to New York and became identified with Herr Most and the A. of his kind, making speeches nightly at their meetings and denouncing law and order without stint. She got into trouble with the police and finally had a row with Most, after which she came to this city and was very quiet for a time. Lately however, she went to New York again and now she is one of the king bees of the anarchists there. The woman can speak, and is therefore a leader.

Her last appearance was made a few nights ago when she made a rabid speech at a meeting held in Clarendon Hall in Thirteenth street for the purpose of "celebrating the death of the leading despot of Spain, Canovas del Castillo, executed by Anarchist Michael Angelo Golli." It was a big meeting. The police were present, but did not interfere. The red flag was not displayed. The speakers called the police "dogs" and "thieves," but the officers said nothing. The Goldman woman evidently wanted the officers to interfere, for she was especially violent in her language toward them.

A consumptive little man named H.

Events of To-

Cook Opera House— "
Jack Turner's—Bag p contest between Louis Geisler Kennedy.

been allowed to live so atrocious acts, inhuman almend conception, against Cubans Americans, deserve death. He mur Dr. Ruiz, an American citizen. America going to do about it" ain for $50,000. Shame on such ly country, I say!

"Do you think that kill the brave Golli they will put Anarchy! The silence of the mart archists of Chicago in their gra were eloquent than were their they lived. Woe unto of the world! We have thousa Gollis!"

The crowd had cheer hoarse by the time that the G finished speaking. When Chairm got up to adjourn the meeting man got up and shouted in Engl

"Long live Anarchy!"

The crowd echoed the ment in a.. tongues as it filed out of the hall.

AMONG THE CENTUR -FIENDS.

The Best Saddle for the Seeker After a Chain of Century Bars.

New York Journal.

It would be imagined that of all bicycle riders none would seek comfort more assiduously than the confirmed century crank. Each week or each fortnight it is his pleasure to trundle fifty miles out of the city and back to gratify his craving for a chain of century bars. Encountering all kinds of roads nothing would be more natural than to take it for granted he would seek to make the trip at the least possible discomfort to himself. The kind of saddle therefore that the average centurian rides naturally interests wheelmen in general.

On a ferryboat crossing the East river not long ago about 100 bicycles were leaning against the sides of the deck house. They were covered with mud and dust. They appeared to have seen hard service during the day. Appearances were not deceptive, for all of them had just returned from a century run along the route of Long Island's south shore. A tour of inspection was made of the double line of wheels to gratify curiosity as to the kind of saddles used. In all the bunch there were but three padded saddles. The remainder were the ordinary plain leather affairs, sold with the average wheel, jockey saddles, etc. In these instances, broad women's saddles on wheels ridden by men blessed with more than usual weight.

A week or two after another inspection

QUBBR OC

People Who Ga
in Original

This City Produced
Dressmakers, the
and the Fren

The Professional
"Cheerer"—Paid
the Hands an

Rochester has al
rank in the matter
who follow queer
the first men dres
try was a Rochester
a business in this cit
When it was seen th
men dressmakers
places. The lady
prodection to a great
she never became
she was a success,
cities have since go
of shaving and hai
a novelty, they do a
as a rule they can ha
as a man. Another
was that of the man
idea. This startled
and caused the p
heard.

Rochester is not
and pole climbers,
sentatives of this
ons of Chauncey J
Sloody. This occup
to wears new, is
and the representati
to attract attention
peculiar part of th
climber's occupation
to speak, on poles
the city and not fall
ers who they need

Not many years a
dime novel was in de
who liked story tale
few young men who
ence by writing thr
bishers would send
print of a cut that
front page of the
was to write a story
which certainly made
fation a queer one.

The list of queer
city will be almost
ed and it will

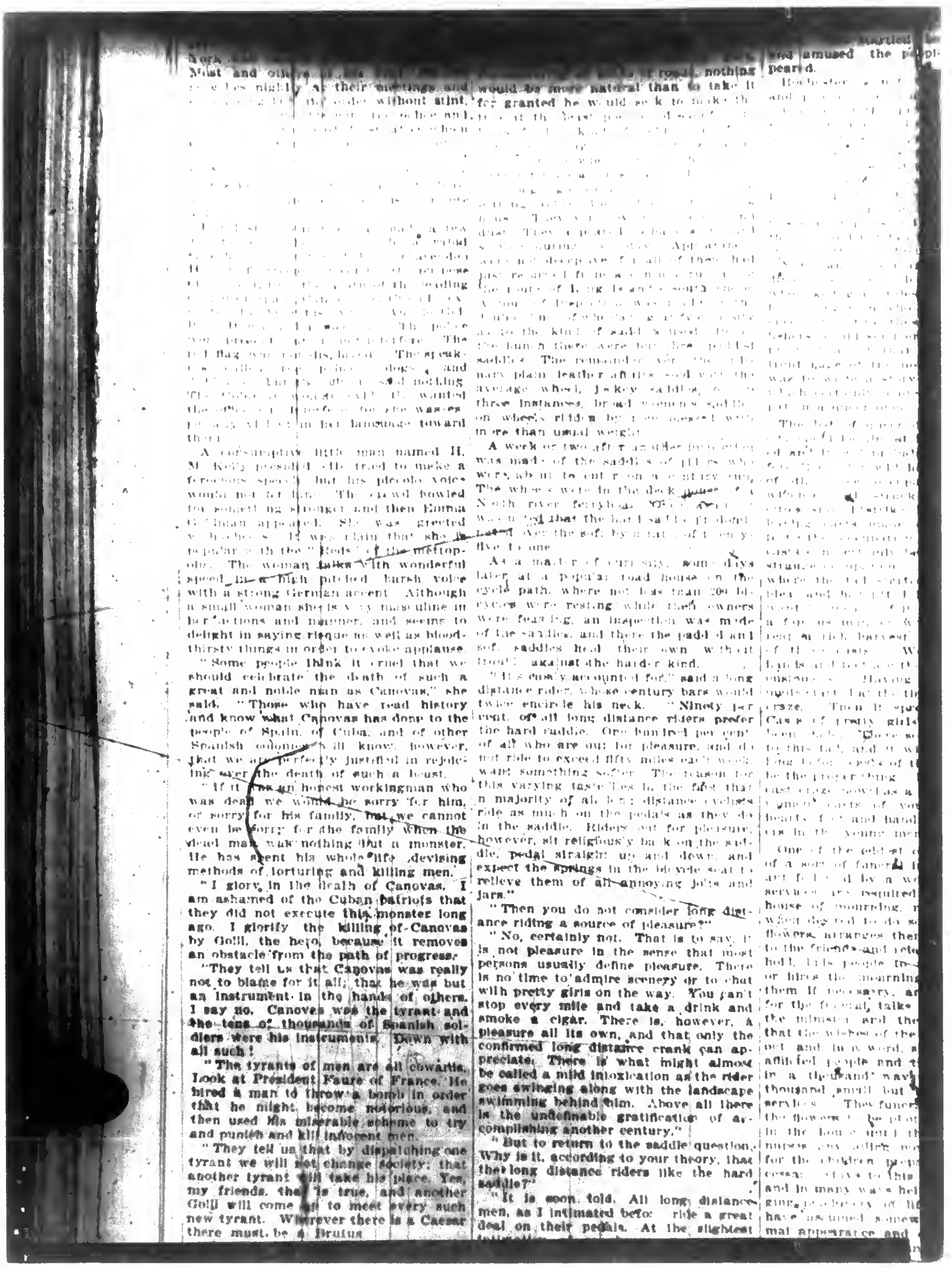
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

88012005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman: Rochester Anarchist Has Broken Out Once More / Emma Goldman.— p. 10 ; 29 cm. *In* The Rochester Union and Advertiser. — (Aug. 21, 1897).

Obtained from the Rochester Public Library, Rochester, NY.



Dark
Next and other
nothing
nightly at their meetings and would be more natural than to take it
without stint, for granted he would ask to make th
and amused the peopl
pear d.
without
and
and
and

88012005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman: Rochester Anarchist Has Broken Out Once More / Emma Goldman.— p. 10 ; 29 cm. *In* The Rochester Union and Advertiser. — (Aug. 21, 1897).

Obtained from the Rochester Public Library, Rochester, NY.

...t's glory.'

am ashamed of the Cuban patriots ... they did not execute this monster long ... I don't like the killing of Canovas ... the tyrant and ... of Spanish sol... diers ... to his ... Down with ... such.'

... are ... Weyler ... Prince of France ... hired ... a beer ... in order ... the notorious ... scheme to try ... and kill Gomez.

... they expect ... we will ... that ... the tyrant will take his place. Yes, my friends, that is true, and another ... will come up to meet every such ... tyrant. Wherever there is a Caesar ... must be a Brutus.

It seems to me that this glorious and free country is in great sympathy with Canovas. Otherwise they would not send so many policemen and detectives here to watch us to-night. I do not blame the policemen. They find it easier to stand around a corner talking a club and watching for a chance to crack some honest man's skull with it than they do to go to work in the shops for twelve or fourteen hours a day. Some of them may be good men. There is honor even among thieves, you know.

"The authorities of this country, including President McKinley and Mark Hanna, who promised you prosperity a few months ago but are giving you starvation, are shedding crocodile tears over the death of Canovas. In their minds they are perhaps saying to themselves: 'Maybe I will be the next.'

"This man McKinley said he had Cuba's cause at heart before he was elected. Now he is expressing his sorrow over the death of this Canovas, who has killed thousands of our Cuban friends.

"If this man Canovas believed in a heaven he is probably sailing on the right hand of the throne now, telling the angels all about his life. All tyrants go there, I believe. All of us anarchists, free-thinkers, revolutionists and philosophers go to hell, and we have a lively time there. When I die I would rather go to hell than to heaven.

"It is a shame, I say, that we cannot hold a peaceable meeting here unmolested. Look at the hatchetmen around you. I understand that they are here to make an arrest if they find any excuse for doing it. Well, I will not bridle my tongue one bit, even at the risk of having one of them put his delicate hand on my shoulder and say 'Come with me.'

"Canovas is not the only man who will have to die violently before the social revolution is accomplished. There are hundreds of people all over the world only waiting for the opportunity to show that they are tired of despotism and tyranny.

"It seems to me queer that such a contemptible wretch as Gen. Weyler has ...

"Then you do not consider long distance riding a source of pleasure?"

"No, certainly not. The ... of pleasure ... of interest or distress ... the Prince ... Imperial ... riding a ... swimming to his ... the unfortunate ... of a ... perishing another century.

But to return to the subject under discussion. Why is it, do you think, that the ... the long distance riders like the hard saddle?"

It is soon told. All long distance men as I intimated before ... a great deal on their pedals. At the slightest ... inattention ... roughness on the road they are up and out of the saddle and do not permit the body to receive the shock. Naturally, therefore, they care very little whether or not the bicycle seat is padded. Probably no reason, however, unless it is a question of weight, influences riders more than the matter of heat. On a hot day a padded saddle is not so comfortable as a hard seat. So far as weight is concerned, you know there are some riders who would sit on a lath if it could only be made strong enough, in order to be rid of a pound or two on the machine."



Dusty Dan—Yer seem ter be purty solid wid dat cook over dere. Wot's de reason?

Roving Rufe—You see we both rides de same make of wheel

Don't Miss Glen Haven To-Day or Sunday.

Balloon ascension, by Prof. Allen; King of the Black Wire Prince Schuman; sensational acts on wheels, skates and stilts, Albert Waltz. All free. Go from your home. The Glen Haven cars run direct to the Glen.

Reduced Rates to New York State Fair

August 23d to 28th, both dates included, the New York Central will sell reduced rate tickets to Syracuse and return, including admission to the grounds. Tickets good on all but limited trains.

... Rochester has its pr... tainer. The man ent... perintendent's fair the ... men's for the affair ... sible for the enjoyme... ment of the guests, a... such himself. The w... does present; the same ... her other duties that ... the arrangements of the ... ing of salads, and ... kind; she plays the p... desired, starts games ... and keeps the ball rollin... last guest has departed ... tal when she started ... was a couple of hands... delightful manner; now ... extensive wardrobe, h... bank and is making ... tended European tour.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881018003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Meeting of the Anarchists / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 28 cm.
In The New York Times. – (Aug. 23, 1897).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

stories high. The horses were saved. The loss is $1,200

Drowning Man Rescued by Bathers.

James Moran, who lives at 433 West Forbeth Street, was rescued from drowning at Coney Island yesterday by two fellow-bathers. Moran was one of a number who hired suits at the Corbett pavilion soon after noon yesterday. He ventured beyond the life lines, was seized with cramps, became unconscious, and was drowning when William Shenton of Hopkinson Avenue and Park Place and James Cavanagh of Bloomfield, N. J., rescued him and summoned Dr. Cullen of the seaside ambulance service, who restored him to a condition to reach home.

One of a Fishing Party Lost.

ELIZABETH, N. J., Aug. 22.—When the Elizabeth Anglers left this city last night to go to the fishing banks, one of the excursionists was Archibald Stalker. When off Romer Shoals he fell overboard and was drowned. He was missed shortly after he fell overboard and the boat put about and the rest of the night was spent in searching for his body. Early this morning the party returned to this city. Stalker was a popular man and a leading member of the Chas Gordon, U. S. C.

Boat Capsized and a Woman Drowned

MONUMENT, Mass., Aug. 22.—Miss Mary Kelleher, forty-five, a domestic in the employ of B. E. Jones, a Summer resident here, while getting into a small rowboat from a yacht yesterday was thrown into the water by the boat capsizing and was drowned. Her body was washed ashore this morning. Another woman of the party fell into the water, but was rescued by Robert Burgess.

Heavy Rain in Bridgeport.

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., Aug. 22.—A shower of unusual severity passed over this city this morning between 2:30 and 4 o'clock, the rainfall in an hour being 1.97 inches. Much damage was done, and many cellars were flooded on account of sewers being unable to carry away the water. In many places the streets were badly washed.

Her Bicycle Slipped.

Just after it rained last evening, Nellie Sweeney, nineteen years old, tried to ride along Madison Avenue on the wet asphalt. At Sixty-eighth Street the bicycle slipped, and the young woman fell, her nose was broken. She was removed to her home at 42 East One Hundred and Thirty-second Street.

Bishop McDonnell's House Struck.

In the storm last night, lightning struck the three-story brick dwelling at 171 Twenty-seventh Street, Brooklyn. The house is occupied by Mrs. Catherine Healy and was damaged to the extent of $30. It is owned by Bishop McDonnell.

EVIL OF PELAGIC SEALING

Commissioner Jordan Tells of Continued Shrinkage of Herds on Breeding and Hunting Grounds.

PREDICTIONS ALL VERIFIED

Decrease Sure to Continue Until 1900 —Branding of Young Females to Begin After the First of September.

PORTLAND, Oregon, Aug. 22.—Dr. David Starr Jordan, Commissioner in Chief of the fur seal investigations, and George A. Clark, Secretary of the commission, arrived in Seattle on the revenue cutter Rush, Capt. W. H. Roberts commanding, and passed through here to-day, going to San Francisco. The party left Unalaska on the morning of Aug. 13. Dr. Jordan reports the satisfactory completion of the Summer's investigations by the Commissioners.

Mr. Macoun, the Canadian Commissioner, had already left the Pribilof Islands, and the British Commissioner, Prof. Thompson, was about to leave on H. M. S. Ampion. Mr. Lucas of the American Commission remained behind for a week or ten days and will go direct to San Francisco on the steamer Del Norte. President Jordan said, speaking directly regarding the results of his latest investigations. "The breeding grounds show a shrinkage of about 15 per cent. over the conditions of last season, the hunting grounds a shrinkage of 33 per cent. This is about what was predicted by the American Commission last year, and its conclusions are fully vindicated in all important regards.

"The primary cause of shrinkage of females on the breeding ground is the pelagic catch of last Fall and this Spring. To this is added the loss due to starvation of orphaned pups in 1894, which should this year have lived to give birth to their first pups. This starvation in 1894, affecting, as it did in a like measure the male herd, is the cause of the diminution of the killable seals on the hunting grounds.

"The decline of the herd is everywhere more distinctly marked than it was last year owing to the effects of the resumption of pelagic killing in Bering Sea after the modus vivendi of 1893. For 1898 the shrinkage will be still greater. The evil effects of pelagic sealing in any particular year are still more clearly felt three and four years after. Even if pelagic sealing should be stopped at once, the decline of the herds must go on until after 1900.

MEETING OF THE ANARCHISTS.

Emma Goldman Glorifies Golli's Assassination of Canovas del Castillo and Says He Deserved Death.

The meeting held last Monday night in Clarendon Hall to glorify the death of Canovas by Golli, the Anarchist, was discussed last night at 1,524 Avenue A. There were twenty-five persons present, a majority of whom were Anarchists. The most prominent one was Emma Goldman, who made a speech in which she reiterated her statement that she was glad that Canovas was dead.

There were several discussions as a result of the topic which was presented by C. B. Cooper. He declared that in his opinion it was not right to glorify the death of any one, not even Canovas, whom he believed to be a despot. The speaker said he thought that it was the opportunity to advance the propaganda of the Anarchists and not open the subject for attack. Anarchy, he said, stood for truth and not bloodshed, as the people at large believe, and the ideas should be made clear.

A. R. Welker agreed with the previous speaker in the matter.

Miss Goldman stood by the action of the speakers last Monday night.

"The object of Anarchists is to tell the truth," said she, "and there is no doubt that a majority of the people are satisfied with the death of Canovas. Now, if they are pleased, why not say so in public? That is what I always do, and we ought to. It is strange that Anarchists should pay any attention to the criticisms of the press, or our enemies. We have spoken the truth and are bound to have opposition. Golli's act was humanitarian because Canovas deserved the death he met.

"I am an Anarchist from head to foot. We must and do resist things that do not satisfy us. We expect our meetings to be broken up and prohibited. I do not care for the police or opposition, and the more I have the more I will work for my cause. They may kill Anarchists, but not Anarchy."

DAY OF BLOODSHED AT UNITY.

Three Fights and a General Riot to Wind Up in a Pennsylvania Negro Camp.

PITTSBURG, Aug. 22.—Unity, a camp of Negro workmen employed in building the new Pittsburg, Bessemer and Lake Erie Railroad, is keeping up its reputation for riot and bloodshed. The report comes from there to-night of a small riot during the day and three or four individual fights, in which one man was fatally shot and wounds inflicted on a large number of others. It is said that nearly all the men in the camp

SILVER MEN IN SESSION

Progressive Democrats Appoint Delegates and Name Campaign Committee.

SECRETARY CASSIDY OUSTED

Plea for Reconciliation Between Two Factions Not Heeded—Democracy Must Indorse Chicago Platform—Only Few Tammany Delegates Present.

The anti-Tammany faction of the Progressive Democratic League, which walked out of Flannery's Hall when President Saunders adjourned the meeting in the midst of a fight on Sunday, the 15th inst., tried to hold a love feast yesterday afternoon at Teutonia Hall, in Third Avenue, near Sixteenth Street. The Oliver-Tammany faction remained behind in Flannery's Hall at that time, reopened the meeting after the bolt, and punished President Saunders by declaring the office of President vacant. Yesterday the anti-Tammany faction retaliated by doing the same with Secretary Cassidy, who had remained with the Tammanyites, and also declared him expelled from the league.

Only a few of the Tammany delegates attended the Teutonia Hall meeting yesterday, and when one of them ventured to express the opinion that it was an irregular meeting, he was forced to sit down, and a motion was made to put him out of the hall. He was, however, allowed to remain, a mute spectator.

The meeting began in a very harmonious spirit, and President Saunders, in his opening address, congratulated the delegates upon the absence of the disturbing element. Then he denounced the leaders of the Tammany faction, characterizing them as short-sighted, foolish, and vain men, who are itching to see their names in print as officers; ambitious men, whose only thoughts are of themselves, and who, when they cannot rule, try to ruin. In meetings they will repeatedly rise to points of order and create cliques, rings, and factions to carry their points.

President Saunders's Exhortation.

The expression of these sentiments was applauded, and the Chairman proceeded to exhort those present to stand by the banner of the league until death. He then told them that the row on the previous Sunday

MATRIMONIAL [illegible]

Many Clerks and Few Lawyers are Unhappily Married in England—Singular Divorce Statistics.

From The London Telegraph.

Statistics of matrimonial infelicity are melancholy reading, but, since it is only by a careful study of them that the various classes of the community can discover the comparative force of—and so, perhaps, eventually resist—the impulse which urges them respectively in the direction of the divorce court, all married couples ought, no doubt, to nerve themselves for an examination of the figures. To clerks and their consorts in particular is this advice applicable, for clerks, we are sorry to say, head the list of suitors in matrimonial cases, though builders and carpenters, bracketed equal, run them a pretty good second. There were thirty-eight of the former calling in the cause list for 1895, and thirty each of the two latter. Publicans and merchant seamen and officers follow next with twenty-one, soldiers and naval seamen with eighteen, farmers with sixteen, coachmen, cabmen, and carters with fifteen, and commercial travelers with twelve. The professions, it is encouraging to notice, come far behind the trades. There are only ten physicians and surgeons, only five solicitors, and only two schoolmasters and two journalists, while the rear of the list is brought up by a solitary barrister. This last item of information is, perhaps, not surprising. The bar, if not actually behind the scenes—as some of them in each case must be—sit too near the stage to find the drama of matrimonial litigation attractive. Perhaps even this solitary barrister was not a voluntary litigant. He may have been a co-respondent, and this brings us, by the way, to what is by far the most surprising feature in the whole of these statistics—so surprising, indeed, that we should not wonder if by one of the two sexes it were pronounced incredible. We refer to the fact that the aggrieved party in a matrimonial suit proves nearly three times out of five to be the husband. Only 220 wives found occasion to petition the court for release from the connubial bond, whereas the same application had to be made by as many as 853 husbands. What does the advanced woman who pleads for relief from the tyranny of the marriage law say to that? The wives, at least, seem very well able to correct the hardship of their lot by taking the law into their own hands.

BAIREUTH UP TO DATE.

Famous and Fashionable Audiences Have Blemished the Charm of the Musical Shrine.

From The London Chronicle.

"The curse of the Ring," [illegible] tor," has fallen on Bayreuth, where is played the great [illegible] convention is now besieged by [illegible] the conventionalities. The [illegible] life of the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890112000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Her Comrades Rebuke Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— p. 10 ; 28 cm. *In* The New York Tribune. —(Aug. 23, 1897).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

A HOBOKEN PARTY CALLS FOR AID AND IS RESCUED BY A FISHING-SMACK CAPTAIN.

Superintendent A. K. Bonta, of the Hudson Electric Light Company, of Hoboken, and Mrs. Bonta and a party of friends, ten in all, left that city on Saturday for a trip around Staten Island. Captain Swinburne lost his bearings at 9 p. m., and the yacht, the Adele, went ashore. The whistles were blown for an hour and twenty-two minutes, and attracted the attention of the captain of the fishing smack S. B. Miller, who took Mr. Bonta and his guests aboard and conveyed them to Thirty-ninth-st., this city. The Adele was floated at 2 o'clock yesterday morning and was towed to Hoboken, where she will go into drydock. Her bottom was scraped and her steering gear was disarranged.

HER COMRADES REBUKE EMMA GOLDMAN

SHE STANDS ALONE AT AN ANARCHIST MEETING IN GLORIFYING THE ASSASSINATION OF CANOVAS.

An Anarchist meeting held last Monday night in Clarendon Hall to glorify the assassination of Canovas del Castillo was discussed last night at No. 1,524 Avenue A. There were twenty-five persons present, a majority of whom were Anarchists. The most prominent was Emma Goldman, who made a speech in which she reiterated that she was glad that Canovas was dead. There were a number of discussions as a result of the topic, which was presented by C. B. Cooper. He declared that in his opinion it was not right to glorify the killing of any one, not even Canovas, whom he believed to be a despot. The speaker said he believed that this was the opportunity to advance the propaganda of the Anarchists and not lay them open to attack. Anarchy, he said, stood for truth and not bloodshed.

A. R. Welker agreed with the speaker. "It was bad taste," he said, "to glorify Canovas's death, and it is foolish to advance any argument for his taking off, as it does not help our case. While it is true if men stand in the way of progress, they should be removed, we gain nothing by gloating over it."

Miss Goldman stood by the action of the speakers last Monday night. "The object of Anarchists is to tell the truth," said she, "and there is no doubt but what a majority of the people are satisfied with the death of Canovas. If they are pleased, why not say so in public? That is what I always do. It is strange that Anarchists should pay any attention to the criticisms of the press of our enemies. Golli's act was humanitarian, because Canovas deserved the death he met. I am an Anarchist from head to foot. We must and do resist things that do not satisfy us. We expect our meetings to be broken up and prohibited. I do not care for the police or opposition, and the more I have, the more I will work for my cause. They may kill Anarchists, but not Anarchy."

There were several other addresses, but Miss Goldman was the only one to advocate the principle of publicly glorifying the Spanish Premier's assassination. Other speakers expressed the belief that a better end would have been accomplished if the doctrine of Anarchy had been explained and the causes for Canovas's removal through his tyranny made clear.

HANGED FROM A BRIDGE.

Williamsburg, Ky., Aug. 21.—Elcany Sullivan, convicted yesterday of criminal assault on Sarah Lawson, and sentenced to twenty years in the penitentiary, was taken from jail last night by a mob and hanged on the timbers of the county bridge across the Cumberland River. The lynching occurred at 1 o'clock this morning.

declared, and every patriotic Spaniard feels with him, that the fate of the country must not depend upon the life or death of any man. The man may die, but the political doctrines which he represents survive. The political doctrine which Canovas represented—constitutional liberty for the people and the maintenance of the national integrity—is the doctrine of all patriotic Spaniards to-day, which is the same as saying that it is the doctrine of the nation. For this reason the Government of the Queen Regent, which also represents this doctrine, has the support of the nation, including Republicans and even Carlists, for Mr. Cortina will not deny that Queen Christina counts to-day among her stanch friends and supporters former ardent advocates and defenders of the Carlist cause. And Castelar, the leader of the Republican party, has emphatically declared his adhesion to the present Government, as that best calculated, under existing circumstances, to secure the prosperity and the happiness of Spain.

What is deeply to be regretted, however, and what must always continue to be matter for regret, is that Señor Canovas did not live to see the work of political emancipation for Spain and for Cuba which he did so much to further, crowned by the inauguration in Cuba in November next, as he had planned, of autonomic rule.

M. S.

New-York, Aug. 14, 1897.

THE COMPLAINTS OF BARREN ISLAND

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: On the 4th inst. I wrote Colonel Waring thus:

My Dear Colonel: The residents from Barren Island recently [illegible] a pleasant run on a harbor. I am told that they resent from the treatment of New York garbage and are within your jurisdiction. How is it? He replied that he would go down and see about it. If he did so he has not communicated to me the result of his visit; but I saw the statement you printed in the 12th. As the subject of our correspondence is of public interest, I am not content to leave the matter here.

I wrote the Colonel more fully on the 14th and have no reply. That a man of intelligence upon no better grounds than a clear statement of facts should proceed deliberately to adjudge thousands of his fellows as intelligent as himself to be no better than simple fools, is to take a large contract, a contract which will grow larger as time goes on. I have lived here in this house, for twenty-two years. When I came here I found that the stenches of Barren Island had come long before me and I know that they have ever since been an established and familiar institution here. They come not continuously, but at very irregular and sometimes at widely separated intervals, but when they do come they are here in their might. No Egyptian plague ever occupied bed-chambers and closets more effectively. Every sense seems assaulted at once. Colonel Waring would hardly confront us at such a moment; to insist that not one of us all has either a nose or a brain—that he alone has these. Nor has there ever been more room to doubt the origin of this atrocity than there was to doubt the origin of the unmentionable offal with which for so many years the city's dumping scows daily decked our bathing beaches. We had officials in those days, also, who gayly told us that we imagined the unmentionable offal.

It is but a few weeks ago that I read a printed account, which it might be worth the Colonel's time to contradict if he can. It appeared in a reputable journal, and purported to give the facts found by its reporter at the Colonel's Barren Island works. It asserted that he found them and there all the stenches complained of, and it proceeded to explain just how these stenches resulted from the processes then used. It asserted that the stenches thus found were not only admitted but explained, by his representatives then in charge, who evidenced the sincerity of their regrets by the assurance that improved processes were soon to be tried, with the hope that the just grounds of complaint might be largely diminished. And it is a fact that since I wrote the Colonel my first note with politeness which really the intention was far from what is printed. In local matters this is serious, but in international affairs it becomes disastrous. Statements made by men in official position should bear their signature. There would be fewer thoughtless or hasty speeches.

Toledo, Ohio, Aug. 16, 1897. G. E. POMEROY.

DR. STIMSON LIKES THE NORTHFIELD REPORTS

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I want to thank the Tribune for the Northfield reports. I hear from numbers of my congregation of different classes and widely scattered in the summer that they have been unprecedentedly read.

HENRY A. STIMSON,
Pastor Manhattan Congregational Church, Eighty-third-st. and Boulevard.

Gloucester, Mass., Aug. 18, 1897.

ELEIS CHOATES PIGEON WING

From The Harrisburg (Pa.) Spirit.

In the long ago and-before-the-war days, when Southern statesmen made the summer headquarters at the noted Virginia springs, where the planters came up from the Carolinas, Kentucky, Georgia and Mississippi in their carriages, with great baggage trains and a retinue of servants, and when they came June 1 and stayed until frost fell, those were gay old times at the mountain resorts, which life was worth the pain of living.

Beginning with the first register in 1835 and coming down to 1850, one finds a succession of historical names. There are the Bonifers, the Dickenses and the Hamiltons of the Carolinas, the Clays and Marshalls and Crittendens, of Kentucky, Corwin and Ewing and Trimble, of Ohio, the Choates and Websters and Pierces, of New-England, Dickinson, Marcy and Dallas, of the Middle States, Cass and Douglas and Benton, from the far West, the Rhetts, Calhoun, Prestons and a galaxy of bright names from Virginia, the Carrolls from Maryland, and a host of others whose names have rendered American history illustrious. Here these old notables came in their shad-bellied coats and sideboard collars and a proper, dignified time they had of it, as they imbibed their sulphur water and mint juleps together and talked politics. It was away back in 1835, when there must have been something in the wind of importance to the Whig party, on a musty old page of the hotel register of that year, in that fine, almost feminine handwriting that is familiar to all who read this inscription: H. Clay, Kentucky; while among the next day's arrivals are Rufus Choate, Massachusetts; Thomas Corwin, Ohio; William C. Rives, Virginia, and Millard Fillmore, New-York.

Those were the days when the making of a julep was an art as well as a domestic accomplishment. The night before Mr. Clay's departure from the springs he gave a banquet in his cottage to his friends. Fortunately, there is still a living eyewitness to that entertainment, and if his description can be relied upon it was a gala event that transcends all modern showouts. Old Uncle Jimmie Patterson, the venerable gatekeeper, who has been an attaché of the White Sulphur from time immemorial, was the floor servant on the row in which the Clay cottage was located, and helped to serve the banquet. He says that the deportment of the host and the guests was eminently proper until about the hour of midnight, but from that time of the night until morning dawned there was a high old time on the premises. When the cloth had been removed and the Powhatan pipes were brought in—the degenerate practice of cigar and cigarette was not in vogue in those days—some one called for music, and a messenger was sent for a negro fiddler who soon appeared with his old-fashioned instrument. The old fiddler started in with "Money Musk," and then played "Sugar in the Gourd," but when he touched up "Miss Lelpi Hawyar," Mr. Clay stepped into the middle of the floor and gave them a Kentucky breakdown. This was a fair challenge to Mr. Choate, who followed with a New England pigeon wing. When the old negro struck the chord of "Old Virginia Never Tire," the courtly Rives, afterward Minister to France, felt that the reputation of the Old Dominion was at stake, and shedding his coat, executed the double shuffle with a skill that would make a minstrel weep with envy. And thus the fun grew fast and furious until the gray dawn peeped over the mountain tops.

sum was realized from the efforts of the s[illegible]

MOUNT VERNON.

The large fireproof building which is being erected for the use of the city at Depot Place and Fourth ave. is nearly completed, and it is expected that it will be ready for occupancy late in September.

The Union Athletic Club will hold a carnival of games on next Saturday afternoon at the club grounds, at Union ave. and Sixth-st. Prizes are to be given to successful competitors.

The Mount Vernon Driving Club will hold three races for trotting horses at the Allendale track on next afternoon, open to the 2:32 and 2:50 classes. A big programme is being prepared for Labor Day.

The young women of Pelham will give a fair on next Thursday afternoon and evening in the Town Hall. The receipts will be given to the Pelham Athletic Club for uniforms and apparatus.

The assessors of Mount Vernon are in continuous session, and expect to have the roll ready for inspection about September 1, or as soon after that date as possible. The Board announces that there will be some advance in real property, and a considerable advance in personal property, as it is using every means to ascertain the amount of personal property owned by every citizen.

PEEKSKILL.

The Board of Assessors of this town will give a public hearing in the Town Clerk's office this morning at 10 o'clock for Mr. Lloyd, tax agent of the New-York Central and Hudson River Railroad. The Board will also examine some people who they have asked to come before them. On Friday night they acted upon about fifty additional applications.

The Equalization Committee of the Board of Supervisors visited Somers on Wednesday, Yorktown on Thursday and Bedford on Friday of last week. This week the committee will visit New-Castle, North Castle and Harrison.

MAMARONECK.

The women of St. Thomas's Episcopal Church will give a festival and lawn party in the parish hall on the night of Thursday, August 26. A feature of the affair will be a bicycle show, at which prize will be given for the best-decorated wheel.

S. H. Mowbrey, of Mount Vernon, has been engaged as organist in St. Thomas's Church, and will begin on September 1. Mr. Robinson, whom he succeeds, has accepted a similar place in St. Bartholomew's Parish, New-York City.

RYE.

The Rye Protective Association has been reorganized by the election of the following officers: John R. Parsons, president; Charles A. Gould, vice president; C. Stewart Schenck, secretary; H. da Parsons, treasurer, and William H. Parsons, William A. Reed, J. Howard Wainwright, Arthur Delwyne, David S. Coles, Clarence Beckett, George R. Read, Clarence Day and J. Mayhew Wainwright, members of the Executive Committee. The object of the association is to provide necessary measures whereby the rights of residents and property-owners may be protected. The association has for its members all the well-known residents of Rye and Harrison, who pay dues not to exceed $1 a year. It is probable that its aid will be invoked to secure a reduction of the assessments of those members, whose aggregate properties have been assessed for more than $1,000,000 by the boards of these towns.

NEW-ROCHELLE.

The New-Rochelle Athletic headquarters, in Lawton-st., has been thoroughly equipped with the gymnasium apparatus recently given by Adrian Iselin, and the club anticipates a busy season. The election of officers will take place on the night of Thursday, September 2.

The fresh-air stations established by the physicians of the village have been in use one month, and in

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890210010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* The Evening Bulletin [Providence]. —(Sept. 4, 1897).

Obtained from the Providence Public Library, Providence, RI.

...the principal markets, we now show about every ...
...t the poorest is a bargain at what we ask for it. Seeing's believing; then come and let us show you the goods.

THE WINNER

at Charter Oak
ght Heats.

WIRE HALF A
IN EACH HEAT.

3-4; 2:03.—The
ted at the Slow
General Belief
Were Not Driven
Could Go.—The
ents.

Sept. 2.—To-day's
er Oak Park was
before dark. Two
to bring to an end
not, seven heats
ned Wednesday).
first heat to-day
he second in 2:18¼
Town Lady got
Time third and

y fought and most
day was the 2:14
expected to win
and Quick Turn
ge. Ambulator fin-
that third, while
Turn were dis-
beat by Quantigo,
knowing ones by
Prince Alan
the race other
apparently speed

of Abbott won the
heats. He seemed
owned the second
but Lady Carr
she was not equa-

from Joe Patchen
had been agreed
alternate at the
a penalty handed
that position. Mr.
Star Pointer, who
record deal, when
Pointer had to
to get to the wire
was done in 2:08¾,
a length ahead in

trotted in the 2:30
day was fine, and
large, about 10,000

ning will begin at
and will be made to
scheduled for the
has passed a mile
2:09¾.
disappointed in the
Pointer and Joe
three heats the
the mile and, by
first half a length
seventh and keeping
race was without
and there was a
the horses were not
by Direct Hal. There
at the new time
owners when it was
ers
others were united

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Alves: Christian Church, Hammond street—Prayer, 10; preaching 10.45 and 7:30 by W Pitt Warrecker, Conn. S S 12:30.

Allen Chapel, A street, W M Warrick, pastor—Preaching 10:30 a m, 7:45 p m by pastor. S S 12:30 p m

Asbury M E Church, J A L Rich, pastor—Prayer 9:30; preaching by pastor 10:45, S S 12:15, E L 7; evening service 7:30.

Academy Avenue Congregational Church—Preaching 10:45 a m and 7 p m by the Rev W A E Smalley. S S 12:15. J C E 4:30 p m, C E 6 p m.

A M E Mission, 430 North Main street, Rev S H Jackson, pastor—Preaching 10:30 by Mr Bazard. S S 1 p m; preaching 7:30.

Armenian Evangelical Church, at Beneficent Church—Preaching by Rev K Der Kasparian 6:30, Subj, "The Books of the Christian," S S 12:15.

All Saints Memorial Church—Morning prayer, sermon and Holy Communion 10:45.

Broadway United Presbyterian Church—Preaching by Rev H F Given 10:45, by the pastor 7:30; S S 12, Y P C U 6:45.

Branch Avenue Baptist Church—Preaching 10:45 a m and 7 p m, by Rev Josiah Tyler, Lumberton, N J. S S 12:15.

Bethel A M E Church, Meeting street, Rev S Hammond, pastor—Song and prayer services 10:45 a m; S S 1 p m, Communion of Lord's Supper 2:45 p m; E L P 6:30 p m; preaching by pastor 7:45 p m.

Bethany Gospel Mission, 24 South Main street—Meetings 3 and 7:45, speaking by Joel Bacon, evangelist.

Beacon Universalist Church, Capitol Hall, 204 Westminster avenue, during fall, Rev J D Tillinghast, pastor—Morning 10:45, S S 12, Y P C U 6:30.

Beneficent Congregational Church—The pastor, Rev James G Vose, will preach 10:45 a m, mission S S 12:15 p m; C E S 6:30 p m.

Broadway Baptist Church, Rev J V Osterhout, pastor—S S 10:45 a m; preaching by the pastor 7 p m; evening service 7:15 p m.

Bell Street Chapel—Service 3 p m, discourse by pastor, Rev Anna Garlin Spencer, upon "Great Leaders and Great Eras of Progress." S S resumes Sept 12 1:30.

Bethel Christian Mission, 98 Wickenden street—Praise service 7:30; preaching 7:45, violin music by B Coyle.

Broadway M E Church, J O Randall, pastor—Communion 10:45 a m; sermon by pastor 7:30, subject, "Paul's Vision."

Broad Street Christian Church—Preaching by pastor 10:45 and 7:30; S S 12:15; Y P S C E 6:30. Communion at close of evening service.

Columbia Hall, Weybosset street—Providence Spiritual Society will open their meetings Sept 4 2:30. Arthur Devlin of New York speaker; 7:30, Debbie Wood and others.

Champlin Hall, 285 Weybosset street—3 p m, subject, "The Judging of Others," by Prof Charles A Jaynes.

Christ Church, Eddy and Oxford streets—S S 9:30 a m, morning service, sermon and Holy Communion 10:45 evening prayer 7:30.

Central Congregational Church, Angell street—Services 10:45 a m and 7:30 p m. Prof George F Moore, D D, of Andover Seminary will preach.

Cranston Church, corner Orchard and Wayland avenues—10:45, services and sermon, 12, S S, 3, service and sermon; Rev E P Sakal will preach morning and evening.

Church of the Epiphany—Morning prayer 10; litany, sermon and Holy Communion 10:45; S S 1 special evening service for deaf mutes with sermon by Rev M Searing of Boston.

Church of Emmanuel, 935 Westminster street—Prayer 9:30, preaching by Rev Williams McDonald of Boston; S S 12:15, Gospel 7 p m.

Church of the Mediator (Universalist), Cranston and Burgess streets, Rev W C Selleck, pastor—Service 10:45, subject, "The Internal and Formless of Religion;" Communion 12, S S 12:30; Y P C U 6:30.

Cranston Street Baptist Church—The pastor will preach 10:45 a m; S S 12:15 p m; evening service 7.

Church of the Messiah, Westminster street and Broadway—S S 9:30 a m, Holy Communion 10:45 evening 7:30.

Central Baptist Church—No services Sept 5, repairs not quite completed.

Church of the Redeemer—Morning prayer 10; Holy Confirmation and sermon 10:45; S S 2:30; evening prayer and sermon 7:30.

Chestnut Street M E Church, Rev A J Coultas, pastor—10:45 a m, Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, 12:15, S S; 2:30 p m, E L; 7:30, [illegible] pastor will officiate.

Pilgrim Congregational Church—The pastor, Rev Edward Cummings, will preach 10:45 a m; S S 12:15 p m; C E S 6:30 p m.

Pawtuxet Congregational Church—Preaching by pastor 10:45 a m and 7:30 p m; S S 12:15; C E 6:30 p m.

Pilgrim Methodist Church, Rev J W Bashford, pastor—Preaching 10:45 a m and 7:30 p m; S S 12:15; Y P S C E 6:30; chorus choir, H B Shaw leader, will sing at both services.

Plymouth Congregational Church, S H Woodrow, pastor 10:45 a m, Communion service; 7:30 p m, preaching, subject, "A Man Who Missed a Dime: Opportunity;" S S 12:15 p m.

Providence Church of Christ (Scientists), 41 Hudson street, service 11:30 a m

Providence Gospel Mission—Pure in heart service 9:30 a m, prayer and testimony 4 p m, preaching 7 p m, H B Avery in charge

Roger Williams F W Church, Westminster and Knight streets—10:45, service and Lord's Supper, 12:15, S S 6:30, Y P S C E, 7:30, service and sermon by pastor, Rev G E Case.

Rugbies Street P M Church—10:45 a m, theme, "A Stream from the Rock," 7 p m, song service and sermon; 12 m, S S; 4:30 p m, Y P W L.

Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of L D S, Benevue avenue—Sacrament meeting 10:45 a m, S S 12:30, preaching 7:30 p m by Elder George W Kibbey

Randall Square Gospel Mission—Breakfast revival 8:45 by D R Hinckley 9:30 to 12, S S 3, Miss N H Chaning, superintendent, C W conference 3:45, revival 7:30, Mrs L Fenetir and Hadley Gospel Singers.

Stewart Street Baptist Church—Preaching by pastor, Rev Edwin Bromley, 10:45, subject, "The Old Book Jesus Used;" S S 12:15, Gospel concert 7:30, sermon, "Where He Is We Shall Be," Lord's Supper after sermon.

St Stephen's Church—Celebration of the Holy Communion 7 and 8 a m, morning prayer 10, litany, sermon and celebration of the Holy Communion 10:45; evening prayer and sermon 7:30, S S 9 a m.

Second Presbyterian Church, Harris avenue—Communion service 10:45, evening service 7 by the pastor, J Reynolds Mackay.

St John's Church—S S 9:45; morning service, sermon and celebration of Holy Communion 10:45.

St Paul's Church, Holden street—Celebration 7:30; litany, second celebration and sermon 10:45; S S 2:30; evening prayer and sermon 7:30.

Second United Presbyterian Church, Young and Chalkstone avenues—Preaching by Rev M S McCord, D D, 10:45 a m; by pastor 7:30 p m, S S 11:30 a m; Y P C U and J C C 6:30 p m

Seventh Day Adventists, Olney Street Church vicary—S S (Saturday) 2 p m, Bible reading and social service 3 p m.

St Thomas Church, Douglas avenue—S S 10; morning service and Holy Communion 11; evening service 7

St Paul's M E Church, Prairie avenue—Prayer 10:15; Sacrament, 10:45; S S 12:15; E L 6:30; sermon by pastor, W S McIlvire, 7:30 p m.

South Baptist Church, Ocean street—Public worship with sermon by Rev S D Morley of Bristol; S S 12.15; evening missionary service 7:30.

St James Church—Morning service and celebration of the Holy Communion 10:45; children's service 3; evening prayer and sermon 7:30.

Second F B Church, Pond street—11 a m, preaching, subject, "Summing for Life;" 1 p m, S S; 6:30, Y P S C E, 7:45, preaching, subject, "The Wonderful."

Second A M E Zion Church, Rev C O Waters, pastor—10:45, preaching; 1:30, S S; 7:30, preaching, subject, "Conversion, Or the New Birth."

St Andrew's Church, Mt Pleasant—S S 9:30 a m; litany, sermon and Holy Communion 10:45; evening prayer and sermon 7:30.

Trinity M E Church—James M Tator, pastor, will conduct Sacramental service 10:45, and preach 7:30; S S 12 15.

Union Baptist Church—Preaching by Rev James K Ewer 10:45 and 7:30, Communion 11:30; S S 12:15; Y P S C E 6:30.

Union Congregational Church, Broad and Stewart streets—Worship 10:45 and 7:30, Rev Forrest F Emerson, formerly of Newport, preaches; Y P S C E 6:30.

Union Gospel Mission, 22 Lonsdale street—Services 3:30 and 7:30, Mrs G H Simmons will speak.

Union Sea and Land Mission, Rev Charles H Plummer, superintendent, Day's wharf—3 p m, Messrs Pierce, Turner, Cobb and Talty will speak.

Volunteers of America, 775 Westminster street—Capt Major of Malden, Mass, conducts services 10:30 a m and 3 and 8 p m, assisted by Capt Moore.

Westminster Unitarian Church, Mathewson street, Herbert Mott, minister—Public worship

ANARCHY.

Emma Goldman Held Forth on Olneyville Square Last Night.

ADDRESSED HER "FELLOW SLAVES" IN IDEAL STRAIN.

There Were Rival Attractions, but They Were Completely Eclipsed by the Little Duck-Complexioned Woman Mounted on a Dry-Goods Box. Who Said Long Hair Was Not Necessary to be an Anarchist.

There were rival attractions on Olneyville square last night. They were the gospel wagon, a gentleman who sold everything from a shoestring to a complete shaving outfit and threw in a ventriloquistic entertainment free of charge, a series of pictures and advertisements thrown on a screen and finally Emma Goldman, whose Anarchistic beliefs are too well known to need much further description.

The gospel wagon was doing pretty well until the ventriloquist, alias shoestring salesman, arrived. When that gentleman proceeded to converse with a wooden dummy and exchange compliments with an invisible personage on a nearby roof the fickle crowd deserted the gospel wagon and flocked to the fakir's standard.

As soon as the dummy began to grow less voluble in his remarks and the peddler began to cry his wares the crowd gazed at the panoramic mixture of advertisements and pictures, principally advertisements, that were thrown on a screen stretched above the roof of a building.

Then Miss Goldman arrived. It was nearly 9 o'clock, and the crowd was looking for some new excitement. A packing box was improvised into a platform, and John H. Cook of this city mounted upon it. Mr. Cook did this principally to draw the crowd. It did not draw very well at first. The fakir had renewed his seductive conversation with a gorgeously bedecked doll whose lower jaw worked on a hinge. It was a last effort to keep the crowd around him. The doll's lower jaw flapped to and fro frantically, and the ventriloquist wiped drops of perspiration from his forehead, although the night was cool.

Yet one by one the crowd went to the place where Mr. Cook was setting forth the object of the meeting.

Finally a little woman, with a complexion that many of her sisters with less unpopular ideas might envy, and clad in a dress of some dark material, stepped upon the platform with head uncovered. Immediately the crowd, as a body, deserted the ventriloquist and surrounded the Anarchistic teacher.

The gospel wagon was doing. The pictures on the screen appeared in indignation because of the lack of attention to their artistic details.

Miss Goldman's salutation was characteristic.

"Fellow slaves," she said. "I think you will all be indignant because I call you slaves." If any one was he did not say a word. Not even a boulder was forthcoming. The crowd was made up almost entirely of men. There were only

A GRUESOME "JOKE."

A. S. P. C. A. Agent Personifies a Dead Man—$13 Collected for the "Widow."

New York, Sept. 3. (Special.) Several members of the Jersey City Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals were electrified by a grim sort of joke on Thursday night. George M. McCarthy, President of the society, who in his leisure moments is a theatrical advertising agent, was the prime mover in the affair. He called at the society's office and told Agent Arthur McDonald that Alonzo Calhoun, another agent, was dead. As Calhoun had been ill with gastric fever, McDonald supposed the statement was true. He at once started out to inform the other officers of the society and also to make a collection among them for the benefit of the widow and family of the dead man.

In the meantime President McCarthy, finding his alleged joke going so well, called Calhoun up on the telephone and asked him to take part in the "sell." Calhoun, who lives at 541 Ocean avenue, over the undertaking establishment of Zelsler Brothers, where he is employed as embalmer, at once carried a handsome burial casket to his rooms. He placed a number of lighted candles about the casket, and just before the committee arrived, carrying the $13, Calhoun prepared to do the honors.

Abraham Brown went up to the room in which the casket was placed but presently he dashed downstairs, asserting that the corpse had deliberately winked at him. His companions, McDonald and Alexander Whitmore, supposing he had been frightened, compelled him to go upstairs again with them. They found Calhoun apparently as dead as a last year's leaf. He did not seem disposed to work at them.

This time the farce went very well until McDonald pressed the $13 and tendered it to Mrs. Calhoun, who sat at the head of the coffin with her face buried in her handkerchief—not to hide her tears, however. Then Calhoun sat up in his coffin and I handed half of the money. It was decided to use the money for a funeral supper, which was eaten to-night with the ghost at the head of the table. President McCarthy was the guest of honor. It is understood that the next death reported among the Society's agents will be investigated before the collection is taken up.

DONE WITH PREACHING.

Rev. Frank B. Vrooman Going to the Klondike.

Chicago, Sept 3.—(Special.)—"I have been frozen out of the Presbyterian Church and starved out of the People's Church all in the year and I am through with preaching," said the Rev. Frank B. Vrooman, co-pastor of the People's Church. "I am going to the Klondike."

Mr Vrooman, who has been associated with Dr H W Thomas in the pulpit of the fashionable People's Church for some time, has turned his back on the pulpit for good and has projected and partly organized on a large scale a mining company for the Klondike region.

"This scheme originated with me," he said, "but is backed by my brother in St Louis. Our company has not been incorporated nor named yet, but it will be run fully as large a scale as the Cudahy-Weare enterprise, and will be capitalized at $10,000,000. We thought at first that we would need only $30,000 to start with, but having decided to pro-

OAKDALE BUT

Absolutely PURE and FRESH daily. Every... thoroughly Sterilized and Chilled by Artificial R... FIRST Premium at the Rhode Island State Fa... Acknowledged all over the world to be the Best...

OAKDALE STAND
TRADE MARK

See that the above trade mark is on the paper wra... or stamped in the contents of every tub ... you... market or grocer, send your order to the OAKDA... ING COMPANY, 156-176 South Water St., Provid...

OAKDALE MFG

...24 ... 215 Pond St...

MOST ATTRACTIVE SEPTEMBER BARGAINS

As Always, at the New England Gro...

93 to 101 Weybosset St., Providence.—Also P...

The busy month of September is here and many people ... We are fully prepared to meet the pressing demands of all ... Special Bargains now offered in our highest grade canned ... sold at less than cost to make room for our new stock soon to ... toes, Salmon, etc., all as good as new. A favorable time for par... Fruits for Preserving—Peaches, Plums, and Bartlett Pears ... low. Also Lightning Fruit Jars, best ever made. Plain Sha...

Dairy Products.—Superb line of Cream, Butter Cheese, etc., fr... the makers. All can be suited.

A great Variety of Brooms Brushes, Feather Dusters, Tubs ... Rug Beaters, Dust Pans, etc., at prices that will interest economica...

Teas & Coffees.—Largest and best stock of both that we have ... grades and varieties most popular. No advance in prices.

Best of service in all Departments. Free Order Postals ... 1304 and 1313.

MEDICAL.

BLACK & ASHTON'S

PAINE &

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890210010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* The Evening Bulletin [Providence]. –(Sept. 4, 1897).

Obtained from the Providence Public Library, Providence, RI.

Central Baptist Church—No services Sept 5; rooms not quite completed.

Church of the Redeemer—Morning prayer 10; Holy Communion and sermon 10.45; S S 2.30; evening prayer and sermon 7.30.

Chestnut Street M E Church, Rev A J Coultas, pastor—10.45 a m Sacrament of the Lord's supper; 12.15, S S; 6.30 p m, E L; 7.30, preaching, pastor will officiate.

Cranston Street M E Church—10.45, "Christianity in Earnest, or Do Christians Mean What They Say?" 7.30, "Our First Love."

Congdon Street Baptist Church—10.45, preaching by Rev Russell H Conwell of Philadelphia, Pa, 1.30 p m, S S; 6.30 p m, Y P S C E; 7.45 p m, preaching by pastor, Rev J H Presby, subject, "Something We Ought to Forget."

Door of Hope Mission, 44 Cranston street—Preaching 3 by Rev Robert Cameron; Gospel service 7.30.

Elmwood Temple—Preaching by the pastor, Rev Edward T Root, 10.45 a m, subject, "Christ's Vacation Year." S S 12.15; 7.30 p m, subject, "Jesus Wept."

Ebenezer Baptist Church, A street—Prayer and conference meeting 10.30; S S 1 p m; preaching 2.45 by Rev Addison Clark; preaching 7.30 by Rev J M Lehner.

Elmwood Avenue F B Church—Preaching 10.45 by the pastor, Rev S A Blaisdell; S S 12.15; C E 6.30; general service 7.30.

First Congregational Church, Benefit and Reformed streets—Public worship with Communion at 10.45 a m, the minister, Rev A M Lord, will preach.

First Church of Christ, Scientist, No 250 Broadway—Service 10.45 a m.

First Universalist Church, Rev H J Cushman, D D, pastor—Public worship 10.45 a m, by Thomas will preach; Holy Communion 12 m; S S 12.30 p m.

Fourth Baptist Church—Preaching 10.45 and 7.30 by the pastor, Rev Robert Cameron; S S 12.15; B Y P U 6.30.

Friendship Street Baptist Church, Edward Hayman, pastor—Public worship 10.45 and 7.30; S S 12.15; Y P S C E 6.30; subject, morning, "Meet for the Master's Use," with communion, evening, "Days Works" or "The Christ for the Workingman." Miss Charlotta Hanson will sing at both services.

First Baptist Church, Rev H N King, D D, pastor—Public worship with sermon 10.45 a m and 7.30 p m; S S 12.15 p m.

First F B Church, Plainfield street; Rev J M Lowden, pastor—10.45 a m, morning worship with sermon by pastor; 12 m, communion; 12.15 p m, S S; 7 p m, union Gospel service.

Friends Meeting, corner North Main and Meeting streets—11 a m.

First Presbyterian Church, Clifford street, Rev C A Campbell, pastor—Services 10.45 and 7.30; S S 12; Y P S C E 6.30.

First A M E Zion Church, Wintar street, Rev P H Hill, pastor—10.45, praise service, 12.45 Holy Communion; 7.45, sermon, subject, "Humble Believers," by the pastor; 1, S S, 6.30 Y P S C E.

German Evangelical Lutheran service at M E Tabernacle, Olneyville square—3 to 4 p m, by Rev Kaufmann, pastor.

Grace Church—9.45, S S; 10, Holy Communion; 10.45, service and Holy Communion; 6.30 C E; 7.30, service and sermon; Rev J A Ernsberg will preach morning and evening.

German Evangelical service at First Presbyterian Church—3 p m, conducted by Rev Augustus Dober.

Gospel Mission (Interdenominational), Eddy and Washington streets, Charles W Rider, pastor—services 10.30 a m and 7 p m; good music.

Hope Street M E Church, J S Bridgford, pastor—Sacramental service 10.45 a m; preaching 7.30; S S 12.15; E L 6.15 p m.

Hebrew Mission, 450 North Main street—Services by I M Goldberg to Jews of Jesus of Nazareth as their Messiah 2 p m.

Harris Avenue F M Church—10.30, address and communion, 11.45; S S, 1, preaching, "Sanctification."

Highland Congregational Church—Morning 10.30, preaching by C D Harp; S S 12.45; evening 7.30, address by Mr Robert P Gifford, special music.

Italian Gospel Mission, 607 Charles street—Services 3 p m.

Lexington Avenue Baptist Church—2.45, S S.

Lorimer Street Church—Preaching 11; S S 12.30; 7.30, preaching by Elder Purnell.

Mission of the Coming King, 827 Broad street—Prayer 10.45 a m; Bible class 1.30 p m; preaching 2.45 p m by Mrs A E Curtis, conference 7.30 p m.

Mary Magdalene Rescue Mission, 17 Clemrance street—Services every night 7.45, Sunday 3.45.

Mt Pleasant M E Church, Rev C A Lockwood, pastor—10.45 a m, Communion and baptisms, service with address by pastor; 12 m, S S; 3 p m, pentecostal service.

Mathewson Street M E Church—10.45, Holy Communion and reception of members; 12 M, S S; 7.30, gospel service, preaching by the pastor, A S Kaufman, Ph D.

Union Sea and Land Mission, Rev Charles H Plummer, superintendent, Day's wharf—3 p m, Messrs Pierce, Turner, Cobb and Talty will speak.

Volunteers of America, 725—Westminster street—Capt Major of Malden, Mass, conducts services 10.30 a m and 3 and 8 p m, assisted by Capt Moore.

Westminster Unitarian Church, Mathewson street, Herbert Mott, minister—Public worship 10.45 a m.

Wanskuck M E Church—10.15, class meeting; 11, preaching by Robert Clark and Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, 12.15 p m, S S, 6 p m, E L, 7 p m, praise and preaching.

Wayland Chapel, South Angell street and Wayland avenue—S S 3 p m, evening service omitted.

Young Women's Meeting—The Evangelical Young Women's Christian Association will hold the first service in their new building on Washington street, corner of Jackson street, at 4.45 p m; an address will be given by Miss Mina K Price of Chicago, International Secretary of Y W C A work; Mrs S S Chaffe will sing; the public are cordially invited.

Y M C A Building—9.30 a m, consecration service; 4.30 p m, men's meeting, address by Rev S G Ivory, open air service same hour on Dexter Training Ground, address by Mr W R Wilson; Gospel service for all this (Saturday) evening 8, address by Rev W S McIntire.

Auburn—Messiah's Church—Preaching 10.45 by pastor, Rev E Streeter, theme, "Conversion of Children;" S S 12.15; J A 4; Communion 7 p m, followed by Gospel service.

People's Church, Wesley C Hazard, minister—Sermon 11, followed by Holy Communion, S S 12.30; Y P S C E 6.30, lecture 7.30.

Church of the Ascension—Holy Communion 7.30, morning prayer 10; S S catechising and service 12.30; evensong 7.30.

Apponaug—St Barnabas Church—Morning prayer and sermon 11, evening prayer and address 7.30; S S 10 a m.

Barneyville—Free Baptist Church, Rev S S Barney, pastor—Sermon by pastor 11 a m; S S 12.15, evening service 7.

Bettenwood Beach—Chapel—Preaching 8.30 p m by Rev Augustus M Lord.

Cranston—St Bartholomew's Church—S S 3; evening prayer and sermon 4; Rev H O Dana will officiate.

Centredale—M E Church—S S 12; open air meeting at band stand 3:30, address by Rev A J Myers; class meeting 6; song service 7:15; preaching by Rev A J Myers 7.30.

Edgewood—Church of the Transfiguration—Litany and celebration of the Holy Communion 11; S S 3, evening prayer 3.30.

East Providence—Haven M E Church—10.45, Holy Communion; 12.15, S S; 7 p m, E L and preaching by pastor, subject, "The Decisive Choice."

Universalist Church—Rev H W Rugg, D D, will preach 11 a m.

United Congregational Church—Preaching by Mr D G Wolcott 10:45 a m; S S 12:12 p m, Y P S C E 6, evening service 7.

St Mary's Church, Rev C H McLane, rector—S S 10; morning service and Holy Communion 11; evening service 7.30.

Georgiaville—Universalist Church, Rev Ira Eddy, pastor—Services resumed Sunday 1.30 p m.

Johnston—Belknap District Chapel—S S 2 p m; preaching 3 p m.

Dyer Avenue Baptist Chapel—S S 1:45 p m; evening service 6.

Knightsville—Congregational Church, Phenix avenue—S S 3 p m, preaching service 7:30 p m, subject, "The Holy Spirit."

Luther's Corners—Worship with preaching by Rev Robert C Hay 11 a m; S S 12.15 p m, evening service by Y P S C E 7:30.

Lakewood—S S 10.45; preaching by R E Storey 2.30, report of San Francisco Convention. Alva N Fisher.

Manton—Baptist Chapel—Mr Cottrell will preach 10.45 and 7:30; morning subject, "Forgetfulness;" evening, "The Price of Silk."

North Providence—Farmers Baptist Church—S S 10:45 a m; B Y P U 6.30; preaching 7.30 by Rev George Bixby, followed by Lord's Supper.

Riverside—M E Church, Rev A Sharman, pastor—Preaching services 2:15 and 7 p m; S S 1 p m.

River View—Services will be held in Casino 3:45 p m, Rev F G Williams of Pontiac is expected to officiate.

Silver Hook—Primitive Methodist Church—2:30, S S; 7, preaching by John Wilson.

Thornton—Congregational Church—S S 2.30 p m, praise service with preaching by Mr Harris K Haw 6:15.

Warwick—Friends Meeting for divine worship meets at their Warwick Meeting House 3.15 p m.

Shawomet Baptist Church, Rev W H Lane, pastor—Preaching 11 a m and 7 p m by the pastor, Y P S C E 6:15 p m; S S 12 15.

The Roger Williams Savings Fund and Loan Association,

No. 96 Westminster street, Room 5. Established in 1881 to encourage the building of homes in Providence and vicinity, and to aid in clearing them from debt. Those desiring loans on real estate security should seek information at the office as to the terms and advantages which this institution offers.

Assets, July 14, 1897 ..... $698,847 79

WM. H. HAWKINS, Secretary.

To Recover Commission.

Bradford F. Pierce has attached the property of Albyn Stebbins and wife for $1000 to recover the commission which he says is due on the exchange of a house and lot in Worcester for a yacht, an exchange that he effected as broker for Mr. Stebbins. No money passed in the transaction, the equity in the real estate being made equivalent to the price of the yacht, and now Mr. Pierce has discovered that the yacht is not worth the price agreed upon.

"This scheme originated with me," he said, "but is backed by my brother in St. Louis. Our company has not been incorporated nor named yet, but it will be on fully as large a scale as the Cudahy-Weare enterprise, and will be capitalized at $10,000,000. We thought at first that we would need only $30,000 to start with, but having decided to provide our own boats, we saw that $60,000 would be needed, and the whole of that amount is already in sight.

"I came in yesterday on the Manitou from a cruise extending from Mackinaw down below Harbor Springs, and have sold $20,000 worth of stock almost without an effort, and my brother has probably sold much in St. Louis. I am going to Alaska to work in the mines for a living. The People's Church pays me nothing and I am getting into a necessitous condition."

Labor Day Discourse.

By Rev. Walter E. Bentley of St. Peter's church, Bainbridge, N. Y. Service the condition of sustenance.—Sunday Journal.

Contract Annulled.

Washington, Sept. 3.—The War Department has annulled the contract of J. S. Flynn of New York to furnish 25,000 tons of stone for the Duck Island, Conn., breakwater for failure to fulfill the conditions of the contract.

A Mighty Difference

Between Evidence in Providence and Testimony from Toledo.

If you don't know, you can readily verify what Cornelius McMillen of 676 and 678 Potter's avenue, says, because it's evidence in Providence. Here it is:

"I am a stone cutter, but I am unable to get steady employment, and I have to follow other occupations when my trade is slack. This work involves heavy lifting and that may be the cause of my sore back. Sometimes the pain across my kidneys was so bad I could not stoop to tie my shoes, and I often had to force myself to go to work. I got a box of Doan's Kidney Pills at F. L. Lothrop's drug store on Westminster street. They helped me so much that I bought a second one. I do not like to say that I will be permanently benefited, for I have tried a great many remedies, but one thing I do know Doan's Kidney Pills have acted as no other medicine ever acted before, and if I continue to improve I will again be like myself. I unhesitatingly recommended their use to all sufferers such as I was."

The reader in Providence can't verify the following statement from Toledo, although it is none the less true. But you can verify Providence testimony, and that's what backs every box of Doan's Kidney Pills.

F. W. Merrill, residing at 1330 Nevada street, says. "I brought my kidney trouble with me from the war. I also suffered very much from a lame back, pain across my loins and frequent desires to urinate. I have had also headiness with feelings of depression and weariness, but Doan's Kidney Pills which I got at I. N. Hoode's Sons's drug store drove it all away. They are the very best kidney remedy that I ever obtained. I have tried many. I have no hesitancy in recommending to those that have any trouble of that kind to give them a trial."

Doan's Kidney Pills, 50 cents a box. For sale by all dealers; sent by mail on receipt of price. Foster-Milburn Co., Buffalo, N. Y.

grades and varieties meet
Best of service in all
1804 and 1313.

MEDICAL.

BLACK & ASHTON'S
A-1 Pile Cure

A speedy and permanent cure, guaranteed to cause no pain or inconvenience. Price 75 cents. BLANDING & BLANDING, 68 WEYBOSSET STREET, Wholesale Agents, Providence, R. I.

DR. JUDSON, SPECIALIST.

Unparalled success for 28 years in curing BLOOD, SKIN, NERVOUS, KIDNEY, BLADDER and SPECIAL diseases of both sexes. Consultation free and confidential.

BLOOD and skin diseases, swollen glands, wasty growths and all skin blemishes cured perfectly with safe and sure remedies.

NERVOUS exhaustion, loss of memory, physical or mental weakness cured by latest-telling scientific methods.

STRICTURE, Piles, Fistula, Varicocele and diseased discharges cured by long-tested expert treatment.

CATARRH, all forms, Head, Throat and Lung troubles cured in shortest possible time.

FEMALE troubles, acute, too free or painful menses, weak back, sterility and womb displacements treated by expert methods, giving quick relief and permanent cures.

E. W. JUDSON, M. D.,
241 and 243 Butler Exchange,
Providence, R. I.

Hours: 9 to 12 a. m., 2 to 4 p. m. and 7 to 8:30 p. m. Closed Sundays.



J&BTSTuSly

CONSULT DR. Z. J. LEWIS!

CANCER

DRUNKENNESS

EYESIGHT—SAVE IT.

PAINE &

Insuranc

61 WESTMI

are prepared to han
lines in the stronges
Marine, Plate Glass,
cle and Employers'

TELEPHO

"FORBID A FOOL A
WILL DO."

SAP

FAIRY SOAP

Pure
White
Floating

The

Soap of the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890302002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman, Anarchist / Emma Goldman.— p. 7 ; 44 cm.
In The Boston Daily Globe. —(Sept. 6, 1897).
Obtained from the Cornell University Libraries and Archives.

EMMA GOLDMANN, ANARCHIST.

She Lectures in This City, Criticising Existing Social Conditions And Explaining the Theories of Her Cult.



EMMA GOLDMANN AND SOME TYPES IN HER AUDIENCE.

Existing social conditions were mercilessly criticised by Miss Emma Goldmann, the celebrated New York anarchist, last night, in her lecture on "Must We Become Angels to Live in an Anarchist Society?" She delivered this lecture under the auspices of the Hebrew educational club at 49 Bennet st.

The hall in which the meeting was held was all too small for the number of persons who desired to see and hear the famous young woman, and she is worth seeing and hearing, for she herself is a most extraordinary and picturesque production of the conditions which she criticised with such bitter words last night—words that were evidently the result of careful reading and much thought along certain sociological lines.

It is safe to say that she talked a bit over the heads of a good many of her auditors, for only a student would be apt to comprehend the full significance of all of her allusions. It was when she spoke of Golli, the anarchist who killed [illegible] Canovas del Castillo, that the

a slight bang which inclines toward the left side of the forehead, and which she is continually brushing to one side. She has the face of the student, and the glasses intensify this feeling. These glasses she is also continually adjusting while she talks.

The eyes show traces of hard work over books during the wee sma' hours, when she has burned the midnight oil. She has a slight German accent, but she has a perfect command of English, and only occasionally does she slip up in the tense of a verb, as most German Americans are apt to do when speaking under a strong mental strain.

She is a remarkable product of the condition under which she has apparently been brought up, and she has evidently thought long and bitterly over the hard conditions of those who labor in the New York sweat shops and other such places. Familiarity with such conditions has intensified her hatred, and puts bitterness into her words—a galling, unanswerable bitterness at times. Where so much of misery has crept into her life it has eliminated all but the stubborn facts of existing conditions in that life.

She knows well her ground, and no namby-pamby sentimentalist wants to tackle her on that ground by offering [illegible]

remarks, all emphasized with illustrations of present unhappiness among the lower classes.

At the conclusion of her lecture she invited any of those present who desired to ask questions, one at a time and in as brief a manner as possible.

The first questioner got a little mixed in his effort to state the problem which he had on his mind, and there was some laughter, when one old gentleman arose and said:

"Let him speak. This is a free country and every man has a right to speak."

Miss Goldmann immediately jumped up and said: "I beg your pardon. This is not a free country, but this is a free meeting and he has a right to speak here."

She resumed her seat amid some laughter and applause, and the first questioner struggled on. The lecturer was acute enough to see the drift of his thought, and she answered him. The man claimed that present social conditions had necessarily transformed many men into thieves and liars, and he wanted to know how about these under anarchy.

Miss Goldmann claimed that in a different environment they would change again.

890302002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman, Anarchist / Emma Goldman.– p. 7 ; 44 cm.
In The Boston Daily Globe. –(Sept. 6, 1897).
Obtained from the Cornell University Libraries and Archives.



EMMA GOLDMANN AND SOME TYPES IN HER AUDIENCE.

Existing social conditions were mercilessly criticised by Miss Emma Goldmann, the celebrated New York anarchist, last night, in her lecture on "Must We Become Angels to Live in an Anarchist Society?" She delivered this lecture under the auspices of the Hebrew educational club at 49 Bennet st.

The hall in which the meeting was held was all too small for the number of persons who desired to see and hear the famous young woman, and she is worth seeing and hearing, for she herself is a most extraordinary and picturesque production of the conditions which she criticised with such bitter words last night—words that were evidently the result of careful reading and much thought along certain sociological lines.

It is safe to say that she talked a bit over the heads of a good many of her auditors, for only a student would be apt to comprehend the full significance of all of her allusions. It was when she spoke of Golli, the anarchist who killed Premier Canovas del Castillo, that the full force of the woman's nature was evident; then she was bitter with the whole of a woman's bitterness. She justified the shooting of Canovas, whom she claimed hounded and persecuted the innocent, and who was to her mind the archtype of all present governmental and official conditions—the possibility toward which all government was drifting.

A good sprinkling of women—mostly young women—was in the audience, and many of the men were young, but many prominent local socialists and anarchists were present to hear the young woman.

It was a sympathetic audience, and every one present listened eagerly. The faces were types, many of them, such as one would expect to find in a gathering in Paris or Berlin; the room was low studded and not too brilliantly lighted by a half-dozen gas jets. On one end was a little platform and a plain pine table with a chair behind it, and leaning against the wall were an American flag and a red flag.

Miss Goldmann was the sole occupant of the little platform, as she said she does not like to have the chairman of a meeting sitting behind her while she is talking; it annoys her, so she had the little platform all to herself.

She is rather a striking personality herself, especially while speaking, but she never would be picked out in a crowd as a woman of unusual character in any direction.

She is about 25 years of age, of medium hight and build, with brown hair and a slight bang which inclines toward the left side of the forehead, and which she is continually brushing to one side. She has the face of the student, and the glasses intensify this feeling. These glasses she is also continually adjusting while she talks.

The eyes show traces of hard work over books during the wee sma' hours, when she has burned the midnight oil. She has a slight German accent, but she has a perfect command of English, and only occasionally does she slip up in the tense of a verb, as most German Americans are apt to do when speaking under a strong mental strain.

She is a remarkable product of the condition under which she has apparently been brought up, and she has evidently thought long and bitterly over the hard conditions of those who labor in the New York sweat shops and other such places. Familiarity with such conditions has intensified her hatred, and puts bitterness into her words—a galling, unanswerable bitterness at times. Where so much of misery has crept into her life it has eliminated all but the stubborn facts of existing conditions in that life.

She knows well her ground, and no namby-pamby sentimentalist wants to tackle her on that ground by offering some theoretical medicine other than the kind which she has in her own mind. Several tackled her last evening, to their sorrow. She has studied deep into social conditions, and she has an answer for every questioner.

Her lecture last night was in the nature of an answer to the general criticism that the people of this world are not prepared for anarchy. She was careful to explain that anarchy meant freedom of the individual in the exercise of his "inalienable" rights, a freedom which all existing forms of government she claimed tended to restrict.

The general criticism to this philosophy is that what one individual would consider his rights another might not, and hence there would be a conflict. She claimed that if people were given the opportunity there would be no conflict, and no necessity for any such organized systems of government as at present exist; that the individual would naturally respect the rights of others; but that present government conditions tended to make a governing class, distinct and separate from the working classes, who in reality supported the governing class, and that the tendency with the latter was to impose its power and authority more and more on the former, by all the known means of governmental authority, such as police, soldiers, courts and prisons.

All these could be dispensed with under anarchy, and everybody would and could work and there would be no unemployed. This was the tenor of her remarks, all emphasized with illustrations of present unhappiness among the lower classes.

At the conclusion of her lecture she invited any of those present who desired to ask questions, one at a time and in as brief a manner as possible.

The first questioner got a little mixed in his effort to state the problem which he had on his mind, and there was some laughter when one old gentlman arose and said:

"Let him speak. This is a free country and every man has a right to speak."

Miss Goldmann immediately jumped up and said: "I beg your pardon. This is not a free country, but this is a free meeting and he has a right to speak here."

She resumed her seat amid some laughter and applause, and the first questioner struggled on. The lecturer was acute enough to see the drift of his thought, and she answered him. The man claimed that present social conditions had necessarily transformed many men into thieves and liars, and he wanted to know how about these under anarchy.

Miss Goldmann claimed that in a different environment they would change again.

Then the old gentleman who had said this was a "free country" arose and stepped to the front of the hall. He announced that he had seen a great deal in his lifetime and that he was old enough to be the father of most of those present, and he believed the United States was the greatest country in the world. But he sympathized with this desire for change, only his observation had led him to believe that men were born into this world who were not fit to govern themselves.

Miss Goldmann got back at him all right in "a few well-chosen remarks." She thought he was blind to the many imperfections of present governmental conditions.

The next speaker claimed that he was both a socialist and an anarchist, but he thought the world took a great stride forward when the fathers of this country promulgated the declaration of independence and the constitution.

This man had barely sat down when a man in the back of the hall jumped up and said:

"That man is not an anarchist!" Miss Goldmann quickly said: "I don't care what he is. He is sincere, and he has a right to be heard here."

She then announced that she would take up a collection for the refugees who were being persecuted by the Spanish authorities and being hounded all over Europe, many of them ignorant of any crime or any wrong whatever. She passed the hat around herself.

HAD DISTINGUISHED VISITORS.

Lieutenant Governor of Quebec and Chepleau and wife and the aid-de-camp left for Boston, on their way to Salem. The other visitors left for Haverhill later. They will return Monday evening for the banquet.

DEMONSTRATION IN LOWELL.

United Laboring Men, Forming Trade

97

891215034

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] More Anarchy / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The Providence Daily Journal. – (Sept. 6, 1897).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

...MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1897.

...UDS.

...ed for with-
...ificate.
...ecial.)—The ar-
...5 Fifth avenue,
...noon, charged
...sion certificate
...army veteran,
...of a crusade
...Recently Foss
...orties that Mc-
...A special ar-
...and demanded
...t was Govern-
...ter refused to
...Foss owed him
...which he was
...as security. A
...y obtained and
...in $500 bail for

...is sey there are
...city similer to
...are determined
...McCaul and put
...ension shylock-
...overed that in
...has been regu-
...keepers, even
..., and that there
...sion certificates
...le who have no

...rias of arrests
...ll, 26 years old,
...ong Island City.
...ll for examina-
...aimed that the
...ng a pension as
...oldier, when the
...Warrants are
...sons connected
...ers are said to
...nine cases simi-
...woman. There
...the fraude have
...hree years and
...for two years
...he signature of
...forged on the
...witnessed by
...w much money
...the New York
...dent claims has
...t, but it is be-
...will reach into
...nds of dollars.
...any cases have
...raudulent claims
...10 years, and
...r 15 years. The
...swindlers are be-
...n both cities.

AT HOME.

...cKinley Spent

...—President and
...ing a delightful
...The weather is
...went to church
...ded by his aged
...Mrs. Osborne of
...nt and Mrs. Mc-
...the latter's sis-
...and spent most
...e Barber home.
...ley went to his
...d with a few
...n, and after a
...took lunch, and
...ening at the old

THE CONCORD TRAGEDY.

Condition of the Murderer and His Surviving Victim.

CHANGE FOR BETTER OR WORSE LIABLE AT ANY MOMENT.

Physicians Unable to Remove the Bullets in Either Case.

HARRIS, THE MURDERER, REFUSES TO TALK.

His Business Career in Boston and New York.—Head of a Paint and Oil Commission House, Which Paid Him $15,000 a Year.—Ruined by Gambling.

Concord, Mass., Sept. 5.—The terrible tragedy yesterday wherein John M. Harris shot and killed Mrs. George E. Butters, and shot her son and then nearly ended his own life, hung like a pall over this town to-day.

State Detective J. H. Whitney was again in town looking after the State's interests in connection with the Butters murder of yesterday, but stated to-night that absolutely nothing of public interest had developed. A police guard was kept at the Butters residence all last night, but to-day the premises may have been turned over to the family.

There has been no great crowd around the neighborhood, although the number of the curious who have visited the house during the day would be considerable in the aggregate. Besides those who came out of mere curiosity, several relatives of the family have called at the house to condole with the bereaved husband, and do whatever was possible to relieve his distress and also assist in looking out for the domestic arrangements.

Mr. Butters is completely broken down over the terrible affair, and his mental condition was such this morning that opiates were administered to him by his physicians, with favorable effects.

Lieut. Jason W. Butters of Boston police headquarters, a brother of the afflicted man, was expected here to-day, but was detained at his home in Charlestown by illness in his own family. Two other brothers and a brother-in-law were here, however, and assisted in straightening out matters to the best of their ability.

State officer Whitney said to-day that no arrangements had yet been made for holding an inquest and that the date of such hearing would depend upon the

...

...

...

891215034

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] More Anarchy / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The Providence Daily Journal. – (Sept. 6, 1897).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

cases simi-
man. There
rauds have
years and
two years
nature of
ged on the
nessed by
uch money
New York
claims has
it it is be-
reach into
of dollars.
cases have
ient claims
years, and
years. The
lers are be-
h cities.

tey Spent

sident and
a delightful
weather is
t to church
by his aged
Osborne of
nd Mrs. Mc-
latter's sis-
spent most
arber home.
went to his
ith a few
and after a
lunch, and
at the old
friends and
ay their re-

a, the Presi-
will remain
ning, when
et, Pa., the
cKinley, the
remain there
main longer.
on the latter

NDIKE.

at Keep the
f.

.—(Special.)—
that another
an Klondike
the present
ir men. One
weeks ago
others will

own mining
e of those in
ive, from the
nt back, that
h to the new
een to Klon-
s been made

became that
ed by an in-
feet and gave
e way back
e ground as
This is to
esting. (
ok the other

—Miss Flora
had been ill
ertain, a baby
ompanied an
an unknown

interests in connection with the
murder of yesterday, but stated to-night
that absolutely nothing of public interest had developed. A police guard was kept at the Butters residence all last night, but to-day the premises may have been turned over to the family.

There has been no great crowd around the neighborhood, although the number of the curious who have visited the house during the day would be considerable in the aggregate. Besides those who came out of mere curiosity, several relatives of the family have called at the house to condole with the bereaved husband, and do whatever was possible to relieve his distress and also assist in looking out for the domestic arrangements.

Mr. Butters is completely broken down over the terrible affair, and his mental condition was such this morning that opiates were administered to him by his physicians, with favorable effects.

Lieut. Jason W. Butters of Boston police headquarters, a brother of the afflicted man, was expected here to-day, but was detained at his home in Charlestown by illness in his own family. Two other brothers and a brother-in-law were here, however, and assisted in straightening out matters to the best of their ability.

State officer Whitney said to-day that no arrangements had yet been made for holding an inquest and that the date of such hearing would depend upon the condition of the boy, Carlton T. Butters, who is now in the hospital, as he is practically the only witness for the Government, or at least its most important one.

The funeral of Mrs. Butters will be held Tuesday at 2:30 p. m.

The statement that has appeared to the effect that Mrs. Butters appeared as a witness against Harris when he was sent to jail several months ago for stealing a coat is untrue. Mrs. Butters taking no part in the prosecution.

Boston, Sept. 5.—The report from the Massachusetts General Hospital to-night is to the effect that the condition of Carlton T. Butters and John Harris is such that a turn either for better or worse is likely to occur at any moment.

Examination showed that Harris, in attempting suicide, had lodged a bullet in his head so close to the brain that meningitis is likely to set in if he should suffer a relapse. The physicians have been unable to remove the bullet.

Carlton Butters is suffering from almost exactly similar conditions, save that in his case two bullets have thus far defied extraction. One entered under the eye, the other in the cheek. He, too, may contract meningitis.

Harris positively refuses to talk.

Waltham, Mass., Sept. 5.—Harris, who fatally shot Mrs. Butters and attempted to kill young Butters and himself, was 30 years old. He was in the employ of paint and oil commission house in Boston at one time. The girl obtained a branch in New York and Harris was sent there as head clerk, later becoming manager and finally succeeding to the business, out of which he drew at one time $15,000 a year.

While in New York he married a young lady belonging to one of the old Knickerbocker families. Soon after he began to gamble and his business

ly in his mother's lap but as Miss Goldman waxed eloquent in her address he became excited and took a turn or two in the direction of the platform to raise his mind. With every burst of applause from the audience he crowed with delight and finally sat himself down at the foot of the speaker's stand and demanded a drink out of the tumbler of water which was supplied for Miss Goldman's use. He was firm in the expression of his wants and all coaxing and threatening was in vain. His wish was finally gratified and after that he succeeded very remarkably in attracting all attention that was not bestowed on the speaker.

Miss Goldman was not quite ready to commence her address at half-past 2, as announced, and during the interim J. H. Cook, a local Anarchist, took the opportunity to propound a few of the principles of his creed. After a half hour's wait Miss Goldman put in an appearance and without any unnecessary delay began at once upon her theme.

Four-leaf pamphlets with the above title read, "The Modern Inquisition of Spain," had been distributed at the door, and Miss Goldman commenced her remarks by reading extracts from them. She then refered directly to the assassination of Canovas del Castillo, Premier of Spain, making that the text of her discourse.

As she reviewed the occurrence she worked herself into a high state of indignation. The high priest looked serious and mopped the perspiration from their foreheads. Applause was frequent and murmured exclamations were to be heard in different parts of the hall at various intervals. The baby, which up to this time had been sitting in its mother's lap, then became alive to the situation and took the floor. These incidents, however, were soon side issues. The main thing, Miss Goldman's speech, still continued in all its force and power.

"It was the Premier himself, not Golli," she said, "who caused the act of the latter. Golli was simply led on to the step by the persecution inflicted through the instigation of Canovas del Castillo. Golli represented the people in his act and in ridding the world of a tyrant and a persecutor is condemned as a criminal. It is an accepted theory that all the acts of tyranny similar to the Spanish Inquisition are practiced in foreign countries, but if the people of America would take the trouble to investigate they would find that New York, the metropolis of the New World, was stigmatized with acts that would not bear the light of justice."

It was here that Miss Goldman had to moisten her lips with water and it was also here that the baby, who was pacing up and down in front of the platform, caught sight of the glass and set up a cry for it. Nothing else would satisfy the precocious youngster, and his desperate father mounted the platform and secured the desired article, intending to replace it after baby had a drink. But he reckoned without his host, for when baby laid his chubby hands on the tumbler he kept them there despite all entreaties and words of Anarchy were thrown to the winds.

They did not touch its little stomach, however, and with the start that she had made, Miss Goldman was soon deeply engaged in depicting pictures that made her hearers tremble with indignation. She then proceeded to talk of oppression, and alluded to some remarks now and then which proved very effective.

"Man is simply an automaton governed by the present state of environment," she said. "He neither thinks nor acts of his own free will. All are ruled by a system of laws which have their origin in power, the principle of tyranny which

ment, rolled over and over and to
bottom up in the ditch. Martin P
was killed, several other passengers
riously injured, and many badly cut
bruised. Doctors were summoned
Waterville, Clinton, Pittsfield and
port, and gave the wounded needed
care at the house of Mr. Simpson, w
for the time was turned into a hos
General Manager Evans and other
road officers arrived by a special
to personally look after the injured.

There was a wild scramble among
passengers to get out and assist
those slightly hurt had come from un
glass. Those seriously hurt were cri
under the weight of people over t
The list of victims is as follows:

Killed.

Martin Payne, aged 31 of Plymo

Seriously Hurt.

Charles Getchell, baggage master
Newport station.
Frank O. Billings, East Newport
Arthur Fish, Dexter.
Mr. J. W. Townsend, Newport.
Joseph Welch, St. Albans.
Oscar Butters, Newport.
W. H. Earle Plymouth.
Mrs. Wilbur Miles, Newport.
James Brigham, Newport.
Fred. Palmer.
Bert Conners of Pittsfield.

All received internal injuries and
recovery of several is doubtful.

Slightly Injured.

C. C. Crowell, Corinna; John Park
Palmyra, J. A. Carey, Newport, R
den, Pittsfield; Mrs. Freeman
Lowell, Mass.; A. Dow, J. H. Mar
H. Tilton, J. A. Pray, E. B. Tru
A. Allen and wife, Ernest Partridge
J. M. Kalen, all of Newport, Me.;
Sampson, A. B. Pumpe and A. W
rar of Dexter, Alonzo C. Chase,
port; H. A. Ray, Dover, N. H.; R
Abbott; A. N. Hart, East Newport;
Alonzo Miles, Mabel Townsend
Soper, R. Gilman of Newport; C. H
Smith of Greenville and Mrs. L
Palmyra. Nearly all have been
to their homes.

This is the first serious accident
years on the Maine Central. The
of the wheel breaking is not kn
The track was not at all obstructed
traffic proceeded as usual, and the
age to rolling stock was not very h

A REMARKABLE CHASE.

Cyclist Carl Nicholas Captur
Runaway After a Brilliant

Carl Nicholas, who looks after
wheels of the Park cycle house
teaches the ignorant the ways o
bicycle, stopped a runaway horse i
Park yesterday after a remar
chase. A Mr. Watties about 1:
left his horse and team near the
pon while he inspected the little p
within the wires.

For some cause sufficiently
the excited animal, it moved off
the hill at a rate of speed far
away ahead of what Mr. Watties
succeeded in getting out of his pre
The horse increased his rate,
turned toward the Broad street ent
Many were teams and visitors in
there directly in his path, but he
in some manner avoided them all.
Carl Nicholas from the bicycle,
the old state emporium down
shores of the lake, saw the runaway

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

891215034

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] More Anarchy / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The Providence Daily Journal. – (Sept. 6, 1897).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

at Present Keep the
tem Secret.

Sept. 5.—(Special.)—
n Juneau that another
t richer than Klondike
ered. At the present
ert of four men. One
Pass two weeks ago
place. The others will

A well-known mining
ert, is one of those in
e is positive, from the
old brought back that
reater rush to the new
ers have been to Klon-
cation has been made

imed Polk became that
was rescued by an In-
p on his feet and gave
s. On the way back
from the ground an
of gold. This, it is
Lake Testing. He
and took the other
confidence.

THREATENED.

Mace Bemad, Gagged
Assaulted.

Sept. 6.—Miss. Helen
n, who has been in
l at Millington, a small
alem, was gagged, tied
saulted by an unknown
ing place in that village
ing the absence of the
n. She had a terrible
r assailant, but was
he floor insensible. The
d of a small sum of
g parties are scouring
threats are made that
n will be lynched. The
deputy sheriffs have
will aid in the search.

OLOMON ISLANDS.

ion Sailed from San
isco Friday.

Sept. 5.—A secret gold
n left this city on Fri-
ion Islands, where, it
up, are said to be ab-
is mines of gold quartz.
Sophia Sutherland. In
ith Sea Commercial Co.,
ch is to seek the treas-
the cupidity of traders
lands has been excited
crude gold ornaments
tives. Several expedi-
overed to land on this
he source of the gold.
nstrations have driven
away. The Sutherland
r is months.

WEDDING TOUR.

Celebrate Start On One
Built for Two.

Sept. 5.—(Special.)—Fif
of five weeks' honey
the Minute Introduction
did, were married this
bicycle trip. The bride
chief inducement
for all other bicycle
having for a wedding
three of a dozen and a
trousseau was

Boston, Sept. 5.—The report from the Massachusetts General Hospital to-night is to the effect that the condition of Carlton T. Butters and John Harris is such that a turn either for better or worse is likely to occur at any moment.

Examination showed that Harris, in attempting suicide, had lodged a bullet in his head so close to the brain that meningitis is likely to set in if he should suffer a relapse. The physicians have been unable to remove the bullet.

Carlton Butters is suffering from almost exactly similar conditions, save that in his case two bullets have thus far defied extraction. One entered near the eye, the other in the cheek. He, too, may contract meningitis.

Harris positively refuses to talk.

Waltham, Mass., Sept. 5.—Harris, who fatally shot Mrs. Butters and attempted to kill young Butters and himself, was 50 years old. He was in a wholesale paint and oil commission house in Boston at one time. The firm opened a branch in New York and Harris was sent there as head clerk, later becoming manager and finally succeeding to the business, out of which he drew at one time $15,000 a year.

While in New York he married a young lady belonging to one of the old Knickerbocker families. Soon after he began to gamble and his business rapidly went to ruin.

To make up his gambling losses he became involved in the robbery of a lot of diamonds from a New York woman and was sent to Sing Sing for two years.

A WILD WEST INCIDENT.

An Indian Boy Thrown from a
Horse and Injured.

The exhibition of the Wild West show at Crescent Park Saturday afternoon very nearly terminated in a fatality through the stumbling of a horse during a wild dash across the field. It was at the conclusion of the general introduction to the spectators, when in the midst of a hurry scurry one of the horses stumbled. On his back was perched Johnny Hemlock, the 12-year-old son of one of the Indians. When the horse stumbled the little fellow was thrown over the animal's head, fortunately landing in a deep gully made by the old driveway into the ball grounds. This undoubtedly saved the lad's life, for before he could pick himself up or the horse recover his footing the big animal pitched by Mexican Tobe struck against him, knocking him down. The crowd outside the fence were horrified to see the [illegible] as it went down full [illegible] fully into which the latter had [illegible] from being crushed to [illegible] he was knocked un[illegible] to be taken to the [illegible] Indian headquarters, [illegible] that the boy had [illegible] C. Force was summoned [illegible] examination found that [illegible] been wrenched and that the [illegible] layered about the [illegible] were broken, and [illegible] there was no [illegible]

in his act and in the [illegible] of a tyrant and a persecutor is condemned as a criminal. It is an accepted theory that all the acts of tyranny similar to the Spanish Inquisition are practiced in foreign countries, but if the people of America would take the trouble to investigate they would find that New York, the metropolis of the New World, was stigmatized with acts that would not bear the light of justice."

It was here that Miss Goldman had to moisten her lips with water and it was also here that the baby, who was pacing up and down in front of the platform, caught sight of the glass and set up a cry for it. Nothing else would satisfy the precocious youngster, and his desperate father mounted the platform and secured the desired article, intending to replace it after baby had a drink. But he reckoned without his host, for when baby laid his chubby hands on the tumbler he kept them there despite all entreaties and words of Anarchy were spoken from dry lips.

They did not cease in their utterance, however, and with the start that she had made Miss Goldman was soon deeply engaged in drawing pictures that made her hearers tremble with indignation. She not only recounted tales of oppression, but also indulged in apostrophe now and then which proved very effective.

"Man is simply an automaton according to the present acts of government," she said. "He neither thinks nor acts of his own free will. All are ruled by a system of laws which give those in power the privilege of tyranny which they do not fail to exercise. If there were no laws there would be no people to break the laws."

Miss Goldman then ran off at a tangent and touched upon all the phases of Anarchy, closing with an impressive apostrophe, in which she pictured the country lost to the rule of the capitalists and monopolists and that becoming monarchical.

The address had lasted an hour and a half, and when she closed there was an immediate break for the door. Miss Goldman was not so exhausted by her remarks, however, that she could not get to the door first to take up a collection in the interests of those who, she said, were suffering under the heel of power. The baby had gone to the window to cool off and a handful of the audience remained to ask questions.

This part of the programme was necessarily cut short, however, for Miss Goldman had to take the early train to Boston, where she spoke in the evening.

Her services have been secured for to-day, however, by the local Anarchists and she will speak at Crescent Park and Rocky Point. She also intends remaining in the city till Wednesday night, during which time she will make further addresses.

LEFT TO DROWN.

Two New York Policemen Chase a
Fireman Into the River.

New York, Sept. 5.—[illegible] James Welsh, a fireman of the Cunard steamship Etruria, was drowned in the North river, at the foot of Clarkson street, Saturday night. [illegible] With the officers close at his [illegible] Welsh, in his frenzy, [illegible] the young [illegible] and was [illegible] with a [illegible] for help. [illegible] to the [illegible] of two [illegible] with the police. [illegible] the pier in the darkness, making no effort to save his life [illegible] It is said he [illegible]

to their
This i
years ag
of the
The trac
traffic pl
age to f

t'yetta
Mumaw
Carl
wheels
teaches
bicycle.
Park
chase.
left his
pon whi
within

For a
the cou
the hill
away a
succeede
The hor
turned i
There w
hers dro
in some
Carl M
the old
shores o
and its
slope
started
gust of
such st
lead ma
At the
runaway
direction
reached
the hors
It was
It family
Meyerfeld
knowing
a runni
failed t
brought

The Ru

Viele
gave P
Shaugn
ton of
up to
a tra
the hill
by no
lead it
buddie
in the
drive
by H.
Tighma
on the
times
One
gravel
the t
pegw
rained
direct
lead
ma

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890210012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Told to Get Out / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1,9 ; 43 cm. *In* The Evening Bulletin [Providence]. —(Sept 8, 1897).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Providence Public Library.

NDREWS'S LETTER.

tification to Brown Corporation He Will Not Withdraw His Resignation.

BY THE SECRETARY THIS MORNING.

etween Dr. Andrews and the Executive Committee Mainly Devoted to a Discussion of the Form of the ction Looking Toward the Selection of a Successor. Several Very Able Men Mentioned in Connection with

ndrews's letter, stat- thdraw his resigna- ency of Brown Uni- d this morning by derson, Secretary of stated in the Jour- is is the President's tter. Within a short e his labors at the devote his attention terests of the paper by John Brisben f the Cosmopolitan

asked this morning



President's letter t out," he said. "You r Andrews for it." cause either the con- or the events of yes- of the advisory and ee one about a successor asked the reporter the Corporation to to give a notice a days before a special

direction from that of the local institution, and that considering the amount of discussion which had been created by his letter of resignation there was much doubt as to his usefulness in the event of his remaining at the head of Brown University.

So strong was his feeling on this subject that there was practically no attempt at the meeting to dissuade him from his intention of adhering to his original letter of declination. The only question, therefore, was as to the phraseology of the communication to the Secretary. This being finally settled, the meeting adjourned, and within a few weeks President Andrews will be succeeded by an educator more in harmony with the spirit of the institution. The men talked of for the place include Benjamin Ide Wheeler nr Cornell, Benjiah Whitman of Columbian, Rev. W. H. P. Faunce of New York and Dr. Thomas D. Anderson. These men have been in the public mind for some time as eligible for the Presidency, but it may be that the Corporation will have to go outside their number in making their selection.

The question of a successor to Dr. Andrews, however, did not come before the committee at its meeting yesterday. Dr. Andrews's ultimatum was the only topic considered.

The whole committee was not present. Those who were there included Dr Andrews, Dr. George L. Collins, Robert I. Gammell, Rev. Thomas D. Anderson, Cornelius S. Sweetland and Oscar Lapham. Of the remaining five members of the committee, Rowland Hazard was in Europe, J. C. B. Woods was in New London and Judge Durfee and Arnold B. Chace were unable to be present.

Dr. Andrews, who in his capacity as President of the university is Chairman of the committee, presided over the first part of the meeting. Later he withdrew and Hon. Oscar Lapham was chosen Chairman.

The members who were present at this meeting of the committee uniformly refused to disclose what was done by them, or in what way the subject of Dr. Andrews's resignation was brought up, though they did go so far as to rashly declare that the resignation was talked of at the meeting. "It was only a conference," said Dr. Anderson, the Secretary of the Corporation, and all the rest of the members dodged questions by giving about the same answer to all inquiries that were made.

The only statement made in regard to the meeting was that no formal action of any kind relating to Dr. Andrews's resignation was taken. The affair was wholly a conference and nothing more was to be said.

"I ask to be excused from talking," said Mr. Sweetland when questioned. "I really have no information to give out. When the proper time comes all will be made known."

Hon. Oscar Lapham, who was Chairman of the meeting when Dr. Andrews withdrew, would say nothing further than that the matter would be made public in two or three days. Dr Collins and Mr Gammell declined to say anything at all touching the resignation.

The only formal business transacted by the committee was a vote to appropriate a sufficient sum to have a stone laid in the foundation of the memorial church at Phillips Academy in Exeter, N. H. Further action to be taken by a number of colleges and Brown will have its stone with them.

TOLD TO GET OUT.

Anarchist Emma Goldman Ordered to Leave the City.

WAS ARRESTED LAST NIGHT BY ORDER OF THE MAYOR.

And Spent the Night in a Cell at the Station.

TOLD TO-DAY THERE WAS NO ROOM FOR HER HERE.

Her "Herald," Cook, Given to Understand That It Will be Best for Him to Keep Quiet If He Desires to Remain in the City.—Miss Goldman Left Town Without Delay.

Emma Goldman, the woman Anarchist was sent out of the city early this afternoon by the Mayor. She is not to return here and in order to ensure her absence the charge of revelling which was made against her will be continued three months. It will be pressed if she again visits this city.

It was by order of the Mayor that the police acted in the case. After reading her first speech here, in which she defied the authorities and exalted assassination, Mr. McGuinness came to the belief that the orderly people of the city ought not to be compelled to suffer the dissemination of such doctrine by New York Anarchists. He instructed the police to put a stop to it.

The captain of the 4th precinct was evidently not over prompt in acting, and two more of the ranting speeches of Miss Goldman went before the public. The Mayor's instructions when he learned of this were decidedly more emphatic in tone, with the result that when the advocate of free love appeared in the central precinct last night she was promptly taken in custody by the officers.

She cannot be said to have enjoyed herself during the night, although a cell is no new place for her. With the drunks and the revellers she was haled before the Police Court at 8 o'clock this morning charged with revelling. She denied her guilt, and was held in $100 bonds for trial Friday. Her friends, who were so much worked up over her arrest that they rushed into the Journal office last night and dictated the substance of a bulletin they wanted posted in the window announcing the arrest, apparently left her to her fate.

This morning she was cheerful, although indignant that she should not be allowed to see the newspapers or send a telegram to her friends in New York. She had had no breakfast, and this did not tend to put her in a better mood. Besides this, she had an evident misunderstanding over the offence she was charged with, and altogether her opinion of the police of this city was not complimentary. She dodged this when a Bulletin reporter asked her the question, saying she would reserve her opinion until she got out.

"It's a shame that I cannot communicate with my friends," she said, looking trim and neat in a blue dress and a jaunty Alpine hat as she sat in the cell. "They do not know that I need them

BOSTON STORE

CALLENDER, McAUSLAN & TROUP COMPANY

School Time

IS

Rain Time.



School Umbrellas—2 26-inch — natural han paragon frames—the se season leader at

50c.

Carola Umbrellas - inch, close roll, cases tassels, natural hand, special at

1.00

Another lot — you them — our famous Umbrellas—26 and 2 —handsome natural ha and pure silk Taffeta c

1.15

HENRY H. FAY.

The Ex-Lieutenant Governor Died at Newport This Morning.

HE WAS POSTMASTER IN THAT CITY UNDER PREST. HARRISON.

Had Also Been a Member of the General Assembly.

WAS DELEGATE TO CONVENTION THAT RENOMINATED LINCOLN.

For a Number of Years He Served on the School Committee of Newport and Was Chosen Superintendent of Schools, While Occupying That Position.—Early in Life He Was a Noted Teacher.

Hon. Henry H. Fay, Postmaster of Newport for four years under President Benjamin Harrison, and Lieutenant Governor of the State from 1876 to 1878 and a prominent citizen of Newport and of the State, died this morning after a long illness.

Hon. Henry H. Fay, son of Rev. Elipha Fay, late President of Waterville College, Maine, was born at New Paltz Ulster county, New York, in 18[illegible]. In 1856 he received the degree of Master of

PROVIDENCE MA

Michael Leonard in a Affray at Hyde P

HE RECEIVED A D WOUND IN THE AB

Now at Massachusetts G pital in a Precarious C

A MAN HELD BY THE SUSPICION.

Leonard Left His Hom terday to Go to Wor but Did Not Return Night.—He Has a Wi Children Living o Street.—Detective Par Is Well-Known at F

Hyde Park, Mass., Sept. ous and probably fatal s occurred here about midn Leonard, a middle-aged m thought, lived at 70 Ko Providence, was shot in and was taken to the General Hospital in a dan Hon James A. Cronnick in custody on suspici Leonard.

The shooting occurred on Up to 10 o'clock this morn known of the circumstanc dents of Eastern avenue, and John H. Frazier, he fired a few minutes bef They ran towards the which the reports came, one or two others who h on the streets in the v where Eastern avenue an met a man who afterw be Michael Leonard was suffering from a bullet ho men.

As soon as the police of the shooting Dr Holt physician, was called H Leonard for some time in extracting the ball, wh was successful. The ball had [illegible] partner, and it [illegible] doubtful if the man could [illegible] he was taken to the General Hospital.

The police promptly be gation last night was unf his assailant was as the by the fact that [illegible] [illegible] Pa [illegible] to be [illegible] dog bark. Two shots w [illegible] the [illegible] James A [illegible] and [illegible]



101

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890210012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Told to Get Out / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1,9 ; 43 cm. *In* The Evening Bulletin [Providence]. —(Sept 8, 1897).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Providence Public Library.



President's letter.
it out," he said. "You
Dr. Andrews for it."
discuse either the con-
er or the events of yes-
of the advisory and
ittee.
done about a successor
?" asked the reporter.
or the Corporation to

ary to give a notice a
of days before a special
."

attended to at the Cor-
meeting. Adjournment
t to a call from the Sec-
ssue a notice of a meet-
which seems to be most
meeting, however, will
hin a week, for I have
that such action would

ent. Dr. Andrews is still
ke it, and I find others
h me in the view, and he
his successor is chosen."
this Dr. Anderson would
but referred the reporter
s for all information.
was seen and asked if he
a copy of his letter.
d, "I cannot do it."
ined to discuss his resig-

text of the document
the public, its intent
known. The letter

ernoon between Dr. An-
committee of the trus-
n University. Before the
President of the univer-
d at a decision regarding
d much of the time of the
taken up in a discussion
language in which the
Dr. Andrews should be
information was developed
s, after considering the
, held to the opinion
was in another

be that the Corporation will have to go outside their number in making their selection.

The question of a successor to Dr. Andrews, however, did not come before the committee at its meeting yesterday. Dr. Andrews's ultimatum was the only topic considered.

The whole committee was not present. Those who were there included Dr. Andrews, Dr. George L. Collins, Robert I. Gammell, Rev. Thomas D. Anderson, Cornelius S. Sweetland and Oscar Lapham. Of the remaining five members of the committee, Rowland Hazard was in Europe, J. C. B. Woods was in New London and Judge Durfee and Arnold B. Chace were unable to be present.

Dr. Andrews, who in his capacity as President of the university is Chairman of the committee, presided over the first part of the meeting. Later he withdrew and Hon. Oscar Lapham was chosen Chairman.

The members who were present at this meeting of the committee uniformly refused to disclose what was done by them, or in what way the subject of Dr. Andrews's resignation was brought up, though they did go so far as to rashly declare that the resignation was talked of at the meeting. "It was only a conference," said Dr. Anderson, the Secretary of the Corporation, and all the rest of the members dodged questions by giving about the same answer to all inquiries that were made.

The only statement made in regard to the meeting was that no formal action of any kind relating to Dr. Andrews's resignation was taken. The affair was wholly a conference and nothing more was to be said.

"I ask to be excused from talking," said Mr. Sweetland when questioned. "I really have no information to give out. When the proper time comes all will be made known."

Hon. Oscar Lapham, who was Chairman of the meeting when Dr. Andrews withdrew, would say nothing further than that the matter would be made public in two or three days. Dr. Collins and Mr. Gammell declined to say anything at all touching the resignation.

The only formal business transacted by the committee was a vote to appropriate a sufficient sum to have a stone laid in the foundation of the memorial church at Phillips Academy in Exeter, N. H. Similar action is taken by a number of colleges, and Brown will have its stone with them.

THE WEATHER.

Record of the Journal Thermometer for the Past 24 Hours.

Highest, 1:30 p. m. to-day..... 69
Lowest, 6 a. m. to-day..... 61

The Bulletin's Special Prediction.

R. I. College of A. and M. A., Kingston, R. I., Sept. 8, 11:30 A. M.—Weather forecast for the next 24 hours: For Rhode Island, fair weather.

Washington, Sept. 8.—For New England: Fair to-night and Thursday; warmer in interior; southerly winds.

Boston, Sept. 8, 8 A. M.—For Boston and vicinity, fair to-night and Thursday; warmer during Thursday; south to southwest winds.

Weather Conditions—The weather is fair throughout the country this morning, but it is cloudy and somewhat unsettled in districts bordering on the coast from New England southward to New Jersey. This cloudiness does not result from any conditions portending storm, as the barometer is much above the normal in eastern sections. The barometer is very low in the Northwest, registering below 29.50 in Montana. As yet this depression is not attended by foul weather, its only effect being on the temperature, which in all Western districts in unseasonably high. In the Dakotas, Iowa and Nebraska the general range of morning temperature is slightly above 70. Moderately cool temperatures prevail in the Lake regions and other Eastern districts, with a tendency towards higher figures. The mercury in New England is almost stationary at about 60. The following large amounts of precipitation are reported: Jacksonville, Fla., 2.00 inches; Key West, Fla., 1.88 inches, and these are the only rainfalls worthy of mention within the past 24 hours.

Miniature Almanac, Sept. 8.

Sun Rises.....5:15 | Moon Sets.. 2.28 A.M.
Sun Sets.....6:07 | High Tide.. 5:58 P.M.

A New Lake, 100 Miles Long.

New York, Sept. 8.—A World special from San Francisco says: George Stinson has arrived here from the Copper river region. He visited Cook's Inlet and made his way up Matamooski river, crossing over to Matamooski Divide. "There," he says, "I found a lake 100 miles long at least. You cannot see across it anywhere. This lake is not on any map. I went around the edge of the lake and found a big river, which I followed down into Copper river. There are gold and copper veins of great richness us near the head of Cam[illegible] river."

herself quite the night, which was a ... is no new place for her. With the drunks and the revellers she was haled before the Police Court at 8 o'clock this morning charged with revelling. She denied her guilt, and was held in $100 bonds for trial Friday. Her friends, who were so much worked up over her arrest that they rushed into the Journal office last night and dictated the substance of a bulletin they wanted posted in the window announcing the arrest, apparently left her to her fate.

This morning she was cheerful, although indignant that she should not be allowed to see the newspapers or send a telegram to her friends in New York. She had had no breakfast, and this did not tend to put her in a better mood. Besides this, she had an evident misunderstanding over the offence she was charged with, and altogether, her opinion of the police of this city was not complimentary. She dodged this when a Bulletin reporter asked her the question, saying she would reserve her opinion until she got out.

"It's a shame that I cannot communicate with my friends," she said, looking trim and neat in a blue dress and a jaunty Alpine hat as she sat in the cell. "They do not know that I need them, and may not come to my help. I ought not to have been arrested, anyway. I had done nothing. I have been speaking here some time, and have never been molested before. I spoke in Olneyville and in Burgess square, and when I was here last spring I spoke in Burgess square.

"I didn't bring the crowd," she continued. "It was there when I arrived. A man stood on a wagon selling wares, and he brought the greater part of the gathering. I merely addressed those I found there, and freedom of speech is, or ought to be, assured in this country."

Just here her breakfast arrived. She had sent the janitor out after it, and was hungry.

"I guess they don't think prisoners care to eat in this city," she said. "In New York every prisoner in every station house gets three meals a day, but here you are not allowed to send for anything until 10 o'clock. I want to employ counsel, too, but have not been allowed to send out for a lawyer."

"Your friends will look out for you," said Capt. Matthews.

"That may be," she replied, "but I want to look out for myself in the meantime."

Eventually John H. Cook and a swarthy black moustached individual, who has meekly followed in the train of Miss Goldman since her arrival in the city and has been credited with being the successor to the jailed Berkman in the role of temporary husband, held a conference with the Chief of Police. The Chief conferred with the Mayor and the result was that the party of three were ushered into the office of the Executive about noon.

Miss Goldman's eyes snapped fire while the Mayor talked, but she had little to say. She said she wished to get away to Boston as soon as possible and was very ready to promise not to again set foot in this city. In fact she was anxious to leave at once.

Mr. Cook wanted to know if the Mayor

Continued on Page 9.



Miss Emma Goldman.

The woman Anarchist ordered out of the city.
—From a photograph by S. B. Brown.

Had Also Been a Member of the General Assembly.

WAS DELEGATE TO CONVENTION THAT RENOMINATED LINCOLN.

For a Number of Years He Served on the School Committee of Newport and Was Chosen Superintendent of Schools, While Occupying That Position.—Early in Life He Was a Noted Teacher.

Hon. Henry H. Fay, Postmaster of Newport for four years under President Benjamin Harrison, and Lieutenant Governor of the State from 1880 to 1883 and a prominent citizen of Newport and of the State, died this morning after a long illness.

Hon. Henry H. Fay, son of Rev. Elphas Fay, late President of Waterville College, Maine, was born at New Paltz, Ulster county, New York, in 1835. In 1856 he received the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Rochester, and during that year established a school for boys at Newport, the reputation of which attracted pupils from all parts of the country. This school was carried on successfully by Mr. Fay until 1875, when he retired therefrom.

During that year Mr. Fay was elected to the Rhode Island General Assembly, to which he was annually re-elected until 1880, when he was chosen Lieutenant Governor on the Republican ticket, having been a member of that party from its organization. He was re-elected Lieutenant Governor in 1881. While in the General Assembly he was Chairman of the committee on education and a member of the committee on finance. He was an original member of the State Board of Charities and Correction, serving for three years, when he resigned. He was a delegate from Rhode Island to the Republican National Convention at Baltimore in 1864 when Abraham Lincoln was renominated for the Presidency.

Mr. Fay had also been a member of the school committee of Newport for a number of years, and while serving on that body was a few years ago chosen Superintendent of Schools, serving a couple of years.

He was in 1873 and 1874 the Republican candidate for Mayor of Newport, but was each time defeated, once by the late Mayor James Atkinson, and once by ex-Mayor Slocum. His brother, William W. Fay, has been for many years a professor at the United States Naval Academy.

Mr. Fay married in 1861 Ida Garland of Baltimore. His successful career as an educator and his efficient public service have placed him among the prominent and influential men of the State.

Found a Diamond Mine.

San Antonio, Tex., Sept. 8.—(Special.) Customs Inspectors at Laredo have found an unclaimed valise on a train containing $300,000 worth of diamonds, jewelry and other valuables.

Now at Massachusetts [illegible] pital in a Precarious

A MAN HELD BY THE SUSPICION

Leonard Left His Hom[illegible] terday to Go to Wo[illegible] but Did Not Return Night.—He Has a W[illegible] Children Living [illegible] Street.—Detective Pa[illegible] is Well-Known at P[illegible]

Hyde Park, Mass., Sept. [illegible] ous and probably fatal [illegible] occurred here about mid[illegible] Leonard, a middle-aged [illegible] thought, lived at 70 [illegible] Providence, was shot in [illegible] and was taken to the [illegible] General Hospital in a d[illegible] tion. James A. Cronnick [illegible] is in custody on suspi[illegible] shot Leonard.

The shooting occurred [illegible] Up to 10 o'clock this mo[illegible] known of the circumstan[illegible] dents of Eastern avenue [illegible] and John H. Frazier, h[illegible] fired a few minutes b[illegible] They ran towards the [illegible] which the reports came, [illegible] one or two others who [illegible] on the streets in the [illegible] where Eastern avenue a[illegible] meet, a man who afterw[illegible] be Michael Leonard was [illegible] suffering from a bullet h[illegible] men.

As soon as the police [illegible] of the shooting, Dr. Hol[illegible] Physician, was called. [illegible] Leonard for some time, [illegible] in extracting the ball, [illegible] a revolver. The ball ha[illegible] intestines, and Dr. Hol[illegible] doubtful if the man coul[illegible] a. m. he was taken to th[illegible] General Hospital.

The police promptly h[illegible] gation. Leonard was un[illegible] his assailant was, as th[illegible] by the time that Iro[illegible] reached the scene. The[illegible] previous to the shootin[illegible] dog bark. Two shots w[illegible] immediately after. The[illegible] James A. Cronnick ha[illegible] and had left for home [illegible] minutes before the cho[illegible] had been drinking and [illegible] with him.

Cronnick, after his a[illegible] he did the shooting. He[illegible] home, which is not [illegible] Leonard was found [illegible] were fired. The police [illegible] the revolver with whi[illegible] shot. Iron and Frazier [illegible] nesses.

This forenoon it was a[illegible] ard had told an officer [illegible] taken to the hospital, t[illegible] up by two men and th[illegible] He could not give an[illegible] the men. Leonard is al[illegible]

Leonard's Relative[illegible]

Michael Leonard is [illegible] ployed for the past two [illegible] Brothers, contractors, [illegible] He moved with his wife [illegible] son to 70 Kossuth stree[illegible] street about three wee[illegible] two brothers in the city [illegible] is married, and lives a[illegible] nue, and Charles, a [illegible] boards with his brother [illegible]

Mrs. Leonard was no[illegible] formed by a reporter, [illegible] was not at work yeste[illegible] did not return home la[illegible] the house at the usual [illegible] morning, and his wife [illegible] gone to work.

The man's absence [illegible] night was not consider[illegible] frequently occurred, a[illegible] supposed he might ha[illegible] brother's house, as he [illegible] done before.

Michael did not al[illegible] steadily, and was in th[illegible] or less frequent interv[illegible] away from work for s[illegible] time. He had not be[illegible] week.

It was learned at hi[illegible] that neither of them [illegible] for four weeks. This [illegible] concern as to his welf[illegible] one of them remarked [illegible]

"Mike is big enough [illegible] himself."

None of the man's r[illegible] been notified of his inj[illegible]

Continued on [illegible]

NO AGREE[illegible]

Work at the Nov[illegible] Works Still S[illegible]

[illegible] the operatives of the [illegible] Works here is still on [illegible] riman says that he w[illegible] committee of strikers, [illegible] to see them. Mr. [illegible] that the price of the [illegible] duct has not advanc[illegible] by the employes, but [illegible] terial has advanced. [illegible] the reason of his dis[illegible] cut in wages. He w[illegible] said, either to stop [illegible] money is running t[illegible] this way out of it.

102

890210012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Told to Get Out / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1,9 ; 43 cm. *In* The Evening Bulletin [Providence]. —(Sept 8, 1897).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Providence Public Library.

Hospital Service, Sanitary Inspector at Havana complains of number of persons who apply for ...ses to go to the United States ...e are not admissible under the ...ths. He gives the following il...

...nd one family who applied for ...ses to go to Tampa, Fla., bear... which stated that they were ... the province of Pinar del Rio, ...ing questioned stated that they ...d in the country all their lives ...o years ago, when they came to ... They had never had yellow ... When told that they could not ...ampa they left the office, only ...n a few days later, bearing an ...statement that they were born ...ity of Havana, and had resided ... some time. They were again ... when a physician's certificate ...nished that he had attended ...ring an attack of yellow fever. ...ere then rejected for the third ...his is but one of similar cases, ...scribed to demonstrate the diffi... the work here, the persistency ...ople to transgress our sanitary ...nd the facility with which per... get official papers to suit the ...ents of the occasion."

...runner says that yellow fever ...reased slightly over the week

AGAINST UNION R. R. CO.

...menian Laborer Wants Dam... to the Extent of $2000.

...claration has been filed in the ... Pleas Division of the Supreme ... in the case of Peter Joseph Be... against the Union Railroad Com... The plaintiff alleges that he was ... through the negligence of the de... on Aug. 9, and brings suit ... his attorney for the recovery of ...mages.

... was issued and served upon the ...nt Aug. 25. On the date that the ... took place, Behoyan boarded ...at Market square. Finding he ...on the wrong line, he got off at ...ner of North Main street. As ... on the ground to the left of the ...ching for a valise which he had ...away under the seats, a Prairie ... car rounded the corner and ...Behoyan upon the shoulder and ...rowing the former and inflicting ... injuries to the latter.

...laintiff is an Armenian laborer, ...ossessed of considerable linguistic



...ee.

...a to-day.

... speaking Armenian, Greek, Ger... French and English, with appa... ...e and fluency, and can also read ... His case is likely to prove an ...ting one. Jury trial will be had

BRISTOL.

Probate Court.

...egular monthly session of the Court ...as held yesterday forenoon. The ...ed of Dr. C. H. H. Iverson, administrator ...estate of Walter A. Caldwell, for al... was continued nisi. The last will ...tament of James T. Pressley was ...ed and the petition to have Augusta H. ... executrix was approved. Mrs. Rich... ...ed bond in the sum of ... The account of ... administratrix on the e... Hope P. Walker was allowed. The ... of George H. Congdon, administrator ...estate of Elizabeth P. Darling, for ... was continued. The petition of ... P. Luther, executrix on the estate ...ohn J. Tillson, for the appointment ...appraisers on inventory was granted. ...ree were appointed. Notice ... Letters ... Town Council

...egular monthly meeting of the Town ...as held yesterday afternoon. The pe... ...tion of [illegible] for the privilege ...reading was continued until the next ...eeting. The petition of Theodora M. ... and others for the adoption of [illegible]

ECHOES OF THE SQUIRT.

Jealousies of Pawtuxet Valley Firemen Lead to Blows.

A NATICK MAN RECEIVED DRUBBING FROM RIVERPOINTERS.

Woonsocket Firemen Claim They Should Have Been Awarded Second Prize, a Mistake Having Been Made by the Judges.

The principal topic of conversation in the Pawtuxet Valley to-day is the firemen's contest at Narragansett Park yesterday, and although the Riverpointe succeeded in sending the water farther than their old enemies, the Naticks, they are still dissatisfied, because they did not take first place.

A lively row occurred at Riverpoint last evening after the return of the firemen from Narragansett Park, between one of the backers of the Riverpoint machine and one of the Natick men, who thought that the Riverpoint man was crowing too much about the result of the contest. The man from the home of the President of the Town Council started with the intention of completely annihilating the whole Riverpoint company, but before the end of the argument he was convinced of the error of his ways and judgment, and started on the run for Natick, apparently in great haste to find a drug store where leeches were kept in stock for the purpose of removing tell-tale facial discolorations.

A Dispute Over the Awards.

According to the awards of the judges in the firemen's contest at the State Fair yesterday, Tekoosnoow, the Woonsocket veterans' machine, played 162 feet 1⅝ inches, and was given fifth place, just missing a prize. Barney Coyle, President of the Woonsocket Veteran Firemen's Association, who was one of the judges yesterday, stated to-day that a mistake had been made, and that the actual play of the Woonsocket engine was 166 feet 1⅝ inches, and that the Woonsocket company should have had second prize.

He also stated that there was a possibility of the award being made that way, as he had received a telephone message from the managers of the fair, asking him to meet with the other judges and go over the whole matter, if he desired to do so. The prize money, he said, had not been paid.

Dayton Cycle Club Meeting.

There was a special meeting of the Dayton Cycle Club at the club rooms on Beacon avenue last evening. The meeting was called to consider the matter of new quarters, and the club voted to secure an entire house, as the membership is too large for the present quarters.

President H. W. Brown and Secretary Chase were in their allotted chairs at the hour of meeting, with a heavy attendance. The statement was briefly made that as the number of men joining the club had made the present quarters rather limited, an entire house would be of advantage before any more new members were elected, and that 15 applications were now before the investigating committee. After considerable discussion as to the advisability of such a step, it was decided that as winter was fast approaching, with the riding season closing, the members would need other attractions than a meeting and reading room to hold them together during the cold months, and that a pool and billiard table and card rooms would be an attraction. The statement was made that a cottage house on Pine street, near Summer street, could be hired by the club, and a committee was appointed to look at it.

After the meeting several of the members visited this house. It is large enough for the purpose, has sizable rooms for a billiard table, a reading room and officers' quarters on the ground floor, good rooms upstairs and a large and dry cellar, which will make an excellent wheel room, with a sizable yard.

Newhall and Bullock, the tandem riders who made the record ride from Providence to New York recently, were in receipt of congratulations on their plucky ride.

Thursday evening the club will have a moonlight excursion on steamer Rambler. Invitations have been extended to other clubs to attend, and over 400 tickets are out, so that the call will be highly enjoyable. The boat will leave the foot of Power street at 8 o'clock. A run was called for Sunday to Rocky Point.

Joe Bowden, the "little flyer," who made a sensational ride last Saturday with the "pros," will race at the meet at Meriden, Conn., Saturday afternoon.

Hubert Martin, the "midget wonder" of this city, the winner of the two road [illegible] yesterday, expects to lower the mile amateur record in a short time, probably on the 15th, at Crescent Park track. He will be paced in his attempt by three tandem teams.

The statement has been printed that



TOLD TO GET OUT.

Continued from Page 1.

would permit Miss Goldman to continue her addresses in halls, and he was informed in reply that nothing of the kind would be permitted. The Mayor said he did not propose to sanction the stirring up of people by the irresponsible utterances of New York denunciators of law and order. Incidentally the head of the police department suggested to Mr. Cook that inasmuch as he had been introducing Miss Goldman to her auditors it would be well for him to conduct himself with more discretion in the future.

It was a very subdued trio that marched out of the Mayor's office at the conclusion of the interview. Mr. Cook led the way and opened the gate for the little woman. The swarthy individual brought up the rear. They went in the direction of the depot.

Miss Goldman was arrested on Market square last night. Emma's increasing popularity at Burges square pleased her Anarchistic pride. Like Alexander, she was about to weep for greater for more worlds to conquer, when she conceived the plan of transporting her dry goods box to Market square, and from the top of that eminence of awakening in the hearts of Westminster street paraders a burning and unquenchable desire for liberty, equality, freedom and dynamite.

Mr. Cook, Miss Emma's herald, summoned the crowd in his usual commanding way, and then introduced the heroine. With a loud voice she began to call down the church-goers, the capitalists, the police, and the Government officials.

The Sergeant on the beat notified the young woman that while she might be a good thing in her proper place he would have to push her along if she did not stop her talk, as it was attracting so many people that the street was being closed to the public.

This was a lighted match to gunpowder, for the easy, bitter tongue of the woman achieved feats of oratory.

"What," she demanded, "this a free country? Forbidding free speech, and forbidding the people from assembling!"

Then she let loose a volume of epithets to describe the cruel habits of the powers that be.

Once more the officer approached, and the crowd, which never can resist the excitement of watching a contest between the proletariat and the police, urged on the speaker. Encouraged by these signs, Miss Goldman addressed her audience.

"How many want me to speak?" she asked.

Almost all the people within hearing of the woman put up both their hands, and in their eagerness to listen to the dual debate, shouted "hooray! hooray!"

But the lady came down just about this time from her famous temporary platform and trotted over to the nearest police box. An immense crowd, made up for the most part of curiosity hunters, stood around her. Some of her personal friends sent up a howl, the most prominent words in which were "free speech, liberty, equality, brotherhood, tyranny and despotism, long live Anarchy."

Miss Goldman offered but little resistance to the police after she was taken from her position. In fact, she seemed to rejoice over the event, and to enjoy the martyrdom which her followers said she was enduring. Her backers said that they would make early arrangements to have her released, but up to a late hour the Anarchist was still a prisoner at the Central Station.

Miss Emma Goldman has delivered three addresses in this city. She had begun on her fourth last evening when she was arrested. Last Friday night she began her Providence campaign at Olneyville square. John H. Cook, a local labor agitator and Anarchist, who conducted many meetings in Casino Hall before the last Presidential election in the interests of free silver, was her sponsor. He introduced her that night at Olneyville.

Miss Goldman from the first attracted a great concourse of listeners, and as she continued her labors, her words increased in bitterness. The first evening she called her hearers "fellow-slaves" and claimed that the police and the Government were the tools of the capitalists. She wanted women to have the rights men now have.

Saturday at Burges square Miss Goldman denounced the churchgoers, and [illegible] be no God. Her remarks here greatly stirred up the passions of some of her hearers, and one woman refuted her statements.

Sunday afternoon the Anarchist talked to a crowded house at Casino Hall. It was there she distributed books showing the title: "Inquisition of Spain," and the basis of her talk was the assassination of Canovas del Castillo, the late Premier of Spain. She said it was not Golli that did it, but Canovas himself.

She was engaged to talk at Crescent Park and Rocky Point Labor Day. She had intended to stay until to-night in the city.

YELLOW FEVER.

A Detention Camp Established at Waynesville, Ga.

TENTS FURNISHED BY THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

National Authorities Still Doubt Correctness of the Reports.—Fact of 600 Cases and Only 12 Deaths Unprecedented.

Washington, Sept. 7.—The Treasury Department has procured 200 tents from the War Department for use at the permanent yellow fever detention camp which has been established at Waynesville, Ga. There are no fever patients there, but the camp has been established as a precautionary measure.

The officials at the Surgeon General's office are quite anxious that Dr. Guiteras should be on the ground as soon as possible, as they think so much of his opinion in yellow fever cases as to be guided entirely by it in their action. So far their advices are confirmatory of the press reports that the epidemic is of the nature of yellow fever. Still, it is evident that even yet they are not entirely convinced of the correctness of the reports as received, and there is apparently a strong inclination to doubt their accuracy. They say that if the disease is yellow fever it is very strange that out of 600 cases there should have been only 12 deaths.

This afternoon the Marine Hospital received two telegrams from Dr. Wasdin at Mobile, which had been delayed in transmission. One reported that President Oliphant of the Louisiana State Board of Health reported another death from yellow fever in New Orleans and three new cases. The other telegram said that two new cases were reported in New Orleans.

Surgeon Murray, who has been stationed at Mobile, but who has been on leave of absence, has been ordered to return at once and will take charge tomorrow. Surgeon H. R. Carter of Chicago, an expert who had charge of the outbreak at Brunswick, Ga., a few years ago, and Surgeon Oakley of Savannah have also been ordered to Mobile. As the State authorities have yet made no appeal for assistance, the Marine Hospital service must confine its work to preventing the disease from being carried from one State to another. Cordons and detention camps will be established at Ocean Springs and New Orleans. The theory of Dr. Baibacker, the Acting Surgeon General, is that the original disease at Ocean Springs was dengue, and that the case of yellow fever was imparted and superimposed upon the patients suffering from the other ailment.

No Yellow Fever at Edwards, Miss.

Jackson, Miss., Sept. 7.—A telephone message from Dr. McCallum at Edwards, Miss., emphatically denies the existence of yellow fever in or near the town. It is now stated that the Anderson family were suffering from dengue fever, and that they are now recovered. Dr. McCallum says that Hon. Sid Champion, who died at Edwards Sunday evening, was suffering from malarial fever.

No New Cases in New Orleans.

New Orleans, Sept. 7.—Night fell upon New Orleans without a single case of yellow fever having been reported to the State Board of Health. But one important case thus far has been developed here, and death has wiped that out. The Board of Health to-night through its President, Dr. Oliphant, and its President pro tem., Dr. Walmsley, declared that in spite of all reports to the contrary, not one of the many who had come hither from Ocean Springs had been stricken with the dread disease.

Quiet at Biloxi.

New Orleans, Sept. 8.—A dispatch from Biloxi at 10:30 says that the three cases of yellow fever reported last night are the only ones that have so far developed at or around Biloxi. The people there are quiet, and the outlook is for no excitement.

VISITING MILITIAMEN.

Reviewed by City Officials and Left for Home.

The 9th Massachusetts Regiment returned home yesterday afternoon.

While the men were at the rifle range or scattered over the streets of the city, adding color to the crowd with their [illegible] uniforms, the officers visited Mayor McGuinness at the City Hall and were received in the executive department. After greetings from the Mayor, who was for some years an officer of the 2d Regiment, the Massachusetts officers were shown through the departments of the City Hall, and then entertained at luncheon by the Mayor. Invitations from the Park Commissioners to visit Roger Williams Park were necessarily declined, owing to lack of time.

At 1:30 o'clock the 9th Massachusetts, headed by the regimental band, marched down Westminster street and up Exchange place to the roped-off space guarded by a police detail, under Deputy Chief [illegible]. The battalion formed in line in front of the City Hall, [illegible] Mayor McGuinness [illegible] members

THE [illegible]

M. S. Perry Hun... for Murder

Atlanta, Ga., ... hanged for the ... at Decatur toda... place on a sc... DeKalb county ... was pale but c... last. On the sc... innocence of the ... reiterated his a... Lanier to protec... home. The drop ...

Horace Steven... a small grocery ... when he committe... he paid the pena... day. To suppl... coma, Mrs. Perry ... home on Pied... these was Brly ... logical student ... of the Perrys w... had become infa... of questionable ... troubles that a... became involved ... shot and mortall... Court House at ... After lingering ... died. Both ... the shooting ... taken into cust... place Perry ... avowed purpos... to his wife.

Though both ... succeeded in co... sooner had the ... house at Decat... Lanier. Perry ... outraged Mrs. ...

Lanier strenuo... committed the ... death made a sta... Perry was angry ... told Mrs. Perry ... tions with other ...

Perry was tri... the DeKalb ... on Tuesday, Apri...

The case was ... Supreme Court, ... new trial. Stron... brought to bear ... save the condem... granting a respit... to investigate the ... fused to interfer...

NORTH ...

To ...

The first reg... the Town Coun... ning. The petiti... for the removal ... on Smith stree... Sweet reported ... former meetings ... case that there ... pay for the wo... that there are ... the town in t... will have ... granted. ... defends action ... might know ... Gardiner and ... should come ... meeting. Presi... urged that so... made of the ca... moved to gran... which was vo... Fruit Hill ... up, and the ... called upon for ... culty caused ... under consid... has been legali... was referred to ... case of George ... damages to his ... due, was called ... Greene said h... Commissioner ... neer that no c... grade previous ... macadam was ... served upon th... Providence ... pleted June 10, ... therefore ad... Hemingway h... ages. Attorney ... that probably ... matter of cos... cept the ruling ... and he agreed ... ly stated the ... missioner ... that these ... drawn, and he ... ter be made the ... so as to be in ... action. The ... received and o... the committee ... tee on Union ... nothing furth... tinued.

The bill of ... burying ... a destitute ... letter from E. ... Rehoboth, was ... deceased had ... shortly before ... value of $800 ... the son should ... life and the ... to the value ... Sweet and ... opinion that ... titute and that ... pay the bill. ... the statutes ... and view, ... to pay the ... James A. ... leave to ... cussion follo... appoint the ... Board of Abate... suggested that ... right to inter... opinion that To... held. Tax A... that common ... ion that some ... rectify possible ... assessors who ... bility. Mr. ... are a number ... adjustment, ... the matter was ... was voted to ... tax to ...

103

890302004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman, the Anarchist / Emma Goldman.— p. 7 ; 43 cm. *In* The Boston Daily Globe. —(Sept. 9, 1897).

Obtained from the Cornell University Libraries and Archives.

of the decision has as yet
t is paper, and Atty Gen Mc-
says that he has not made up his
w to decide the question. De-
statement, there is ground for
that the discriminating clause
sustained.

least two of the disputed points
have been raised by the opponents
the proposed additional tax have
settled against them in the mind of
torney general. The first of these,
the new law is in contravention of
treaties containing the most favored
on clause, has been determined by
attorney general to have no weight,
much as all nations are alike affect-
by the terms of the statute provided
they come within its scope. The
d point was quite interesting, and
a time seemed likely to be effective.
was that the law was unconstitu-
al because the constitution says
all duties and imports shall be uni-
throughout the United States.
was claimed that an additional duty
percent on articles coming through
ada over and above what was col-
ed on the same articles arriving at
York was in direct opposition to
express terms of the constitution.
attorney general, however, has
ed the conclusion that this objec-
is not valid, inasmuch as the effect,
merchandise was imported into New
under the same conditions which
stituted the increased tax at the
adian border, it would have to suffer
extra penalty, so that in effect the
es would be the same at both places.
e fact that both of these arguments
been decided in favor of the letter
the law shows the bent, to some de-
at least, of the attorney general's
d and affords an indication of what
decision is that may be expected.
letter was today sent to Postmaster
nas from the postoffice department
ng him to name the independent
es around Boston that could be
tably and advantageously converted
sub stations of the Boston post
e.

the letter he was told that his
wledge of conditions would be of
rial assistance to the department.
he was also told that he would not
xpected to cross any large rivers or
r natural barriers, except in the case
Cambridge. He was also asked to
his reply in Washington by next
day.

Is Not Exuberant.

nator Harris of Kansas is not so
ant in his stories of prosperity as
e of the other western men who
drifted into Washington during the
dull spell. When asked today what
the real conditions he replied:
, well, there is a great beating of
ns, blowing of horns and perform-
on the hewgag by the republi-
, but the people are not overpow-
with prosperity. The fact that the
ers are getting 80 cents a bushel for
wheat is not so phenomenal when
ought to be getting $1.20. There is
the abnormal crop of wheat in Kan-
that some people think, either. We
probably have 10,000,000 bushels of
t in the state. The corn crop is not
rge as it ought to be."

ion Pacific Will be Sold.

have the authority of Senator Foraker
for saying that it is not the purpose
the subcommittee on Pacific railroads,
which he is a member, and which is
now in session here, to interfere in the
t with the proposed sale of the
Kansas road.

In the first place," said he, "Senators
rris, Stewart and myself are only the
mmittee, and we could not prevent
sale if we would. The circuit court
ordered the sale, and when the de-
is entered nothing can interfere
its execution except an appeal by
attorney general. I do not know
the attorney general desires to en-
such an appeal.

I know," continued Senator Foraker,
my colleague, Senator Harris, is
to prevent the consummation
sale, but our subcommittee can-
ter a discussion of that branch of
provided for the appointment of a
committee to investigate and re-
the senate on the issue of pa-
for lands of the United States to
railroads and the California
on railroad. The committee is
directed to investigate and report
senate the amount due the sink-
nd of the Union and Central Pa-
on account of subsidies paid
the Mail steamship company by
and deducted from their gross
and charged to the operating
The committee is authorised
for persons and papers and ad-

Decks of the warships.

WASHINGTON, Sept 8—Admiral Matthews, acting secretary of the navy, received two messages from the North Atlantic squadron this morning. They were sent from the fleet to the commandant of the Norfolk navy yard by carrier pigeons, then telegraphed to Washington. The first message was as follows:

"Ship New York, 3 p m, Sept 7, 60 miles from Norfolk—Assistant secretary is on board Iowa engaged in witnessing great gun exercise with service charges. Brooklyn and Massachusetts will follow. Subcaliber exercises suspended. Search and other night signal exercises tonight."

The second was as follows:

"Ship New York, 9 a m, Sept 8, southern drill grounds, 60 miles from Norfolk —Commandant Norfolk navy yard:

"The squadron getting under way for evolutions before assistant secretary, who remains on Dolphin. Very successful target practice by Iowa and Brooklyn yesterday. Search light last night and attack on drifting target by six and one-pounders with aid of four searchlights. Weather hazy, light airs from east; sea smooth."

Excellent time was made with this last message, it having been received at the navy department in one hour and 54 minutes from the time the pigeon was released at sea.

EMMA GOLDMAN, THE ANARCHIST.

Tells Story of Her Arrest and Release at Providence—Free Speech Denied Her.

Miss Emma Goldman, the anarchist, who was liberated from the custody of the Providence police yesterday, reached Boston late yesterday afternoon.

Miss Goldman claims that she violated no law nor did she commit any act for which she could have been found guilty in any police court in the land, and she is not at all pleased that she was deprived of the same right to address meetings that is enjoyed by numbers of other people in the city of Providence.

In speaking of her arrest to a Globe reporter Miss Goldman said: "The socialists were holding a public meeting in one of the squares in Providence, and not to interfere with them we decided to take a position upon a platform erected in another square, some distance from where the socialists were speaking.

"From the same platform several others had spoken without interference from the police, but shortly after I mounted the platform an officer rudely pulled me and ordered me to desist. I claimed the same right as others had enjoyed and for that was arrested.

"I sent for counsel the next morning, and was informed that there had been a number of disinterested citizens, none of whom I knew, before the mayor to protest against my arrest as I had broken no law.

"I was asked by the authorities if I would promise to keep away from the city for three months if the would release me, but this I declined to do, and so stated in the most emphatic manner to the police officials.

"I did, however, show them my engagements, which would take me away from this section of the country for several months, and informed them that it wasn't likely that I would visit Providence until after my engagements had been filled.

"I was particular to state that I would visit Providence at the first opportunity, but they concluded to let me go without any further parleying.

"At the time of my arrest there were a number of prisoners in the station under arrest for disorderly conduct, several of whom were women. Not all of them looked as if they had committed crime, but all were obliged to remain without food until after noon of the next day, at the earliest providing. They didn't have money to send out for food.

"The first charge under which I was arrested was for disturbing the peace and obstructing the public highway, but this was changed later to read 'reveling.' I was plainly informed at the station house that I was not arrested for anything I had said, but simply because I was Emma Goldman. My friends were not permitted to see me, although the authorities tried to make me think that none of them had attempted to do so."

Miss Goldman will speak on "Free Speech" in Phenix hall, 724 Washington st, on Sunday morning next, at 10 o'clock, and will leave for New Haven in the afternoon to fill an engagement to deliver an address in that city.

Excursion to Lake Winnipesaukee and Center Harbor.

There is a charming pleasure in the [illegible] especially during the fall season is this excursion doubly interesting. The atmosphere at this time is so clear that the distant mountains are to be plainly distinguished, while the foliage in its bright and magnificent autumn hues is a sight well worth traveling far to see.

The Boston & Maine railroad will run one of its famous Center Harbor excursions on Tuesday, Sept 14, from Boston, by special train, the round trip to cost but $2.

The special train will leave Boston union station at 8.20 a m, connecting at Alton Bay with the steamer Mt Washington for the trip over the lake, which



PROMENADERS AT THE LAWN

The Charlestown club gave a lawn party last evening, and it was a scene of illuminated splendor such as the oldest inhabitant could not remember having seen before.

It was original and unique, and it took place in the garden of the clubhouse on High st, and within the shadow of Bunker Hill monument, and it was an extraordinarily delightful experience for the 500 men and women who participated in the festivities, for many reasons.

In the first place, the lawn on which it was held is one of the finest possessed by any club in the whole United States, embracing half an acre of sod as soft and as rich in color as velvet.

Its beauties were enhanced by 500 Chinese lanterns of various tints and fantastic shapes, and by as many more incandescent electric bulbs of all the various colors known to the electrician's art. The lanterns were festooned all along the fences, the roofs and the windows of the surrounding buildings, and a temporary pagoda, erected over the garden fountain was likewise covered with them.

On one side of the clubhouse was a representation of Bunker Hill monument in electric bulbs, while on the other side, which presented an unbroken surface of 2500 square feet of rich green ivy, was the sentiment, "Charlestown club—Welcome," in dazzling letters of fire. The branches of trees about the grounds were also laden with brilliant electric bulbs, which glistened through the foliage like illuminated fruit.

The lawn, which has a steady, easy slope away from the street, formed a natural amphitheater, the guests sitting in chairs upon the higher portion, while the Salem cadet band was stationed in a hollow near the foot of the garden.

A sort of aurora-borealis-like haze hung over the garden, paling the big full moon and bathing the walls of the surrounding houses, the great flower beds and the hundreds of men and women in a soft, mellow flood of light charming beyond description, the quaint, old fashioned tower of a neighboring church rising out of a cluster of dark trees just beyond the garden and lending a beautiful oriental mosque-like effect to the prospective.

There was certainly nothing set about the way the club ran its pa for the general public had just abou much enjoyment from it as the gu themselves. The street was crowd if for a city fireworks exhibition, there was nothing in the world to p vent anyone from seeing and hear everything that took place.

Small boys and girls, too, swarm along the railing of the iron fence near that they could have plucked flowers from the bonnets of the wo guests had they chosen, and yet th was not the slightest attempt at ann ance or any demonstrations of bad m ners, which is certainly greatly to credit of the exuberant youth of Char town.

From 8 to 10 the band played in garden, so admirably that nearly ev number was warmly applauded. W they were not playing there was da ing in the hilliard hall, to the acc paniment of an orchestra.

Several negro melodies were fir sung by an impromptu chorus made of these members of the club: Cha Shackford, Charles Cobb, Walter P cott, J. Frank Williams, Frank H. bie, R. S. Carven, W. F. Grieves, L. Marston and Howard W. Morse.

Several character songs in the sh of solos were also sung by A. W. T pan, R. S. Carven, Charles Shack and J. Frank Williams, the acc panist being Frank H. Robie.

So admirable an entertainment w rante the publication of the names those comprising the various com tees in charge. They were: House reception, Pres F. A. Downing, Dr E Robbins, Hon E. L. Pilsbury, W. Fitzgerald, Charles C. Caldwell, Geo F. Chapin, B. F. Stacey; decorations R. Tackaberry, L. H. Myrick, Frank Black, Charles W. Cobb; music, J. Fr Williams chairman, F. H. Robie, R Carven, W. C. Prescott, C. B. Ho Charles Shackford, James F. Ginn; d cing, A. V. Lincoln chairman, A. Toppan, L. W Marston; subscription R. Tackaberry, John H. Gibbs tr Frank P. Black sec.

These are some of the people who w present:

Mr G W Brown	Rep J J McCarthy
Mr Chas L Power	Mrs E D Robbins
Miss Edith Castle	Miss Marion Robbin
Miss L T Rohm	Mr Elliot B Robbins
Mr & Mrs G H Morrill	Mr H H Robbins
Miss Nellie Godbold	Mr & Mrs F T Barr

LANCASTER COMING TO BOSTON.

Old Wooden Steamer, Once the Pride of the Navy, Will Leave Montevideo About Sept 10.

NEW YORK, Sept 8—The orders to U S S Lancaster now at Montevideo, Uruguay, direct that vessel to proceed to Boston, Mass. The Lancaster will leave Montevideo not later than Sept 10.

The Lancaster, on arriving at Boston, will transfer all her crew to the receiving ship at Boston navy yard. Those bluejackets who desire to reenlist will be permitted to use the Wabash for a home for three months. At the expiration of that period the men will be available for sea-going ships. During the three-months' lay-off they will be on the full pay of their ratings.

It has been decided to take all the stores out of the Lancaster and place them in the sheds of the Boston yard. The vessel's present battery will also be placed in that yard.

The navy department has had in mind using the Lancaster up as a [illegible]

NAVAL STATION PURCHASED.

Germany Said to Have Acquired a H bor Whence Foo Chow, One of Tr Ports, May Be Watched.

BERLIN, Sept 8—The Frankfort Z ung's New York correspondent says t Germany has purchased the harbor Tung Yung Row, near Foo Chow, f naval station.

CROKER'S BUSY DAY.

Succeeds in Being Noncommittal C cerning His Purpose to Run for Mayoralty.

NEW YORK, Sept 8—Mr Croker in a busy day today. The day began fore 7 o'clock in the morning. In course of time he reached his offi 111 Broadway, and thereafter there stream of political callers.

104

890302006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Advised Strenuous Measures / Emma Goldman.— p. 6 ; 43 cm. *In* The Boston Daily Globe. —(Sept. 13, 1897).

Obtained from the Cornell University Libraries and Archives.

an.
tory ceremonies began
filing out of the sanc-
Patrick Lyons of St
Brighton, cross bearer;
n, a seminarian from
urifer, and acolytes of
ctuary escorting the
shop Williams.
moved down the broad
urch, the archbishop
water on either side,
hanted the psalms.
filed outside the
for walls being blessed
the archbishop, and
g inside, the interior
nce were also blessed

dedicatory exercises
on of the solemn high
S. Cullen, pastor of
rch, Watertown, was
Rev Richard J. Quin-
Mary's church, Hollis-
M. F. Delaney, pastor
Natick, sub deacon,
Sullivan of the church
eart, Lynn, master of

ting priests who occu-
sanctuary were: Rev
t of St John Baptist
J Keegan, pastor of
h, Woburn; P. H. Cal-
St John's, Newton Low-
Nilan, P R, of St Jo-
; James T. Canavan of
d; E. J. Fagan, assist-
's, Natick; John Don-
church of the Sacred
tick; Thomas B. Low-
urch of the Immaculate
riboro; T. F. Cusick,
ichael's, Hudson; J. C.
St. Joseph's, Lynn; Rev
an, pastor of St Au-
Boston; John Flatley,
r's, Cambridge; Fr Kil-
n's, Boston; T. J. Dan-
's, Newton Upper Falls;
tor of St Columbkille's,
Jacques, pastor of St
hituate; P. J. Supplis,
er's, Cambridge; James
f St Francis de Sales,
ames Gilfeather of the
dy of Perpetual Help,
). Colbert, pastor of the
n. the Evangelist, Hop-
Sullivan of the Immac-
n church of Mariboro;
of Sacred Heart church,
Redican of Leicester,
son, pastor of Gate of
South Boston; James J.
of St Patrick's, Water-
illiher, pastor of St Jo-
; John H. O'Brien of
n church, South Boston;
Guigan of All Saints'
y; M. J. Doody of the
he Holy Cross, Boston;
Brockton, D. J. O'Farrel
's, Boston; Christopher
r of St Joseph's, Somer-
Carthy of Sacred Heart
oston; John P. Crowe of
aynard.

as of a high order and
y the united choirs of St
St Bridget's churches,
us of 50 voices, under the
liss Minnie J. Sheahan,
r of St Stephen's.
s the program:

.....Brosig
.....Battman in E
.....Battman in E
.....Battman in E
arts .....Holden
.....Battman in F
.....Stearns in G
.....Stearns in F
.....Anon
tion, Vivat Leone....Gounod

were Mrs D. A. Desmond
Misses Annie Kilgariff,
Gertrude Hines and Mar-
nd Messrs Arthur J. Mil-
Bowan, Henry O'Donnell,
nd Thomas A. Coyne.
he singing of the Veni
homas I. Gasson, S J, pro-
sophy at Boston college,
pulpit and spoke in part

on this splendid church,
ands of skilful workmen,
the rich colorings of the
ndering over the solemn
he triumphal anthems by
nple has today been dedi-
ervice of the living God,
n much to make us grato-
make us thoughtful and
our hearts with gladness
ss blessings this hallowed
ring.
uch in today's festival to
gratitude, because this
in its stateliness a fitting
he loyal faith of the Cath-
Framingham. It is the
n you have made to your
pledge of your devotion

ness and its grandeur this
ear eloquent testimony to
ns yet unborn of your gon-
our self-den'al.
re, this church is a monu-
nergy, the zeal, the virtue
have had charge of your
fare, whose labors should
by you in grateful remem-
who should have a claim
yers uttered within these
this there is matter for
de and there is reason
d give expression to the
which all who strive to

them free of duty, while those who remain at home, if they want the same things, pay the duty to the shopkeeper in the shape of high prices?

"Now, I am going to tell you a secret! Ever since my tariff bill went into effect I have had frequently recurring twinges of conscience in regard to that $100 clause! I am not at all sure that it should have been inserted. In fact, I am convinced that the clause is unjust to those who stay at home.

"Take the poor sewing woman, for example. When she goes to the store to buy some of the things that her more fortunate countrywomen have been allowed to bring in free of duty under that clause, she pays her duty to the government uncomplainingly.

"The storekeeper has paid duty on the goods and he is charging her that much more for them. Now, will you tell me why we should let the woman who goes abroad bring in $100 worth of goods free of duty, while we compel the poor sewing woman to pay duty on every $100 worth of goods she buys? As I said before, I don't see that we can do anything but remove that clause."

Mr Dingley sat back in his chair and looked at me more in sorrow than in anger, while I looked back in amusement.

"And so," I said, "it is on the plan that 'from her that hath not, even that which she hath shall be taken away,' is it? Next winter, in congress, you will, perhaps, try to amend the law,

trywomen. They will not always p... they will defy you!"

"Defy! How defy?"

"Why, I mean they will smuggle, in spite of the Dingley bill or the $100 clause or no clause at all. The American women will not be trifled with for long. They are organizing anti Dingley leagues all over New York. All the republican women are going to become democrats!"

"They may become democrats, but they won't become smugglers, I'm sure of that," replied Mr Dingley. "I have a higher opinion of the American women and of your sex in general than you seem to have. They will not be dishonest and smuggle—that is, the nice American woman won't. Even if they think I have done them a wrong, they won't sin against Uncle Sam!"

Mr Dingley, in conclusion, said: "The tariff law is creating general prosperity and the women share that prosperity. It makes the working girl's wages higher and gives her an opportunity to buy more clothes than she could last year. It opens the factories and gives work to the husbands and fathers of the American women. You see it does much for them. And the $100 clause which you find so hard has the effect only of keeping our rich people from buying their goods abroad instead of in America. It is the rich people who go abroad. When Mr Astor returned from abroad he brought 60 trunks, and should he not pay duty on them?"

acquit himself like a man in upholding his own integrity and in combatting for the faith he professes.

"Here will the struggles against wayward passion and misguided reason receive the food that nerves the arm for battle and strengthens the soul for victory.

"Here will the wanderer from God bury his burden of iniquity and hear those potent words of forgiveness that blot out the records of crime on the books of the recording angel.

"From here will God's minister journey to the bedside of the dying, to anoint them with the oil of courage and to strengthen them with celestial nourishment in preparation for the last pilgrimage of earthly life.

"Here will men of stanch virtue and maidens of peerless life plight the faith that welds two hearts into one and creates a bond so strong that the most powerful angel at God's throne is powerless to sever it.

"When the spirit has taken flight and sorrowing kinsmen bend low in agony over their departed, to this place will tender hands bring the beloved remains, and here will be performed the last office of Christian love, while fervent hands will be raised in prayer and priestly lips will intone that piercing cry, 'To them, O Lord, grant endless rest, and let eternal light break upon their path.'

"This church will also be an inestimable boon to the town, for surely it is of advantage beyond description for a town to have within its gates a center of intellectual and of spiritual life. Sunday after Sunday in the ever returning circle of the year learned men will discourse to you of the truths which we crave to know.

"It will be a center of spiritual life—of that higher life that directs to good ends the mighty forces within us so strongly drawn to the pleasure of the senses, so easily allured by what is degrading and debasing.

"Finally, this church must of necessity prove a blessing to the nation at large. For if we are to hold together in our present union, if we are to show to other nations the sublime spectacle of self-governing, leading the world in prosperity, contentment, material progress and in the observance of those laws which are engraven upon every man's conscience, then we must regard as national benefactors those who train our citizens in principles of reverence for order and submission to lawful authority.

"Blessed are they whose offerings have helped to build this house of God."

This afternoon at 3.45 high vespers were celebrated with the following musical program:

Psalms .....Gregorian
Laudate Dominum.....Lambillotte
Ave Verum .....Millard
Magnificat .....Peters
Salve Regina.....Stirr
O Salutaris.....Emerson
Tantum Ergo .....Rossi
Laudate Dominum.....Fiske
Voluntary.

The sacrament of confirmation was afterward administered to about 300 postulants by Archbishop Williams.

WAS THROWN FROM BUGGY.

Peter Dolan Was Badly Bruised in a Runaway.

Peter Dolan was driving a horse attached to a buggy owned by Joseph J. Franey of 1209 Columbus av through Humboldt av at 8.30 last night, when the animal took fright and ran away. Dolan was thrown out and was badly bruised and shaken up.

The horse dashed through Humboldt av, Warren and Washington sts, and was caught on East Lenox st. The buggy was demolished.

All-Day Rally at Mt Olive Church.

An all-day rally was held yesterday in Mt Olive Baptist church in aid of the coming national convention of colored

ADVISED STRENUOUS MEASURES.

Emma Goldmann Denounced Shooting of Miners and Advocated Resort to Arms to Obtain Rights.

Miss Emma Goldmann talked on "The Rights of the People" before 500 people in Phenix hall yesterday forenoon, and delivered a characteristic anarchistic address, which was liberally applauded.

She denounced the attack upon the striking miners at Hazleton by the deputy sheriffs, and condemned the social system, advising strenuous measures to put it down, and crying out for revenge.

"When I think of this latest legalized murder," she began, "it seems like a mockery to the dead miners today to talk and talk, when it is necessary to act. The workingmen were fired upon because they were human beings who wanted bread for their children and homes for their families. They have been kept starving by the authorities and then fired upon because they peaceably asked for bread.

"You do not have to be an anarchist. If you want bread you are an enemy to society and must be put down. The order to kill the workingmen was given because they asked peaceably for the necessaries of life. If such a thing is a crime against society then society should be attacked and put down.

"I feel that nothing short of action is to be done today. If I am not with the widows of those miners today extending my sympathy to them it is because I have not the money to pay the railroad kings to take me there.

"My friends, you have free speech just so long as you say what the authorities desire that you should say, and they determine what constitutes free speech. You have this same kind of free speech in darkest Russia, in Germany, or even under the sultan, just as in enlightened America, where men are shot down like dogs. But I can tell you if this had been done in Russia the sheriff would not have lived 24 hours. Laws here are made by the capitalists and monopolists and enforced in the interest of capitalists and monopolists, against the people.

"If those strikers had been Americans the sheriff would not have dared to fire upon them. But they were foreigners, and foreigners do not amount to anything. The foreigner is good enough to build your elegant houses and your roads, sew your clothes and do everything for your comfort, but he is not good enough to enjoy the advantages that belong to the heads of the government. If you want to get your rights you must go armed; you must meet your oppressors with the sword. If that sheriff had known those miners were armed he would not have dared to act as he did. He would have feared the consequences. But he knew they were unarmed. They were Hungarians and Poles, and no one knew or understood what they wanted or for what they were peaceably asking.

"It is time to act. I know how hard it is to arouse the Anglo-Saxon race. They are so phlegmatic, so cold, so slow to action. It is only when 100 of them are shot down that they will rise to defend themselves."

The greater part of Miss Goldmann's address was given to excoriations of the wealthy, the depicting of the attitude of the employer towards his workmen as a slave driver crushing a serf, and to a general denunciation of the laws and their enforcement. The militia, the police officers and every representative body charged with the enforcement of the statutes were the objects of her caustic criticism.

PLYMOUTH.

Last night policeman Manter arrested E. Jones at Ship pond and brought him in the Plymouth station house. There

Evelyn's whereabouts ... mored that she was seen in Natick, but her brother visited that place yesterday, and outside of the fact that a person answering her description had been seen nothing further was learned.

Mrs Robinson is strongly of the opinion that Evelyn is at present in this city, and intends to leave no stone unturned in an endeavor to locate her.

She was greatly desirous of stating through the columns of The Globe that if her daughter will only communicate with her, either personally or by letter, as to her whereabouts she will visit her immediately and that all will be forgiven.

PARKER HAS A RECORD.

Boarding House Thief Has Operated in Various Cities, and is Eligible to a 25-Year Sentence.

Charles H. Parker, the thief who is now in custody charged with having robbed a score or more fashionable boarding houses in this city, has been identified as Frank Manning, one of the most successful sneak thieves known to the police of this country.



CHARLES H. PARKER, alias Frank Manning, Notorious Boarding House Thief.

Having served two terms of more than three years in prison, he is eligible to a 25-year sentence under the Massachusetts habitual criminal act.

Manning is an English thief. He was born 36 years ago and has been in this country at least 16 years, and possibly longer. He has traveled under the names of Adams, Cross, Morrisson, Morris, Chatterton, Frank Evans and Harris. He has also posed as H. L. Osgood, editor of the Albany Argus.

He made his appearance in New York city in the spring of 1886, and went about from one to the other until he had lodged in every fashionable boarding house on 5th av. Sometimes he posed as an editor, at others as a student, and at others as a professional man. He would never engage lodgings in a house where there were children, giving as his reason that he had to sleep late and children disturbed him.

His operations were made usually while boarders were at breakfast or dinner. If the doors of the rooms were not open he opened them, always carrying with him a complete set of skeleton keys and saws, which always made access possible. In no case did he remain in a house more than 36 hours. Thousands of dollars' worth of property were stolen by him before the police of New York city apprehended him. On March 24, 1886, he was sentenced to eight years in Sing Sing.

On his release he operated in Baltimore, and was caught and sentenced to six years in prison, being released on Aug 12 last.

He arrived here several days after his release. What work he did here was done between Aug 17 and Sept 1, for it was on that latter date that he found himself in custody again. In that short period the police say he stole at least $5000 worth of property.

LEG FRACTURED, BODY BRUISED.

Michael Diviney Badly Injured in Runaway at Chestnut Hill.

NEWTON, Sept 12—On South st, Chestnut hill, near the Boston line, at 8 this evening, Michael Diviney and Thomas Gormally of Lake st, Brighton, were driving in the direction of their home, when the horse suddenly became unmanageable and ran away.

Mr Diviney, the owner of the horse, clung to the reins until the carriage was overturned. Both men were thrown out and the carriage was completely demolished.

Mr Diviney's right leg was fractured in three places and his body was terribly bruised. His companion sustained less serious injuries to the left leg and side.

105

881006007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— p. 324 ; 36 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Light-Bearer [Chicago]. —no. 680 (Oct. 13, 1897).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Institutional Location: John R. Commons Papers.

LUCIFER, THE LIGHT-BEARER

M. HARMAN, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

Eastern Representative, E. C. Walker, 244 W. 143d st., N. Y.

European Represeatatives, Arthur Wastall, Cranbrook House, High Road, Chiswick, Londou. William Gilmour, 73 Cedar st., Glasgow, Scotland.

Our Name.

"LUCIFER: The planet Venus; so-called from its brightness."—Webster's Dictionary.

The name LUCIFER means LIGHT-BRINGING or LIGHT-BEARING and the paper that has adopted this name stands

For Light against Darkness—
For Reason against Superstition;
For Science against Tradition—
For Investigation and Enlightenment against Credulity and Ignorance—
For Liberty against Slavery—
For Justice against Privilege.

LUCIFER'S specialty is Sexology, or Sexologic Science, believing this to be the Most Important of all Sciences, because Most Intimately Connected with the origin or Inception of Life, when Character, for Good or Ill, for Strength or Weakness, for Happiness or Misery, for Success or Failure, is stamped upon Each Individual.

Published weekly. One dollar per year. Three months for twenty-five cents. Foreign subscribers will please add the postage to their respective countries.

Make all orders payable to Moses Harman, 1301 W. Congress St., Chicago, Ill.

LUCIFER CIRCLE will meet at 1304 Congress St., Thursday evening, Oct. 14. The well-known phrenologist, William Windsor, will address the meeting. Subject, "The Physical Basis of Love."

Emma Goldman.

Seating room at Lucifer Circle, Oct. 7, was again filled to overflowing to hear Emma Goldman give her views on the subject of "Free Love," or of freedom against slavery in the realm of the affections. Her discourse, as on the previous occasion, was a well-considered and strongly-worded protest against the rule of authority, or of man-made law, whether of church or state, in the sex life of human beings. As usual in our meetings the lecture was followed by discussion, several physicians and one lawyer taking part therein. Our limited space prevents further notice here. The following brief notes by Miss Goldman, herself, will give the reader some idea of the work in which she is engaged Her lectures are chiefly devoted to economic and governmental questions, and especially to the defense of the victims of unjust prosecution and imprisonment.

"Started on my tour the 2nd of September. Had four meetings in Providence and a conflict with the police authorities, but came out safely. Had two meetings in Boston. One in New Haven, Conn. One meeting in New York to protest against the Hazelton outrage. Four very successful meetings at Philadelphia. One near Pittsburg, at Monaca, Pa. Four meetings so far in Chicago and three more to address—besides the convention that I attended two days, but withdrew at the close of the second day because I came to the conclusion that the convention was only intended to serve a few petty political parties, but not the cause of the working class.

"The resolution that I introduced, and that according to my views was very tame, was tabled on account of its too radical utterances. This was sufficient proof for me that the delegates had no idea of the seriousness of the time, and after I had expounded my views and denounced the behavior of the delegates during the sessions, I withdrew, and with me many more of the radical element."

On next Wednesday evening, Oct. 13, a meeting will be held at Zepf's Hall, corner Des Plains and Lake streets, in the interest of the imprisoned editors of the "Firebrand,"—speakers, Emma Goldman, Max Baginsky, Lucy Parsons and M. Harman. From Chicago Miss Goldman will go to St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver, and perhaps to the Pacific coast

The Portland Outrage.

We had hoped, until too late for insertion in this week's issue, to receive more definite information in regard to the arrest and imprisonment of the editors and publishers of the "Firebrand," at Portland, Oregon, so that we could, with a better understanding of the facts, make an appeal to the friends of liberty and justice in behalf of these victims of church-state despotism—for such we are reasonably sure is the character of this prosecution.

If the information furnished by the report of the "Oregonian," from which report we quoted last week, be correct, then the prosecution is a *persecution*—a persecution for opinion's sake; neither more nor less. No crime is charged, the accusation being that certain articles published in the "Firebrand" are "obscene." "Obscenity," as every one knows, is a law-made offense, not a crime, in the nature of things. Obscenity means that which is offensive to "purity or chastity of mind." It depends then upon what is in the mind of the beholder or hearer, as to whether any object or word is obscene or not. There is no obscenity except to the mind that perceives it as such. Naturally, then, the more filthy the mind of the beholder or hearer, the more obscenity he will perceive. Evil to him who evil thinks. To the mind of the pure minded philosopher there is no such thing as obscenity, in the technical sense. Perversion, abnormality, there is in abundance, but the philosopher, the rightly instructed person, whether adult or child, views these as the physician views the signs or symptoms of disease, and is in no danger of being corrupted by them. The cure for abnormality is better education and better environment, not suppressive or repressive laws.

At our Lucifer circle, Oct. 7, Emma Goldman made a brief appeal in behalf of the imprisoned editors, which appeal brought four dollars in cash. And now, in addition, we send five dollars as the contribution of Lucifer's office. Lucifer is itself often on the ragged edge, financially,—as a result of too much McKinley prosperity,—but the publishers of the "Firebrand," and especially our old-time friend, A. J. Pope, helped to keep Lucifer afloat while its editor was in prison, and now justice demands that we do what we can to help them in like circumstances even though we must struggle harder, and economize still more closely to do this.

Money can be sent to A. J. Pope or to Henry Addis, Portland, Oregon. It is sincerely to be hoped that all friends of liberty and of human progress will help in this fight for freedom of press and of public mail. "An injury to one is the concern of all."

M. H.

Liberty the Means, not the End

Lucifer's management has often been criticized, sharply criticized, for devoting its space mainly to sexologic questions —to woman's emancipation from sex slavery and to discussion of "ideals" relating to sex. They say, "Fight for liberty, and all else will follow." "Given liberty, marriage will take care of itself." "The sex question is a matter of detail—a secondary or third rate question; industrial freedom, economic equity, is first in importance." "Let us work for liberty and not quarrel about chickens before they are hatched," etc., etc.

To these friendly critics I beg leave to make a brief reply:

First. Let me ask, What is liberty? and why do we want liberty? Is it a goddess to be worshiped? A master to be unquestioningly obeyed? Is it a good thing in itself considered? Is it an end or object to be desired as such? An object to fight for, to bleed and to die for?

To my thinking liberty is none of these. Liberty is a means to an end, not the end itself. Liberty is a matter of detail, not the main question. Liberty is not a good thing in or of itself, any more than knowledge is a good thing, in or of itself. Liberty is not a *thing*, at all!—not an entity at all. Liberty is simply a *condition*, a necessary condition, to or for *growth*, for development, for embodiment, for endowment, for differentiation or individualization of things—of entities or of realities.

The question, then, the "previous" question, is and must always be, "*Why do we want liberty?*" "What would we do with it?"—if we had it.

881020003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy Her Theme / Emma Goldman.– p. 22 ; 44 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. –(Oct. 17, 1897).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

n business structure
nd built so as to cover
on shows a sale of N
n Sixteenth and
Mary B. Heebe
ranty deed, for
l of valuation on this

y & Co.

ports sales as follows.

ine boulevard, new two-
fourteen rooms, modern
48x263 feet, from Capt.
W. A. Rutter. Vice-
ristopher Simson Archi-
Foundry Co., for $17,500,
for a home and will

street, two-story eight-
ise with hall, bath, etc.;
5,000, from W. A. Rutter

ippi avenue, two-story
rooms in flats of four
h, gas, etc., from Joseph
Culp; price $5,000.
ground on the south side
ce, west of King's high-
and William Culp to
o will improve same;
. Culp were represented
& Co.
ark avenue, two-story
house of seven rooms,
e, hot and cold water,
ery respect; lot 29½x125
$4,600 cash, from Joseph
Study, who bought for a

Salena street, nice brick
oms; lot 25x84 feet, from
Texier; price $1,450. Mr.
same for a home.
Page avenue, nice new
rick front house of nine
bath, gas, hot and cold
modern in every respect;

of ground renting for $1,000 per year, for $30,000.

In part payment the grantors took a block of ground in the Mount Auburn addition having a frontage of 123 feet on the north side of North Market street and 122 feet on the south side of Garfield avenue, between Rodiamont avenue and the Suburban right-of-way, for $5,500.

The D. B. Brennan Real Estate Co. was represented in this transaction by J. Wallace Brennan, Secretary of the company, and Thomas Grace represented Mr. Schlueter.

Watkins & Waldeck.

This firm reports the following business during the past week:

Sold 4812, 4812A, 4814, 4814A Delmar boulevard, four 5-room flats on lot 60x145 to alley; each flat has all modern improvements, including hot and cold water, furnaces, etc., and are rented for $100 per month. The consideration was $11,000, from A. Meglitsch to Robert B. Snow, who purchased as investment. M. R. Collins, Jr., & Co. represented the purchasers.

Also lot on south side of Vernon avenue, 250 feet east of Walton, containing fifty feet front, from Levin H. Baker to A. Meglitsch. The consideration was $2,000.

They also report making $9,000 in loans of different amounts.

Love & Sons.

This firm reports the following sales for last week:

House 3123 Adams street, between Compton and Cardinal avenues, a six-room, brick, on a lot 25x140 feet, was sold for $2,500 cash, from William Lewis to C. Stephenson, who purchased for investment.

Also on Minerva avenue, south side, between Academy and Union avenues, a lot 94x190 feet, was sold for $40 per foot, or $3,760, from Mary Morrissey to William B. Sparrow, who will improve at once with dwellings to cost $15,000.

Also house 5079 Page avenue, between

ANARCHY HER THEME

EMMA GOLDMAN, LEADER OF THE REDS, DELIVERS HER FIRST ST. LOUIS LECTURE.

ASSASSIN GOLLI A MARTYR.

She Thinks All Rulers Should Be Removed, With the Exception of President McKinley.

Emma Goldman waved the red flag of anarchy yesterday afternoon for two hours in Harugari Hall at Tenth and Carr streets.

When she concluded damning governments in general and the United States Government in particular she had her uncle, Mr. Sendlein, who lives in St. Louis, pass the hat for a collection for Alexander Bergmann, who is now in the Pennsylvania State Prison for shooting H. C. Frick, the Pittsburg iron magnate, five years ago.

Miss Goldman's audience was more generous in applause of her declarations than in response to her calls for financial assistance. The collection netted $3.65.

The speech was delivered in German. She will speak this afternoon at 3 o'clock in Ohlman's Hall at Seventh and Arsenal streets, again using her native tongue. She is engaged to speak every evening this week, but the halls have not yet been selected. After Wednesday's speech she intends to deliver all her addresses in English.

Miss Goldman arrived in St. Louis yesterday morning. She is on a tour of agitation in the West and she may go as far as the Pacific Coast, preaching her creed. After a week in St. Louis she will go to Kansas City for a week, thence to Topeka, Kan., and then on to Denver, Colo.

During her stay in St. Louis Miss Goldman will visit her aunt, Mrs. Lena Sendlein, at 1722 Oregon avenue.

Miss Goldman said nothing in her speech Saturday afternoon that other anarchists have not said. She clothed her sentiments in well constructed sentences and put them forth with a peculiar magnetism, holding the attention of her audience every moment of the two hours. Nothing she said escaped notice. Nothing she said will soon be forgotten by those who crowded the hall to hear her. A convincing manner is one of Emma Goldman's strongest points. Her eloquence is of that crude but ever effective stamp which arouses the type of people from which she draws her following.

Once during her speech yesterday she was interrupted. A workingman in the rear of the hall spoke up when she was in the midst of a tirade against the United States Government.

"You speak of priests as leeches upon society," he shouted. "Do you not have leeches in your own ranks?"

The break in her impetuous delivery did not disconcert Emma Goldman. She looked at the speaker calmly and then lowering her voice, said:

"Oh, I suppose you mean Most. Well, we may have leeches among us, but for every one you show me among the anarchists I'll point out ten to you in the Social Democracy."

The mention of the Social Democracy suggested Eugene V. Debs to the queen of anarchy and she straightway branched off on her opinion of the bald-headed leader of the great strike of 1894.

"Debs is an ignorant fellow," she declared. "He is not a thinker. His ideas are all wrong. He believes in the ballot-box as the means for righting the condition of a down-trodden people. Bah! The ballot-box, indeed! If Debs had his way, he might banish certain of the plutocrats who now hold the whip over our people, but the same existing order of things would soon come about again.

"Burn your ballot-boxes. What we want is liberty, and we cannot have liberty and laws at the same time.

"We are coming nearer the crisis every day of our lives. Revolution is brewing surely and will burst upon us ere long. The people are coming to their senses at last. Well may the plutocrats tremble."

Turning from this subject, Miss Goldman

She told of his hardships in the Pennsylvania penitentiary and declared the treatment he received amounted to persecution.

The speaker explained the movement formulated by the anarchists to procure Bergmann's freedom. The would-be assassin is in prison for twenty-two years, five of which have been served. He was convicted upon five counts and sentenced upon each a certain number of years, making the aggregate twenty-two. This, she says, is illegal. An attorney has been engaged and he will soon bring the matter before the Pennsylvania Pardoning Board.

Miss Goldman was in good spirits when she concluded her talk. She stood upon the platform and held a reception, many of the

COLORADO POTATOES.

Finest in the world. Nothing like them in the market.

GERBER FRUIT CO., SOLE AGENTS.,
910 and 912 N. THIRD ST.

THE GRAIN MARKETS.

BREAK IN THE DROUGHT DID NOT MAKE THE BEARS EAGER TO SELL.

THE WHEAT SUPPLY IS SHORT.

Farmers Who Are Holding On, However, May Lose Money by Their Caution.

The grain markets last week were dul and dragging, and the volumn of busines unsatisfactory. Trading was light and al most entirely of a scalping nature.

The breaking of the long drought, and th heavy increase in the world's visible sup ply of wheat, given by Bradstreet as 8,200, 000 bushels, rendered the bulls more cau tious, but on account of the comparativel light stocks, and the falling off in the loca receipts the bears were afraid to sell shor very extensively and kept close to cove After a break which was much smalle than was generally expected there was rally, and part of the loss was recovere Both sides lacked confidence, but while th market was narrow there were enough fluc tuations for a fair scalping business. Ou side orders were few.

Day after day the statement is made tha local stocks of wheat have all been ordere out, and yet there is only about 30,0 bushels less contract wheat in St. Lou elevators than there was Oct. 1 and th milling demand is daily growing lighter, the flour trade is practically at a standst both in regard to foreign and domest trade.

The output of flour from the mills of St Louis and vicinity for the week was 74,1 barrels, as compared with 63,900 barrels f the previous week and 86,000 barrels for t corresponding week last year.

The corn market is very dull and wea on account of the heavy stocks and th falling off in the cash demand, but th foreign markets are firm and the outlo is for better prices.

Oats have been dull and weak for se eral days and speculation is almost at standstill. The receipts continue hea and the cash demand is very light.

The situation when viewed from all star points does not appear nearly so strong it did a week ago and the cash demand daily growing less urgent, nothwithsta ing the falling off in the local receipts.

The export clearances continue heavy, b as the season advances it becomes mo apparent that a rigorous economy in t consumption of wheat is being practic both at home and abroad and althou stocks are apt to run low by the end the season, there will be a sufficient amou of wheat to meet all requirements in sp of the heavy shortage in the Europe

That this is realized by the trade is sho by the fact that May wheat has been s ling nearly 3 cents under December.

The extent to which the forced econo in the use of wheat is being practiced t season may be judged by the fact that, n withstanding a shortage in the Fre crop, which is variously estimated at fr 35,000,000 to 96,000,000 bushels, and smal shortages reported from several other co tries, the supplies of wheat in store in E rope on Oct. 1 were 400,000 bushels lar than they were on Oct. 1, 1896, while t aggregate supplies of wheat and flour the United States and Canada showed increase for the month of September o bels, as compared with

RESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

the new Westminster Presbyterian Church, at the corner of Texas
s.
of the handsomest houses of worship in the southwestern part of
ist of the large auditorium, Sunday-school room, and pastor's
. Kitchen, toilet-rooms and pantries.
of granite, brick, stone and terra cotta, and it will be very hand-
church, but Weber & Grable, who do a great deal of church build-
building will be completed by Jan. 1.

o $4,300, from Robert Ful-
la Chapman. Mrs. Chap-
vestment.

ociation News.

cretary, reports that the
a regular monthly meet-
mpany has $1,300 surplus
with the Union Trust
were no applications for
was passed raising the
r cent to 7 per cent on
ock, and notices to that
o the stockholders that
members would receive
n their stock. This asso-
s is now maturing in 100
a series will be opened
ociation has over $100,000

Building and Loan Asso-
its regular meeting Oct.
no applications for

King's highway and Academy avenue, a nine-room stock brick, on a lot 25x143 feet, was sold for $4,300, from C. B. Stephenson to J. Lewis who purchased for a home.

J. H. Terry & Sons.

Sales reported by John H. Terry & Sons are as follows:

Eleonore J. Bayles sold to T. T. Lings the elegant twelve-room residence No. 4390 Lindell boulevard; lot 68x213; consideration $35,000.

T. T. Lings sold to Eleonore J. Bayles seven eight-room houses situated on the northwest corner of Delmar avenue and Sarah street; lot 73x145; consideration $45,000.

Mathews Realty Co.

The Mathews Realty Co. sold to Polk Brown, from Mrs. Elizabeth Clark, house No. 3528 Chestnut street, a three-story, twelve-room dwelling, for $10,000.

107

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881020003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy Her Theme / Emma Goldman.— p. 22 ; 44 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. —(Oct. 17, 1897).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

...street, nice brick ... lot 25x81 feet, from ... Texler; price $1,450. Mr. ... same for a home.

...Page avenue, nice new ... brick front house of nine ... bath, gas, hot and cold ... modern in every respect;

This firm reports the following sales for ...

...street, between Comp... avenues, a six-room brick, ... was sold for $2,500 cash, ... Louis to C. Stephenson, who ... investment.

Also on Minerva avenue, south side, between Academy and Union avenues, a lot 94x190 feet, was sold for $40 per foot, or $3,760, from Mary Morrissey to William B. Sparrow, who will improve at once with dwellings to cost $15,000.

Also house 5079 Page avenue, between ...

ESBYTERIAN CHURCH.



...e new Westminster Presbyterian Church, at the corner of Texas ...S,
...of the handsomest houses of worship in the southwestern part of ...
...st of the large auditorium, Sunday-school room, and pastor's ... kitchen, toilet-rooms and pantries.
... granite, brick, stone and terra cotta, and it will be very hand... church, but Weber & Grable, who do a great deal of church build... building will be completed by Jan. 1."

$4,500, from Robert Ful... Chapman. Mrs. Chap... sement.

ociation News.

...retary, reports that the ...g and Loan Associa... regular monthly meet... pany has $1,300 surplus ... with the Union Trust ...ere no applications for ...was passed raising the ...cent to 7 per cent on ...k, and notices to that ... the stockholders that ...mbers would receive 7 ... their stock. This asso... is now maturing in 109 ... series will be opened ...ation has over $100,000

...uilding and Loan Asso... regular meeting Oct. ...g no applications for ... the treasury was or... drawing members. One ... loans have been made ... It has five successful ...h shares of $50 each, ...$189). President Charles ...sociation is arranging ...ndike and will be away ...his association had a ...Inst., but the property ...y Insurance.

...iemenz, Jr.

...r., reports the follow...

...avenue, northeast cor... a new modern two... ...l-room brick dwelling, ...ed in hardwood, cab... ...t the floor bath-room, ...cellar, etc., lot, 37½x121. ...emenz, Jr., was sold to ...r $6,500.

...southwest corner Van... ..., 212½x124. Owned by ...as sold to the Argyle ...ny for $7,400. Messrs. ...n represented the pur...

...lot, 100x124. Owned by ...as sold to George Korte

...avenue, a new modern, ...m brick dwelling, re... ...ellaret, cemented cellar, ...wned by John G. Zim... C. Edward Bauer for

...emmelmann.

...and report the follow...

...northeast corner of ... Queen Anne

...Sendlein, who lives in St. Louis, pass the hat for a collection for Alexander Bergmann, who is now in the Pennsylvania State Prison for shooting H. C. Frick, the Pittsburg iron magnate, five years ago.

Miss Goldman's audience was more generous in applause of her declarations than in response to her calls for financial assistance. The collection netted $3.65.

The speech was delivered in German. She will speak this afternoon at 3 o'clock in Ohlman's Hall at Seventh and Arsenal streets, again using her native tongue. She is engaged to speak every evening this week, but the halls have not yet been selected. After Wednesday's speech she intends to deliver all her addresses in English.

Miss Goldman arrived in St. Louis yesterday morning. She is on a tour of agitation in the West and she may go as far as the Pacific Coast, preaching her creed. After a week in St. Louis she will go to Kansas City for a week, thence to Topeka, Kan., and then on to Denver, Colo.

During her stay in St. Louis Miss Goldman will visit her aunt, Mrs. Lena Sendlein, at 1722 Oregon avenue.

Miss Goldman said nothing in her speech Saturday afternoon that other anarchists have not said. She clothed her sentiments in well constructed sentences and put them forth with a peculiar magnetism, holding the attention of her audience every moment of the two hours. Nothing she said escaped notice. Nothing she said will soon be forgotten by those who crowded the hall to hear her. A convincing manner is one of Emma Goldman's strongest points. Her eloquence is of that crude but ever effective stamp which arouses the type of people from which she draws her following.

Once during her speech yesterday she was interrupted. A workingman in the rear of the hall spoke up when she was in the midst of a tyrade against the United States Government.

"You speak of priests as leeches upon society," he shouted. "Do you not have leeches in your own ranks?"

The break in her impetuous delivery did not disconcert Emma Goldman. She looked at the speaker calmly and then lowering her voice, said:

"Oh, I suppose you mean Most. Well, we may have leeches among us, but for every one you show me among the anarchists I'll point out ten to you in the Social Democracy."

The mention of the Social Democracy suggested Eugene V. Debs to the queen of anarchy and she straightway branched off on her opinion of the bald-headed leader of the great strike of 1894.

"Debs is an ignorant fellow," she declared. "He is not a thinker. His ideas are all wrong. He believes in the ballot-box as the means for righting the condition of a down-trodden people. Bah! The ballot-box, indeed! If Debs' had his way, he might banish certain of the plutocrats who now hold the whip over our people, but the same existing order of things would soon come about again.

"Burn your ballot-boxes. What we want is liberty, and we cannot have liberty and laws at the same time.

"We are coming nearer the crisis every day of our lives. Revolution is brewing surely and will burst upon us ere long. The people are coming to their senses at last. Well may the plutocrats tremble."

Turning from this subject, Miss Goldman took up the case of Alexander Bergman. She told of his hardships in the Pennsylvania penitentiary and declared the treatment he received amounted to persecution.

The speaker explained the movement formulated by the anarchists to procure Bergman's freedom. The would-be assassin is in prison for twenty-two years, five of which have been served. He was convicted upon five counts and sentenced upon each a certain number of years, making the aggregate twenty-two. This, she says, is illegal. An attorney has been engaged and he will soon bring the matter before the Pennsylvania Pardoning Board.

Miss Goldman was in good spirits when she concluded her talk. She stood upon the rostrum and held a reception, many of the men and women coming forward to congratulate her and express their approbation of all she had said.

Emma Goldman haranguing a lot of grizzly anarchists and Emma Goldman to-a-tele are two entirely different persons. Her manner is extremely gracious, and she is an exceptionally pleasing conversationalist. Occasionally, the innate vanity of woman will assert itself.

Miss Goldman shrugs her shoulders when she speaks of her year's imprisonment on Blackwell's Island for her incendiary speeches in New York City. She says her ideas are not changed, but all the same she is a little more guarded in her expressions. This was instanced in private conversation when she reiterated that Golli was quite right in "executing" Senor Canovas.

"Do you think Canovas should have been executed because he was Canovas or because he was the head of the Spanish Government," she was asked.

"Both," she promptly replied. "As Canovas, he entertained principles which stood in the way of progress, of liberty and of the enlightenment of the world. As the Primate of Spain he was in a position to put his ideas into effect."

"Then you favor the execution of all heads of governments?"

"Yes, if you please to put it that way."

"Do you think Mr. McKinley should be removed—or, as you call it, executed?"

"McKinley—pooh! He is only a tool, a mouthpiece for Mark Hanna. I don't consider McKinley."

THROWN FROM A HAY WAGON.

Ex-Judge Harturt of Black Jack Painfully Injured.

Ex-Judge Harturt of Black Jack, St. Louis County, was thrown from a hay wagon and painfully injured yesterday morning [illegible]

Farmers Who ... ever, May ... Their Co...

The grain markets last week ... and dragging, and the volume of ... unsatisfactory. Trading was ... most entirely of a scalping nature.

The breaking of the long drought, ... heavy increase in the world's visible supply of wheat, given by Bradstreet as ... 000 bushels, rendered the bulls more cautious, but on account of the comparatively light stocks, and the falling off in the local receipts the bears were afraid to sell short very extensively and kept close to cover. After a break which was much smaller than was generally expected there was a rally, and part of the loss was recovered. Both sides lacked confidence, but while the market was narrow there were enough fluctuations for a fair scalping business. Outside orders were few.

Day after day the statement is made that local stocks of wheat have all been ordered out, and yet there is only about 30,... bushels less contract wheat in St. Louis elevators than there was Oct. 1 and the milling demand is daily growing lighter, as the flour trade is practically at a standstill both in regard to foreign and domestic trade.

The output of flour from the mills of St. Louis and vicinity for the week was 74,10... barrels, as compared with 63,900 barrels for the previous week and 86,000 barrels for the corresponding week last year.

The corn market is very dull and weak on account of the heavy stocks and the falling off in the cash demand, but the foreign markets are firm and the outlook is for better prices.

Oats have been dull and weak for several days and speculation is almost at a standstill. The receipts continue heavy and the cash demand is very light.

The situation when viewed from all standpoints does not appear nearly so strong as it did a week ago and the cash demand is daily growing less urgent, notwithstanding the falling off in the local receipts.

The export clearances continue heavy, but as the season advances it becomes more apparent that a rigorous economy in the consumption of wheat is being practiced both at home and abroad and although stocks are apt to run low by the end of the season, there will be a sufficient amount of wheat to meet all requirements in spite of the heavy shortage in the European crops.

That this is realized by the trade is shown by the fact that May wheat has been selling nearly 3 cents under December.

The extent to which the forced economy in the use of wheat is being practiced this season may be judged by the fact that, notwithstanding a shortage in the French crop, which is variously estimated at from 35,000,000 to 95,000,000 bushels, and smaller shortages reported from several other countries, the supplies of wheat in store in Europe on Oct. 1 were 400,000 bushels larger than they were on Oct. 1, 1896, while the aggregate supplies of wheat and flour in the United States and Canada showed an increase for the month of September equal to 18,362,000 bushels, as compared with an increase equal to only 12,485,000 bushels during September, 1896, and the total supplies in all positions on Oct. 1 were only 1,200,00... bushels less than on Oct. 1, 1896.

The comparatively light farmers' deliveries will leave large stocks of wheat in the farm reserves, which are apt to come out at any time when the holders awake from their dream of "dollar and a quarter wheat."

The high prices at the beginning of the season and the confirmation of the reports of short crops in Europe have given the farmers an exaggerated idea of the value of wheat, and they have become very independent and prefer to hold their wheat rather than accept prevailing prices, but they will be very apt to repeat their former performance of holding at the top and selling at the bottom.

There have been sharp accumulations at the principal centers in this country of late and the European markets are far from satisfactory, responding much more readily to our declines than to our advances, and as the present rate of increase in the world's visible it will soon be larger than it was a year ago.

[illegible] but the fact that it is selling for less than half the price of wheat would seem to indicate that as yet there is no great scarcity of breadstuffs, to say nothing of the extremely low prices of corn.

The estimates of the exportable surplus of Argentine are gradually being enlarged and if present conditions continue the amount may yet reach the figures predicted in this column at the beginning of the season, 50,000,000 bushels.

Advices from India and Australia grow more encouraging as the season advances and it is now reasonably certain that both of these countries will have a fair amount for export. The farmers' deliveries of [illegible]

$4,300, from C. B. Stephenson to J. Lewis who purchased for a home.

J. H. Terry & Sons.

Sales reported by John H. Terry & Sons are as follows:

Eleonore J. Bayles sold to T. T. Lings the elegant twelve-room residence No. 4390 Lindell boulevard; lot 68x213; consideration $35,000.

T. T. Lings sold to Eleonore J. Bayles seven eight-room houses situated on the northwest corner of Delmar avenue and Sarah street; lot 73x145; consideration $45,000.

Mathews Realty Co.

The Mathews Realty Co. sold to Polk Brown, from Mrs. Elizabeth Clark, house No. 3528 Chestnut street, a three-story, twelve-room dwelling, for $10,000.

A CIRCULAR ABOUT CRIPPLES

An Alleged Meeting of the Brotherhood Called for Next Sunday.

"The National American Brotherhood of Cripples" is out in a circular announcing that a meeting of the organization will be held Sunday, Oct. 31, at headquarters, room 4, 511 Pine street, at 9 a. m., to "discuss matters of vital interest to the members."

The address given is a cork leg factory. The proprietor hadn't heard of the meeting yesterday and said he didn't see how the Brotherhood of Cripples could meet in his shop without his knowledge, as he carried the key himself.

The call for the meeting contains the startling assertion that: "One can hardly walk a block in a great city without encountering some poor fellow who has suffered the loss of one or both limbs soliciting alms."

The police seem to have overlooked this, for no one has been arrested in this city for chopping off the legs or arms of mendicants. Sometimes the brusque citizen "saws off" the beggar, but not literally.

The call is signed, "William R. Trower, President, and William Warner, Jr., Grand Chief and Legal Adviser of the National Brotherhood of Cripples."

These gentlemen spread a report several weeks ago that there would be a great convention of cripples in Grand Music Hall. Mayor Ziegenhein was asked to speak and he promised [illegible] He didn't deliver his [illegible] anybody to [illegible]

108

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

8811120008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Police Prevent the Anarchist Meeting at the Grant Statue / Emma Goldman.– p. 10 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. –(Oct. 20, 1897).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

POLICE PREVENT THE ANARCHIST MEETING AT THE GRANT STATUE.

There Was a Clash, in Which Night Sticks Were Drawn, and for Two Hours the Crowd Was Kept Moving.

EMMA GOLDMAN DID NOT APPEAR.

She Says That She Will Willingly Go to Jail After an Address and Promises a Hot One for To-Night at Walhalla Hall.

St. Louis is not a healthy place for anarchists.

Instead of a meeting of the reds at Twelfth and Olive streets Tuesday evening, there was a meeting of the police; instead of Emma Goldman standing in the shadow of the Grant monument and delivering a harangue to "the masses," a blue-coat stood on the spot and all about him was vacancy, for his brother blue-coats chased away those who tried to assemble.

One was reminded of a woman "shooing" chickens from a flower bed. When two or three gathered together a Central District officer approached, swung both hands forward from his sides and said: "Move on, gentlemen! Move on!" They moved.

There was never so much movement at the corner of Twelfth and Olive streets. No one could even linger and gaze at the stars.

Assistant Chief Kiely was in command. As aids were Chief of Detectives Desmond and Capt. Michael O'Malley. The latter had twenty-five men of the Central District force under him and Desmond had nearly all his detectives on the spot. The uniformed men were posted at the corners and at intervals along the pavement and the detectives mingled with the moving crowd—for there was a crowd, though the component parts were never allowed to remain at one point more than half a minute.

Emma Goldman did not appear near the Grant Monument. Several local anarchists were on Twelfth street—moving up and down as were others. Two were overheard discussing the situation. One, evidently much disgusted at the miscarriage of the plans, bitterly denounced the police.

"You should not blame them," said his companion. "They are but hirelings and do as they are ordered. It is the men who give the orders with whom we have to combat. The policemen would be with us could they learn our principles. But our day will come."

Soon after 8 o'clock there was a diversion from the monotony, for even the kaleidoscopic action becomes monotonous after a time. A crowd of perhaps 500 ran west on Olive street. They saw four policemen hurry in that direction and those who had the bump of curiosity well developed followed. The policemen went as far as the Ex., then stopped and conferred. The crowd waited ten minutes, and as nothing happened, dispersed.

This was a maneuver ordered by Chief Kiely, who thought the crowd at the corners of Twelfth street was growing, and conceived the idea of a diversion.

At 8:30 o'clock there was a brief clash between the police and several hundred persons. It was caused by the ubiquitous "Gen." Frye of Coxey Army fame, who considered the time opportune for a speech. He walked near the Grant monument and began an address. From all points of the compass men rushed toward him. The blue coats massed under Chief Kiely, night sticks were drawn, a flying wedge was formed and a charge made. No one was hurt. A few shoves were given and the crowd was soon moving. The "General" disappeared.

At intervals during the evening a patrol wagon was driven up and down Twelfth street and the clanging gong sounded notes of warning.

Shortly before 9 o'clock several anarchists distributed hand-bills that announced Emma Goldman would speak at Walhalla Hall on Tenth street and Franklin avenue on "Why I Am an Anarchist and Communist."

It was 9:30 o'clock before the crowd left the place, but many police remained in the neighborhood until midnight.

Emma Goldman slept late Wednesday morning. At 9 o'clock a Post-Dispatch reporter, who called at 1728 Oregon avenue, the home of Anarchist Lingblom, was told Miss Goldman was still in bed, but would be down in [illegible]

"But I will have my say upon this subject at Walhalla Hall to-night."

Just then a woman called to see Miss Goldman. The anarchist politely excused herself by declaring women should always be before the men.

"But the Bible says men were made first and should have the preference," the reporter suggested.

"Huh! the Bible?" she snapped. "I don't believe one word there is in the Bible."

While the police kept the crowds clear near the Grant monument, the House of Delegates placed itself on record against the preaching of anarchy in St. Louis by Emma Goldman and others of her ilk.

A resolution was submitted by Mr. Burke (Dem.) of the Fourteenth Ward, but it was not passed until after a heated and in some respects ludicrous discussion, which brought out the fact that the "Reds" have more friends in public office than the good people of St. Louis have been able to find out heretofore. Even the Speaker of the House voted against the resolution, on the grounds that he "was not afraid of a woman."

There were twenty-five out of the twenty-eight members present, and the aye and no vote showed sixteen for and nine against the resolutions, which were as follows:

Whereas, A notorious Anarchist is visiting the city of St. Louis, with the avowed purpose of inculcating in the minds of the unthinking a contempt for law and the officers of the law; and

Whereas, Such teachings are un-American, unpatriotic and condemned by all good citizens; and

Whereas, This teacher of anarchy insists on haranguing the people on the public streets of the city, and the Mayor and police have forbidden such public gatherings, therefore be it

Resolved, That this House heartily approves the course of the Mayor and Police Department, as acting for the peace and honor of this city.

As Clerk George Martin uttered the last word of the resolution Madera of the Fifth Ward, who holds extreme socialistic views, jumped from his chair and shrieked:

"Mr. Speaker, I am surprised that any man in this House should present such an outrageous resolution as this. This is a free country, and if it is the purpose of this resolution to stifle free speech then we are not representing the people. We confess ourselves cowards when we say we are afraid of the 'small, weak voice' of a woman.

"This resolution has no place in this proceeding. It is the business of the Mayor and the police. If they are not afraid they can arrest this teacher of anarchy or anybody else that disturbs the peace. But I deny that she proposes to disturb the peace. She has opinions just as you and I have, and she is as much entitled to express them. The streets of this city belong to the people, and if they propose to gather at every street corner in the town to listen to public speeches it is their business and not ours. We have enough police power in this city to regulate such things. Let the Mayor and police attend to their business and we to ours. I move the resolution be laid on the table."

Mr. Burke said that he expected such an outburst from the Fifth Ward Delegate. He did not doubt he expressed his inmost convictions and that was just what he proposed the whole House should do.

"The question was whether the teaching of anarchy in all of its hideous disregard for law, order and peace, in St. Louis, should be condemned or not. If as the representatives of the people the House did not have the manhood and patriotism to speak out on the question, then St. Louis was to be pitied.

"That man," pointing his finger at Madera, continued Burke, "says this is none of our business, and still he prates about us representing the people. It is our business and if we do our duty to the people we will protect them from the dire consequences which this notorious woman and her kind would engulf them in.

"I repeat, that the issue here is: Does or does not this House indorse the preaching of anarchy on the public highways of this city."

Mr. Watson moved that the resolution be [illegible]



THE CORPULENT T[illegible]
Unknown Woman Risks a Water Lily V[illegible]

FOR AN INHERITANCE.

FOURTH TRIAL OF THE SUIT OF HOSPES AGAINST JOSEPH W. BRANCH.

WAS GUARDIAN, THEN TRUSTEE.

Charged That He Failed to Account for Alice Crooks' Money Left by Her Father.

The suit of Hospes vs. Branch is on trial in Division 4 of the Circuit Court before Judge Fisher for the fourth time. The suit forms the basis for three Supreme Court decisions and is peculiar in many respects.

Prior to 1875 Alice Crooks was a minor and received a legacy under her father's will. Joseph W. Branch, who was associated with Miss Crook's father in the firm of Branch, Crooks & Co., was appointed her guardian and gave bond as such, and received the legacy in April, 1875.

Alice Crooks attained her majority Feb. 25, 1882. Branch made a final settlement of his curatorship in the Probate Court July 19, 1884.

There was reported due his ward $19,832.15, which was ordered paid to the trustee of the ward when appointed. In January, 1886, Alice Crooks filed her petition in the Circuit Court, stating that Branch, as curator, was ready to pay the money over to the trustee, and asking that Branch be appointed trustee, to receive and hold the [illegible]

[illegible] for, received the re-

HE

POLI
Cl

HE

Mrs.

The
equal
room.
charg
Wals
The
the w
young
arms.
street
her l
chase
street
To
of the
"At
ago,"
and,
for h
"Bo
He c
bed
kicke

109

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881020108

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Police Prevent the Anarchist Meeting at the Grant Statue / Emma Goldman.— p. 10 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. —(Oct. 20, 1897).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

crowd for there was a crowd, though the component parts were never allowed to remain at one point more than half a minute.

Emma Goldman did not appear near the Grant Monument. Several local anarchists were on Twelfth street—moving up and down as were others. Two were overheard discussing the situation. One, evidently much disgusted at the miscarriage of the plans, bitterly denounced the police.

"You should not blame them," said his companion. "They are but hirelings and do as they are ordered. It is the men who give the orders with whom we have to combat. The policemen would be with us could they learn our principles. But our day will come."

Soon after 8 o'clock there was a diversion from the monotony, for even the kaleidoscopic action becomes monotonous after a time. A crowd of perhaps 500 ran west on Olive street. They saw four policemen hurry in that direction and those who had the bump of curiosity well developed followed. The policemen went as far as the Ex., then stopped and conferred. The crowd waited ten minutes, and as nothing happened, dispersed.

This was a maneuver ordered by Chief Kiely, who thought the crowd at the corners of Twelfth street was growing, and conceived the idea of a diversion.

At 8:30 o'clock there was a brief clash between the police and several hundred persons. It was caused by the ubiquitous "Gen." Frye of Coxey Army fame, who considered the time opportune for a speech. He walked near the Grant monument and began an address. From all points of the compass men rushed toward him. The blue coats massed under Chief Kiely, night sticks were drawn, a flying wedge was formed and a charge made. No one was hurt. A few shoves were given and the crowd was soon moving. The "General" disappeared.

At intervals during the evening a patrol wagon was driven up and down Twelfth street and the clanging gong sounded notes of warning.

Shortly before 9 o'clock several anarchists distributed hand-bills that announced Emma Goldman would speak at Walhalla Hall on Tenth street and Franklin avenue on "Why I Am an Anarchist and Communist."

It was 9:30 o'clock before the crowd left the place, but many police remained in the neighborhood until midnight.

Emma Goldman slept late Wednesday morning. At 9 o'clock a Post-Dispatch reporter, who called at 1722 Oregon avenue, the home of August Sendlein, was told Miss Goldman was still in bed, but would be down in half an hour. The little anarchist was punctual. She wore a blue and white striped dressing sack, belted with a red ribbon over a dark woolen skirt. Her hair was brushed back, and her fair skin glowed under the vigorous rubbing it had received. She didn't look a bit dangerous or bloodthirsty, but in conversation her blue eyes have a way of viciously snapping and she grinds her teeth.

"The police," she began, "have made much ado about nothing.

"If Mr. Sendlein went to the Mayor and asked permission for me to speak last night he did so without my knowledge or consent, for I certainly had no intention of speaking there. What I have to say I will say at Walhalla Hall, Tenth and Franklin avenue, to-night.

"Those who know me know that if I had wanted to speak the policemen wouldn't have frightened me off. I am not that sort of a woman.

"Had I said I was going to speak no God nor devil could have stopped me, let alone a few minions of the law.

"What is the jail to me compared with my principles?

"What is my life itself, or the lives of any individual, compared to the great humanity saving cause in which we are interested? Nothing.

"No, I don't like jails, for I have had experience in them. When I go to jail, I want to go for something I have said, not for something a law hireling thinks I am going to say.

"When I have had my say, the seeds have been planted and I don't care what the police do to me, because good to the cause will come of my words.

"But no good can come of being arrested before I have said anything. Had I attempted to speak last night I would have been arrested before I could open my mouth. I can be a martyr for my principles, but those principles are not being helped if I have to go to jail before I can enunciate them.

"If I could do my cause any good, as I said before, heaven nor hell, if those things exist, could not stop me. I will be in St. Louis until Saturday, and will then continue my tour of agitation. I will make no open-air speeches here, because, as I said before, the police would arrest me. If they will promise to let me finish my speech I will address the people at the Grant statue and then cheerfully go to jail for it afterwards.

"What do I think of the Mayor forbidding me to speak? It's on a par with the injustice and oppression which make anarchists necessary. Where is the constitutional right of free speech? Under an oppressive system such as that how are we free agents?

---

and

Whereas, Such teachings are un-American, unpatriotic and condemned by all good citizens; and

Whereas, This teacher of anarchy insists on haranguing the people on the public streets of the city, and the Mayor and police have forbidden such public gatherings; therefore be it

Resolved, That this House heartily approves the course of the Mayor and Police Department, as acting for the peace and honor of this city.

As Clerk George Martin uttered the last word of the resolution Madera of the Fifth Ward, who holds extreme socialistic views, jumped from his chair and shrieked:

"Mr. Speaker, I am surprised that any man in this House should present such an outrageous resolution as this. This is a free country, and if it is the purpose of this resolution to stifle free speech then we are not representing the people. We confess ourselves cowards when we say we are afraid of the 'small, weak voice' of a woman.

"This resolution has no place in this proceeding. It is the business of the Mayor and the police. If they are not afraid they can arrest this teacher of anarchy or anybody else that disturbs the peace. But I deny that she proposes to disturb the peace. She has opinions just as you and I have, and she is as much entitled to express them. The streets of this city belong to the people, and if they propose to gather at every street corner in the town to listen to public speeches it is their business and not ours. We have enough police power in this city to regulate such things. Let the Mayor and police attend to their business and we to ours. I move the resolution be laid on the table."

Mr. Burke said that he expected such an outburst from the Fifth Ward Delegate. He did not doubt he expressed his inmost convictions and that was just what he proposed the whole House should do.

The question was whether the teaching of anarchy in all of its hideous disregard for law, order and peace, in St. Louis, should be condemned or not. If as the representatives of the people the House did not have the manhood and patriotism to speak out on the question, then St. Louis was to be pitied.

"That man," pointing his finger at Madera, continued Burke, "says this is none of our business, and still he prates about us representing the people. It is our business and if we do our duty to the people we will protect them from the dire consequences which this notorious woman and her kind would engulf them in.

"I repeat, that the issue here is: Does or does not this House indorse the preaching of anarchy on the public highways of this city."

Mr. Watson moved that the resolution be adopted.

Mr. Murrell seconded the motion of Madera to table.

Mr. Debrodt, supporting the resolution, said: "Is it possible that there are men in this House who have the effrontery to oppose a resolution of this kind. If there are we cannot come to a vote too soon. So the people may understand what manner of men they have sent here to make laws for them and protect the life and property of this great city.

"The Mayor and police could not have acted otherwise, and if they had I believe that an indignant people would have driven them from the places they fill.

"This woman, who the Mayor has refused to permit to stand on the street corners and curse and revile all law, all morals, and even civilization itself, is a dangerous character who has been in jail time and again for her efforts to stir up strife and bloodshed. She has been a prisoner in the Tombs and on Blackwell's Island. We want none such here, and the Mayor is right when he says she can't speak on the streets. There are plenty of halls; let her have one, and I will add that the police ought to be there to hear what she says."

Mr. Bersch said that he wanted it understood that he was in favor of upholding the Mayor's hands, but he did not think the House had anything to do with such a resolution, and he should vote against it.

Mr. Watson demanded a vote on his substitute, and Burke called for the ayes and noes.

When the roll was finished Speaker Lehmann rose and gravely said: "Gentlemen, I am not afraid of a woman. I don't see any use every time some official does something in this House, indorsing him. This resolution does not belong here. It is not our business to say whether people shall harangue on the streets or not, and I don't propose to get mixed up in it. I vote no."

The vote was as follows:

Ayes—Messrs. Burke, Coudrey, Debrodt, Decker, Hartmann, Henning, King, Pauley, Ritter, Robertson, Schuler, Sweeney, Wander, Watson, Weeke and Wittenberg.

Noes—Messrs. Bersch, Gutke, Helms, Hirth, Madera, Murrell, Schaefer, Willmore and Speaker Lehmann.

Delegate Schaefer, who entered as the roll was finished, was called, but said he did not know what the resolution was, or how to vote.

"Vote aye," called out Debrodt from across the House.

"How did you vote?" inquired Schaefer.

"I voted aye," replied Debrodt.

"Then I vote 'No'" responded Schaefer.

Helms, who had voted 'aye' changed his vote to 'no.'

THE [illegible]

Unknown Woman Ri[illegible]

FOR AN INHERITANCE.

FOURTH TRIAL OF THE SUIT OF HOSPES AGAINST JOSEPH W. BRANCH.

WAS GUARDIAN, THEN TRUSTEE.

Charged That He Failed to Account for Alice Crooks' Money Left by Her Father.

The suit of Hospes vs. Branch is on trial in Division 4 of the Circuit Court before Judge Fisher for the fourth time. The suit forms the basis for three Supreme Court decisions and is peculiar in many respects.

Prior to 1875 Alice Crooks was a minor and received a legacy under her father's will. Joseph W. Branch, who was associated with Miss Crook's father in the firm of Branch, Crooks & Co., was appointed her guardian and gave bond as such, and received the legacy in April, 1875.

Alice Crooks attained her majority Feb. 25, 1882. Branch made a final settlement of his curatorship in the Probate Court July 19, 1884.

There was reported due his ward $10,832.15 which was ordered paid to the trustee of the ward when appointed. In January, 1886, Alice Crooks filed her petition in the Circuit Court, stating that Branch, as curator, was ready to pay the money over to the trustee, and asking that Branch be appointed trustee, to receive and hold the money for her use.

Joseph Branch, as curator, received the receipt of Joseph Branch, trustee, for the sum named, and Joseph Branch, curator, was formally discharged from his curatorship.

The suit was filed against the sureties on the bond of Branch as curator, charging that he had converted the funds to his own use before he turned them over to himself as trustee. In two cases appealed to the Supreme Court it was charged Mr. Branch had put the money into his business before he took charge as trustee. In the last suit appealed it was charged that he had appropriated the funds after he became trustee.

Miss Crooks filed a suit to have Branch removed and Richard Hospes was appointed trustee in his place. He as trustee, sued Branch on his bond as trustee, and it is that suit that is now being tried over again in the Circuit Court.

OSCEOLA STREET INCIDENT.

Mrs. Graff and Mrs. Thomas Quarreled and Paid for It.

Mrs. Freda Graff, 3113 Osceola street, and Mrs. Mary Thomas and the latter's 8-year-old daughter, Lena, 3115 Osceola street, were in the Carondelet Police Court Wednesday morning on cross charges of disturbing the peace. The women were fined $5 each and the little girl was discharged.

The testimony showed that on Sept. 28 Lena made faces at Mrs. Graff. Mrs. Graff crossed over to the Thomas back yard and pulled Lena's ears. Then she went home and stood on her back porch to see if Lena would offend any more.

Lena told her mother what had happened and Mrs. Thomas took a position on her back porch. She looked across and saw Mrs. Graff. Then she called her "Rough on Rats," "Chicken Poisoner" and other names which Mrs. Graff did not like.

WEISMAN UNDER BOND AGAIN.

Finally Settled That Missouri Shall Try Him First.

At 2 o'clock Wednesday afternoon William Weisman, charged with burglary, was released from jail on a bond signed by C. H. Grote—the same surety who surrendered Weisman to the Sheriff a few days ago.

Weisman is also wanted by the Belleville authorities on the charge of taking stolen property into the State of Illinois. The [illegible] authority has been settled by Gov. Stephens, who has written a letter, saying that the Missouri courts must have the first stroke at the defendant.

Weisman's bondsman surrendered him pending settlement of the controversy between the two States.

Panic Stricken Children.

While a festival was in progress at St. Boniface's School Hall, Michigan avenue and Schirmer street, Tuesday afternoon, a draped chandelier caught fire. The children became panic-stricken and rushed from the hall, but none were injured.

Will Be Taken to the Asylum.

SAYS BREWER ROBBED HIM.

Michael Otley Wants a Man From Springfield Arrested.

Michael Otley called at police headquarters Wednesday and asked for the arrest of Tom Brewer, a gambler from Springfield, Ill. Otley says that he received a note Tuesday to go to Al Canty's saloon at Fourteenth and Pine streets and see Brewer on a matter of business.

He says that when he met Brewer [illegible]

HE SPOKE TO THEM.

Mayor Ziegenhein Addresses the Western Catholic Union.

John J. Starr and Herman Schumacher of the Western Catholic Union reception committee called on Mayor Ziegenhein Wednesday morning and invited him to address the Union, which is convention in Capital Hall, Ninth and Allen streets. The Mayor readily consented to do so, which accounted for his absence from the City Hall in the forenoon.

110

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881020013

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] What Is There in Anarchy for Woman? / Emma Goldman. — p. 9 ; 43 cm.
In St. Louis Post-Dispatch. — (Oct. 24, 1897).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

PART TWO. SUNDAY MORNING

WHAT IS THERE IN AN

BY



"WHAT does anarchy hold out to me—a woman?"

"More to woman than to anyone else—everything which she has not—freedom and equality."

Quickly, earnestly Emma Goldman, the priestess of anarchy, exiled from Russia, feared by police, and now a guest of St. Louis Anarchists, gave this answer to my question.

I found her at No. 1722 Oregon avenue, an old-style two-story brick house, the home of a sympathizer—not a relative as has been stated.

I was received by a good-natured, portly German woman, and taken back to a typical German dining-room—everything clean and neat as soap and water could make them. After carefully dusting a chair for me with her apron, she took my name back to the bold little free-thinker. I was welcome. I found Emma Goldman sipping her coffee and partaking of bread and jelly, as her morning's repast. She was neatly clad in a percale shirt waist and skirt, with white collar and cuffs, her feet encased in a loose pair of cloth slippers. She doesn't look like a Russian Nihilist who will be sent to Siberia if she ever crosses the frontier of her native land.

"Do you believe in marriage?" I asked.

"I do not," answered the fair little Anarchist, as promptly as before. "I believe that when two people love each other that no judge, minister or court, or body of people, have anything to do with it. They themselves are the ones to determine the relations which they shall hold with one another. When that relation becomes irksome to either party, or one of the parties, then it can be as quickly terminated as it was formed."

Miss Goldman gave a little nod of her head to emphasize her words, and quite a pretty head it was, crowned with soft brown hair, combed with a bang and brushed to one side. Her eyes are the honest blue, her complexion clear as a white. Her nose though rather broad and of a Teutonic type, was well formed. She is short of stature, with a well-rounded figure. Her whole type is more German than Russian. The only serious physical failing that she has is in her eyes. She is so extremely near-sighted that with glasses she can scarcely distinguish print.

"The alliance should be formed," she continued, "not as it is now, to give the woman a support and home, but because the love is there, and that state of affairs can only be brought about by an internal revolution, in short, Anarchy."

She said this as calmly as though she had just expressed an ordinary every-day fact, but the glitter in her eyes showed the "internal revolutions" already at work in her busy brain.

"What does Anarchy promise woman?"

"It holds everything for woman—freedom, equality—everything that woman has not now."

"Isn't woman free?"

"Free! She is the slave of her husband and her children. She should take her part in the business world the same as the man; she should be his equal before the world, as she is in the reality. She is as capable as he, but when she labors she gets less wages. Why? Because she wears skirts instead of trousers."

"But what is to become of the ideal home life, and all that now surrounds the mother, according to a man's idea?"

"Ideal home life, indeed! The woman, instead of being the household queen, told about in story books, is the servant, the mistress, and the slave of both husband and children. She loses her own individuality entirely, even her name she is not allowed to keep. She is the mistress of John Brown or the mistress of Tom Jones; she is that and nothing else. That is the way I think of her."

Miss Goldman has a pleasant accent. She rolls her r's and changes her r's into v's and vice-versa, with a truly Russian pronunciation. She gesticulates a great deal. When she becomes excited her hands and feet and shoulders all help to illustrate her meanings.

"What would you do with the children of the Anarchistic era?"

"The children would be provided with common homes, big boarding schools, where they will be properly cared for and educated and in every way given as good, and in most cases better, care than they would re-

881020013

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] What Is There in Anarchy for Woman? / Emma Goldman. — p. 9 ; 43 cm.
In St. Louis Post-Dispatch. —(Oct. 24, 1897).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

SUNDAY MORNING—ST. LOUIS—OCTOBER 24, 1897.

ERE IN ANARCHY FOR W

BY EMMA GOLDMAN.

From photographs taken by the Sunday Post-Dispatch photographer for whom

881020013

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] What Is There in Anarchy for Woman? / Emma Goldman. – p. 9 ; 43 cm.
In St. Louis Post-Dispatch. – (Oct. 24, 1897).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

CTOBER 24, 1897. PAGES 9—16.

"Papa" Burkhart's View of Matrimony.

Remarkable Profile of Olive Street.

RCHY FOR WOMAN?

OLDMAN.



by the Sunday Post-Dispatch photographer for whom

ceive in their own homes. Very few mothers know how to take proper care of their children, anyway. It is a science only a very few have learned."

"But the women that desire a home life and the care of their own children, the domestic woman, what of her?"

"Oh, of course, the women that desire could keep their children home and confine themselves as strictly to domestic duties as they desired. But it would give those women who desire something broader, a chance to attain any height they desired. With no poor, and no capitalists, and one common purse, this earth will afford the heaven that the Christians are looking for in another world."

She gazed contemplatively in the bottom of the empty coffee cup, as though she saw in imagination the ideal State, already an actuality.

"Who will take care of the children?" I asked, breaking in upon her reverie.

"Every one," she answered, "has tastes and qualifications suiting them to some occupation. I am a trained nurse. I like to care for the sick. So it will be with some women. They will want to care for and teach the children.

"Won't the children lose their love for their parents and feel the lack of their companionship?" A thought of the affectionate little darlings being relegated to a sort of an orphan asylum crossed my mind.

"The parents will have the same opportunities of gaining their confidences and affections as they have now. They can spend just as much time there as they please or have them with them just as often as desired. They will be the children of love—healthy, strong-minded—and not as now, in most cases, born of hate and domestic dissensions."

"What do you call love?"

"When a man or woman finds some quality or qualities in another that they admire and has an overweening desire to please that person, even to the sacrificing of personal feeling; when there is that subtle something drawing them together, that those who love recognise, and feel it in the inmost fiber of their being, then I call that love." She finished speaking and her face was suffused with a rosy blush.

"Can a person love more than one at a time?"

"I don't see why not—if they find the same lovable qualities in several persons. What should prevent one loving the same things in all of them?

"If we cease to love the man or woman and find some one else, as I said before, we talk it over together and quietly change the mode of living. The private affairs of the family need not then be talked over in the courts and become public property. No one can control the affections, therefore there should be no jealousies.

"Heartaches? Oh, yes," she said, sadly, "but not hatred because he or she has tired of the relations. The human race will always have heartaches as long as the heart beats in the breast.

"My religion," she laughingly repeated. "I was of the Hebrew faith when a girl—you know I am a Jewess—but now I am an atheist. No one has been able to prove either the inspiration of the Bible or the existence of a God to my satisfaction. I believe in no hereafter except the hereafter that is found by the physical matter existing in the human body. I think that lives again in some other form, and I don't think that anything once created ever is lost—it goes on and on in first once shape, then another. There is no such thing as a soul—it is all the physical matter."

Pretty Miss Goldman finished speaking, and a delicate flush mounted to her cheek as I asked her if she intended to marry.

"No; I don't believe in marriage for others, and I certainly should not preach one thing and practice another."

She sat in an easy attitude with one leg crossed over the other. She is in every sense a womanly looking woman, with masculine mind and courage.

She laughed as she said there were fifty police at her lecture on Wednesday night, and she added, "If there had of been a bomb thrown I would surely have been blamed for it."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881107000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] "Reds" in a Calm / Emma Goldman. – p. 5 ; 43 cm. *In* The Chicago Tribune. –(Nov. 12, 1897).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

"REDS" IN A CALM.

Their Celebration of "Martyr Day" a Tame Affair.

MRS. PARSONS IS STILL.

Police Injunction Has a Quieting Effect Upon Her.

RED FLAGS FILL THE HALL.

Emma Goldmann Makes the Usual Anarchistic Appeal.

WALDHEIM GRAVES DECORATED.

The "Reds" finished their celebration of "Martyr day" last night by a mass-meeting at the West Twelfth Street Turner Hall. It was ten years ago that the Anarchists expiated their conspiracy on the gallows. The announcement that these would be a program of unusual merit was sufficient to crowd the hall to the doors.

Everything went off quietly. Lucy Parsons did not speak, but she was there. She had evidently gotten her usual warning from the police in the person of Captain John Wheeler and a posse of plain clothes men.

The features of the evening's entertainment were a personal letter from Captain Black, who defended the Anarchists; an address by L. S. Oliver, a local "Red," and Miss Emma Goldman of New York, an imported specimen of the anti-law and order forces. Miss Goldmen gave capital an old-fashioned "roasting." Mr. Oliver bitterly arraigned the execution of the Anarchists, denouncing their trial and punishment as a crime against humanity.

Flags and Pictures in the Hall.

Five blood red flags adorned the hall, and the pictures of various slayers of foreign rulers adorned the platform. The allied German singing societies sang several songs and there was orchestral music.

A funeral march by the orchestra was the opening feature, and then Mrs. Nellie Quinn read the letter from Captain Black. The Captain said the time had gone by for him to discuss the trial, as his opinion was well known. He felt it appropriate to give some personal reminiscences of the men who perished on the gallows and he briefly talked of the last days of Spies, Parsons, Lingg, Fischer, and Engel, paying to each of them a tribute.

Captain Black said that the men were undoubtedly sincere whether their opinions were right or wrong. Personally they were men of fine character, and were willing to die for the cause. During the eulogy of Parsons Mrs. Parsons wept bitterly and retired from the stage.

L. S. Oliver said that the Anarchists died for the sake of humanity. He laid the blame of the haymarket massacre upon John Bonfield and the police. He went over the old story again, but insisted that the memory of these men would grow stronger each year, and that they still lived, though their voices had been stilled in death.

Emma Goldmann Speaks.

Emma Goldmann spoke in German. She is a strong and vigorous speaker. Irony, sarcasm, invective, and denunciation rolled in a steady volume from her lips. She spoke of the undying force of an idea. She said that while the so-called Anarchists were struggled to death, it was impossible to struggle their ideas, and these were constantly growing. She deplored the supineness of the laboring classes who were legitimately entitled to the riches of the earth, as they produced them.

She told them that these riches were theirs to take and the sooner they did so the sooner they would come into their own. As long as laboringmen begged for their rights, that long would they be oppressed. They must rise up in their might and manhood and take their rights by force. She "roasted" the Chicago police in regular "red" fashion, after which the meeting adjourned.

GARLANDS AT THE MONUMENT.

Flowers, Wreaths, and Eulogistic Words Placed Upon the Graves of the Anarchist Quintet.

A small group of men and women stood in silence before the Anarchists' monument in Waldheim Cemetery at noon yesterday. It was the committee appointed by representatives of thirty-five trades unions and workingmen's societies. There was no attempt to hold exercises of any sort. Flowers were placed at the foot of the monument and wreaths were laid at its base. The Economic Educational club of Milwaukee avenue and two or three trades unions were the only English speaking organizations represented.

The predominating color in the floral tributes was red, as usual. The position of honor was given to a standing piece fully seven feet high, which was presented by the Memorial committee. It sustained a floral representation of the scriptural "broken wheel" of white and red roses, the spokes being formed of the names of the five whose bodies lie there: August Spies, Albert R. Parsons, Louis Lingg, Adolph Fischer, and George Engel. The piece was dedicated to the "Labor Martyrs," the dates "November, 1887-1897" being woven in the foot rest.

The Englewood Turngemeinde sent a wreath of white roses, chrysanthemums, and

[illegible] by a wreath of red roses, chrysan[illegible], and farns with its name in flowers [illegible] the center. Red streamers were in[illegible] "Derr Hass, der euch vernichten [illegible] or weihte euch der Unsterblichkeit." [illegible] dedication was to "Dem Opfern der [illegible]." A clock of white and pink [illegible] bore the legend, "Murdered, but not [illegible] was inscribed in German [illegible] "The German Painters' [illegible] of red [illegible] "Ideen [illegible]

IN DUMAS' GREAT DRAMA.

MODJESKA APPEARS IN "CAMILLE" AT THE GRAND OPERA-HOUSE.

Contrast of Her Portrayal of the Character with the Renditions of Davenport, Nethersole, and Duse—The Second Act—The Death Scene—Analysis of Portions of the Play—Joseph Haworth in the Role of Armand—The Company.

There have been many versions of "Camille" presented in Chicago in the last two seasons, both in French and English, but none of which could surpass the rendering given last night at the Grand Opera-House by Mme. Modjeska. Whenever Dumas' play is given by one of the three greatest actresses of the present time one is inclined to think that it is really a drama of great value.

Modjeska's reading of the character is like a musical poem perfectly played. There is not a nuance of expression which is overlooked, not a note which does not ring absolutely true. If the character is impossible or the whole play unnatural and sentimental, the fault is the author's. As far as interpretation can go the actress has said the last word.

Compared with Modjeska, the other actresses who have essayed the part in English are hopelessly inadequate. Miss Davenport is robust and blatant; Miss Nethersole is like a schoolgirl playing the courtesan. Neither of them is able to enlist the sympathies of the audience while yet retaining the marks of Camille's unfortunate position in the world.

Duse is probably the most pathetic Camille on the stage, but with Duse it is rather hard to remember that the heroine is not a pure woman.

Art of Modjeska.

Modjeska steers between the two extremes with a marvelous art that makes the character perfectly plausible and yet most engaging. She never leaves the audience in any doubt as to her social standing, but having once made that clear, she is, before everything else, a woman who loves and who has to suffer in consequence—always a pathetic figure either in real life or on the stage. Miss Nethersole has always insisted so much upon the vulgar side of the woman's nature that it is impossible to feel a very genuine sorrow for her unhappy end. But after all it is absurd to make the comparison.

Modjeska reached a height in the second act last night to which no woman upon the English speaking stage can hope to attain. That the illusion was not perfectly sustained was due to long waits and indifferent acting upon the part of the rest of the company. In any case, however, the second act is by far the best in the play when the actress is capable of doing it justice. It presents every opportunity for the most delicate exposition of character and hardly a line which is not perfectly natural.

The third act, especially at the end, is inclined to be foolish because the mechanical devices are so apparent. Indeed, it is hard to refrain from smiling when Armand walks about the sitting-room wringing his hands instead of starting out to look for Camille, as he certainly would have done in real life.

And then the fourth act is not only exceedingly melodramatic, but it is certain always to be spoiled by the bad acting of the minor characters. They are too unimportant to be intrusted to competent actors and actresses, and the result is a total absence of the necessary atmosphere. Besides it is very hard for any one but a Frenchman, and a Paul Bourget at that, to appreciate the dastardly conduct of Armand as the curtain falls. A man may grossly insult a woman upon the stage, but the playwright ought not to let it be understood that in so doing he is covering himself with glory.

The Death Scene.

With a bad third and an indifferent fourth act the ardor of the audience is likely to die down before the fifth act begins. For that reason the death scene is robbed of its effectiveness. It is a scene, however, which few people ever care to see twice unless they are very sentimentally inclined. Modjeska's reading of her part in the last act is exceptionally fine in its perfect simplicity and restraint. There is no long drawn out agony and no attempt to portray the horrors of the death chamber. She fails, perhaps, to convey any feeling of the dread of death which must surely come to most participators to such a scene; she inspires pity but not terror. Yet even that may commend itself to those who are afraid of ultra realism upon the stage.

Take it at its best, however, and the last act falls far short of the second from every point of view; and the second act so suits the talents of the actress that the climax is reached too soon. As soon as the curtain falls upon the union of Camille and her lover it is certain that there must be a reaction, and the reaction is so strong that the audience never quite recovers from it.

Mr. Joseph Haworth is a fairly good Armand. But he is much better in older parts than he is as the youthful lover. No one ever has played Armand to the satisfaction of any audience, unless it were a French one, because the character is so utterly distasteful to the Anglo-Saxon mind. At the end of the fourth act Mr. Haworth rose to the occasion, because he can act melodrama when he likes; but for the most part he was a very stilted kind of lover. The chief difficulty with the rest of the company seems to lie in their inability to recollect their lines.

GETS LESSONS FROM NORDICA.

Mr. Frantz Proschowsky Attracts the Prima Donna's Attention as a Tenor.

Mr. Frantz Proschowsky is a fortunate tenor. He is the only one to whom Mme. Nordica has given lessons in Chicago. It was in the first of these, given last winter, that she told him that he was a tenor and not a baritone, under which impression he had been previously studying. She also told him

Yesterday she heard him sing again and pronounced him ready to take a church position. She expressed, furthermore, great satisfaction in his progress, and, although she had passed the major part of the day in a dentist's chair and had a piano rehearsal for possible encores this afternoon in immediate prospect, not to mention the concert itself, the lesson she insisted upon.

"You know he is my pupil," she said. So everything stood still until Mr. Proschowsky sang.

Mme. Nordica is energetic about lesson giving, as she is about everything else. One [illegible] she would be seated in her chair, [illegible] in the middle of the floor, and the [illegible] on the piano stool playing an [illegible] from memory. As she [illegible] the room the long silk and lace [illegible] seated straight in the

[illegible] rise upon the world every [illegible]

NAME R. T. LINCOLN.

Pullman Directors Choose Him to Act as President.

DEFER FORMAL ELECTION

Create an Executive Committee to Be in Charge.

PRESENT STATUS OF STOCK.

Robert T. Lincoln has been chosen to act as President of the Pullman Palace Car company until the election of a President can take place. The position he will hold is pro tempore only, and it is still uncertain who is to be the permanent successor to George M. Pullman.

Directors Marshall Field, J. W. Doane, Normen Williams, Henry C. Hulbert of New York, and Henry P. Reed of Boston, who included the whole Pullman directory with the exception of O. S. A. Sprague, who is in California, were present at the first meeting held since Mr. Pullman's death. It was at once decided to elect a successor to Mr. Pullman in the directory, and Robert T. Lincoln was so elected and summoned to the meeting.

Executive Committee Formed.

It was also decided to organize an Executive committee of three to have general administrative direction over the affairs of the company such as had previously been left to Mr. Pullman alone. Marshall Field, H. C. Hulbert, and Robert T. Lincoln were delegated to serve on this committee. By votes of Mr. Hulbert and Mr. Field, Mr. Lincoln, the only one of the three who at present could devote much time to the affairs of the company, was elected chairman of the committee. This will give him authority to sign the documents of the company and be its official head until a President is elected.

The directors decided that choice of a President be delayed until careful consideration could be given to the subject. It is possible that some railroad man may finally be elected to the position. It was recently stated that Mr. Lincoln had declared he would not accept a permanent election to the Presidency. It can be said authoritatively, however, that Mr. Lincoln never made the statement imputed to him.

Power in the Directory.

The constitution of the Pullman company vests practically all power in the directory. So great was the confidence and trust in the wisdom of Mr. Pullman that, while he was living, the directors left matters entirely to him, and never questioned his judgment. In the Executive committee created yesterday will now be vested the responsibilities which were assumed by Mr. Pullman. The general organization of the company will not, however, change, and as contracts with the railroads are on long time, nothing is liable to come up which will greatly affect the status of the company's business.

The prestige which Mr. Pullman's name gave to the company was, however, very great, and this loss has already proved serious as affecting the temper of investors and the value of the Pullman stock. On the Monday before Mr. Pullman died Pullman stock closed at 175½—representing a value of $35,000,000 on a capitalization of $30,000,000. Yesterday the stock closed at 152, which represents a value of $30,804,000—a net loss of $2,280,000. As nearly half of the Pullman stock is owned in trust for charitable and benevolent organizations, and is a favorite "widow's" investment stock, such a shrinkage in value is serious. The stock has always possessed previously a record for steadiness and non-fluctuating qualities.

Text of Resolutions.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Pullman company directors in memory of Mr. Pullman:

By a dispensation of divine providence the President of this company, George M. Pullman, has been suddenly called to his eternal home.

We feel it appropriate in place upon the records of the company, in our own behalf and that of the stockholders we represent, our appreciation of him as an officer and as a man, and a declaration of our sense of the irreparable loss to us and to the company.

The idea of the company and of the business it was created to perform was peculiarly and distinctively his. The success it has attained, both in the way of material benefit to its stockholders, and in ministering to the wants and comfort of the traveling public, has been due more to his genius, industry, and untiring devotion than to all other causes combined, during the thirty years of his uninterrupted service.

Personal Tributes of Directors.

It is for others to judge of the extent of the loss, great as we believe it to be, to the traveling public, to the railway systems with which he had established relations, to the people in whose interest he conceived the town that bears his name and to the city in which he lived, but to us as directors the close of this useful and honorable life has a significance far beyond the mere severance of official relations. It has not only withdrawn from the board a member whose experience, judgment, and fertility of resource it will be impossible to replace, but it has also bereaved us of a companion and dear friend whose loss will be a lifelong sorrow.

To put in permanent form our appreciation of the life and character of our lamented President; our profound sense of personal loss, and our sympathy for his bereaved family, it is ordered that this memorial be spread upon the records of the company, and that an engrossed copy of it be transmitted to Mrs. Pullman and her family.

BECKWITH STILL IN THE DARK.

New Husband of the Daughter of Mr. Lincoln Does Not Venture to Claim His Wife.

The whereabouts of Warren Beckwith, [illegible] daughter of Mr. Robert T. Lincoln last Wednesday, is still a matter of surmise merely. It is understood he is not at the residence of Mr. Lincoln, 60 Lake Shore drive, where his bride has remained since her return from Milwaukee after the hurried marriage ceremony; and Mr. Lincoln maintains that all reports of a prospective reconciliation are without foundation.

"I have nothing whatever to add to what has already been said," Mr. Lincoln said yesterday. "My daughter is at home. I have not seen the young man, and shall not extend my pardon to him."

The marriage ceremony in Milwaukee was performed by the Rev. Orlando P. Christian, a Methodist Episcopal minister. The couple first, however, went to the Pfister, where Beckwith registered as Warren Wallace. They were driven immediately afterwards to the residence of the Rev. Mr. Christian. Mrs. Christian and Mrs.

CALL FOR MORE WATER.

ILLINOIS CLUB TAKES ACTION IN REGARD TO THE MATTER.

Resolutions Are Adopted and a Committee of Fifty Appointed to Present Them to the Mayor and Other City Officials—West-Siders Pay Their Share of the Taxes, They Feel That They Have the Right to Demand Better Treatment.

The water supply for many parts of the West Side has for a long time been so insufficient that it has been practically impossible to obtain water for ordinary household purposes. The Illinois club, the leading organization of its kind on the West Side, has taken up the subject. At a special meeting of the club last evening a committee of fifty was appointed to present resolutions to the Mayor and other officials. The resolutions are as follows:

Whereas, For many months the water supply in the West Side has been so entirely inadequate that in many places it has often been impossible, especially in upper stories, to obtain sufficient water for ordinary household purposes, and

Whereas, This condition has become a serious menace not only to the comfort of our homes and health of our families but also to the business, welfare, and prosperity of our part of the city and of the West Side generally; therefore, be it

Resolved, That, speaking for the great West Side, we earnestly protest against the further continuance of this extremely unsanitary and most uncomfortable condition, and submit that, as residents of the West Side have always paid and now pay their just proportion of the water tax of our city, they are justly entitled to a service equal to that enjoyed by residents of the South and North Sides, and we respectfully call upon the Mayor, City Council, and officials responsible for the administration of our Water and Health departments to use every means in their power to correct or remove the evils complained of at the earliest date possible.

Resolved, That a committee of fifty be appointed, of which the President of this club shall be chairman, to present these resolutions to the Mayor, with such additional suggestions as they may consider proper, and that a copy thereof be forwarded to the City Clerk with a request that they be presented to the City Council as a petition or memorial on the subject.

The following committee was appointed to present the resolutions to the Mayor:

Henry H. Maxwell.	Frank Hayes.
General R. J. Smith.	W. H. Aisle.
Alson E. Clark.	John McLaren.
W. J. Wilson.	James Frake.
W. J. Chalmers.	H. A. Eckhart.
C. L. Rising.	Samuel Carson.
General Charles Fitz-Simons.	I. F. Pettibone.
Walter Shoemaker.	William J. Pope.
Dr. Homer M. Thomas.	James T. Rawleigh.
John A. King.	W. W. Norris.
E. Benning.	Francis A. Riddle.
Judge C. C. Kohlsaat.	Charles Shucksford.
W. S. Hegle.	E. B. Dobb.
J. F. Talbot.	H. M. Conger.
Harvey T. Weeks.	F. P. Potter.
Joseph Downey.	W. A. Wells.
George B. Swift.	H. M. Hooker.
A. H. McCourtie.	Benton F. Hales.
Robert L. Tatham.	N. C. McMillan.
C. H. Remeon.	D. J. Avery.
George Bickhoff Jr.	J. K. Stevens.
Dr. T. M. Brophy.	John C. Spry.
A. C. Harbrow.	Clayton Mark.
A. F. Barr.	Dr. Leonard St. John.
W. F. Elliott.	E. A. Hill.

CURFEW'S NOTE IS HEEDED.

Dreaded Sound of Alderman Stow's Zealous Bell Strikes Terror to Youthful Evanstonian Hearts.

Curfew rang for the second time under the new law in Evanston last night, and the small boys who happened to be out of doors when the first peal sounded hied themselves quickly to their homes. Not a child was discovered by the watchful policemen.

It appears that two of the policemen of the classic suburb are antagonistic to the Stow ordinance, either because it necessitates extra labor or because of their friendliness for the innocents of Evanston.

At any rate, the report is believed that certain bluecoats warned youngsters who were out to flee at the first sound of the bells.

ALD. LUDOLPH LAID TO REST.

After Funeral Services, Which City and County Officials Attend, Burial Is at Graceland.

Alderman Henry Ludolph was buried in Graceland Cemetery yesterday afternoon, exercises having been held at Undine hall, Ludolph's flat, 881 Milwaukee avenue, where the Rev. Gottlieb Lambrecht of St. Peter's German Lutheran Church officiated. At one end of the hall were the floral tributes. The active pallbearers were Alderman John Powers, Alderman John J. Coughlin, Alderman Conrad Kahler, Alderman Peter Kiolhasa, Alderman Charles W. Probst, Alderman W. A. Tuite, Alderman John J. Brennan, Alderman William T. Meypole. The honorary pallbearers were the other Aldermen.

G. BEHRING IN CUSTODY AGAIN.

Charged with Forcing His Way Into Mrs. G. M. Pullman's Home and Annoying Her.

Gustav Behring, who has been arrested several times for annoying the Pullman family, was arrested again by the Cottage Grove Avenue police yesterday on a similar charge.

Early this week an abusive note was received by Mrs. Pullman, in which Behring's claims were set forth rather forcibly. The matter was ignored by Mrs. Pullman, and on Wednesday she was startled by the appearance of Behring, who forced his way past the servant at the door and rushed into the presence of Mrs. Pullman, demanding a hearing.

Then he disappeared, but was arrested and will be tried today.

CASHIER READ IS PARDONED.

Governor Tanner Grants Request of Friends, Who Say Grief Unmanned the Prisoner.

Upon the recommendation of the State Board of Pardons Governor Tanner has pardoned George Read, who is now serving an eight months' sentence in the House of Correction at Chicago for embezzlement. He was sentenced at the July term of the Criminal Court of Cook County for embezzling $500 from the Unity company at Chicago while acting as bookkeper and cashier.

Read is 54 years old and the petition for pardon states that he was led to drinking by the news of the death of his wife in England and for a number of weeks before the offence was not responsible for his actions.

AIR LINE T[illegible]

St. Charles People [illegible] Elevate the [illegible]

OTHER ROADS [illegible]

Dooms Fatal Cro[illegible] teenth and [illegible]

TO BEGIN WORK [illegible]

The St. Charles Air L[illegible] elevated and the fatal [illegible] Fifteenth and Clark st[illegible] by next summer be a [illegible] is the chief victory for [illegible] ordinance, as the list o[illegible] Fifteenth street was one of [illegible] originally to securing [illegible] measure.

The four roads owni[illegible] line have squabbled fo[illegible] track elevation and [illegible] which cross the St. Cha[illegible] have refused to take [illegible] their lines at that point [illegible] people acted. The latt[illegible] action and the engineer[illegible] plans for the work.

Tangle of M[illegible]

The St. Charles cros[illegible] roads at Clark street a[illegible] trolley lines. It has be[illegible] a double deck elevati[illegible] being elevated above th[illegible] will be raised the requisite surface of the street. "[illegible] ple are to report within [illegible] plan they favor for el[illegible] and work will begin a[illegible] the spring.

The other roads at th[illegible] Fifteenth streets crossing [illegible] directly in the matter [illegible] ways declared they wo[illegible] work as soon as the [illegible] Charles made it possib[illegible] veys and plans they h[illegible] It is believed they wi[illegible] work as soon as it [illegible] Charles.

Dangers of th[illegible]

The crossing at Si[illegible] streets is the most d[illegible] Four or five trolley li[illegible] work of railroad track[illegible] almost constantly swit[illegible] Any number of fatal ac[illegible] there in years past, an[illegible] abolition of its dange[illegible] by the thousands who [illegible] every day.

The St. Charles cros[illegible] part of the city, running [illegible] the city to the neighb[illegible] street to the western [illegible] Wabash avenue and [illegible] blockades that ensue [illegible] thoroughfares are lim[illegible] frequently happen at b[illegible] many fatalities occur.

Four Roads [illegible]

The St. Charles is [illegible] the Burlington, Illinois [illegible] ern, and Michigan C[illegible] have had some differe[illegible] agreement in regard [illegible] and elevation has be[illegible] three years.

One obstacle in the [illegible] low structure of the [illegible] elevated road has rec[illegible] ing its track high e[illegible] St. Charles being elev[illegible]

Assistant Superinten[illegible] Illinois Central, who [illegible] and the Michigan C[illegible] said.

"The St. Charles w[illegible] in the spring. An ami[illegible] been agreed upon by [illegible] and our engineers [illegible] plans."

J. M. Whitman, who [illegible] western road at the r[illegible]

"The cost of the w[illegible] timated by the eng[illegible] back. Then the exp[illegible] among the four road[illegible]

CHICAGO'S FIR[illegible]

Not Enough Snow [illegible] but Plenty for [illegible] Weight.

It snowed yeste[illegible] enough to inspire ano[illegible] just, but enough to e[illegible] put a mark in their [illegible] the information for [illegible] grandchildren. The [illegible] few minutes, and wi[illegible] ing wind that blew th[illegible] coats and turned fa[illegible] ors.

The danger bulleti[illegible] reau fled up the out[illegible] the heavy sea up tho[illegible] coming fleet from [illegible] which they had run [illegible] night Forecaster Co[illegible] temperature, but cle[illegible] been almost no dama[illegible] of the last two days.

Just out—New kind [illegible] Home, 335 Wabash.

OFFICIAL DE[illegible]

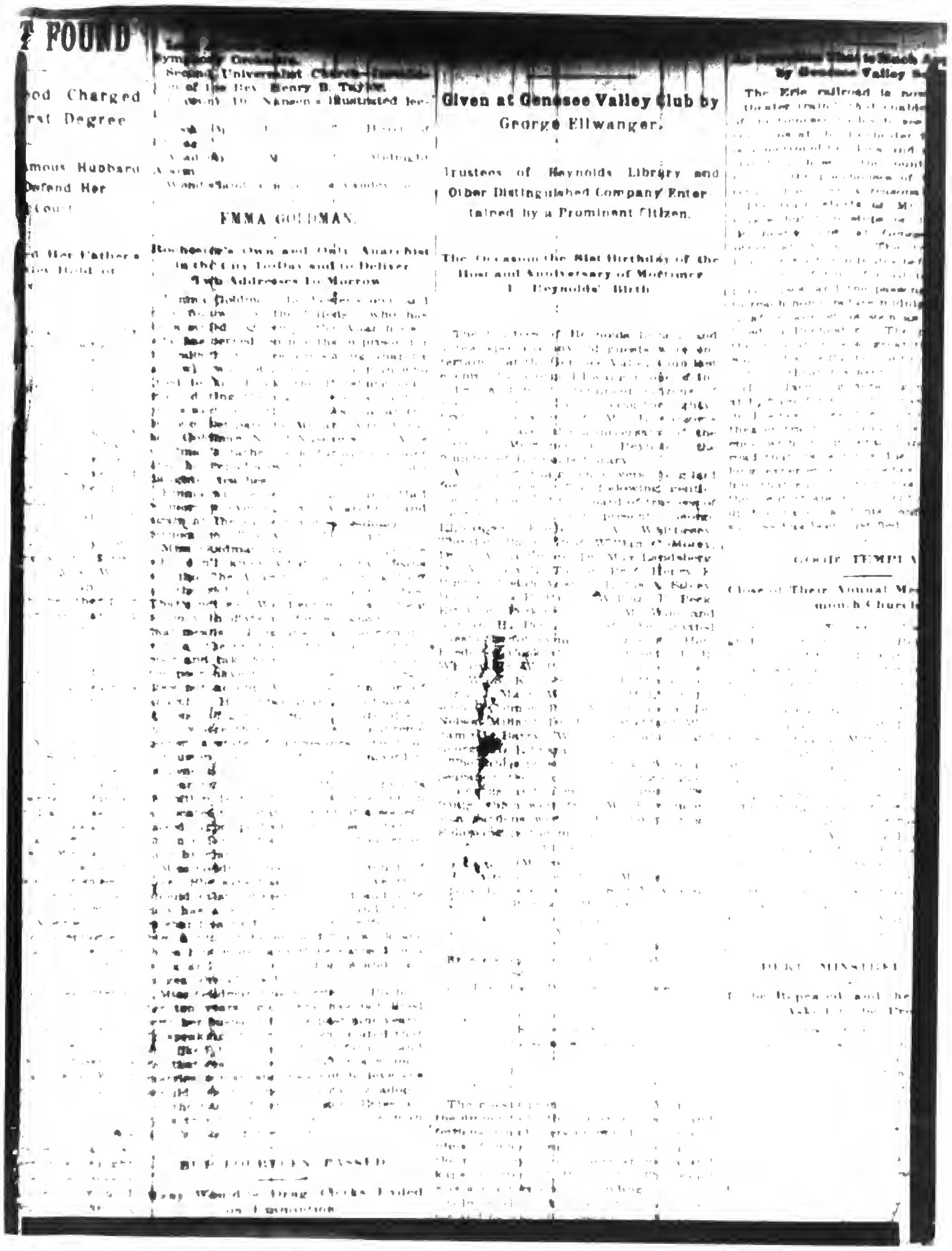
THE FOLLOWING n[illegible] issued by the Health [illegible]
Anderson, Peter, age 31 [illegible]
Brocking, Alva, age 62, [illegible]
Brady, John, age 5, [illegible]
Cournright, Catherine, [illegible] Nov. 10.
Christensen, Magdalena, [illegible] Nov. 9.
Cohen, Bertha, age [illegible] Nov. 9.
Christensen, Christian, [illegible] 10.
Conery, Carrie, age [illegible]
Dingman, James R., [illegible]
Egan, Aloysius, age [illegible]
Florentine, Albert, age [illegible] 10.
Fitzhenry, Lizzie, age [illegible]
Goodrich, Catherine, [illegible]
Farrel, Ida C. R., age [illegible]
Grager, Adolph, age [illegible] 51, Nov. 8.
Hamerik, Katie, age [illegible]
Hallstrom, August, [illegible] Nov. 10.
L. Lillien, age [illegible]
[illegible], Bavaria, [illegible] Charles.

114

880701003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman: Rochester's Own and Only Anarchist... / Emma Goldman.— p. 7 ; 29 cm. *In* The Rochester Union and Advertiser. —(Dec. 3, 1897).
Obtained from the Rochester Public Library, Rochester, NY.



FOUND

...od Charged
...rst Degree
...mous Hubbard
...efend Her

EMMA GOLDMAN.

...d Her Father's

Given at Genesee Valley Club by
George Ellwanger.

Trustees of Reynolds Library and
Other Distinguished Company Enter
tained by a Prominent Citizen.

The Occasion the 81st Birthday of the
Host and Anniversary of Mortimer
...Reynolds' Birth

...by Genesee Valley

The Erie railroad is now

...Close of Their Annual Me...
...mouth Church

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880701005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] The Red Flag Was Waved / Emma Goldman.— p. 6 ; 32 cm. *In* The Rochester Herald. —(Dec. 6, 1897).

Obtained from the Rochester Public Library, Rochester, NY.

6. THE ROC

HERALD "WANTS" BRING B

THE RED FLAG WAS WAVED

Emma Goldman Rants at Labor Lyceum.

Famous Anarchist Addresses Big Audience.

Rochester Listens to a World Notorious Woman.

Is Opposed to All Kinds of Government and Law.

She Also Delivered Address at Germania Hall.

It is not very often that an avowed Anarchist speaks from a public platform in Rochester. Many speakers may to a certain extent advance Anarchistic principles, but they do not have the temerity to announce or admit that they are Anarchists or that they are arguing for Anarchism. Thus when a woman, boldly declaring that she is an Anarchist, is announced to speak here it is natural to expect that she will be heard by a large audience.

Emma Goldman is probably one of the most notorious Anarchists in this country. Certainly she is the most notorious woman Anarchist. She is a Russian Jewess who came to this country twelve years ago, when admission to the country was much easier to obtain than it is now. For the past eight years she has been before the public as an agitator of Anarchy, demanding the overthrow of all government, the abolition of all laws, and urging in their place what she calls supreme liberty of man.

Yesterday afternoon Miss Goldmnn addressed the Labor Lyceum at its rooms on Rumford Street. This society is composed of Socialists. Their meetings are

LODGE OF SORROW

Annual Memorial Service of the Local Elks.

Held at Cook Opera House Yesterday Afternoon.

Eulogy Delivered by the Rev. Lyman Squires.

Rochester Lodge, 24, B. P. O. E., held its annual Lodge of Sorrow yesterday afternoon at Cook Opera House. It was one of the most impressive memorial services ever held by the organization in this city. Exalted Ruler Frederick Wurts presided, the prayer, memorial eulogy and benediction were delivered by the Rev. Lyman Squires, pastor of First Universalist Church and member of Jamestown Lodge, 283, B. P. O. E. The general eulogy was delivered by Exalted Ruler Frederick Wurts, who incidentally gave an interesting historical sketch of the organization.

The stage was tastefully decorated with palms and in the center were two empty chairs, festooned with smilax, in memory of the two departed members of the lodge, Thomas H. McGuire, who died December 27, 1896, and Dr. F. R. S. White, of Mount Morris, whose death occurred in August.

Music was furnished by a large orchestra under the direction of Edward Kuna and by a double male quartette consisting of J. W. Singleton, J. A. Ryan, George W. Walton, James C. Dillman, C. H. Kingsbury, E. Adreanson, John Louret and Herbert L. Tracey.

In the course of his delivery of the memorial eulogy the Rev. Mr. Squires said:

"To me the most impressive feature of this memorial service occurred when, in the calling of the roll, there came no response to two of the names. I wonder whether, behind the curtain of time somewhere, they were listening and heard their names called and knew they were remembered. It does our hearts good to remember these, our departed brethren; and as the service progresses our hearts and yours will be commemorating others who have gone from us.

"The brothers of this lodge have honored and commemorated these absent ones in other ways than by words of eulogy, but today we turn back the leaves of memory and call their names again and see again in thought the old familiar friends. And

WHAT IT STA

Central Labor U Platform of P

Municipal Owner lic Convenie

Federation Unions Boycot

At the weekly meetin Labor Union, held in th ing yesterday aft noon which was appointed s draft a constitution sub report. The measure wh tee had formulated was ing by Richard Horrigan and then adopted by a u

At the head of the new tears the following pla elites the municipal issu Central Labor Union is

"We demand the mun of street railways, tel electric light plants for tribution of power, h all municipal franchises operated by the munici terest of the people; eig for all employes engage directly on municipal wo work to be performed municipality without th contractors; payment o and equal pay to women performed with men rev fication of all municipal revision and equalizati public officials.

"The object of the Cen shall be to mould public of labor, to act as a bu in labor disputes, to dis all questions affecting th working people; to use e impress upon the vari labor the necessity for and maintenance of prot assist in the formation o societies where none ex honorable means to a which may arise betwe employes."

After the matter of th constitution had Michael Smith, the chai mittee which was recen

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880701005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] The Red Flag Was Waved / Emma Goldman. – p. 6 ; 32 cm. *In* The Rochester Herald. –(Dec. 6, 1897).

Obtained from the Rochester Public Library, Rochester, NY.

She Also Delivered [illegible] Germania Hall.

[illegible] often that an avowed [illegible] make from a public platform in Rochester. Many speakers may [illegible] Principles of Anarchist principles but they do not have the temerity [illegible] that they are Anarchists [illegible] that they are striving for Anarchism [illegible] Anarchist is [illegible] natural [illegible] a large audience.

Emma Goldman is perhaps one of the most notorious Anarchists in this country. Certainly she is the most notorious female Anarchist. She is a Russian Jewess who came to this country twelve years ago when a mere child. For the past eight years she has been before the public as an agitator of Anarchy, demanding the overthrow of all government, the abolition of all laws and urging in their place what she calls anarchy, the liberty of man.

Yesterday afternoon Miss Goldman addressed the Labor Lyceum at its rooms on Mumford Street. This society is composed of Socialists. Their meetings are usually well attended but yesterday's gathering was altogether too large for the hall. Emma Goldman's name is well known throughout the country among a certain class of people. She has a number of friends in this city, and her parents reside here. Under these circumstances it was natural to expect a large crowd and it was there.

The hall was uncomfortably packed, almost crowded to suffocation. Breathing room in the hall was hard to obtain, and a big crowd stood around the two doorways and extended out into the anteroom. It was not very long after the meeting opened that the air became foul, no one opened a window, and it was decidedly disagreeable to either sit or stand in the place. But there was no perceptible thinning out of the crowd until the last word had been spoken, and then Miss Goldman was besieged by a crowd who sought the privilege of shaking hands with her. A census of the nationalities of the persons composing the audience would prove very interesting.

Miss Goldman's subject was "The Aim of Humanity." This, she said, was to secure liberty and happiness. It was impossible to obtain either, she said, under the present condition of things. Some of the people of this country thought that they were enjoying liberty, but they were sadly mistaken. They were rapidly becoming absolutely subservient to the government and soon they would be so crushed and trampled upon that they wouldn't know what liberty meant.

Miss Goldman declared that all Government was "rotten." There was no such thing as good Government. The best Government that could be obtained would be nothing but legal thievery. Every public official, from President and Governor down, was an affliction on the mass of people, and was merely in office to execute oppressive and unjust laws. All laws were alike to Miss Goldman, and every law was bad.

The speaker asserted that the standing army of this country, the same as in other countries, was maintained not for protection against an outside enemy, but for the purpose of keeping in subjection [illegible]

[illegible] with palms and in the center were two empty chairs, festooned with smilax, in memory of the two departed members of the lodge, Thomas H. McGuire, who died [illegible] and Dr. [illegible] White of Mount Morris, whose death occurred in August. The [illegible] was furnished by a large orchestra under the direction of Edward Kortz and [illegible] a male quartette consisting of [illegible] Schaefer, [illegible] Ryan, George W. Wolf, [illegible] Hoffman, [illegible] Kingsbury and [illegible] Vaccaro. John Lester and Herbert L. Terry.

[illegible] of his delivery of the [illegible] eulogy the Rev. Mr. Maguire said:

To me the most impressive feature of [illegible] memorial service occurred when [illegible] ring of the roll there came no response to two of the names. I wonder whether behind the curtain of time somewhere they were listening and heard their names called and knew they were remembered. It does our hearts good to remember these our departed brethren, and as the years glide [illegible] our hearts and years will be [illegible] commemorating others who have gone from us.

The brethren of this lodge have honored and commemorated these absent ones in other ways than by words of eulogy, but today we turn back the leaves of memory and call their names again and see again in thought the old familiar friends. And though they do not answer we render once more our tribute of brotherly love. Truly if their faults were written on the sands, their virtues have been engraved on the tablets of love and memory.

This is one of the blessed things in human nature that we do love to commemorate the good and pleasant things that hearts can hold fast their friendship through absence and death, that we feel within the soul that it is not all of life to live here these few brief years of earth, nor all of death to die to a heap of dust in the grave.

Man is a being of large discourse looking before and after, he will not be satisfied with this little span of being. Pope has described him as a strange mixture. * * * "The glory, jest, and riddle of the world."

"Such is man. And yet this creature, glory, jest and riddle of the world, has a spirit in him which will not down. From earliest times he has hungered for immortality, and more than that he has believed in it. Strange forms this faith may have taken, but it has been the prompting of the heart which would not look upon the grave as the end of life but only an emphatic demand for its continuance.

"Hence in some lands, as in Egypt, the outgrowth of this faith is seen in those massive pyramids built to endure for countless ages, vast tombs in which the embalmed body might wait in security the return of the soul from its long journey to the unseen. In Peru the dead were buried sitting with faces to the east, watching for the rising sun. In China images and shrines where dwell ancestral spirits combine the living and the dead in every home. The Indians buried their dead with food and weapons to assist on the journey to the happy hunting grounds.

"It all indicates a soul in man aspiring to immortality.

"Our thought is not of pyramids of stone as after death abiding places, nor of food and weapons on our journey. We have come to think of man as a living soul [illegible] out of the life of the universe, these bodies but the garments of mortality woven in the looms of time, worn out by the passing years and to be thrown aside like cast off clothing when the day of life is done, the grave but a foot-scraper at the entrance to [illegible] this earth but one of myriad

[illegible] and the munic[illegible] of street railways, tele[illegible] electric light plants fu[illegible] tribution of power [illegible]

[illegible] with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

880701005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] The Red Flag Was Waved / Emma Goldman.— p. 6 ; 32 cm. *In* The Rochester Herald. —(Dec. 6, 1897).

Obtained from the Rochester Public Library, Rochester, NY.

of the persons comp[illegible] would prove very interesting.

Miss Goldman's subject was "The Aim of Humanity." This she said was to [illegible] liberty and happiness. It was impossible to obtain either she said under the present condition of things. Some of the people of this country thought that they were enjoying liberty but they were sadly mistaken. They were rapidly becoming absolutely subservient to the government and soon they would be so enthralled and trampled upon that they wouldn't know what liberty meant.

Miss Goldman declared that no Government was 'rotten.' There was no such thing as good Government. The best Government that could be obtained would be nothing but legal thievery. Every public official from President and Governor down, was an affliction on the mass of people and was merely in office to execute oppressive and unjust laws. All laws were alike to Miss Goldman, and every law was bad.

The speaker asserted that the standing army of this country, the same as in other countries, was maintained not for protection against an outside enemy, but for the purpose of keeping in subjection and crushing the enemy on the inside—the people. Soldiers were not for the common people, they were for the protection of the wealthy, they were employed for the purpose of shooting down strikers.

In view of Miss Goldman's feelings towards Governments and law abiding peoples, it did not cause much surprise to hear her say that she was opposed to the enfranchisement of women. She declared that the ballot had done enough harm for men, and it would do just as much for women if they ever got the ballot. Now the women were only whipped by the men, but if they got the ballot they would be whipped by the Government the same as their husbands were.

It is not very surprising, either, to hear Miss Goldman announce that she does not believe in any kind of Christianity, not even in her own religion—the Jewish faith. Christianity seems to be opposed to her ideas of liberty, and so it must go.

At the conclusion of Miss Goldman's address a general discussion took place. The Socialists were in a majority and they took occasion to show wherein Socialism differs from Anarchism and how much better the former is than the latter.

Miss Goldman was given the privilege of closing the debate. She "roasted" all kinds of government and laws, including the government advocated by the Socialists. Miss Goldman said that it made no difference to her whether she was governed by one man or a thousand; all government was bad and against individual liberty. If the Social Democracy controlled the Government, it would only mean an enlargement of the governing power, and therefore it was bad.

Miss Goldman spoke on "Anarchy" at Germania Hall Saturday evening. The hall was packed to the doors. She made a strong plea to her hearers to break down the trammels of nationality and make common cause with the producing classes throughout the world in an effort to sweep away all Government and laws. "The welfare of the laboring people of Rochester depends on that of the laboring people throughout the world," she declared. "When you all unite in this great cause then you will be free."

CHIEF CLEARY BACK ON DUTY.

heart which would not look upon the grave as the end of life, but only an emphatic demand for its continuance.

[illegible] in some lands as in Egypt, the [illegible] of life [illegible] were built to last for ages, while [illegible] might wait [illegible] the [illegible] from the long journey to the [illegible]. Before the dead were placed within [illegible] to the west, where [illegible] the [illegible] Osiris, images of [illegible] shabtis who [illegible] ancestral spirits [illegible] between the living and the dead in every home. The Indians loaded their dead with food and weapons to assist on the journey to the happy hunting grounds.

It all indicates a soul in man aspiring to immortality.

"Our thought is not of pyramids of stone or after death abiding places, nor of food and weapons on our journey. We have come to think of man as a living soul, kindled out of the life of the universe, these bodies but the garments of mortality woven on the looms of time, worn out by the passing years and to be thrown aside like cast off clothing when the day of life is done, the grave but a foot-scraper at the entrance to elysium; this earth but one of myriad worlds fast bound by golden chains to the throne of God; yea rather this earth but one apartment in the many mansioned house, a nursery of spiritual children where the great father and mother God gives us our first lessons in divine things, and from which after all our childish faults and follies, after all our striving and stumbling we shall go forth to the large and real life of the universe, our home. We shall find the tomb not a narrow house fast locked upon us, but rather a covered way that leads to light.

"But if all worlds are one home of the soul, surely all life is of one divine pattern and that which we call the immortal is only the human written large. Perhaps the change which we call death is not so great as we sometimes imagine. Surely to live is the supreme fact in any world. To have a mind to see, a heart to feel must constitute the beauty and joy of being; and this we have here on earth.

"It should teach us to prize our possessions and opportunities. Already we are building our Kingdom of Heaven. Its foundations are laid in human joy and thought and service. Here we have the title page of a book that it will be given us to read in Heaven."

INTERPRES BOARD.

College Editors Organize and Get Ready For Business—Men Who Have Charge of Junior Year Book.

The delegates from the different fraternities who are to publish the junior year book have elected the following officers: Edward S. Atwood, President; Albert F. Dillman, Editor-in-Chief; Wilfrid J. Craig, Business Manager; A. [illegible] H. Izatel, Assistant Manager; James B. Forbes, Secretary; Clarence C. Baldwin, Associate Editor.

Work will be begun at once on the publication, as it is hoped to get it out earlier than usual. The Board of Editors promise something unique in the appearance of this year's Interpres.

SUNDAY SCHOOL OFFICERS

Second Reformed Church Sunday School has elected the following officers for the year: Peter Zeevald, Superintendent; William L. Nelson, Assistant

One of the delegates from [illegible] makers' Union called [illegible] fact that the Secretary [illegible] Union No. [illegible] of Syra[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

881006015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Various Voices / Emma Goldman.— pp. 423-4 ; 37 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Lightbearer [Chicago]. —no. 692 (Jan. 5, 1898).

Obtained from the Stanford University Libraries, Stanford University.

Thought is free of necessity. No one can fetter or bind it, though its utterance may be suppressed.

Love is equally free. You cannot love at will. But each loves as compelled or impelled by circumstances. It is quite time that the hyphenated word, free love, was cleansed of the impurities cast upon it by the ignorant and unthinking; and some more truthful and distinctive term used in place of it by varietists, and those who advocate and practice what is called illegitimate love unions.

While I claim to be a Dianite free lover, I abominate whiskey, dissipation and wrong-doing (see Northcote in No. 690 of Lucifer) as much as any bound lover could do.

I commend Mrs. Swaysgood's plea for more kindly feeling among our writers. Calling hard names and "sitting down upon" our brothers and sisters illy becomes true liberals. Sound and clear argument is the only road to success. Give your ideas in a plain, honest and fair setting and time will place truth upon its throne.

The wonder is always and always
How there can be a mean man.

—*Whitman.*

[In theory Mrs. Slenker does not believe in "calling hard names and 'sitting down upon' our brothers and sisters." In practice, however, she would deny the designation of "free lover" to any person who assumes the right to love more than one person simultaneously. And even love relations which are exclusive are, in her estimation not to be called "free love" unions when they are "what is called illegitimate love unions." "Called" by whom? Who is to have authority to stigmatize any union as "illegitimate"? Or does Mrs. Slenker give the technical meaning to the term, and condemn all *illegal* unions? If not, what does she mean?

Certainly the "unfailing criterion" which Mrs. Slenker calls for in the opening of the article, is needed when her words are read. If we are to take words in their commonly accepted meaning, she thinks that "free love"—that is, what she calls "Dianite free love"—is pure and good; but that any love which desires manifestation other than Dianism should be denied freedom. We all know what whiskey is, and can understand what she means when she says she "abominates" it But what does she mean by "dissipation"? and what does she consider "wrong-doing"?

I have observed Mrs. Slenker's request to "see Northcote in Lucifer 690" and fail to see that he either advocates or condemns "whiskey, dissipation and wrong doing." He quotes H. L. Green's statements that free love leads to this trinity of evils; but he does not thereby adopt those assertions as his own. L. H.]

VARIOUS VOICES.

Mrs. C. Williams, Newport, Ky.:—Please find enclosed twenty-five cents for Lucifer. Sorry it is not more. Will send more as soon as I have it. It is worth its weight in gold—Lucifer I mean.

—

Wm. Humble, Weir City, Kan.:—I enclose two dollars,—one dollar and fifty cents for Lucifer, twenty five cents for "Helen Harlow's Vow," and twenty five cents for combination offer. I thank you for continuing paper to me, after time had expired. I am no writer but I think the work you are at is the greatest reform of this century.

—

Jennie Wade, Bradford, O.:—Enclosed find fifty cents for subscription to your valuable paper, Lucifer. You sent me a sample copy and I consider it a gem, more precious than diamonds to mothers. Could we only induce the masses to read and become enlightened this earth would become the paradise that they expect in the future.

—

J. G. Hunter, Sheridan, Wyo.:—Some one has kindly sent me three numbers of Lucifer. I am interested in the question of sexual freedom and do not want to study the question at my other person's expense; but am certainly greatly obliged to the party who sent me those copies, as I had made an effort to find out the address of Lucifer and failed. Enclosed please find one dollar and thirty cents for which please send Lucifer for one year; also your Combination Offer, and "Sexual Enslavement of Women."

—

Ira P. Holcomb, Jr., Dinuba, Calif.:—Enclosed find check for one dollar and seventy-five cents for which send me "The Adult" for one year, fifty cents; "Hilda's Home" (paper cover) fifty cents; "Fountain of Life," fifty cents; "Discussion of the Social Question," by Dr. Juliet H. Severance and David Jones, fifteen cents; "What the Young Need to Know," ten cents.

Either I am changing my views or else Lucifer is growing better and better all the time. These are surely questions of vital importance to all of us.

—

Samuel Ragendorf, Cincinnati, O.:—Many thanks for last article by Northcote, "Free Thought and Free Love." In my humble opinion it is one of the *very best* I have ever read. I notice Warren (city) has Lucifer on sale at his news stands. "Adult" (January issue) will *cost more*, just what I don't know. I enclose twenty cents for same. Will renew my subscription to Lucifer in a very few weeks.

[The price of the January "Adult" will be twenty cents,—except to regular subscribers who have sent us fifty cents for a year's subscription. For these no additional charge will be made. After January 1 the price will be one dollar per year—twelve numbers. M. H.]

—

B. F. Odell, Flagler, Colo.:—Enclosed I send one dollar for books and subscription, and twenty-five cents for the Portland martyrs. I will take three copies of "Hilda's Home." The story has caused many to read Lucifer who otherwise would not have read it. If possible you should commence another serial story soon. Serial stories will reach many, in this novel reading age, that would pass sober discussions by, and they sow the seed of freedom.

In regard to the Propaganda I am already an *active member*—not of an organization, but of the great movement for freedom. I was waiting to see whether to enroll my name in the organization that has just been formed, I see but one thing that makes me hesitate. Lucifer has the confidence of all sex reformers and is already the recognized head of the propaganda movement. If Moses Harman had been chosen manager of the Propaganda, I know several who would have added their names. At least I am certain they would have done so.

[The failure to affix my name to the "call" for national organization was not because I disapproved the object or the methods proposed therein. For many years I have been working along the same lines, in my own way, and did not see the need of putting my name to the new organization. If, however, the lack of my signature to that list of names is keeping back others from the work, then this objection shall be removed. The organization is welcome to my name so long as it is managed as I now think it to be. M. H.]

—

Emma Goldman, 50 First St., New York City:—I was glad to see the report of Comrade Lees from Cleveland in last Lucifer. It is to be regretted that I could find no one to report the meetings in Buffalo and Rochester, especially those at Detroit, as I consider them the most important and successful of all the meetings I addressed during my three months' tour. I spoke at two German meetings in Turner Hall, one being the commemoration meeting of the death of our Chicago heroes. Though both meetings were unusually well attended, yet none of my meetings have caused so much comment in the press as the one of Friday, Nov. 18, at the "People's Tabernacle"—a church.

Fancy an Anarchist addressing a congregation from the pulpit! Well, I am generally not conceited but I frankly admit, I am very proud of the success of my lecture in the church on Anarchy. The newspapers have ever since been circulating all

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881006015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Various Voices / Emma Goldman.– pp. 423-4 ; 37 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Lightbearer [Chicago]. –no. 692 (Jan. 5, 1898).

Obtained from the Stanford University Libraries, Stanford University.

692.

Do these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your Lucifer? If so your subscription expires with this number. Please renew for another year.

sorts of stories about that broad minded minister, Mr. McGowan, who had more courage than any other in his profession, but the truth is that his church is now far better attended than ever before. Undoubtedly people go there to find out whether the church is still on the same spot, and whether the devil has not taken up his quarters in it since Emma Goldman spoke there.

The minister certainly deserves all credit for his broad-mindedness and courage.

In Buffalo I also had good meetings; one in the Trade and Labor Council Hall; one in the Spiritualist Temple, and a German meeting. In Rochester, N. Y., I addressed three meetings, two arranged by friends and one in the Labor Lyceum of that city.

Take it all in all I am satisfied with the work done during the three months, and with the hospitality and kindness extended me by comrades, friends and sympathizers all over the country. I hope to start on a tour again, next March or April, and of course, shall then see all the friends at Lucifer Circle again.

Books Worth Reading. FREE!

Send us twenty-five cents for a thirteen weeks' trial subscription to Lucifer and we will present to you your choice of the following books, to the value of 25 cents. Read the list carefully. Every book is interesting and thought-inspiring.

John's Way; a domestic radical story, by Elmina D. Slenker,	.25
Vital Force, Magnetic Exchange and Magnetation; Albert Chavannes,	.25
Human Rights; J. Madison Hook,	.10
Prohibition and Self-Government; E. C. Walker,	.10
Practical Co-operation; " "	.10
The Revival of Puritanism; " "	.10
Love and the Law; " "	.05
Sexual Enslavement of Woman; " "	.05
Motherhood in Freedom; M. Harman,	.05
Digging for Bedrock; " "	.10
In Hell and the Way Out; H. E. Allen,	.10

We have in stock a considerable variety of pamphlets which we have not space to advertise. As we desire to get them off our shelves as soon as possible, we will offer them as premiums with trial subscriptions. In ordering, please state second choice, as some of the works are now out of print, and in any case we do not expect to renew our stock of any in this list.

Religion in the Republic; Mrs. M. A. Freeman,	.05
What Would Follow on the Effacement of Christianity? George Jacob Holyoake,	.10
Vistas Vitae; M. T. Martin,	.10
"Cupid's Yokes" and the Holy Scripture Contrasted. Letter from Parker Pillsbury to E. H. Heywood.	.10
Immortality; Mary S. and James Vincent, Sr.	.10
The Eight Hour Movement; John P. Altgeld,	.10
Science of a Universal Religion; Gabriel Z. Wacht,	.25
Government Ownership of Railroads and Telegraphs; H. L. Loucks,	.25
What Diana Teaches; Count Tolstoi,	.01
How the Devil Beat the Salvation Army,	.10
The True Story of My Parliamentary Struggle; Charles Bradlaugh,	.50
The Economics of Anarchy. A Study of the Industrial Type. By D. D. Lum	.25
God in the State; E. C. Walker,	.10
The Coming Woman; Lillie H. White,	.15

These books are given for new subscriptions only. They will be sent to any address when the order contains 25 cents and the name of a new subscriber to Lucifer. They are given instead of the usual agents' commission.

Inclose two two cent stamps for postage, and address

M. HARMAN, 1282 Congress St., Chicago.

Personal Rights and Sexual Wrongs.

[illegible] to the Legitimation League and the Personal Rights [illegible]. Also, four fine full page portraits of Mrs E. Heywood [illegible] and Lois Waisbrooker, together with sketches of [illegible] work. By Cyrus Bowman. Finely bound in boards. Price [illegible]. Moses Harman, 1282 Congress St., Chicago.

LOVE [illegible] E. C. Walker. A clear, candid [illegible] of many almost [illegible]. An [illegible] pamphlet. Price [illegible] cents.

Elmina's [illegible] and a letter from [illegible] Va.

LIBRARY OF SEXOLOGY

Comprising the latest and best [illegible] relations and the betterment of the [illegible]

What the Young Need to Know. A Primer [illegible]

C. Walker. Startling, [illegible] better book for young [illegible] ever published. .10

Bar Sinister and Legit. Love, by [illegible]. First [illegible] ings of the Legitimation League. [illegible] pictures of Lillian Harman, the [illegible] Edith Lanchester. Bound in boards. .25

Rights of Natural Children, by [illegible] report of the inaugural proceedings of the [illegible] special articles by Gladys Dawson, Esq. [illegible] Wordsworth Donisthorpe. Also, portraits of [illegible] Dawson and Wordsworth Donisthorpe. .25

The Prodigal Daughter, and other papers, by Rachel Campbell. A powerful plea in behalf of outcast women, proving conclusively that legal marriage is the cause of prostitution. .25

The Old and the New Ideal, by E. H. Heckelmach. Discussion of the Sex, Love and Marriage Question. Radical and iconoclastic, striking powerful blows at social and religious superstition; 347 pages. Cloth, $1. Paper, .50

Discussion of the Social Question, by Dr. Juliet H. Severance and David Jones. An able defense of the right of woman to control her own person and to ignore state or church interference. .15

Anything More, My Lord? By Lois Waisbrooker. .10

Fountain of Life, " " paper covers, .50

Perfect Motherhood, " " cloth, gilted, 1.00

Occult Forces of Sex, " " .50

A Sex Revolution, " " .25

Helen Harlow's Vow, " " .25

Woman, Church and State. By Matilda Joslyn Gage, cloth, 2.00

When Love is Liberty and Nature Law, an address by John Badcock, Jr. An excellent plea for freedom in the love relations. .10

Sexual Enslavement of Women, a radical pamphlet showing the fate of countless thousands of legal wives is worse than that of the girls who are forcibly held in the dives of the Wisconsin lumber regions as prostitutes for the lumbermen. .05

Motherhood in Freedom, by M. Harman. A Short Essay or Sermon upon the Rights, Duties and Responsibilities of Motherhood, from the Standpoint of Equal Freedom For All and Special Privileges For None. Per dozen for distribution, 25 cents. Single copies .05

GREAT COMBINATION OFFER!

For a limited time and for the purpose of spreading the light and helping in the battle for Free Womanhood, we will send the following stirring essays on the Sex Problem for only Twenty-five cents:

"The Prodigal Daughter, or The Price of Virtue," By Rachel Campbell.
"Sexual Enslavement of Woman," By E. C. Walker.
"Motherhood in Freedom," By Moses Harman.
"Pioneer Chips," From the private correspondence of Rachel Campbell, By Mary Florence Johnson.
"Will the Coming Woman Marry?" By X.
"Love and the Law," By E. C. Walker.
"What Diana Teaches," By Tolstoi.

Help spread the light by buying and reading these thought-stirring works and lend them to your friends.

Reminiscences OF AN OCTOGENARIAN in the Fields of Industrial and Social Reform, by Joshua King Ingalls. An interesting book by a pioneer in the cause of social and economic reform. Paper, 25 cents. Cloth, 50 cents.

REASONS FOR PARDONING FIELDEN NEEBE AND SCHWAB. By John P. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois. In this work the claim is conclusively proven that the prisoners did not have a fair trial, that they were unjustly condemned and that their imprisonment was an outrage and the Governor has the courage of his convictions. He does not "pardon" repentant criminals, but releases innocent victims of a judicial outrage. The history of the case is gone over from beginning to end and it comprises very valuable information. Price 15 cents.

Ladies who are willing to write to gentlemen on Sex Reform will please address, with stamp, Elmina Drake Slenker, Knoxville, Va.

We a l need comradeship of thought.

C. S. Wood, M. D. [illegible] now and [illegible] case that [illegible] care of women [illegible] Consultation free. [illegible] 121 La Salle st., Chicago, Ill. [illegible]

NIAPON [illegible] Agents wanted.

A Private [illegible] securing an [illegible] with [illegible] Wood, [illegible]

"Isabel's [illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890331000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letters from a tour. In German] Reise-Briefe. Part 3 / Emma Goldman.— pp. 2-3 ; 36 cm. *In* Sturmvogel [New York]. —Vol. 1, no. 6 (Jan. 15, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI.

STURMVOGEL.

Erscheint am 1. und 15. jeden Monats. Preis: Jährlich 80 Cts., halbjährlich 40 Cts., 1 Expl. 3 Cts.

Alle Briefe und Gelder sind zu adressiren:
C. TIMMERMANN.
o. 80 First Sts. New York City.

(Schluss von: Der Klassenkampf auf der Schaubühne.)

Person des Anarchisten Jean Roule's ist Ihnen ein Führer erstanden, der mit einer grösseren Bildung ausgerüstet die Revolution predigt. Robert Hargand, der Sohn des Fabrikanten, ein Student ist ein Freund der Arbeiterklasse und versucht im ausgebrochenen Strike das Recht der Ausgebeuteten zu verfechten. Von den politischen Phraseuren der Partei im Stich gelassen, brütet der Hunger über dem Bezirk und vom Piedestall eines Crucifix herab predigt Roule seinen Kameraden, dass ihr Heil nur in einer siegreichen Revolution blühen könne. Mit harten Worten lässt der Dichter hier seinen Helden den Stab brechen über die politischen Agitatoren aller, auch der sozialistischen, Parteien, welche die Arbeiter nur als Fusschemel gebrauchen wollen, um sich von ihrem Rücken aus in die Parlamentssitze und andere fette Posten zu schwingen, die schlechten Hirten.—In diesem Act, dem vierten, erscheint Madeleine eine Fackel tragend, als eine Art Louise Michel, an der Seite Roule's als dessen Weib und Kamerad und entflammmt den Muth der verzagten Striker aufs neue: Im letzten Act finden wir die Arbeiter unter Jeans Führung hinter den Barrikaden. Die Fabrik ist in Flammen aufgegangen und Hargand der Ausbeuter hat nach den Truppen telegraphirt. In dem folgendem Kampfe fällt sowohl Robert Hargand, des Fabrikanten Sohn, der sich zwischen beide Parteien geworfen, wie auch Jean Roule, von den Schüssen der Soldateska darniedergestreckt. Die Schlussscene bringt das schreckliche Resultat des Conflicts. Madeleine verwundet, wird auf die Bühne getragen; dann kommt Hargand. der Fabrikant, weinend über den Tod seines Sohnes. Dieser sowie Jean Roule werden von den Ruinen der Barrikade herzugetragen. Ringsum stehen die Verwandten und Freunde Madeleines. Diese, über den Körper ihres Gatten gesunken, erhebt sich plötzlich mit der Anstrengung einer Sterbenden und spricht im Ton einer Prophetin, dass das Kind, welches sie unter dem Herzen trägt, den Tod seines Vaters rächen werde. Unter dem Zuruf: „Mörder!" wankt Hargand von der Scene.

Bild der Freiheit.

Siehst du den Strom, den Bergeshöh'n entquollen,
Die dunklen Wogen majestätisch rollen?
Es steht bei dir, ob er auf seinem Pfad
Dir Segen bringend, ob verderbend naht.

Grab' ihm ein Bett, so wird er deine Auen
Erquicken und zur Fruchtbarkeit bethauen.
Doch stemmst du dich entgegen seinem Lauf,
So geht dein Acker, samt der Frucht, darauf!

F. Hebbel.

REISE-BRIEFE.

Von Emma Goldmann.

III

In Boston sprach ich in zwei gut besuchten Versammlungen; von da ging's nach New-Haven, wo ich ebenfalls eine starke Versammlung adressirte. Von New-Haven fuhr ich nach New-York und von da nach Philadelphia. In N. Y. sprach ich in einer Protestversammlung gegen den Hatseltoner Mord von 21 Strikern. Ach, dieses Protestiren mit Worten nur, es ist die reinste Ironie! Ich möchte mich immer selber ohrfeigen, wenn ich nach einem geradezu bestialischen Gewaltakt, wie der vom Sheriff Martin verübte, nur dagegen r e d e, während jeder Nerv in mir zuckt, solch einen Bluthund zu erwürgen; und wäre es auch nur, um der herrschenden Klasse einen Beweis zu liefern, dass sie nicht immer ungestraft wehrlose Arbeiter morden kann.....

In Philadelphia fanden sehr gut besuchte englische Versammlungen statt, welche von der Ladies Liberal League, Single Taxers und Friendship Liberal League, für mich arrangirt wurden. Von dort ging ich über Washington nach Pittsburg.

In Washington fand keine Versammlung statt, aber ich machte dort Halt, um verschiedene Freunde des „Armen Teufel" kennen zu lernen. Ich konnte nur einige dieser Brüder treffen und ich muss gestehen, dass mich der Abstecher nach Wash. nicht reute, denn ich habe dort ein paar treffliche Menschen kennen gelernt.

Leider bleibt es einem in der Welt nicht erspart, neben wackeren Menschen auch solchen Gesellen zu begegnen, bei deren Zeugung ein unverzeihlicher Irrthum begangen wurde. Diese Lentchen hätten nämlich als Vierfüssler zur Welt kommen sollen; denn als Zweifüssler sind sie weder Menschen noch Thiere.

Da war unter Anderen ein Architekt, alter Abonnent des „A. T.", ein Regierungsknecht, ein Mensch mit einem „Ohrfeigengesicht", wie Freund Reitzel sagt, der nicht begreifen konnte, dass ich als Anarchistin den Sinn für das Schöne und Gute im Menschen erwecken möchte. So ein Staatsverbrechen — der Masse begreiflich machen zu wollen, dass sie auch ein Recht zum Leben hat!..... Es wollte diesem Patron gar nicht in den Schädel, dass ein Anarchist das Predigen von Entbehrung, Opfern, Geduld und Resignation den Pfaffen überlässt, um für den höchsten Genuss in jeder Form einzutreten. Natürlich nicht für den Genuss des Einzelnen auf Kosten der Anderen, sondern für das Wohlleben des Individuums, als auch für das der Gesammtheit. Was versteht übrigens so eine Regierungsseele vom Genuss?

Der Zweite ähnlichen Schlages war ein dicker Bierbrauer aus Cincinnati, ebenfalls ein alter Leser des „A. T.", der sich gerade in Washington aufhielt und im Hotel Fritz Reuter wohnte, wo auch ich abstieg. Dieser schien zwar irgend welche Begriffe vom Genuss zu haben,—seine stark geröthete Nase veranlasste mich, einen solchen Schluss zu ziehen. Ein Riesenkerl mit einem Wanst, bei dessen Anblick ich mir meiner Mängel in der Mathematik bewusst wurde; denn, um das Quantum Bier zu berechnen, das dieses Fass in sich barg, dazu gehörten die mathematischen Kenntnisse einer Kawalewskaja. Sein Schmalzgesicht glänzte nur so, als er hörte, dass ich die E. G. sei, und er traktirte sogleich die ganze Gesellschaft; ich arme Seele aber musste dafür alle seine Familiengeschichten hören, und da er schon Grossvater ist, so kann man sich denken, wie lang dieselben ausfielen. Er vertraute mir sogar die Nummer seines Zimmers an und frug so ganz nebenbei, welches Zimmer ich inne hätte. In der Hitze des Gefechts, oder des Gelages, um die Wahrheit zu gestehen, fiel mir die Frage gar nicht auf und ich sagte ihm meine Nummer.

Nach langem hin und her Discutiren über alle möglichen Tagesfragen, wurde es 2 Uhr Morgens und an der Zeit aufzubrechen. Ich war kaum eine halbe Stunde im Bett, als Jemand ganz leise an meiner Thür klopfte. „Wer da?" rief ich; keine Antwort. „Who is there?" frug ich nochmals, indem ich glaubte, der Klopfer verstehe nicht deutsch. Richtig war's mein dicker Bierbrauer aus Cincinnati. In meiner Empörung schnauzte ich den nicht übel an; höre dann wie der alte Sünder stammelt: „Not so loud, somebody may hear us; excuse me, I only was.

890331000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letters from a tour. In German] Reise-Briefe. Part 3 / Emma Goldman. — pp. 2-3 ; 36 cm. *In* Sturmvogel [New York]. — Vol. 1, no. 6 (Jan. 15, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI.

ooking for the chaimbermaid." Diese freche, verlogene Antwort reizte mich noch mehr und ich brauche nicht erst zu betonen, dass ich dem Kerl einen solchen Sack voll Grobheiten sagte, dass er sich schleunigst trollte. Ich hätte die ganze Episode wohl kaum des Niederschreibens werth gehalten, würde dieselbe nicht Betrachtungen trauriger Natur in mir wach gerufen haben.

Seit Jahren liest dieser „ordnungsliebende" Bürger, (er sagte mir ganz stolz, dass er Republikaner und sein Ideal Karl Schurz ist) den „A. T.", pardon, ich wollte sagen, er hält den „A. T." Denn wenn er den Inhalt desselben all die langen Jahre gelesen hätte, müsste doch ein wenig Freiheitssinn haften geblieben sein; er würde dann begreifen, dass eine Frau eben so viel Recht hat allein zu reisen, wie er, ohne Beleidigungen ausgesetzt zu sein. So weit reichen aber die Rechtsbegriffe dieses versoffenen und verspießerten Kerlen eben nicht. — —

Pittsburg — dieses traurige, russige Nest mit seinen modernen Zwingburgen der Arbeit und seinem Gefängniss, weckt immer die trübsten Erinnerungen in mir; — weilt doch in letzterem seit Jahren einer meiner theuersten Freunde, Alex. Berkmann, den eine Bourgeois-Justiz nach einem leider misglückten Vergeltungswerk an einem Scheusal, einer Geissel des arbeitenden Volkes, verdammt hat, seine jungen Jahre hinter grauen Wällen zu verbringen.

In P. wollte man dieses Mal keine Versammlungen für mich arrangiren, weil gerade Freund Berkmann's Angelegenheit vor the Board of Pardon gebracht werden sollte und die dortigen Genossen befürchteten, durch mein öffentliches Auftreten die Sache zu schädigen. Nachdem ich aber in Monaca, 27 Meilen von P., sprechen sollte und ausserdem meine erst kürzlich aus dem Gefängniss entlassenen Freunde, Nold und Bauer, sehen wollte, so beschloss ich, einige Tage in P. zu bleiben.

Während meiner ganzen Fahrt von Washington nach Pittsburg regnete es fortwährend und als ich meinen Bestimmungsort erreichte, goss es nur so, als ob eine zweite Sündfluth auf die Menschheit herniedergesandt werden sollte. Schade wärde es wahrhaftig nicht, denn nur durch solch ein Ereigniss könnte die Welt von allerlei Ungeziefer befreit werden. Unser Nold, der angehende Dichter, (ach, wenn der nur das Dichten unterlassen würde—) und der grosse Bauernjunge mit dem goldenen Herzen, erwarteten mich am Bahnhof. „Bringt mich nur gleich auf mein altes Quartier zu Gordon," bat ich die Brüder, „denn ich bin todtmüde." „Ja, ja, aber zuerst müssen wir einkehren!"

Ich war über das Wiedersehen mit meinen lieben Zuchthausvögeln so erfreut, dass ich nicht nein sagen konnte; sondern war meine Kehle ziemlich trocken und so ging es denn mit Hack und Pack bei gräßlichem Regen in eine Wirthschaft, deren Besitzer für „A. T." Familie gehört; trotzdem fällt ihm aber doch das Herz in die Hosen, wenn ein Anarchist sein Lokal betritt, wie mir Freund N. sagte; mit einer Anarchistin könnte man übrigens schon eine Ausnahme machen, dachte ich mir. Der gute Mann schien über meinen Besuch erfreut zu sein und liess gleich Essen und Trinken auftragen. Er war sehr aufgeräumt, rückte immer näher an meine Seite, zwinkerte mit den Augen, gleichzeitig ängstliche Blicke auf eine gegenüberliegende Thür werfend. „Was ist los, dass Sie immer nach der Thür blicken?" frug ich ihn. Ja, wissen Sie, ich möchte gar zu gerne bei Ihnen bleiben, aber im anstossenden Zimmer sitzt meine Alte mit noch einigen Klatschschwestern und wenn sie erfährt wer Sie sind, dann bin ich verloren. Um Gotteswillen, sprechen Sie nicht so laut." Trotzdem der Mann so gastfreundlich war, konnte ich doch nicht umhin, ihn wegen seiner Feigheit zu strafen; ich sprach und erzählte mit lauter Stimme, bis der arme Kerl es nicht mehr auf seinen Sitz aushalten konnte.

Gegessen und getrunken hatten wir ja, gekostet hatte es auch nichts und dazu noch die Schadenfreude. Die Karawane konnte nun getrost abschieben.

„Jetzt können wir Dich nicht mehr zu G. bringen, es ist zu spät," pustete Bauer, der sich noch immer vor Lachen über das Erlebte schüttelte. Wir gehen jetzt in ein naheliegendes Boardinghouse, dessen Inhaber auch ein „A. T." Leser ist." „Na, hoffentlich nicht so einer als unser Wirth." „O nein, das ist einer von den Radikalen," riefen meine Begleiter unisono. Also los. Dort angekommen, wurden noch einige Gläser hinter die Binde gegossen, während das Bäuerlein mit dem Hauswirth betreffs eines Zimmers verhandelte. Endlich, nach langem Warten, hiess es up stairs gehen. Im Begriffe, von meinen Cumpanen Abschied zu nehmen, höre ich dicht neben mir eine kreischende Stimme; „Wir haben keine Zimmer für Frauenzimmer!" Was war zu thun? Ich konnte doch gegen den Willen der süchtigen Hausfrau nicht dort bleiben. Also Bündel und Begleiter gepackt und weiter geschoben. Der Wirth, dem meine Freunde gehörig den Kopf gewaschen, war ganz trostlos, als er hörte, wer dieses Frauenzimmer eigentlich ist und er bat mich unter vielen Entschuldigungen, ja nur zu bleiben; aber ich hatte keine Lust, eine Keilerei zwischen Ehegesponsen zu verursachen und so blieb ich eben nicht. Wohin jetzt? „Weisst Du — sagte Bauer, der den Mut noch nicht verloren hatte, während der arme weichherzige Nold ganz verzweifelt war — jetzt führen wir dich zu einem Genossen, da kannst Du übernachten." „Meinetwegen in die Hölle, wann ich nur schon ein Unterkommen habe" Auf dem Wege zu diesem Genossen fiel mir mein kranker Freund R. R. mit seinem „A. T." ein. Was der für Augen machen würde, könnte er sich manche seiner Abonnenten aus der Nähe besehen; wüsste er was das für Michel sind, wie wenig Einfluss sein Wirken auf diese Mensch ... angeübt hat. — Natürlich kannte ich bis dahin nur wenige Leser seines Blattes, sonst hätte ich nicht so urtheilen können. Ich habe mich während der übrigen Zeit meiner Reise überzeugt, dass der grösste Theil der Freunde desselben wirklich liebe und feine Menschen sind, die mir durch ihre Güte und Liebenswürdigkeit die unangenehmen Erfahrungen mit „A. T." Lesern in Pittsburg und anderen Plätzen leicht vergessen liessen.

Der Genosse, von dem Bauer sprach, wohnte in einem Zimmer, in welchem sich sein ganzes Eigenthum, Ehebett, Weib und Kind mit eingeschlossen, befand. Die sog. bessere Hälfte, eine aus der Hefe hervorgegangene Deutsch-Amerikanerin, die ich schon von früher her als eine Xantippe kannte, schien nicht sehr erbaut darüber zu sein, dass ihr Mann mir seine Stelle im Bette abtreten sollte. Unter solchen Umständen war mein Bleiben nicht sehr angenehm; aber ich war zu müde und abgespannt um erst lange zu überlegen; ich war froh, mich endlich meiner nassen Kleider entledigen und in ein warmes Nest kriechen zu können, wo ich denn auch gleich in einen erquickenden Schlaf fiel."

Während ich nun von einer herrlichen Zukunft und freien, edlen Menschen träumte, brachte mich ein schrecklicher Lärm in die Öde Wirklichkeit zurück. Ich war zu schlaftrunken, um im ersten Moment die Situation zu erfassen; dazu war es im Zimmer dunkel. Endlich konnte ich am Fussboden zwei Menschen unterscheiden, die sich gegenseitig mit Fäusten bearbeiteten und dazwischen die heisere, rauhe Stimme der Frau hören, die ihren Gatten, den theuren, meinen Gastwirth, in der gemeinsten Weise beschimpfte. Die ganze Situation war so horrend, dabei aber so komisch, dass ich eigentlich nicht wusste, ob ich weinen oder lachen sollte. Ich zog mich rasch an und stürzte in den peitschenden Regen hinaus um zu Bauer zu gehen, der in der Nähe wohnte.

Der arme Kerl, der schon längst schnarchte, kroch schnell in seine Unaussprechlichen und ging mit mir in Nacht und Nebel hinaus, ein Hotel suchen. Die traurige Affäre trug sich in Allegheny City zu, wo keine Hotels zu finden sind. Eine Car nach Pittsburg war um diese Zeit, 3 Uhr Morgens, auch nicht mehr zu haben; also hiess es laufen; eine angenehme Sache bei dem Hundewetter.

Nach zwei Stunden kamen wir endlich an einen Platz, wo man auch für „Frauenzimmer Zimmer" hat. Ich konnte lange Zeit nicht zur Ruhe kommen, denn die Ereignisse des Abends und hauptsächlich die ekelhafte Familienscene, standen noch zu klar vor mir. Eigentlich hätte mich eine derartige Affäre nicht alteriren sollen. Geht es denn bei Eheleuten überhaupt anders zu? Wie ist es möglich, dass zwei Menschen, die absolut nicht für einander passen, ihr elendes Dasein doch zusammen dahinschleppen. Was hält sie denn vereint? Diese Fragen durchkreuzten mein müdes Gehirn. Die Liebe, werden Manche sagen. Lächerlich! Menschen, die so wenig gegenseitig Achtung haben, und sich mit Schmutz und Koth bewerfen, die sich sogar soweit vergessen handgreiflich zu werden; solche Geschöpfe wissen nichts von der Liebe. Es ist nur die verfluchte Gewohnheit und Feigheit des Mannes sowohl wie die der Frau, welches sie die grösste Schmach viel eher ertragen lässt, als aus einander zu gehen, oder lieber den Tod einem solchen traurigen Leben vorzuziehen.

Ich war am nächsten Tage ganz zerschlagen und angeekelt von dem Schlamm, in dem sich die Menschheit wälzt. In diesem Zustande reiste ich nach Monaca, wo es mir in anderer Beziehung nicht viel besser ging.

The Emma Goldman Papers
890117010
[Interview] Free Speech? / Emma Goldman.— p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* The Evening Bulletin [Providence]. —(Jan. 22, 1898).
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Providence Public Library.

FREE SPEECH?

A Practical Illustration of the Favorite Anarchistic Motto.

THE SPEAKERS AT MUSIC HALL HAVE A WORDY COMBAT.

Emma Goldman Is in Town Again and In Battle Array.—Her Appearance at Music Hall Brought About a Clash Between John Cook and George Vaughan Last Night.—Miss Goldman in Reminiscent.

Emma Goldman, the Anarchist who was sent out of the city by former Mayor McGuinness towards the end of his term, is here again. She walked into the Journal office yesterday afternoon with a figurative chip on her shoulder which she is desirous of having the police remove. Then she promises to fight.

Miss Goldman was as aggressive a personality as ever. Since her departure from here—an unenforced departure, by the way—she has been lecturing in a number of cities. She spoke last night in the small Music Hall and will speak again on Sunday at Hedley's Hall, under the auspices of the Wendell Phillips Educational Club. She has all her old dislike for the Central Police Station and for the customs which prevail there.

"I don't consider myself bound to remain away from here by my promise," she said, "because the police had no right to send me away from the city. The only way in which one person can be sent from one State to another is by extradition papers, and I have done nothing for which I could be extradited. If I am arrested again my friends have secured a lawyer and I shall make a fight.

"The police here are very conservative," she remarked, sarcastically. "I have been in 25 cities and they have not bothered me anywhere. True," she remarked, "in St. Louis the Mayor refused me a license to speak, but I didn't ask for it. I don't believe in asking for permission to speak in the open air. One of my friends did, and Mayor Ziegenheim refused. 'What, let Emma Goldman speak here,' he said; 'I guess not.' Then at the meeting there were a score of policemen and six patrol wagons."

Miss Goldman laughed at the recollection. Then she went into reminiscences of her last visit here.

"I should think the Journal would take up the treatment of prisoners at the station here," she said. "It is the worst anywhere, and I have been in police stations enough to know." She smiled at the delicacy of the recollections. "They kept me without food from 8 o'clock at night until 9 in the morning. They told me none of my friends had called, which wasn't so. They had called and were refused permission to see me.

"Then I gave one of the men 25 cents to get me some breakfast and it was so bad I couldn't eat it. I gave it away to the other women who were locked up

The Best Clothing in th

FOR THE MONEY--OR WE WILL BU

Quality Counts, Particularly Barnaby Quality.

Forty-six years of steady growth—forty-six years of acceptable catering to the clothing needs of the people of Rhode Island—forty-six years of earnest effort and progress—and forty-six years of unparalleled success. YES, QUALITY does count—particularly BARNABY quality. Yet these are the days of greater things—of more aggressive effort. Our aim is to sell you clothing that is far better than "good enough." To satisfy ourselves—to satisfy you—we aim to give you values that are greater and greater and always greater than the year before. To aim to do this is one thing—to accomplish it—another. That we do accomplish our aim—and that we do give you positively, always and absolutely THE BEST CLOTHING IN THE WORLD FOR THE MONEY is amply proven by the immensity of the patronage bestowed upon us.

Your dollar will always buy a doliar's worth of quality here—it will often buy more than a dollar's worth—but NEVER less. Quality counts—you can rely upon BARNABY QUALITY—as you always have in the past—and even more fully can you rely upon it in the future.

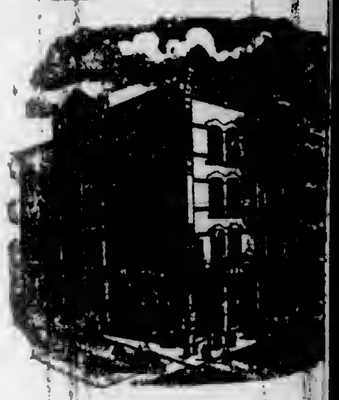
A GUARANTEE WHICH INSURES

the quality of our clothing in the broadest and most unmistakable terms to be as we claim—the best in the world for the money—from now on will

Be Given With Every Article of Wearing Apparel BOUGHT AT OUR STORE.

This GUARANTEE will afford you absolute protection against shoddy, seconds, misfits and inferior made goods which are so common now-a-days in many stores. Our name is back of this GUARANTEE—our reputation is back of it. It is a positive and definite guarantee of QUALITY—of BARNABY QUALITY—for FORTY-SIX YEARS THE BEST IN THE WORLD FOR THE MONEY.

You are always welcome here—to come and view the many new styles—you are always sure of attentive service—whether you are ready to buy or not.



The Accompanyin
BEST IN
and hereby agre
if the price pa
Fifteen Days
it is any fault
FULL
of that any mis
are made by th
they are not Th
Money, will
the money back
purchased here

DATE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890117010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Free Speech? / Emma Goldman.– p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* The Evening Bulletin [Providence]. –(Jan. 22, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Providence Public Library.

Goldman replied. 'What, let Emma Goldman speak here,' he said; 'I guess not.' Then at the meeting there were a score of policemen and six patrol wagons."

Miss Goldman laughed at the recollection. Then she went into reminiscences of her last visit here.

"I should think the Journal would take up the treatment of prisoners at the station here," she said. "It is the worst anywhere, and I have been in police stations enough to know." She smiled at the delicacy of the recollections. "They kept me without food from 8 o'clock last night until 9 in the morning. They told me none of my friends had called, which I wasn't so. They had called and were refused permission to see me.

"Then I gave one of the men 25 cents to get me some breakfast and it was so bad I couldn't eat it. I gave it away to the other women who were locked up there. These people are human beings, even if they have committed some crime. They wouldn't let my friends see me, but they brought in policemen and detectives to see the animal caged there. I had an engagement to speak in Boston, and that was the reason I was willing to go away. I had a jolly time while I was here after I had been arrested and had been allowed to see my friends."

It was intimated that the same Chief of Police was in power and the principal district of the city was in charge of the same Captain of Police. Miss Goldman said she didn't care for that. She was here to speak, and as long as she didn't create any disorder she intended to stay. She had no engagement until the middle of next month and was not averse to remaining here until that time to fight it out if necessary.

Accompanying her was John H. Cook, formerly President of the Central Labor Union, who was a firm supporter upon the occasion of her last visit to this city. Miss Goldman said that the main result of the attack upon her when here last was to create a more active field for the spread of her propaganda.

Chief Baker said there was nothing for him to do as long as Miss Goldman didn't kick up a row. She might speak in halls if she chose, but the last time she was here she spoke in the open air and made a disturbance. Then her arrest followed.

Bombs were thrown at the meeting in Music Hall last night. They were not the kind usually connected with the thought of an Anarchist, but the ones more commonly used—words. It is an unquestioned fact that this kind can cause a considerable amount of damage. John Cook and George Vaughan indulged in the pastime, incidentally being aided and abetted by Emma Goldman. It all started because Mr. Vaughan persisted in lecturing on Anarchy when he had only been asked to deliver a poem on "Columbia." Vaughan evidently believed that "Columbia" had been done to death, and he could have something original and startling. He had it all right. His rhetorical effort abounded in originality, and his statements, some of them, were of a most alarming nature, or they would be to some people. No one appeared to mind them last night except Mr. Cook and Miss Goldman.

Mr. Cook remonstrated with Mr. Vaughan for not reciting "Columbia," his original poem, long on the assemblage. Mr. Vaughan declined to do it. Then finally, by popular vote, it was agreed that Mr. Vaughan should withdraw and let Miss Goldman tell what there was to be told about Anarchy. This was not done without some protest on Mr. Vaughan's part, but that was the final action.

The meeting opened rather tamely. At first it looked as though there might be some trouble as it seems that last night was the night when the Plumbers' Union was to meet in annual conclave. The hall had been lent to the Anarchists, though. It was a toss-up, "heads I win, tails you lose," and the Anarchists got it. There was some doubt at first whether the discussion would be on Anarchy or the proper method of fixing up a man's plumbing bill so he wouldn't feel called upon to shoot the man who attempted to collect it. The exponents of the former were Lieut. Horton and Sergt. Smith from the Central Station [illegible] on hand to see that there was no

BOUGHT AT OUR STORE.

This GUARANTEE will afford you absolute protection against shoddy, seconds, misfits and inferior made goods which are so common now-a-days in many stores. Our name is back of this GUARANTEE—our reputation is back of it. It is a positive and definite guarantee of QUALITY—of BARNABY QUALITY—for FORTY-SIX YEARS THE BEST IN THE WORLD FOR THE MONEY.

You are always welcome here—to come and view the many new styles—you are always sure of attentive service—whether you are ready to buy or not.

J. B. Barnaby Co.

DATE

SALESMAN'S NUMBER

(Above is a fac-simil

have to come here "to get audiences," said Mr. Vaughan, haughtily, "and I didn't come here because I was particularly desirous of being here. I was billed to speak in New York before thousands and I can go from here and get a larger audience than you've got. This man here (referring to Mr. Cook) is no gentleman. I drew up the bill for this concert and they went and bungled it. Now, everybody that thinks I ought to get out raise their hands."

Not a hand appeared.

"I believe in liberty, I do," shouted Mr. Vaughan, "and I believe in morality and I am a Christian."

Then Mr. Vaughan got down from the platform and gave way to Mr. Cook, Mr. Cook made some statement that aroused Mr. Vaughan's ire, and he shouted from the rear of the hall, "That's not the first lie you have told, Mr. Cook."

Then Miss Goldman came in. She said it was not a gentlemanly action to call a man a liar, and proceeded to try to make Mr. Vaughan out one by saying he had never been billed to speak in New York. Furthermore, she said that Mr. Vaughan was no Anarchist if he was a Christian; he must be one or the other. All this time Mr. Vaughan was in the rear of the hall, but he had a disciple near the platform.

A little woman rose and, interrupting Miss Goldman, shrieked in watery accents, "It's false, it's false. He did have his name on the bill in New York."

Then Mr. Vaughan rushed up the aisle to the rescue.

"Yes," he shouted, "and if it hadn't been for this brave little woman you wouldn't have had this meeting here tonight. Come, dear, let's go home." They went and the piano was rattled noisily as an accompaniment to their retreat.

Then Mrs. Goldman delivered her lecture on "Anarchy; What it is and What it is Supposed to Be," without further interruption. She made the same arguments and advanced the same theories as on her previous visit.

TROLLEY ON THE BIG BRIDGE.

Two Trips Made Last Evening Around One of the New Loops.

New York, Jan. 21.—(Special.)—Two trial trips of trolley cars were made this evening on the Brooklyn bridge and around one of the new loops which run across the Manhattan entrance. Two

PAWTUCKET.

Anniversary of the Birth of Robert Burns Celebrated.

EXERCISES AT THE AUDITORIUM BY CLAN FRASER, O. S. C.

The Formal Programme Was Followed by Dancing.—High School Students in Amateur Dramatics.—Anniversary of St. Joseph's Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society.—"Typos" Banquet.—Annual Ball of Court Love and Truth Foresters of America.

The anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns was celebrated last evening by the members of Clan Fraser, No. 11, O. S. C., by a concert and ball, which was held in the Auditorium and which was a success in every particular. There was a large attendance, including many visitors from out of town, in addition to the members of the local clan.

Among those who were seated upon the platform were Grand Chief William Wallace, Chief James Harvey of Clan Cameron of Providence, Chief George McKenzie, Rev. Alexander McGregor, Ills Honor Mayor John F. Adams, ex-Mayor John W. Davis, David S. Fraser and James Melklejohn.

The concert commenced at 8 o'clock, and the following artists participated: Mr. George Fulton, tenor; Mr. Robert Donaldson, baritone; Mr. John Clegg, cornet soloist; Mr. William Noelle, clarionet soloist; Miss Katherine McLeod, contralto; Miss J. Tait, mezzo-soprano; Miss Agnes Hyde, reader and impersonator, Miss Corina Clegg pianist, Imperial Orchestra, leader, W. Black.

After the Scotch overture, "Robin Adair," by the orchestra, and an address by the Chairman, Chief George sustained by Charles Aumann, being particularly good.

At the close of the entertainment dancing was enjoyed, the music being furnished by Hawes's Orchestra, which also rendered an overture previous to the farce. Prior to the presentation of the piece Mrs. Idimpsey was presented with a silver-mounted mirror as a token of appreciation of her services in preparing the entertainment. The following committee had charge: Ruth Chase, Millicent Lewis, Philip Sherman, Earle D. Sweet, Arthur Newell and Raymond Hood.

St. Joseph T. A. and B. Anniversary.

The 24th anniversary of Saint Joseph's Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society was observed last evening by a concert and ball in the Alcazar and a large number of the members and their friends were present. During the early part of the evening the following programme was rendered:

Overture, Talma Ladies' Orchestra; Helen May Butler, leader; song, Robert J. Casey; cornet solo, "Floriginia's Polka," Miss Sadie A. Bissell; selection, "Popular Medley," Talma Orchestra; song, select d, Master E. de Ryal; selection, "Erminie," Talma Ladies' Orchestra.

At the conclusion of the entertainment dancing was enjoyed until a seasonable hour and the affair proved very pleasurable to all. The festivities opened with a grand march which was led by Charles Ryan and Miss Ida Murphy. The floor was in charge of Charles L. Ryan and his assistant was John T. Banks. The following acted as aids: Miss Lizzie Gorman, Miss Annie Powers, Miss Nellie Tripp, Miss Bertha Devlin, J. O'Connor, M. O'Gara, C. Jackson. The reception committee consisted of Richard McLoughlin, John Goodwin and James McDonnell. The committee of arrangements was as follows: John T. Banks, Chairman, Charles L. Ryan, Secretary; Peter H. Moley, Treasurer; Edward H. Dennehy, John Goodwin, Charles J. Morris, Thomas A. Sullivan and James L. McDonnell.

The "Typos" Banquet.

The members of Pawtucket Typographical Union, No. 212, held a banquet last evening in Havens's Nile room, and in addition to a large numbers of the members several invited guests were in attendance. After doing full justice to the repast which was provided, the

furnished by Baker Brothers' Orchestra. The dance orders contained 12 numbers, and at the close of the 11th, there was an intermission for refreshments. The following committees had the affair in charge: Reception Committee—Bernard F. Cummings, Matthew Guntee, John Krowicki; Committee of Arrangements—Joseph McCaffrey, Chairman; Christopher Corrigan, Secretary; Joseph E. Jarvais, Treasurer; John Lawless, Henry Langlois, William W. Bullis, Alex Lapalme; Floor Director James F. Kelley, Assistant Floor Director—John Ashworth, Aids—William McWilliams, R. M. Burns, Charles Hogue, Thomas C. Kavney, Thomas Forestall, William Davis, Thomas Landy.

Funeral of James Lennon.

The funeral of James Lennon was held yesterday from his late residence on School street, and many relatives and friends attended. The remains were conveyed to St. Joseph's Church, where a requiem mass was celebrated by Rev. Henry F. Kinsereay, pastor of the church. The remains were interred at Mount Saint Mary's Cemetery. John Cowley, Frederic Wallace, Michael Murphy and Richard E. Kinkead acting as bearers. There were a large number of handsome floral tokens.

Gentlemen Entertained.

Thursday evening the gentlemen of the Auburn C[illegible] entertained about 60 of the members and invited guests at Aetna Hall, where dancing was enjoyed until the small hours of the morning. A collation was served. The gathering will long be remembered as one of the pleasantest meetings of the club. The music was furnished by George A. Slocum, piano, Charles McClosky, violin, and Mr. T. Dudley, cornet.

Mr. Arthur B. Griggs of New York city will speak from a subject chosen by the audience at the regular meeting held by the Theosophical Society to-morrow evening, at 7:30 o'clock, at 221 Main street.

Continued on Page 11.

You Will be Surprised

To find so much attractiveness and style in a baby carriage for $10

ANTHONY & COWELL CO.

Common Pleas Division of the Su-

FORTY-TWO DAYS FROM SHIELDS.

British Steamer Munificent Loses Her Propeller.

New York, Jan. 2[illegible]—The British freight steamship Munificent came into port to-day 42 days from Shields. From Dec. 9, the day she left Shields, the vessel encountered rough weather, and as she was in ballast and stood well up in the water she made very little progress. The gales came from all points of the compass and piled up a confusion of seas.

When the passage had been four-fifths completed, on Dec. 17, the steamship's propeller dropped off. Luckily the Munificent is equipped with spars, and her canvas was quickly set in order to steady her in the wind. She was unable to make any progress, however, and for two days lay almost helpless on the water, until the Swedish steamer Oscar II., on the way from New Orleans to Hamburg, came along and offered assistance.

The Munificent was then too far out of the line of vessels bound for this city for her captain to hope to get a tow into port, and although the best the Swedish vessel could do would be to leave the Munificent at the Azores, Capt. Garrick decided that it was better to be taken back a thousand miles than to be left at the mercy of the elements any longer. He accordingly accepted the help of the Oscar II., and on Jan. 6 arrived at Fayal. At that port a spare propeller, which had been carried on board, was put in and the Munificent then set out again toward this port.

SPEAK OUT.

The Searchlight of Publicity is Pleasing Providence People.

Publicity is what the people want.
Let the public speak on the subject.
There has been too much claim—too little proof.
Claims made by strangers are not

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890117010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Free Speech? / Emma Goldman.– p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* The Evening Bulletin [Providence]. –(Jan. 22, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Providence Public Library.

...Mr. Cook and Miss Goldman.

Mr. Cook ... strated with Mr. Vaughan for not ...ting "Columbia," his original poem, ... on the assemblage. Mr. Vaughan ... ed to do it. Then finally, by popular vote, it was agreed that Mr. Vaughan should withdraw and let Miss Goldman tell what there was to be told about Anarchy. This was not done without some protest on Mr. Vaughan's part, but that was the final action.

The meeting opened rather tamely. At first it looked as though there might be some trouble. It seems that last night was the night when the Plumbers' Union was to meet in annual conclave. The hall had been let to the Anarchists, though. It was a toss-up, "heads I win, tails you lose," and the Anarchists got it. There was some doubt at first whether the discussion would be on Anarchy or the proper method of fixing up a man's plumbing bill so he wouldn't feel called upon to shoot the man who attempted to collect it. The exponents of the former were Lieut. Horton and Sergt. Smith from the Central Station were on hand to see that there was no disorder. They found that the Anarchists had a license and did not interfere with them.

After the discussion with the plumbers had ended matters dragged. John Cook called the meeting to order. He impressed upon his hearers the fact that they were not there to open old sores. There was a sigh of relief from the audience, who probably had been dreading what the meeting held in store for them. Presumably Mr. Cook was alluding to the arrest of Miss Goldman on her previous visit. Mr. Cook further said that they were there to show them one of the deadliest enemies, and that was the thing from which government emanates—authority.

This authority ...moved Mr. Vaughan's ruin later on, as he probably agreed with Mr. Cook on that point at least. Mr. Cook as a matter of encouragement said that the little woman, the little heroine, Emma Goldman, will speak to you later on, but first I wish to introduce to you James F. Morton of Boston."

Mr. Morton of Boston is a young man. He reads poetry. He also reads it very well, as should all Bostonians. Moreover, Mr. Morton read some selections from Browning. What better proof that he comes from the city above named could be asked. In addition to this were inflammatory selections from Wordsworth, Shelley and Edward Carpenter. Then Louis Hammond sang a solo in Hebrew, which was followed by a recitation in the same language. Then came the disturbance. Then were the bombs thrown.

George Vaughan was called upon by Mr. Cook to read an original poem on "Columbia." Mr. Vaughan's speech may have borne that name, but it was not the "Columbia" that Mr. Cook was looking for. He began his speech by saying words to the effect that he thought enough poetry had been inflicted on the audience for one night. That was a slap at Mr. Morton, who had consumed about 45 minutes. The next statement was that Anarchists gloried in the fact that they could have a meeting without a Chairman. That was a rap at Mr. Cook, which that gentleman did not let go by him. Mr. Vaughan talked on Anarchy for 18 minutes; then Mr. Cook interrupted:

"I called you up there to read a poem on 'Columbia,'" he said, "and I will leave it with the audience whether you or Miss Goldman shall talk on Anarchy."

There were cries of "Miss Goldman," "Give us Miss Goldman," "Let him go ahead and talk" and others of a similar nature.

"You are no gentleman to interrupt me in this way," said Mr. Vaughan. "You have had enough poetry from that young man who talked for three-quarters of an hour, while I only talked 18 minutes."

Then Mr. Cook came in again:

"Shall it be this man or Miss Goldman?"

"Let us have Miss Goldman," shouted the majority of the 700 in the hall.

"I want it understood that I don't

Miss Goldman, shrieked in walking 20 cents, "It's false, it's false. He did have his name on the bill in New York."

Then Mr. Vaughan rushed up the aisle to the rescue.

"Yes," he shouted, "and if it hadn't been for this brave little woman you wouldn't have had this meeting here tonight. Come, dear, let's go home." They went and the piano was rattled noisily as an accompaniment to their retreat.

Then Mrs. Goldman delivered her lecture on "Anarchy; What It Is and What It is Supposed to Be," withnut further interruption. She made the same arguments and advanced the same theories as on her previous visit.

TROLLEY ON THE BIG BRIDGE.

Two Trips Made Last Evening Around One of the New Loops.

New York, Jan 21.—(Special.)—Two trial trips of trolley cars were made this evening on the Brooklyn bridge and around one of the new loops which run across the Manhattan entrance. Two kinds of cars were used, an old-fashioned one having only two pairs of wheels preceding the second car, which rested on two trucks of four wheels each.

The last car was a large one, being of the latest pattern. On it were Chief Engineer Martin of the bridge, Bridge Commissioner Shea, the President of the Brooklyn Heights Railway Company, and Police Commissioner York. The outside loop was used. The big car made the run from Brooklyn in just four minutes. The ordinary bridge cable train takes between six and seven minutes to cross and the electric cars about four. In rounding the curve at the Manhattan entrance the large fender in front of the big trolley car struck one of the bridge pillars, making it necessary to stop the car and remove the fender until another pillar, which was also in the way, had been passed.

For from $10.00 to $20.00

One may select a baby carriage that is bound to suit any taste; 50 just arrived.

ANTHONY & COWELL CO.

BOSTON'S ALDERMEN.

Deadlock Broken by a Compromise.

Boston, Jan. 21.—The Post will say to-morrow that an agreement was reached this afternoon between the contending factions in the Board of Aldermen whereby Ald. Conry, a Democrat, will preside until July 1 and Ald. Dyer, a Republican, the remaining six months. This compromise breaks the deadlock over the Chairmanship and renders the appeal to the courts, which was made to-day, unnecessary.

Oil Stove Exploded.

Box 37, corner of South Main and Wickenden streets, was rung in about 5:30 o'clock last evening for a fire in the rear of 62 Wickenden street. The blaze started in a little cottage occupied by Charles C. Brown from the explosion of an oil stove. The flames were quickly extinguished after the arrival of the fire department before any serious damage was done. The property belongs to the heirs of Lorenzo D. Millard.

Siege of Havana.

How Lord Albemarle captured the city in 1762. Moro Castle defied English expedition 44 days.—Sunday Journal.

Populist Aldrich Seated.

Washington, Jan. 21.—The House committee on elections by a party vote on the contested election case of W. F. Aldrich vs. Thomas S. Plowman in the Fourth Alabama district decided to seat Mr. Aldrich, the Populist candidate. Mr. Plowman now occupies the seat.

the members of Lodge Prudence, No. 11, O. S. C., by a concert and ball, which was held in the Auditorium and which was a success in every particular. There was a large attendance, including many visitors from out of town, in addition to the members of the local clan.

Among those who were seated upon the platform were Grand Chief William Wallace, Chief James Harvey of Clan Cameron of Providence, Chief George McKenzie, Rev. Alexander McGregor, His Honor Mayor John F. Adams, ex-Mayor John W. Davis, David S. Fraser and James Melklejohn.

The concert commenced at 8 o'clock, and the following artists participated: Mr. George Fulton, tenor; Mr. Robert Donaldson, baritone; Mr. John Clegg, cornet soloist; Mr. William Neilte, clarionet soloist; Miss Katherine McLeod, contralto, Miss J. Tait, mezzo-soprano, Miss Agnes Hyde, reader and impersonator, Miss Corina Clegg, pianist; Imperial Orchestra, Sadler, W. Black.

After the Scotch overture, "Robin Adair," by the orchestra, and an address by the Chairman, Chief George McKenzie, the following programme was rendered, nearly every participant being obliged to respond to the encores:

Song, "The Highland Maiden's Toast," Miss J. Tait, song, selected, Mr. Robert Donaldson; reading, "Tam O'Shanter," Miss Agnes Hyde; cornet solo, "Bonnie Scotland," Mr. John Clegg; song, "Tom Glen," Miss Katherine McLeod; song, "Auld Lang Syne," Mr. George Fulton; address, "Robert Burns," Rev. Alexander McGregor, song, "Lass o' Ballochmyle," Miss Katherine McLeod; song, selected, Mr. Robert Donaldson; reading, "Mrs. Macpherson's Visit to New York," Miss Agnes Hyde; clarinet solo, "Coming Thro' the Rye," Mr. William Neelte; song, "The Star o' Robbie Burns," Miss J. Tait, song, "Oh Are ye Sleeping, Maggie," Mr. George Fulton; finale, "Auld Lang Syne."

At the conclusion of the entertainment the floor was cleared for dancing, and after Chief McKenzie and lady had led the long line through a series of intricate evolutions, dancing was enjoyed until a late hour, with a brief intermission for refreshments. The general floor director was Thomas Mulcheid and George McCreadie and James Dick acted as assistants. The committees in charge of the affair were as follows: Mr. James Melklejohn, Chairman; Mr. William Black, Secretary, Mr. James Bain, Treasurer; Mr. George McKenzie, Mr. Andrew Forester, Mr. Henry Craick, Mr. Thomas Mulrhead, Jr., Mr. Matthew Lang. Reception Committee—Mr George McKenzie, Mr. William Wallace.

"Prof. Baxter's Invention."

In the presence of about 800 persons the farce, "Professor Baxter's Great Invention," was presented last evening in High School Hall by a number of the students in the school. The entertainment was given under the auspices of the class of '98 and under the direction of Mrs. Cora H. Dimpsey, a teacher in the school. The cast of characters was as follows: Benjamin Franklin Baxter, Charles Aumann, '99; Peter Crawford, Philip D. Sherman, '98; Samuel Woolley, Charles F. Jenks, '98; Roxanna Tucker, Grace M. Hughes, '98; Dorothy Tucker, Mercy Kent, 1901; Mary Ann O'Flynn, Louise Fairman, 1901.

The story of the piece is based upon the incidents which happened to Prof. Baxter, who has invented a wonderful electrical machine, whereby any desired age may be restored to those past the "summer of life" who have sufficient courage to try the experiment. Dorothy Tucker, Woolley and Crawford are patients desiring the wonderful treatment. They are placed in the invention, Mary Ann consenting to accompany them, and startling results follow. Roxanna, Dorothy's sister, a confirmed old maid, consents to wed Prof. Baxter and Dorothy finds in Woolley her long lost lover, and, to the happiness of both, Roxanna consents to their marriage.

All of the parts were sustained in able manner, that of the professor, which was

heir and the affair proved very pleasurable to all. The festivities opened with a grand march which was led by Charles Ryan and Miss Ida Murphy. The floor was in charge of Charles L. Ryan and his assistant was John T. Banks. The following acted as aids: Miss Lizzie Gorman, Miss Annie Powers, Miss Nellie Tripp, Miss Bertha Devlin, J. J. O'Connor, M. O'Clara, C. Jackson. The reception committee consisted of Richard McLoughlin John Goodwin and James McDonnell. The committee of arrangements was as follows: John T. Banks, Chairman, Charles L. Ryan Secretary; Peter H. Mosley, Treasurer; Edward H. Dempsey, John Goodwin Charles J. Morris, Thomas A. Sullivan and James L. McDonnell.

The "Typos" Banquet.

The members of Pawtucket Typographical Union, No. 212, held a banquet last evening in Havens's Nite room, and in addition to a large numbers of the members several invited guests were in attendance. After doing full justice to the repast which was provided, the party adjourned to the rooms of the union where there was a social session, and excellent entertainment being provided. The entertainment consisted of graphophone solo, solos under the direction of Frank T. Sibley, songs by Wm. Hamp Browning, readings and selections by Harry D. Gifford and J. Frank Dixon, mandolin selections by Alexander Crawshaw, and selections by the Electric Banjo Club. Previous to the banquet Fidelic Organizer of Rhode Island George R. Sullivan installed the following officers: President Fayette Gee; Vice President Thomas H. Harrison; Secretary and Treasurer John P. Dell; Sergeant-at-Arms—Ernest Rankine. The committee in charge of last night's affair consisted of John P. Dell, Frank T. Sibley, Thomas H. Harrison and Fayette Gee.

The union was organized Dec. 3, by State Organizer F. F. Sorbie called the meeting to order and F. F. Sibley was obligated as the first President. After taking the chair he administered the oath to the following charter members: A. J. Lewis, C. Taylor, C. D. Judson, D. B. Fuller, F. F. Ward, A. Hall, C. Rattnel, P. O'Donnell, W. H. Bosey, E. Sutcliffe, E. Lothrop and C. Spratt. There have been two deaths in the ranks of No. 212, that of Carl H. A. Raithel, who died in May, 1889, and John Leach, who died Nov. 10, 1897. The Pawtucket Union has had but little trouble with employers during the past 10 years. Only one strike occurred and that ended successfully for the union.

Court Love and Truth Hall.

The 23d annual ball of Court Love and Truth, No. 2, Foresters of America, was held last evening in Music Hall assembly rooms, and it was entirely successful. There was a large attendance, fully 60 couples participating in the dancing, the music for which was

Auburn Club entertained about 60 of the members and invited guests at Aetna Hall, where dancing was enjoyed until the small hours of the morning. A collation was served. The gathering will long be remembered as one of the pleasantest meetings of the club. The music was furnished by George A. Slocum, piano, Charles McCloskey, violin, and Mr. T. Padley, cornet.

Mr. Arthur H. Griggs of New York city will speak from a subject chosen by the audience at the regular meeting held by the Theosophical Society to-morrow evening, at 7:30 o'clock, at 321 Main street.

Continued on Page 11.

You Will be Surprised

To find so much attractiveness and style in a baby carriage for the

ANTHONY & COWELL CO.

Common Pleas Division of the Supreme Court.—Providence County.

Friday Afternoon

(Before Mr. Justice Douglas.)

John D. Sullivan vs. Antonio Jackvony. Verdict for plaintiff for $81.

(Before Mr. Justice Bosworth.)

Herbert L. Leach vs. Inter-State Consolidated Street Railway Company. Matthew J. Leach vs. same. At the conclusion of the arguments of counsel the Court rises.

Adjourned to Saturday at 9:30 o'clock a. m.

Fashions.

Folly of Paris gives a variety of ideas on the new rest of the skirt. Illustrated in the Sunday Journal.

Roxbury Boy Housebreakers.

Boston, Jan. 21. Hawkins, Luptill, Davis and Shouies, the quartet of alleged Roxbury boy housebreakers, were given a hearing in the Roxbury District Court to-day before Judge Hoister. Just before the adjournment of the Court Henry E. Weeks one of the Government witnesses, fainted and had to be carried from the stand. The first case heard was that of Hawkins.

All of the four prisoners were then placed on trial on the charge of breaking and entering the residence of Albert L. Crowell. The case was not finished when Court adjourned.

Verdict for Plaintiff.

In the case of John D. Sullivan against Antonio Jackvony, which was on trial before Judge Douglas yesterday, the jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff for $7.81.

HUNTER BALTIMORE RYE.

10 YEARS OLD



The BEST Whiskey IN AMERICA.

Indorsed by Leading Physicians.

To Ladies obliged to use a stimulant it is recommended because of its Absolute Purity, Gentle Mellowness and Great Age.

WM. LANAHAN & SON, Baltimore, Md.

Sold at all First-class Cafes.

HANLEY, HOYE & CO., RHODE ISLAND AGENTS, Providence, R. I.

help of the Oscar II and on Jan. 5 arrived at Fayal. At that port a spare propeller, which had been carried on board, was put in and the Munificent then set out again homeward this port.

SPEAK OUT.

The Searchlight of Publicity is Pleasing Providence People.

Publicity is what the people want. Let the public speak on the subject. There has been too much claim—too little proof.

Claims made by strangers are not proof.

There is only one kind of proof for a Providence citizen.

The experience of people we know.

When friends and neighbors endorse. Make public statement of their case.

There can be no question about such evidence.

This is the proof we have.

Which backs every box of Doan's Kidney Pills.

No other kidney pills, no other kidney remedy.

Can produce such proof.

Here is one case of the many we have.

Mr. Herbert C. Bond, policeman, of 31 Lester street, says: "While on duty I slipped and fell, besides dislocating my shoulder and badly bruising my hip, I strained or wrenched my back just over the kidneys. The pain and shoulder were soon healed, but my back seemed to get worse and worse. I went back to duty as soon as possible, but the exposure to all kinds of weather only aggravated the trouble and I suffered a great deal. I used plaster after plaster without knocking under but finally I was compelled to quit. I was off duty 30 days, 10 of which I spent in bed. My physician got me on my feet again, but the pain was still there. I saw Doan's Kidney Pills at Lathrop's drug store, more out of curiosity than for any other reason, but all the results that I had tried previously had failed me to a end. I began taking them, however, and almost immediately began to feel better. I was soon entirely free from pain and felt as strong and hearty as ever. I do not believe there is a kidney remedy in the world equal to Doan's Kidney Pills."

Doan's Kidney Pills for sale by all dealers. Price 50 cents. Mailed by Foster-Milburn Co., Buffalo, N. Y., sole agents for the U. S. Remember the name, Doan's, and take no other.

WE WILL FURNISH YOUR

WEDDING CANOPY

And afterward anything in the DRAPERY and WALL PAPER line. Cover your Furniture, supply you with Window Screens, etc., etc., at prices as low as any in the city.

D. C. H. TINKHAM,

DECORATIVE UPHOLSTERER,

857 WESTMINSTER STREET.

Happy Homestead. No charge for estimates.

125 JMWFSHTuTS

RAW FURS WANTED

Such as Mink, Fox, Skunk, Otter, Muskrat, etc. Highest cash prices paid.

EDWIN G. BAKER, 104 South Water St.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

890117008

[Summary of Lecture] In Hedley Hall / Emma Goldman.– p. 5 ; 28 cm. *In* The Evening Bulletin [Providence]. –(Jan. 24, 1898).

Obtained from the Providence Public Library, Providence, RI.

IES.

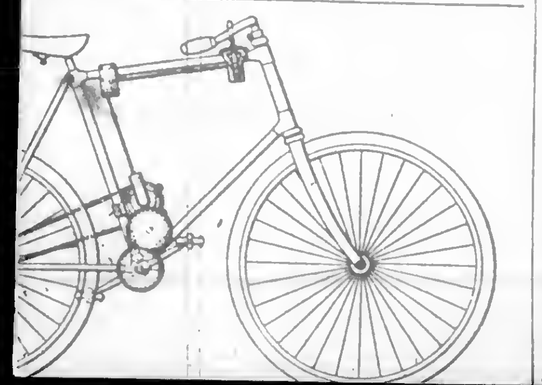
ntly Changing
Bicycle.

DRAWBRIDGE
OINT.

ointed Screws.
eed Engines.—
evel Gears for

pply chaugeable
have been made.
t is desirable to
evel road when
for fast riding
or hills, sandy
, provided the
at will and the
as the parts of
ear. But as yet
ption has been
The rider is lim-
anges cannot be
cial tools are re-
on requires time
The number of
e machine shops
d changed is too
Those able to
d put on another
to remove chain
hain. The rider,
ear and uses it
unless for spe-
or lower gear is
at event the al-
professional re-

gear has been
by Mr. William
and wheelmen
ted in it, even if
ra weight and
It is stated that
instantaneously



sengers to suspect that the factor of safety was pretty small.

Gimlet Pointed Screws.

In reply to the inquiry of an Iron Age correspondent in regard to the date at which gimlet pointed screws were first made, the American Screw Company of this city states:

"The query has raised the question as to what may properly be called "gimlet pointed" wood screws, for pointed screws were undoubtedly made as early as the year 1755, since a plane of that date containing them was exhibited at Worcester, Mass., in the year 1879, and in a French publication dated Paris, 1771, is an illustration of a tapered shank-screw, threaded to the point.

"The company has a sample card of Japy Freres, screw maker at Beaucourt, France, with gimlet pointed screws attached, not having tapered bodies, but practically the same as they are made to-day. This card was in possession of the New England Screw Company of this city and it is supposed that these screws were produced on American machinery, which was sent to Japy Freres from Poughkeepsie, N. Y., in 1855, or thereabouts.

"The United States patent No 154 dated March 30, 1837, to Sloat of Tymaqua, N. Y., and Springsteen of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., says "So that the screw may be made a gradual taper or all the way of a size, or give it an acute taper at the point, making what we call 'gimlet points.'" The Poughkeepsie Screw Company was chartered in 1836 and failed in 1839 and was an important concern in its day. A diploma awarded that company in 1837 by the Mechanics' Institute of New York city for "tapered wood screws" is held by the American Screw Company. Presumably, this last-mentioned type of screws went out of use with the failure of the Poughkeepsie Screw Company, for at that time die threading machinery began to be generally utilized and this type was unsuitable for making pointed screws.

"One of the then leading makers, the New England Screw Company of Providence, R. I., and one of the predecessors of the American Screw Company, however, about 1845 employed machinery that used a chasing tool and was able to produce a tapered screw, and probably did so upon the suggestion afforded by the sample card of French screws previously mentioned.

"About this time Gen Thomas W. Harvey and Thomas J. Sloan were separately engaged in constructing screw machinery in the same building in New York city, but to what extent they made pointed screws is not clear. There was difficulty in producing good points with any of the machinery at that time in use which might be noticeable were the roller absolutely hollow.

Slow, Medium and High Speed Engines.

There is a tendency on the part of designers of electric plants to adopt engines of medium (100 to 150 revolutions) and of high speed (300 to 600 revolutions), so as to combine the dynamo with the steam motor or to adopt the model of dynamo fly wheel. After considering the advantages of medium and of high speed engines as compared to normal speed engines (about 70 revolutions), a Power writer is convinced that he adoption of rapidly running machines is not generally justified.

The English have adopted vertical engines of very great speed for provisional plants, and as soon as the central station is on a good basis powerful motors of slow speed operating dynamos by belts or cables are adopted for the permanent plants.

On examining the two methods we find: The high speed engine is worn out sooner, and consequently requires much more steam from that moment. It must therefore be sunk quicker. Constructors of this type allege they do not get worn out any sooner, provided perfectly constructed. This reason is, however, not to be taken seriously. Does common sense not say that an engine can only do a certain number of revolutions? An engine of 150 revolutions will thus only last half the time of one making only 75, unless one could prove that of two engines made with the same care and material, the one which works slowest will be worn out first.

There are to be seen engines of 35 revolutions that have worked for more than 50 years and are only moderately worn out, although constructed with little precision, while those better made, turning at 70 revolutions, are more worn after 25 years use. A quick-running engine is also more liable to break and requires more repairs and attention. All the trials have proved that those engines, as well at medium speed as at great speed, consume more steam than slow-speed engines. These trials are besides in entire accord with the theory which says that the excess of consumption arises from internal condensation. These condensations, being repeated very often, increase evidently the consumption.

The consumption of oil is also excessive. In the engines of medium speed the stroke only diminishes, the diameters of the cylinders being sensibly the same as in the engines of slow speed. The consequence is that all parts having the same dimensions and turning quicker they require more oil. This also explains the small difference in the price between the two kinds of engines medium and slow speed.

Under these circumstances the power absorbed by the engine is also enormous. Experiments have proved that the bearings of an engine absorb half of the total power absorbed by the engine. The shaft of high-speed engines being of same diameter, the work on the piston remains the same, because the diameter has not varied, but this shaft, turning twice as quickly, absorbs certainly double the power. The engine constitutes only a trifling part of the total cost of an electric plant, while the coal consumption, which depends upon the type of engine, is the heaviest in cost. Such being the case, it is important to choose the most economical engine. Take the two following examples: 1. An engine of 150 revolutions having a dynamo fly wheel. 2—An engine of 70 revolutions driving a dynamo of normal speed 300 or 400 revolutions by belt or cables.

In the first instance the engine will cost a trifle less than in the second but the

IN HEDLEY HALL.

Miss Emma Goldman Again Holds Forth Under Difficulties.

UNDER AUSPICES OF WENDELL PHILLIPS EDUCATIONAL CLUB.

A Slight Misunderstanding In Money Matters Caused a Delay in Opening the Meeting, but a Characteristic Audience Was Finally Gathered, and the Anarchist Spoke at Considerable Length and with Some Vim.

Old fashioned people who heard that tremendous clap of thunder about 11 o'clock yesterday morning, said it was a sign that the backbone of the winter had broken. The faithful few of the Wendell Phillips Educational Club, before the day was out, realized that it was a portent of disaster, an omen of a calamity. It was a warning of a blow at freedom of speech such as might have caused more mighty results than something else. It was a tip of trouble to come, trouble that came with full force when Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, was locked out of Hedley Hall on Randall square.

Locked out, it was whispered, at the behest of the Socialists who were to occupy the hall in the evening, or because the amount of the rent was not at once forthcoming. And this, after the club had paid $1 in advance to bind the bargain. Pressure was brought to bear on Charles Cohen, the lessee of the hall, but he remained firm. Despair filled the heart of the faithful John H. Peck. He hastened to the hall, where some squares of wall paper, lettered on the back, announced the meeting.

"It's off!" he said. The 13 men and boys assembled around the door accepted his statement without comment. Then he started with another member of the club, to notify the lecturer, who had received a hint of trouble, and had not come to the hall. But the energetic speaker and martyr was not to be so easily snuffed out. She could feel her inner light burning with a free wick and a clean burner, and she declined to be thus discouraged. She sent them back again, and by the payment of three extra dollars, the hall was secured and the meeting began an hour late. Thus was a social revolution averted, and a deed more despotic in its way than the arrest of the Anarchist at her last visit here, prevented.

Hedley Hall has been so often filled with waves of hot argument and fiery speeches that the walls are smoky and black. The windows are washed once a year, perhaps, and are never opened, under any circumstances. The result, when the hall is packed full of Hebrews of both sexes, with a few Americans, is a combination of odors more strange and powerful than the atmos-

ST. VINCENT'S GUILD.

Observance of the Thirteenth Anniversary at St. Stephen's Church.

The 13th anniversary of St. Vincent's Guild, connected with St. Stephen's Church, was held last night. The members of the guild were present in a body, and occupied seats reserved for them in the centre of the church. The sermon was preached by Rev. Walter Gardner Webster, M. A., who took as his text, "Be not overcome with evil, but overcome evil with good." In substance, he said:

"Men frequently speak of the struggle of life, and bring before us the realization that this life we have to live is a serious matter; that there are difficulties with which we have to contend. These difficulties assume different forms. The worst, perhaps the most serious, are the insidious temptations of Satan.

"This epistle was written to the Christians in Rome, that great city of ancient times.

"How many young men have thrilled as they read of the triumph of that great city. At its magnificence and its glories. The Romans did not learn to reverence themselves, and that is the reason of their downfall and that of their fair city. There are three ways of overcoming temptation. Let us take the surmounting of one of the mountain peaks of Switzerland by three young men as an illustration of these ways.

"The three young men start out blithely and merrily, but finally the way begins to grow hard. One says: 'It is easier to go down than it is to go up.' He goes down, at first gradually, then faster. At last he goes over a precipice to destruction.

"The other two young men go on. One decides to go alone without a guide. He steps on a treacherous piece of snow and ice and he, too, meets death. The third secures a reliable guide, and although the way is hard, he and his guide finally reach the top. The moral is that one yields willingly to temptation. The other tries to do battling in himself, and the other puts implicit trust in the Son of God and is led by Him to victory.

"In the youth Satan finds a particular field for practicing his wiles. He says to the young man: 'The Bible and Christianity are very well for old men and women.' It is then that Satan comes to us as a deceiver. There is no truth and no good but that which comes from God. When is resistance best made and when is it most effective? The answer is not difficult to find. Then the heart is receptive and absorbs the good influences which may be thrown around it."

The speaker referred to the upright life of William E. Gladstone and the influence for good which it was, and said that to live such a life the text must be followed out—"Overcome evil with good."

"It is by the cross of Christ that we are to conquer all, and this epistle is meant for this guild, for you are all included in the Church and are followers of Christ. You, as young men, have to meet the machinations of Satan, and what better examination have than that of St. Vincent. He faithfully adhered to his religion under the greatest persecution, and then and there, we are told, his glorification began. He maintained his faith in the Church and clung to Christ until, on Jan. 22, he was carried to the land of glory. Vincent is not victory. It is not the one whose

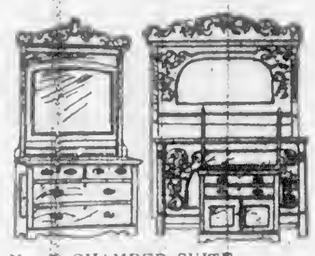
PRE-INVENTORY SALE

—OF—

Chamber Suites and Sideboards.

A large number of Chamber Suites and Sideboards on hand of which we wish to dispose before February stock taking. Every one of them in perfect condition and all this season's stock. If you are in need of a Chamber Suite or Sideboard this is

YOUR OPPORTUNITY.



1 No. 69 CHAMBER SUITE, was $25.00, clearance sale price 17.25

1 No. 36 CHAMBER SUITE, was $30.00, clearance sale price 19.00

1 No. 47[illegible] CHAMBER SUITE, was $30.00, clearance sale price 20.00

1 No. 42[illegible] CHAMBER SUITE, was $33.00, clearance sale price 22.00

1 No. 1[illegible] CHAMBER SUITE, was $47.00, clearance sale price 37.00

1 No. 10[illegible] CHAMBER SUITE, was $45.00, clearance sale price 33.00

1 No. 1[illegible] CHAMBER SUITE, was $50.00, clearance sale price 39.00

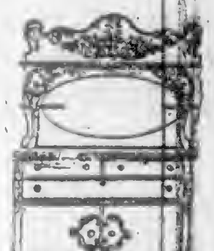
1 No. 2[illegible] CHAMBER SUITE, was $60.00, clearance sale price 44.00

1 No. 9[illegible] CHAMBER SUITE, was $85.00, clearance sale price 49.00

1 No. 67[illegible] CHAMBER SUITE, was $56.00, clearance sale price 42.50

1 No. 66[illegible] CHAMBER SUITE, was $75.00, clearance sale price 52.50

1 No. 7[illegible] CHAMBER SUITE, was $86.00, clearance sale price 64.00



1 No. 283 SIDEBOARD, was $14.00, clearance sale price 10.00

1 No. 296 SIDEBOARD, was $20.00, clearance sale price 10.50

1 No. 800 SIDEBOARD, was $18.00, clearance sale price 13.00

1 No. 46 SIDEBOARD, was $20.00, clearance sale price 15.00

1 No. 286 SIDEBOARD, was $28.00, clearance sale price 18.00

1 No. 278 SIDEBOARD, was $27.00, clearance sale price 19.00

1 No. 841 SIDEBOARD, was $33.00, clearance sale price 22.50

1 No. 73 SIDEBOARD, was $34.00, clearance sale price 25.00

1 No. 327 SIDEBOARD, was $37.00, clearance sale price 28.00

1 No. 64 SIDEBOARD, was $38.50, clearance sale price 30.00

1 No. 215 SIDEBOARD, was $42.00, clearance sale price 30.00

1 No. 252 SIDEBOARD, was $50.00, clearance sale price 36.00

1 No. 70 SIDEBOARD, was $57.00, clearance sale price 40.00

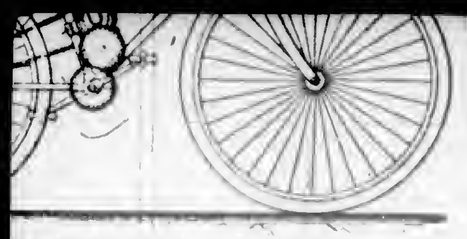
1 No. 313 SIDEBOARD, was $60.00, clearance sale price 45.00

890117008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] In Hedley Hall / Emma Goldman.— p. 5 ; 28 cm. *In* The Evening Bulletin [Providence]. —(Jan. 24, 1898).

Obtained from the Providence Public Library, Providence, RI.



ORLISS CHANGEABLE GEAR.

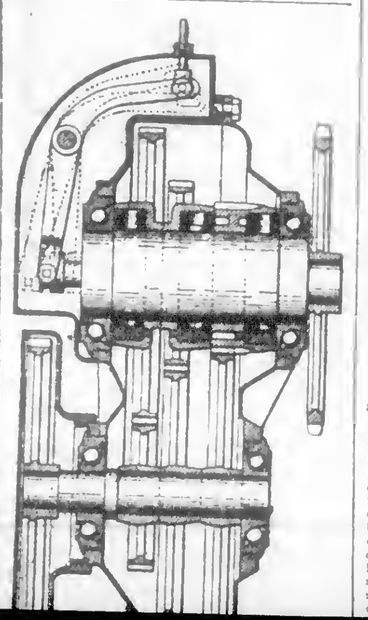
e connection the rear so that on a nger of run- ears are dis- ed in a case me. Three- tubular shaft orresponding power until d with the f the loose ovilled each recess of the act with it The ring is er of open- erse recess, ment which gear. This t each end. ring. f the tubu- ach of the sed at one crew-thread posite open r so as to bs are se- o the tubu- bes with a ovided with gs. These nd having s also have rolled by a n and slides d the slots a concaved the convex lower ends recesses are th reference convex sec- in the con- e other con- edge slight- f the convex bolts, and oved longi- tion a dis- the diame- central bolt he recess in rther move- rmit another nding recess n the corre- with which nstruction. In ous openings m one speed e practically gh a screw- nt, the screw- tubular shaft, locking-collr, ontains oil for e. The pro- ort for the ng end of the , with which engages. The pivot and is rank lever, to od is secured gh a slot, so through the lt. The upper to the bell- n a bracket of the frame ected with a ly supported a segment- ich the lever he slide per- connect with By moving and Sloan invented and patented a machine for doing this, as well as a screw, which is described in the following language from his patent, No. 4704, dated Aug. 30, 1846, reissued: "Making wood screws with the core of a cylindrical or nearly cylindrical form, and with a conical point, in combination with the thread of equal pitch along the conical point and body—that is, with all the convolutions at equal distances apart, and of gradually less depth from the base to the apex of the core." The Sloan inventions were purchased by the Eagle Screw Company of Providence—another of the predecessors of the American Screw Company—but this company did not furnish pointed screws in quantity until about 1852.

Sloan's style of screw, and mainly his inventions, are those in general use by screw makers to-day throughout the world.

Roving Frame Gear.

An improved bevel gear for roving frames, designed by Joseph J. Schofield of this city, is made in separable parts, in order that a worn out gear may be repaired without the removal of the driving shaft, and the driving gears attached.

The hub of the gear is permanently held upon the shaft by a set-screw, the said hub being made in one piece and provided with an external screw-thread and limiting-shoulder. The toothed segments of the gear are adapted to interlock with each other, one segment having projecting lips, which, at their inner sides are provided with the studs and the other segment is provided at its back with recesses, adapted to receive and fit the lips of the first segment, and



stitutes only a trifling part of the total cost of an electric plant, while the coal consumption, which depends upon the type of engine, is the heaviest in cost. Such being the case, it is important to choose the most economical engine. Take the two following examples: 1—An engine of 120 revolutions having a dynamo by wheel; 2—An engine of 70 revolutions driving a dynamo of normal speed (300 or 400 revolutions) by belt or cables.

In the first instance the engine will cost a trifle less than in the second, but the dynamo will cost considerably more. The only thing in favor of the first instance is the absence of the belt, which takes 2 to 3 per cent. of the transmitted power. But this 2 to 3 per cent. or more is regained in the smaller consumption of the engine of 70 revolutions.

It remains only in favor of the engine of 120 revolutions, that it requires a somewhat smaller place.

But does this trifling advantage equal those which favor the engine of 70 revolutions, which has these advantages: Less steam consumed, less oil consumed, less power absorbed by the engine, less wear, fewer accidental risks, no clever machinists necessary.

Furthermore, in the first instance in case of accidents the motive power is entirely dependent on the electrical unit, whereas with a belt the dynamo has simply to be replaced by another one or by its neighbor, which means greater security. The number of spare units necessary will be smaller and the operation will be more profitable; moreover, no units of thousand horse-powers will be made idle for months by the engine or by the dynamo.

As to the tandem engine, it is inferior to compound engines not only on account of its steam consumption, as all the trials have proven, but also with regard to production. In fact, the entire power works on one end of the shaft, instead of being divided equally at each of the two ends with the fly wheel in the center. This necessitates a much stronger shaft, absorbing more power, the friction in the cylinder remaining the same and being even increased a little by the wear of the piston. Besides, the fly wheel for the tandem has to be heavier, as all the power is in two strokes per revolution, instead of in four strokes, as in the cross compound engines. These two reasons increase consequently in a large measure the absorbed power, and, of course, the consumption of steam and oil.

Tobacco Cutter.

A machine for reducing plug tobacco to shavings was patented recently by David Jackson of Pawtucket.

A pedestal or stand, cast hollow, has a chamber at its upper end to hold a vertical cutter disk. This chamber is divided through its center horizontally, and a gap is formed of the upper part that is connected by hinges to the lower part, to allow of ready access to the disk which is held fast on a horizontal shaft, that turns in bearings in each side of the lower part of the chamber, and has a balance wheel on its front end provided with a handle to turn the shaft and disk by. A horizontal trough extends out back from the chamber a little below its centre, and an opening is made from the trough to the inside of the case through which the tobacco passes to the knives in the cutting disk.

A slot is made through the bottom of the trough lengthways and a vertical pressure plate placed across the trough is arranged to slide in it and has an arm extending down through the slot to connect it with a nut on a screw below. This screw extends through the front and back of the chamber, in which it has bearings. A spacing gear wheel is on the shaft, just in front of the chamber, which has three teeth entering between studs on the face of a disk on a stud fast in the front of the case below the shaft. The periphery of the disk, between the teeth, is made on a circle of about the diameter of the pitch line of the teeth and the disk has the spaces on its circumference between the studs cut out in a concave shape on a circle of the same diameter, so that the

was a social revolution abroad, and a deed more despotic in its way than the arrest of the Anarchist at her last visit here, prevented.

Hedley Hall has been so often filled with waves of hot argument and fiery speeches that the walls are smoky and black. The windows are washed once a year, perhaps, and are never opened, under any circumstances. The result, when the hall is packed full of Hebrews of both sexes, with a few Americans, is a combination of odors more strange and powerful than the atmosphere in the vicinity of a gas works or a glue factory. Miss Goldman kept the air moving with waves of fiery eloquence, each applauded more freely than its predecessor. There were no police in the background, and the speaker was, perhaps, disappointed that they might not hear what she thought of them.

There were lots of small Jewish boys in that audience, and they nearly all crowded to the front, where they walked around and fell in with the applause. On the platform, in charge of the meeting, sat the venerable Charles Gano Baylor. Mr. Baylor introduced Miss Goldman, who was applauded tumultuously at frequent intervals throughout her address, in which she arraigned existing society and called for the abolition of law.

The address lasted an hour, and exhausted Miss Goldman, who is not at the best of health. At its close Mr. Cook said it had been suggested to him that she repeat the address in Hebrew. In view of the fact that so large a part of the audience was of that nationality, and that in the meantime Mr Baylor should favor the assemblage with a dissertation. Mr. Baylor was willing, and spoke on jew baiting, saying that all the artists, the statesmen, the authors the great men of the world at the present time are or have come from Jewish stock. This caused great applause, and he repeated it to the accompaniment of more applause.

Miss Goldman then started to talk in Hebrew, but with great presence of mind broke off almost at once and announced that a collection would be taken up to defray the expenses. Hats were passed around, and $3 6 earned from hunted capitalists was gained. While that was going on Miss Goldman passed around tickets, which for the small sum of 25 cents gave the holder a chance in the drawing of some articles made in prison by a young man of Pennsylvania, who had been in jail for the last four years for the crime of having been with the man who shot at the tyrant Frick at Homestead. No announcement was made of how the holder could learn whether or not he had drawn anything. The excitement of guessing at this was, presumably thrown in with the ticket.

After the address in Hebrew, questions were in order, and the air was filled with bobbing heads at once. Miss Goldman selected one out of the bunch and signed its owner to proceed. He spoke in Hebrew, and got plenty of applause, in which the small boys led, with the cheerful impartiality they had shown the lecturer. After some one had pulled the coattails of the speaker he sat down and mopped his brow, while Miss Goldman explained that the man had made an argument against that part of her address relating to laws. Questions and not arguments were wanted, she said, and she then put him to flight to the tune of more applause.

One man had the temerity to get up and say that Miss Goldman had spoken for two hours Friday night and for two hours that afternoon, and had not explained anything. Miss Goldman dismissed him with the announcement that he was a Social Democrat, and the Social Democrats were always making trouble. Then she explained anarchy and socialism again. Another speaker said he had read much about anarchy and its benefits, but had never seen anything that told how to put the principles in practice.

He was also disposed of, and then a contest commenced as to which one of half a dozen men in the rear of the hall should speak first. Then all talked together in Hebrew, which was somewhat confusing, and a member of the club, who had started to make an address from the platform, finally gave

meant for this guild, for you are all included in the Church and are followers of Christ. You, young men, have to meet the machinations of Satan, and what better example can you have than that of St. Vincent. He faithfully adhered to his religion under the greatest persecution, and then and there, we are told, his glorification began. He maintained his faith in the Church and clung to Christ until on Jan. 22, he was carried to the gates of glory. Vincent is not victory. It is not the one whose armor has been laid aside but it means one that goes forth to conquer. And so bye and bye when we have laid aside our armor, if we are faithful in our warfare, we shall wear the crown of eternal life, and be received into the kingdom of heaven.

For from $ 6.00 to $20.00

One may select a bag or carriage that is bound to suit any taste. Call and see what we have.

ANTHONY A. COWELL CO.

MASSACHUSETTS DEMOCRACY.

Chairman Callahan Maintains the Integrity of His Election.

Springfield, Mass., Jan. 23.—Mr. Christopher T. Callahan, Chairman of the Democratic State committee, in an interview to-day with a Republican representative stated that he prepared an official statement concerning his position regarding the attempts being made to divide the Democracy of the State. Mr. Callahan says, in part, that the meeting held at the American House, Boston, on Saturday was held in strict accordance with the law; that all its proceedings were perfectly fair and legal, that no member of the committee was refused admittance; that Mr. Lee was not a member of the committee and had no legal right to participate in the proceedings, that no one but members was in the room; that the opposition refused to attend the meeting until the meeting had been called to order. Then the gentlemen "who are now seeking to overthrow the State committee organization" flocked into the room; that the opposition took a very active and prominent part in the proceedings, and that Mr. Conkley's nomination for Secretary was defeated by a vote of 24 to 18 with four not voting.

Mr. Callahan was then nominated for Chairman, and the gentlemen who favored Mr. Cooke's candidacy refused to vote and withdrew from the room after Mr. Callahan's election.

Mr. Callahan says that the contention of these gentlemen that they represent a majority of the committee is sufficiently answered by their failure to secure the presence of a majority at their adjourned meeting Saturday. He concludes his statement as follows:

"Being duly elected Chairman, I deem it tu be my duty to the Democrats of the State to discharge the duties of that office until displaced by a majority of the committee whose will, legally expressed, I shall at all times be ready to submit.

"But let it be clearly understood that the submission to the signature of any writing to the members of the committee affecting the Chairmanship is done without my consent and in no way justified by the action I have taken or any statement I have made, and that I shall pay no attention to any action taken outside of a regular and duly called meeting of the committee. The committee adjourns subject to my call, and any gathering not so called purporting to be a meeting of the Democratic State committee is illegal and without power. I appeal to members of the Democratic State committee to cease this destructive internal warfare and to join hands with me in a determined effort to build up and strengthen the Democracy of Massachusetts for the stern battle to be fought this fall for the advancement of the great principles proclaimed at Chicago in 1896."

A SWINDLER OF MASONS.

was $36.00, clearance sale price 40.00

1 No. 67 CHAMBER SUITE, was $56.00, clearance sale price 42.50

1 No. 69 CHAMBER SUITE, was $75.00, clearance sale price 52.50

1 No. 770 CHAMBER SUITE, was $96.00, clearance sale price 64.00

1 No. 387 CHAMBER SUITE, was $100.00, clearance sale price 67.00

1 No. 66 CHAMBER SUITE, was $110.00, clearance sale price 76.00

1 No. 69 CHAMBER SUITE, was $115.00, clearance sale price 83.00

1 No. 16 CHAMBER SUITE, was $125.00, clearance sale price 92.00

From $2.00 to $10.00 down and from 50c. to $1.00 per week buys any of the above suites.

1 No. 64 SIDEBOARD, was $38.50, clearance sale price ..... 30.

1 No. 215 SIDEBOARD, was $42.00, clearance sale price 30.0

1 No. 252 SIDEBOARD, was $50.00, clearance sale price 36.0

1 No. 70 SIDEBOARD, was $57.00, clearance sale price 40.0

1 No. 213 SIDEBOARD, was $60.00, clearance sale price 45.0

1 No. 248 SIDEBOARD, was $65.00, clearance sale price 47.0

1 No. 224 SIDEBOARD, was $85.00, clearance sale price 67.5

From $1 to $7 down and from 50c. to $1 per week for any of the above sideboards.

SPECIAL.—During this sale only, and with any of the above chamber suites, we will sell one woven wire or link spring, one soft top mattress and one decorated toilet set, worth $12.50, for 7.65

Household Furniture Co

231-237 WEYBOSSET STREET.

TROLLEY CARS ON THE BRIDGE.

Half-Hour Trips Made All Day Sunday.

New York, Jan. 23.—(Special.)—The long expected operation of trolley cars across the Brooklyn bridge began today, and all day there was a curious crowd at the New York end, watching the cars round the loop. The Graham avenue line of the Brooklyn Heights Railroad was selected as the one to make the trip, for the reason that that line carries the largest number of passengers to the bridge. The cars were run on a half-hour headway, and this arrangement will continue until the roadway is widened at the New York end, when all the lines will cross the bridge.

The cars used were of the large, double truck kind, so as to make the test as complete as possible. The first trip was made at 10 a. m., and there were 20 passengers from Brooklyn and the same number coming back. Every car that went over during the day carried "standing loads," and was crowded to the platform. Bridge Superintendent Martin expressed himself as highly pleased with the result of the experiment. The Graham avenue line will be the only one used until the roadway is widened.

FUNERAL SERVICES.

Ex-Representative Munroe.

The funeral of ex-Representative Joseph M. Munroe occurred at the Bethel A. M. E. Church at noon yesterday. The services at the church were largely attended by colored residents from all parts of the city and several societies of which deceased was a member were well represented. The services were set down for 12:30 o'clock and at that hour all the seats with the exception of a few rows in front of the chancel reserved for the family and organizations with which Mr. Munroe during his lifetime was connected were taken up. Upon the arrival of the funeral cortege the casket was taken from the hearse by the bearers, representing the Masonic order, and was carried up in

B. H. Gladding & CO.

Mark-Down Sale OF MEN'S FURNISHINGS.

Bargains in DOMET FLANNEL NIGHT SHIRTS

Only 69c.

Men's FANCY PLAID HOSE —choice styles—

25 and 50c.

SMOKING JACKETS, stylish and comfortable, closing out at

Way Down Prices.

FLANNELETTE PAJAMAS

$1.00, worth $1.50.

Full line AMERICAN HOSIERY COMPANY'S Underwear and three months of cold weather to come. You may want to piece out for the season.

BROKEN lots of Ladies', Misses' and Children's Underwear

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890117008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] In Hedley Hall / Emma Goldman.– p. 5 ; 28 cm. *In* The Evening Bulletin [Providence]. –(Jan. 24, 1898).

Obtained from the Providence Public Library, Providence, RI.

ous openings
no one speed
practically

gh a screw-
ut, the screw-
nubular shaft,
locking-bolts,
ntain oil for
. The pro-
rt for the
g end of the
with which
ngages. The
pivot and is
tuk lever, to
nd is secured
h a slot, so
through the
t. The upper
tu the bell-
a bracket
of the frame
ected with a
ly supported
a segment-
ich the lever
he slide per-
connect with
By moving
ch to another
gh the bell-
nf the gears
nd thereby
on the pedal-
From the
ends to and
the shaft of
at varying
the driving-

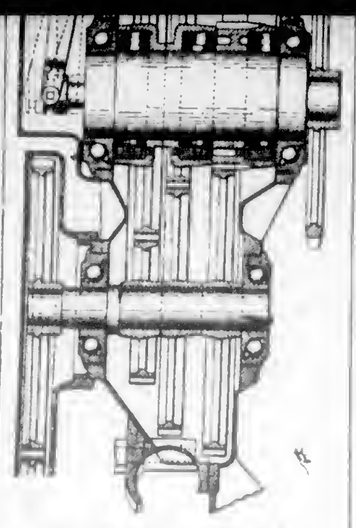
a bicycle to
be adapted
obstruct in
e rider, and
protected so
th the least
meet these
a series of
able diame-
they are
the plane of
urs are ar-
use the least
ncised in a
The width
of the bev-
of the sad-
transverse
ns, including
ail-shaft and
lin the dis-
cranks of a

hanging gear
rts, provided
ired together
of the casing
ball-bearings
as a bracket
cured to the
ng, by which
the saddle-
ially incloses
frame of the
be lubricated
casing. The
they revolve
lubricated.

Bridge.

l bridge over
a Point were
aven by the
w York. Now
probable that
ich has been
wners as the
a street, will
steel draw-

t Point bridge
eal engineer-
ly it had not
g time, and
dministration
ditional tim-
Bristol pas-



SPEED CHANGING MECHANISM.

with perforations which receive the studs to hold the segments properly to each other. The segments have an interior screw-thread to fit the screw-thread of the hub, so that when the segments are screwed upon the hub they will be held in proper position by the screw-thread and the shoulder of the hub. By constructing the hub so that the segments are to be screwed up in a direction toward the pinion holding-gear, the required change of parts can be effected without changing the position of the hub upon the shaft or loosening it, which saves time in adjustment.

When the teeth of the gear have become worn out or broken, the segments can be unscrewed from the permanently set hub, and new segments secured in their places, and when the screw-threaded portion of the hub is made tapering, the shoulder may be dispensed with, the tapering form of the hub serving as a shoulder to limit the onward movement of the interlocked segments at the required position on the hub for the engagement of the teeth at the proper depth with the teeth of the gear without requiring the loosening of the hub from its set position on the shaft.

It is evident that the segments will be interlocked with each other by the hook-formed construction of the lips and the recesses so that when so constructed the studs may be dispensed with.

In another form the hub has a screw-thread adapted to receive the interlocked segments from the front end of the hub instead of the rear.

Typewriter Platen.

A typewriting machine platen, patented by Horatio G. Wood of Newport is designed to deaden the noise of the type hammers. The cylinder is made of aluminum and has a plaster of paris core. On the outside of the cylinder is a felt covering, and over the felt is a semi-elastic casing of rubber. The felt and rubber deaden the sound of the type-hammers, and the rubber serves also to prevent the digging of the type-faces into the paper upon the roller by providing a partially-elastic surface to receive the blows. The plaster of paris core is said to prevent vibratory sound

shaft, that turns in bearings in each side of the lower part of the chamber, and has a balance wheel on its front end provided with a handle to turn the shaft and disk by. A horizontal trough extends out back from the chamber a little below its centre, and an opening is made from the trough to the inside of the case through which the tobacco passes to the shelves in the cutting disk.

A slot is made through the bottom of the trough lengthways and a vertical pressure plate placed across the trough is arranged to slide in it and has an arm extending down through the slot to connect it with a nut on a screw below. This screw extends through the front end back of the chamber, in which it has bearings. A spacing gear wheel is on the shaft, just in front of the chamber, which has three teeth engaging between studs on the face of a disk on a stud fast in the front of the case below the shaft. The periphery of the disk, between the teeth, is made on a circle of about the diameter of the pitch line of the teeth and the disk has the spaces on its circumference between the studs cut out in a concave shape on a circle of the same diameter, so that the peripheries of the two disks will fit together, and when a tooth has carried the disk by one of the studs one of the curved spaces between the teeth will enter one of the concave spaces between the studs and the disk will be prevented from rushing until another tooth reaches the next stud.

The disk is connected with the screw by a gear wheel on the back of the disk, the teeth of which engage with a gear wheel on the front end of the screw, so that the screw will only turn when a tooth in one disk moves a stud in the other disk and cannot move but so far however fast the machine may be run.

This intermittent motion of the screw is intended to avoid a difficulty met with in machine using a steady screw feed which presses the tobacco continuously on the disk between the knives, and from the nature of the plug tobacco makes the face of the disk sticky and causes friction that makes it laborious to turn the machine. But with the intermittent feed the tobacco is fed forward just as the knife reaches it, and is clear of the disk at all other times. Another advantage claimed for this feed is that the thickness of the shaving cut off is gauged exactly by the motion of the screw and not, as in the other case, by the distance the knife is set out of the disk.

The presser plate that pushes the tobacco into position to be cut by the knives is operated by the screw through a nut, which consists of a case attached to the plate and surrounding the screw and having a lever pivoted to the back of the nut and extending under the screw out in front, with a handle by which it can be raised so as to bring the screw threads on it into engagement with the threads of the screw, and a hook pivoted on the front of the nut at the top catches under the lever and holds it in engagement with the screw until the nut reaches the end of its motion towards the case, when a wire stud in the side of the case strikes the hook and pushes it from under the lever, so as to allow it to drop out of engagement with the screw and the motion of the presser plate ceases. Then it can be drawn back and another plug put in the trough in front of it and the lever again raised and secured by the hook and the cutting can be resumed.

Deputy Naquet Returns to Paris.

Paris, Jan. 23. M. Alfred Naquet, Deputy for Carpentras, one of the Deputies accused during the latest Panama Canal trial, has returned from London, where he went abruptly when the Chamber was asked for authority to prosecute him last March.

had pulled the coattails of the speaker he sat down and mopped his brow, while Miss Goldman explained that the man had made an argument against that part of her address relating to laws. Questions, and not arguments, were wanted, she said, and she then put him to flight to the tune of more applause.

One man had the temerity to get up and say that Miss Goldman had spoken for two hours Friday night and for two hours that afternoon, and had not explained anything. Miss Goldman dismissed him with the announcement that he was a Social Democrat, and the Social Democrats were always making trouble. Then she explained anarchy and socialism again. Another speaker said he had read much about anarchy and its benefits, but had never seen anything that told how to put the principles in practice.

He was also disposed of, and then a restless commence Lad to which one of half a dozen men in the rear of the hall should speak first. Then all talked together in Hebrew, which was somewhat confusing, and a member of the club, who had started to make an address from the platform, finally gave it up. Miss Goldman succeeded, by hard work, in restoring order.

"How long have we got the hall for?" asked one man.

"Until 6 o'clock," was the answer of Mr. Cook.

"Well, I don't intend to stay until then, whether the rest of you do or not," said Miss Goldman. She looked wearily at a man in the centre aisle who was trying to talk with his mouth, lids, hands and his feet at the same time, and then announced the meeting closed.

While the audience was filing down the steep stairs Mr. Cook announced that a woman was present who had spoken after the former meeting at Empress square and who desired to speak again. He said those who wanted to hear her could stay. A large number settled in their seats, and the woman, who afterwards said her name was Mrs. Held, talked in a weak vein of the glories of the higher life and read an extract from Longfellow. That settled most of the audience, and they went out until only a dozen or so were left, standing in front of the platform.

"Salvation Army plan?" asked one man. Someone told him that was what it amounted to, and then he took place beside the speaker and responded "Glory, Amen" at all the pauses.

"You should look to the higher life instead of Anarchy for the betterment of your condition," said the speaker earnestly and weakly. Her hair was gray and she spoke with evident effort.

"Political meeting in Dimond Hall next Sunday night," yelled a man outside the group. "John Nelson will explain to the Jews the new Constitution of the State."

"But the new Constitution is not finished yet," said another. "How can he explain that which is not completed?"

"That's all right," was the cheerful response. "John Nelson can do anything."

At 6 o'clock the janitor was trying to stop the flow of eloquence with the plea that it was time to shut up the hall.

Northern Newfoundland Icebound.

St. Johns, N. F., Jan. 24. A succession of northeast gales is driving the Arctic ice floe in upon the whole northern coast of this island and closing navigation for the winter. Several steamers and other vessels lying in this harbor are loading cargo and are likely to be caught by the barrier and kept here until the wind changes.

Numbers of the people in the northern bays are in destitute condition, but it will be difficult to get relief to them now.

that office until it is [illegible] by a majority of the committee [illegible] whose will, legally expressed, I stand [illegible] all times ready to submit.

"But let it be clearly understood that the submission for resignation of any writing to the members of the committee affecting the [illegible]ship is done without my consent, and is [illegible] in no way justified by the [illegible] I have taken or any statement I have made, and that I shall pay no attention to any action taken outside of a regular and duly called meeting of the committee. The committee adjourned subject to my call, and any gathering not so called purporting to be a meeting of the Democratic State committee is illegal and without power. I appeal to members of the Democratic State committee to cease this destructive internal warfare and to join hands with me in a determined effort to build up and strengthen the Democracy of Massachusetts for the stern battle to be fought this fall for the advancement of the great principles of Democracy proclaimed at Chicago in 1896."

A SWINDLER OF MASONS.

Prince of Wales One of George Fleming's Victims.

Seattle, Wash., Jan. 23.—(Special.)—Masons all over the world agree that George Fleming is one of the greatest swindlers of modern times. Fleming is now in the State penitentiary. He has confessed to having systematically swindled Masons of high degree the world over. Among his victims were Hannis Taylor, American Minister to Spain, the Prince of Wales, of whom he borrowed $150 at a dinner in Paris, and Sir Dudley Ward.

Fleming, although a rogue Mason, is so thoroughly versed in the work and secrets of the Order that he has been praised for his skill in going through its ceremonies by lodges and imposing on the knowledge of careless officers in rural districts. He gained an insight into the Order and worked himself along, gathering information as he went, until he learned by heart the rituals and the secret codes of the craft. For 10 years Fleming has travelled over the country borrowing money of prominent Masons wherever he went, representing himself to be a Mason in hard luck. His itinerary includes a trip around the world, stays at Paris, another at London and sojourns at Washington, Philadelphia, Chicago and New York. He changed his name frequently, but never his methods. In Kentucky he went under the name of Alexander Craig. St. Louis Masons knew him as William Mayo. To the Chicago metropolis he was known as Charles Wilson and in Pennsylvania as William Paul. Fleming imposed on Hannis Taylor for free passage to Gibraltar, and borrowed money wherever he went of Masons who could afford to lose it.

At the last session of the Washington Grand Lodge complaints were received concerning a swindler Mason, Grand Master Baker took up the matter with the Sheriff. Vanderwerker of this county, himself a Mason of high degree. Letters were sent to several Masonic lodges in the country. They received replies, all containing a description of a traveling Mason who was a swindler. The descriptions tallied and finally Fleming was arrested at Davenport, Washington. He confessed and was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary.

You Will Think of Us

When you are ready to purchase your baby carriage. New and beautiful lines just opened by ANTHONY & COGWELL CO.

Martin expressed himself as highly pleased with the result of the experiment. The Graham avenue line will be the only one used until the roadway is widened.

FUNERAL SERVICES.

Ex-Representative Munroe.

The funeral of ex-Representative Joseph M. Munroe occurred at the Bethel A. M. E. Church at noon yesterday. The services at the church were largely attended by colored residents from all parts of the city and several societies of which deceased was a member were well represented. The services were set down for 12:30 o'clock and at that hour all the seats with the exception of a few rows in front of the chancel reserved for the family and organizations with which Mr. Munroe during his lifetime was connected were taken up. Upon the arrival of the funeral cortege the casket was taken from the hearse by the bearers, representing the Masonic order, and was carried up in front of the chancel. The floral tributes were very modest in their character.

The societies attending in a body were King Solomon's Lodge, No. 5, A. F. and A. M., of which deceased was a Past Master; Hope Lodge, Order of Good Samaritans; Hope Lodge, No. 119, Grand United Order of Odd Fellows; representatives from St. Paul's Commandery, Knights Templars, and from military organizations with which he was at one time connected.

As the remains were borne through the church the choir sang "Jesus, Lover of My Soul." The services were conducted by Rev. B. Hammond, pastor of the church, assisted by Rev. J. H. Presley of the Congdon Street Baptist Church. After a hymn by the congregation Brother Thomas read from the Scriptures. Rev. Mr. Presley offered prayer and the choir sang "Abide with Me." The pastor addressed the congregation, speaking an eulogy of the deceased and advising his hearers to be prepared for the end. Mr. Munroe, he said, had made his peace with the Father. The life and characters of the deceased was beyond reproach. He had attained a prominence in the community which no other member of the race had attained in this city. Mr. Munroe, he said, was born in Williamsport, Pa., and was schooled in the common schools in Philadelphia, coming to Providence about 30 years ago. Subsequently he attended the Boston University and was admitted to the Rhode Island bar. Rev. Mr. Hammond referred to the public life of the deceased as a member of the General Assembly, to which body he had been twice elected.

The services were brought to a close by the singing of a hymn and the remains were conveyed to their last resting place followed by a large number of mourners.

Benjamin B. Adams.

The funeral services over the remains of Benjamin B. Adams were held at his late residence, 84 Prospect street, at 2:30 o'clock yesterday and were well attended. During his active life Mr. Adams was brought in contact with many of the more prominent manufacturers and business men in the city, and many prominent East Siders were present to pay a last tribute of respect to his memory. The services, which were held in the parlors of his late home, were very simple in their character, and at the request of the family floral tributes were omitted. The ritual of the Episcopal Church was read by Dr. Fiske of St. Stephen's Church. There were no bearers and the interment was at Swan Point Cemetery.

—choice styles—

25 and 50c

SMOKING JACKETS, stylish and comfortable, closing out at *Way Down Prices.*

FLANNELETTE PAJAMAS *$1.00,* worth $1.50.

Full line AMERICAN HOSIERY COMPANY'S Underwear and three months of cold weather to come. You may want to piece out for the season.

BROKEN lots of Ladies', Misses' and Children's Underwear *Less Than Half Price.*

124 JAB,MW&Stf

SCHENCK'S MANDRAKE PILLS

Cure Liver Complaint and all Stomach Disorders. Send for Dr. Schenck's Book. It's free. DR. J. H. SCHENCK & SON, Philadelphia.

126 JABTMdermtf

7 SUTHERLAND SISTERS' HAIR GROWER

Is the only preparation that will restore the hair to its original healthy tone.

—AT ALL DRUGGISTS—

J. ELDRIDGE,

DENTIST,

835 Eddy Street.

SETS OF TEETH AT REASONABLE RATES.

Those requiring partial or full sets of Teeth can depend in all cases upon the most perfect and satisfactory work.

Dr. Eldridge makes plate work a specialty. His method of making atmospheric suction plates has been pronounced unsurpassed.

With 25 years experience he feels confident of fitting the most difficult mouths.

Teeth extracted with all known anesthetics.

Filling done in the best manner.

People out of town can have their teeth and return the same day, and have their fare paid.

N. B.—The Eddy street electric cars will take you to the office door. J. ELDRIDGE.

o24 BMW3d 835 Eddy street.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890302000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman's Address / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm.
In The Boston Daily Globe. –(Jan. 25, 1898).
Obtained from the Cornell University Libraries and Archives.

...a warrant that bristled ... important articles, too numerous ... to be considered at a single ... consequence the meeting ... to order ... in two weeks. ... Col. F. J. ... the ... usual. The ... hug-a-boo, ... there be five ... received a clean knockout ... in 4.

... consideration was given ... in regard to the building of ... engine, or hose house. The ... to build a wooden house ... of $7000 and called for an esti... upon a brick structure to cost ... or more. The information, and ... will be forthcoming in time to be ... upon at the adjourned meeting.

... that serious problem that was ... considered was the appropriating $52,000 ... schoolhouse of brick that would ... a town hall at the top or third ... containing a balcony that would ... a seating capacity for 1000 persons. ... was objected to by a number of ... persons, who contended that such a ... should be for one purpose ... that of a schoolhouse, and there ... danger in case of fire in having so ... persons assembled at such a ... The town, moreover, had already ... under consideration plans for a town ... The matter was referred to the ... committee, and will come up again in ... weeks.

... vote was passed to instruct the ... representative in the legislature ... take action for accelerating the ... projected work along the ocean shore ... Winthrop by the metropolitan park ... commission.

... was also voted to transfer $1469.20 ... the treasury fund to the payment ... bills.

An article that may be far reaching ... its effect was that of presenting a peti... to the legislature in regard to the ... purchasing and acquiring the property ... and rights of the Revere water company ... Winthrop. This was done in order to ... protect the town's interest, as the time ... such a petition to the legislature ... would soon expire, and in anticipation ... any future action of the town look... toward such purchase there would ... no unnecessary delay.

Mr Geo. E. Sleeper and Mr Chas. E. ... of the members of the water ... committee strongly advised such action, ... and it was so voted.

Eleven hundred dollars was voted to ... purchase land for the erection of an en... house at Winthrop Center.

The town treasurer was authorized to ... borrow $15,000 for schools, highways and ... other municipal purposes.

The chairman appointed the following ... gentlemen to act as a committee look... toward the advisability of the town ... owning an electric lighting plant and ... report to the March town meeting, and ... appropriated $100 for the expense of the ... committee: Alfred Tewksbury, C. P. ... Pike and Chas. W. Howard.

Sudden Death of Charles I. Spalding.

NORWICH, Conn, Jan 24—Charles I. Spalding, superintendent of the Uncasville manufacturing company, dropped dead in the Thames national bank today. He was 47 and was prominent in Masonic circles. He left a wife.

ECZEMA

Most Torturing, Disfiguring, Humiliating

Of itching, burning, bleeding, scaly skin and scalp humors is instantly relieved by a warm bath with CUTICURA SOAP, a single application of CUTICURA (ointment), the great skin cure, and a full dose of CUTICURA RESOLVENT, greatest of blood ... and humor cures.

Cuticura

... speedily, permanently, and ... economically cure, when all else fails.

... Soap And Cuticura, Cure, Rids Frees., Boston. ... How to Cure Every Skin and Blood Humor," free.

PIMPLY FACES Prevented and Beautified by CUTICURA SOAP.

CASTORIA

... Infants and Children

... New York recently bound for ... France, which is at present the ... carriers for many of the promi... European riders. He was com... to offer inducements to every ... prominent middle distance rider on the ... continent, and if possible to arrange ... terms with the best short distance men. ... Cordang, the long distance Dutch champion, and Huret, the long distance ... French champion, are also on the list.

Among the cities probably included in the circuit will be Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Chicago, St Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Toronto and Montreal. Negotiations are pending with other cities.

Cycle Notes.

The 12-hour race for amateurs at Coney Island last Saturday was won by J. Morey, who covered 180 miles and three laps on a 12-lap track. J. Vanderveer, with 176 miles and five laps was second.

Regarding the challenge of Miller, the winner of the recent six-day race at Madison sq garden, to meet Cordang or Huret in a 24-hour race, Le Vello, a French publication, says that either rider will meet Miller at any place except in America.

When the cyclists' touring club of England attains its 20th year, which will be on the 5th of next August, its membership will probably be something like 40,000, or not quite half that of the league of American wheelmen. At the end of 1897 the cyclists' touring club total was 44,498, and the aim of its officers now is to reach the 50,000 before the association is 20 years of age. An appeal has been made to all members to help in the recruiting, and the efforts are beginning to tell.

The associated cycling clubs of Long Island have decided to request the national racing board of the L. A. W. to refuse the granting of wholesale sanctions for race meets at any one track or to any one association in greater New York next summer, as it will prevent the local wheeling clubs from holding their customary race meets.

Advices from Freeport, L I, say that E. S. Edwards of the Century wheelmen of New York is making an attempt to ride 100 miles every day for a year. The route is the same as that which William Anderson followed in his attempt to ride 65 consecutive centuries.

WALLER HAS THE LEAD.

Start of the 72-Hour Bicycle Race at Pittsburg — The Colored Rider Has Dropped Out Already.

PITTSBURG, Jan, 24—The 72-hour bicycle race began at noon today, with 12 starters, including several bicyclists of national reputation.

The score at midnight was: Waller 220 miles 4 laps, Henshaw 197 miles 7 laps, Elkes 220 miles 2 laps, Dench 186 miles 5 laps, Gannon 183 miles 4 laps, Stewart 41 miles 10 laps, Miller 184 miles 1 lap, Schinneer 219 miles, Hall 215 miles 10 laps, Ruckel 167 miles 7 laps, Walters 213 miles 3 laps, Repine 86 miles.

Stewart, the colored man, is the only rider who dropped out tonight. The contestants at the end of the first day are going well and are apparently in good shape.

EMMA GOLDMAN'S ADDRESS.

Seeks the Overthrow of Authority as a Kind of Oppression.

Emma Goldman, the anarchist communist, addressed a meeting in Phenix hall last evening. The gathering was composed of economic students.

J. F. Moreton presided and in a brief speech introduced Miss Goldman. She at once proceeded to arraign the present capitalist system, which she maintained could not be changed by voting, but by the voluntary association of individuals determined to repudiate authority.

She maintained that authority is tyranny and that it has existed long enough; that no man was happy who was not free, and no man was free who had to submit to authority that was repulsive to him. People would not call ... and others thrown if there was less law, but when people reached that stage of development where they repudiated the principle of the representative system, government or authority they would be a freer and happier race.

"As long as you have private property," she said, "you need law to protect it," hence she did not believe in private property.

... Men who have insisted that the United States should not interfere, but should maintain a strictly neutral attitude, expressed the opinion that the Maine would not have been sent to Havana if her going there entailed any danger of an outbreak.

Mr Lodge was pleased. He recalled the fact that over a year ago, when the Cuban resolutions were being considered in the senate, he announced it would be the wise and proper thing to have U S vessels in Havana harbor.

"I said then, and I have never reversed my opinion, that when American interests and lives are even remotely threatened the flag of the nation floating from a man-of-war ought to be near at hand assuring protection.

"During the last Cuban revolution Pres Grant did not hesitate to have warships at Havana, and there is no reason why we should have delayed the action which has now been taken.

"No one can foresee what the result will be, but the people of the United States will feel safer if they know that the administration is not indifferent nor inactive."

It has been pointed out by men who have closely studied the situation that the sending of a ship to Havana merely to go into that port and out again would not suffice, and that if a naval vessel of the United States ever went into a Cuban port so long as the rebellion continued not only that ship, but perhaps other vessels, would have to remain there indefinitely.

Intervention or War.

It has also been asserted that whatever might be the motive for sending a ship, whatever explanation might be given, the act would be accepted by Spain and by the Spaniards in Cuba, as well as by the rebels, as the first step ultimately destined to lead to intervention or war.

It may be, as it has been freely asserted in administrative circles today, that these statements are overdrawn and exaggerated, but whether or not, the fact remains that here in Washington public men of both parties, men who are favorable to violent action as well as those of a conservative view, regard this action of the administration of the most extreme significance.

It has been freely asserted today that in sending a man-of-war to Havana the administration is playing a game of the boldest character and one which may lead to results of the gravest kind.

If, for instance, as was pointed out to me by a senator, a member of the committee on foreign relations, the Spaniards in Havana should regard the sending of the Maine as the first step toward in...

FUTURE WILL ...

Albertini Says The ... of the Maine at ... erally Known—W...

WASHINGTON, ... ada, secretary of t... Senor Albertini of ... Washington, were ... ing the day confe... concerning the Cub... ada said:

"The sending of ... whatever be the o... our opinion, proof ... such condition in ... holds that anarch... American citizens ... able to find protec... the impotent Span... have now the pro... vessel.

"It is a declarati... the United States ... the Spanish rabble ... trol the Spanish off...

"The attitude of ... and officials has ... presence of an A... Havana means in... edly they will nov... most natural thing ... send its vessels to ... ly power and Mr ... that his governmen...

"But we shall ... Weyler's subordina... Spain, that is, if ... Maine do not bring ... the conviction tha... case is the better p...

Senor Albertini ... the Maine will jus... events.

From his acquai... methods he says th... for apprehension ... shown, and he deci... Spain finds that Cu... of slaughter will ... the guns of Morro c... trained on the city ...

GREAT GRA...

Congressman Say... the Administrati... Act at Last.

WASHINGTON, ... members of the hou... eign affairs, especia... Heatwole and Par... cans, who had expr... the nonaction of th... house in the matter ... informed other mem... tee that there was a ... the republicans of ... their sentiments on ... a desire which the... All of these ... expressed t...

129

890308001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika. [Part 1] / Emma Goldman. – p. 94 ; 25 cm *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. –(Feb. 5, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Merseburg, Germany.

Reisebriefe aus Amerika.

Von Emma Goldmann.

Unter diesem Titel veröffentlicht unsere tapfere Genossin im New-Yorker „Sturmvogel" eine Reihe Berichte von einer längeren Agitationstour, die sie in der zweiten Hälfte des vorigen Jahres durch die Vereinigten Staaten unternommen hat. Für unsere Leser in Deutschland enthalten diese Berichte Interessantes genug, um den „A. K." zur Wiedergabe derselben zu veranlassen. Sie werden daraus Land und Leute in Amerika eingehend und zwar von der Seite kennen lernen, die uns als allen Menschen, gleichviel welcher Nation sie angehören mögen, am meisten interessirt. Eine längere Einleitung, die nicht unbedingt zum Verständnis der Berichte notwendig ist, bleibt fort und es folgen nun die eigentlichen Reise-Schilderungen.

* * *

Am 2. September trat ich mit zwei Dollars in der Tasche meine Agitationsreise an. Der erste Haltepunkt war Providence, Rhode Island, eine Stadt von ungefähr 80000 Einwohnern, meistens Fabrikarbeitern. Rhode Island, obwohl ein puritanischer Staat, hat doch seinen Bürgern bis vor kurzer Zeit mehr Freiheiten und Privilegien gewährt als Massachusets oder Connecticut. So durfte beispielsweise jede Parteirichtung Versammlungen in den Parks oder Squares von Providence abhalten, ohne sich erst die übliche Erlaubnis vom Mayor holen zu müssen, ein Privileg, das keine andere Stadt in diesem freien Lande aufweisen kann.

Ich war schon mehrere Mal in Providence, hatte vor gutbesuchten Versammlungen gesprochen, ohne je von der Polizei behelligt zu werden, aber dieses Mal sollte es anderst kommen.

Meine Genossen und Freunde, die immer sehr rührig waren, hatten nun Versammlungen arrangiert, nachdem verabredet war, daß ich dieses Mal eine ganze Woche dableiben sollte. Am 3., 4. und 5. September sprach ich vor drei großartigen Versammlungen auf Straßenecken, am Nachmittage des 6. September in einer Halle, die bis auf den letzten Platz besetzt war. Die Polizei war überall stark vertreten, natürlich um mich vor der Wut der Menge zu beschützen. Am Abende des 7. sollte die letzte Straßenversammlung stattfinden. Mit einigen Freunden ging ich auf den dazu bestimmten Platz, doch als wir ankamen, fanden wir denselben von einem Redner der S. L. P. besetzt, der von einem Wagen herab die Zuhörer zu überzeugen suchte, wie herrlich alles in der Welt eingerichtet wäre, könnte De Lyon, Sqiuels, oder McGuire Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten sein. Um die Stimmenfängerei nicht zu stören, gingen wir auf einen andern Platz. Ein mit einer Donnerstimme begabter Genosse stellte sich auf eine Kiste und fing an, Publikum herbeizuschaffen, eine Arbeit, die nur der zu schätzen weiß, der derartige Versammlungen zu absolviren hat. In 15 Minuten hatte er ungefähr 300 Personen zusammen getrommelt. Mein Herold überließ mir die Kiste, von der aus ich nun die versammelten Kriegsvölker zu bearbeiten anfing. Kaum hatte ich aber angefangen, zu sprechen, als ein 280pfündiger Ordnungswächter mich rauh am Aermel zupfte und mit verstoffener Stimme schrie: „Sie müssen sofort aufhören, Sie dürfen hier nicht sprechen." „Mit welchem Recht unterbrechen Sie mich?" frug ich das Nilpferd. „Ich bin das Recht," schrie das von Schmalz triefende Ungeheuer. „Und ich habe das Recht, hier zu sprechen," und ich fuhr gemütlich in meiner Rede fort. Die Menge wurde über das Einschreiten der Polizei auf das Höchste entrüstet und Rufe wie dam the Police,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890308001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika. [Part 1] / Emma Goldman. – p. 94 ; 25 cm *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. –(Feb. 5, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Merseburg, Germany.

to hell with them" wurden von allen Seiten laut. Es wäre sicherlich zu einem gehörigen Zusammenstoß zwischen Polizei und Volk gekommen, wenn nicht vier uniformierte Bulldoggen mich mit rauher Gewalt in einen Patrolwagen gepackt und sich mit diesem großen Verbrecher aus dem Staube gemacht hätten. Auf der Polizeistation angekommen, frug ich den Kapitän, weshalb ich eigentlich verhaftet worden bin. "Sie wurden verhaftet, weil Sie die Emma Goldmann sind." Eine derartige Antwort hatte ich natürlich nicht erwartet; wie sollte ich auch wissen, daß man in diesem Lande soweit gekommen ist, einen Menschen seines Namens halber zu verhaften? Einem amerikanischen Schergen begreiflich zu machen, daß ein Name unmöglich ein Verbrechen oder ein Vergehen in sich schließen kann, schien mir in dieser Situation überflüssig und ich ließ mich in stoischer Ruhe auf mein Nachtquartier bringen, nämlich auf eine schmutzige Zelle, deren Mobilar aus einer Holzbank und einem gewissen Gefäß bestand. Ich war sehr müde, und an derartige Hotels schon gewohnt, würde ich gewiß sehr bald in tiefen Schlaf verfallen sein, wenn nicht in der anstoßenden Zelle eine Frau in einem fort geweint und gejammert hätte. Die Aermste ging auf und ab und rief mit klagender Stimme: "Meine sechs Kinder, mein kleines Baby wird dir zu trinken geben, mein armer kranker Mann, laßt mich zu meinen Kindern, gebt mir mein geliebtes Baby!" So ging es die ganze Nacht. Ich suchte die Frau zu beruhigen und fing ein Gespräch mit ihr an. Es stellte sich heraus, daß ihr Mann zehn Monate krank und arbeitslos war, daß sie sechs Kinder habe, von welchen das älteste vierzehn, das jüngste ein Jahr alt ist, daß sie in ihrer Verzweiflung bei einem Rentier, für den sie früher gewaschen, ein Brod und eine Kanne kondensierte Milch vom Tische nahm und dabei ertappt wurde. Welchen Eindruck diese traurige Geschichte auf mich machte, kann man sich leicht vorstellen.

Ist nichts Neues, daß man den einsperrte, der seinen Laib Brot nahm, während solche, die Millionen stahlen, als angesehene Bürger, fromme Christen und gute Staatsmänner dastanden. Auch ist es nichts Neues, daß Tausende hungern, zerlumpt und verzweifelt umherirren, ohne zu wissen, wo sie ihr Haupt hinlegen sollen. Man wird abgehärtet, wenn man sich jahrelang mit Arbeiterfragen befaßt, menschliches Elend in allen seinen Formen kennen gelernt hat. Man liest die tagtäglichen Berichte über Not, Elend und Verbrechen und kann ruhig seinen Kaffee trinken, froh, daß man vorläufig nicht auch unter jener Unglücklichen ist, oder früher oder später ereilt unser einen ja auch dasselbe Schicksal. Aber der Jammer, die Verzweiflung dieser Frau, das Bitten und Flehen der Mutter um ihre Kleinen hatte einen Stein erweichen können. Indeß, was hilft das Mitgefühl, wenn man ohnmächtig hilflos ist, preisgegeben der Willkürlichkeit und der Gewalt. Ich wagte es nicht, der Frau Trost zuzusprechen, weil derselbe unter diesen Umständen wie Hohn geklungen hätte.

Am nächsten Morgen wurde ich mit anderen unserer, wenigen Insassen dieses wohnlichen Hauses vor den Richter geführt, der mich nach den üblichen Fragen, ob schuldig oder nicht schuldig, unter Bürgschaft stellte, und da dieselbe nicht gleich herbeigeschafft werden konnte, wurde ich armer Sünderin wieder abgeführt.

Um ein Uhr führte man mich zum Mayor nach der City Hall, der mich mit der Frage empfing, ob ich schwören oder versprechen wolle, in den nächsten drei Monaten nicht in Providence zu sprechen, dann würde er mich gehen lassen. Ich bedeutete ihm, daß ich weder schwören noch etwas versprechen kann; zu seiner Beruhigung aber könnte ich ihm sagen, daß ich mich auf einer Tour nach dem Westen befände, die mich ohne dies verhindern würde, in der nächsten Zeit Providence mit meinem Besuch zu beehren. Daraufhin ließ mich der Ortspascha laufen; im Grunde genommen war er froh, mich los zu sein, da meine Verhaftung sehr viel Unwillen und Proteste hervorrief und gar nichts vorlag, um eine Anklage gegen mich erheben zu können.

Hatten die Zeitungen schon vorher spaltenlange Berichte über die Versammlungen gebracht, so waren sie am Tage nach meiner Verhaftung voll von sensationellen Geschichten. Das Resultat der Komödie war, daß viele Leute den in Providence bestehenden anarchistischen Gruppen beitraten, die Versammlungen jetzt gut besucht sind und in allen Kreisen über den Anarchismus und Emma Goldmann diskutirt wird, eine propagandistische Errungenschaft, die der Polizei von Providence zu verdanken ist. Mir haben die paar Stunden Arrest nichts geschadet, im Gegenteil, ich bin um eine Erfahrung reicher geworden.

Arreste und Kerkerzellen mögen ja unter Umständen als annehmbare Unterkunftsorte betrachtet werden, ist man in denselben doch vor den Unbilden des Wetters geschützt. Wie es mit der staatlichen Beköstigung aussieht, ist eine andere Frage. In der Providenzer Polizeistation beispielsweise können die Gefangenen nicht über schlechte Kost klagen, weil sie einfach gar nichts zu essen bekommen. Wird Jemand am Nachmittag oder Abend verhaftet, so bringt man ihn erst am nächsten Morgen vor den Richter, der den Angeklagten entweder unter Bürgschaft entläßt oder demselben eine Geld- oder Gefängnisstrafe auferlegt. Hat nun der Gefangene nicht das nötige Geld um sich von der Gerechtigkeit loszukaufen zu können, muß er bis zum späten Nachmittag warten, ehe er nach dem Gefängnis gebracht wird. Während dieser Zeit hat er auch nicht einen Bissen zu essen bekommen. Die Meisten kommen, ohnedies schon mit leerem Magen, und da haben sie nun die beste Gelegenheit, zu erfahren, wie fürsorglich der Staat in puncto Verköstigung handelt.

Nach meiner sogenannten Ausweisung aus Providence, verbrachte ich daselbst noch einige Stunden in fröhlicher Gesellschaft von Freunden und fuhr am Abend nach Boston, wo man für den 12. September eine Versammlung arrangirt hatte, über deren Verlauf ich in nächster Nummer berichten werde.

Veränderte Welt.

Von Nikolaus Lenau.

Die Menschheit ist dahinter kommen,
Trotz aller Gaukelei der Frommen,
Daß mit dem Leben vor dem Grabe
Man endlich Ernst zu machen habe.

Zerbrochen ist des Wahnes Kette,
Die Erde sei nur Uebungsstätte,
Nur Voltigirbock sei das Leben,
Aufs Roß werd uns der Himmel heben.

Auf freiem, grünem Erdenrunde
Wird jeder bald schon hier zur Stunde,
Bevor das Grab ihn deckt mit Schollen,
Sein Rößlein weiden, tummeln wollen.

Verleger und verantwortlicher Redakteur Hermann Graß, Berlin. — Druck: W. Siebenmark, Frankfurter Straße 87.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890313010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] What Emma Goldman Thinks of Patriotism / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Post. —(Feb. 25, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Pittsburgh Libraries. Institutional Location: Darlington Memorial Library.

TTSBURG POST. FEBRUARY

FREED ON $4,000 BAIL, VON DER AHE IS HAPPY.

SECOND ARGUMENT IN HABEAS CORPUS PROCEEDINGS RESULTS IN DEFEAT BUT LIBERTY.

TRUST COMPANY GIVES BOND.

IT COVERS THE FULL AMOUNT OF CHRIS' LIABILITIES TO DATE.

After Announcing That He Wanted a Long Rest, the Ex-Baseball Magnate Leaves for St. Louis.

Chris von der Ahe, the kidnaped and imprisoned baseball manager, is this morning speeding across the country to St Louis. He has left the much-cramped existence of a limited cell and jail diet, and the memory of an exceedingly uncomfortable two weeks stay in Pittsburg. He is free, while the Mercantile Trust Company stands bound in the sum of $4,000 for the production of Chris at the proper time, until his case goes to the supreme court.

Although the second argument of habeas corpus proceedings in the United States district court resulted in defeat for him, Von der Ahe was, nevertheless, in a very jovial humor. Judge Buffington handed down his opinion, and then approved the bond furnished by the Mercantile Trust Company, after requiring it to specify that the appeal to the supreme court would be prosecuted in good faith. The bond also specified that Von der Ahe would pay the amount of the judgment and costs in the event of failure to prosecute the appeal successfully.

Judge Buffington's opinion was brief. It said the bail piece was issued by proper authorities, and likewise the issue by the prothonotary. Then Judge Buffington referred to the sensational statement which had been made by Von der Ahe's attorneys regarding an alleged agreement between Mark Baldwin and Von der Ahe. He said:

"The allegations that there was an agreement by the bailee that he would not demand or enforce the petitioner's return to Pennsylvania is not supported by proof, nor is there any evidence whatever to connect Baldwin with the arrest of petitioner by his bail, even if such arrest had been illegal. The taking by bail being adjudged lawful it follows that petitioner's subsequent detention on the capias was also lawful."

The appeal was immediately filed, after which Judge Buffington notified Mr. Ferguson to have his client in court at 2 o'clock, when he would be given his freedom, should the surety prove satisfactory. Von der Ahe was accompanied from the jail to the Federal building by Warden John McAleese.

He was detained an hour in the court room, there being some delay owing to the insistence of C. W. Ashley, representing Mr. Baldwin, that the bond should require payment of the claim against Von der Ahe in Allegheny county in default of surrender of his body, should the decision in the case be adverse. A new bond was then drawn up, and shortly after 3 o'clock Von der Ahe was given his freedom.

Von der Ahe walked from the court room looking like a different man. He shook hands with his attorneys, who expressed their gratification at his release. He also shook hands with Warden McAleese, whom he thanked for his kindness during his enforced stay in the Ross street bastile. Then he went to a hotel, had a bath and shave, and a dinner which included more things than are given out in everyday jail life. He also met a number of friends, who expressed their pleasure at seeing him out again. Von der Ahe talked about his imprisonment in a joking manner, but it was evident that it had been a bitter experience. He looked worn and haggard.

Von der Ahe left at 1:30 last night for St Louis. He refused to discuss his affairs, but intends taking a long rest for the present. He said Timothy Hurst, manager of the St. Louis baseball club, will have full swing in managing the organization this year. The club will train at West Baden springs, near St. Louis.

ECONOMY'S ANNIVERSARY.

Society Celebrates the Ninety-Third Year of Its Existence.

The ninety-third anniversary of the Economy society, which took place yesterday, is said to have been the most satisfactory ever held. There were many visitors present from Pittsburg, Alle-

WHAT EMMA GOLDMAN THINKS OF PATRIOTISM.

FEMALE ANARCHIST SAYS THE MEANING OF WORD IS NOT KNOWN IN THIS COUNTRY.

PATRIOT IS ONE WHO SLAYS.

SHOOTS DOWN HIS FELLOW-MAN UNDER LAW'S PROTECTION.

Series of Meetings Which Will Be Held in This Vicinity Opened Last Night on the Southside.

Emma Goldman, anarchist, agitated in Odd Fellows' hall, South Eighteenth and Sarah streets, last night. It was the opening of a series of meetings which she contemplates holding in this vicinity during the next few weeks. She was brought here by the agitation committee of Western Pennsylvania, working under the direction of the International Workingmen's association. Her subject last night was "Patriotism," and a large crowd was present to hear the fiery utterances as they fell, laden with molten metal, from the speaker's lips. Judging from the infrequency of any demonstration, however, the great majority of those present were there through curiosity more than sympathy with the cause which Miss Goldman represents.

"Patriotism," Miss Goldman thinks, is a word the meaning of which the vast majority of the people of the United States takes in entirely the contrary sense. "To be a patriot," she said, "one must wade ankle-deep in the blood of his fellow men. He must kill, slay, destroy in every conceivable manner and form, else he is not living up to the sacred meaning of that sacred word. The sheriff and deputies who ruthlessly shot down the miners at Hazleton were patriots in the strictest American sense. And as much, you may rest assured, they will be acquitted of the crime.

"In Chicago, some years ago, someone threw a bomb into a crowd around the Haymarket. For this supposed crime the lives of five men paid the forfeit. And yet who knows who threw that bomb? Was it ever clearly proved? No, but the voice of capital cried aloud for the blood of the accused, and in this country the voice of capital is always heeded. The tragedy in Hazleton is not hidden by any cloaks of mystery. Men among those deputies have been heard to say, 'I killed five of them, and could have killed nine,' making no secret of the crime, and yet he will go unpunished, for the voice and influence and wealth of the mine owners is whispering insidiously into the ears of justice that these men who did the shooting did so in preservation of the law, and in so doing acted solely as patriots, and should be protected rather than condemned for a crime so brutal.

"What constitutes a good citizen in this beloved free country of America? I can tell you. If a man has the ability to rob his neighbor under the guise of a legitimate speculation. If by slipping stealthily up behind him and inserting the knife into his back he robs him of his life under the pretext that the crime was committed to preserve the integrity of the Nation, men in office, and, alas, even many of you here to-night, place a crown of laurel and roses on his brow, and he is at once crowned a public-spirited citizen and a patriot of the first water. Is it so with the man whose daily existence and the lives of his family depends on a crust? Hardly. Let him but purloin one loaf from the bakery of his neighbor and a cell yawns before him.

"There is talk of a war between America and Spain. I am not allied with either country, but I tell you it is unsafe, even dangerous, for America to war with any nation. Her own governmental props need bolstering; they totter and are likely to fall at any moment, and it is my candid belief that if war would ensue an uprising of the masses upon whom the country is now depending for support would follow."

At the conclusion Miss Goldman was asked how she expected to bring about the reforms in the labor question which she agitates. She replied that there was only one way in which it could be done; that was by a popular uprising of the people. A revolution such as that of more than a century ago was surely fomenting, and in time, a short time at that, the clouds were bound to break. That, she said, is the only solution, and that was a day to which she is confidently looking forward.

WALLACE WAS SUBPENAED.

JOS. HORNE

FRIDAY MORNING,

A Hearty And Cordial Invitation to All.

We wish you would consider this in a general invitation to come and see t span new goods that the makers have br for Men's and Women's Spring wear.

Let us present you with the free store. Come in and take elevators to then leisurely go from floor to floor on a spection. The tour will be both enter instructive. Nearly 60 departments to in

Lace Curtains

A sort of hurry-up price has been put on I although the styles are all new and came in this we stock overreaches any other in the storekeeping store. We have all the late designs and we will sel

A pair at 50c, or

Fourth Floor.

Our Curtain Catalogue is at your service. Write us and we'll send you a copy by return mail.

Window Shades.

Unfortunately moving day in Pittsburg is "All-F April 1st. And if you are compelled to move, wo good idea to have the house you're going to measu and leave your order, so they will be in readiness f 1st of April? You will certainly avoid delay.

Shades, with spring roller, all complete, each. We will make any and all sizes of

Fourth Floor.

A Mention of Rugs.

A great many call these great big rugs A druggets. There's not so very much in a name, yo still it does no harm to be correct. So we call th right name, and here are a few rug items that are wo sideration:

Smyrna Sakai Rugs.

9x12 ft.....
7x10 ft.....
6x 9 ft.....

Smyrna Wool Rugs.

4x 7 ft.....
3x 6 ft.....

China Lindo Matting.

40 yards in each roll, wort $12.00.....

Beautiful Ingrain Mats

1 ft. 6 inches x 2 ft. 9 inch
2 ft. 9 inches x 4 ft. 6 inch

Fifth Floor.

An Item of Importance to Men.

Some of you we presume—in fact know habit of sending down East for your Shirts. You tant prices—so much for the shirt, the balance becaus ern shirt. Now, if you are tired of getting shirts th is a suggestion. We have a book in which there are samples of shirtings. We may say that it contains every material that is used for shirts. You can

132

890313012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Again / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Post. —(Feb. 26, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Pittsburgh Libraries. Institutional Location: Darlington Memorial Library.

ill be from attack
ulk. The experi-
had charge of
al such meetings
t to trade. Frank
ho engineered an
ember triennial to
a few days ago
esent proposed
ial merchants of
will not approve
ustrial depression
ring the last year
ll not be needed
ts of the world
ll over the land
ll be of benefit
ade of the world

ugh the efforts of the
that the triennial
Pittsburg from
as been almost from
of his return to the

ET MONDAY.

m to Elect Of-
the Street
ted.

ne workers have in
ning that the new
r the Union men to
wage and to feel the
ne Republican Central
ed to-day to elect
for the Select and
ncils, to fill the
ed by the death of
Shaffer.

ber.

She ran to the bedroom and opened the door, only to be driven back by a thick, suffocating smoke. Not a moment's hesitating was stopped her way to the bed where [illegible] that lay and taking the unconscious form in her arms hastily made out from the burning room. The engines [illegible] In the meantime Mrs. [illegible] were removed to the [illegible]. After a neighbor who [illegible] was dispatched for Dr. [illegible] who [illegible] in delicate [illegible] Mr. Washington [illegible] Mrs. Washington [illegible] Mrs. Washington [illegible] Mrs

The Emma Goldman Papers

890313014

[Excerpt from Lecture] Again Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— p. 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Post. —(Feb. 28, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Pittsburgh Libraries. Institutional Location: Darlington Memorial Library.

beyond descent, and reptile ... became a proud, arrogant ... Its day of glory, the minister said, was its day of fate. It had done nothing since for humanity. It had only written a record of blood in Cuba and the Philippines.

ARBITRATION ADVOCATED.

Rev. S. Edward Young Talks on Spain, Cuba and United States.

Barbaric Want War.

Rev. S. Edward Young, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, spoke yesterday on "Spain, Cuba and the United States." His text was taken from Jeremiah, 5:29. "Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this." He said in part:

"Shall the Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella and the greatest nation of the continent they helped discover duel at the Havana cathedral, where along the mortal remains of Christopher Columbus? One hundred million hearts throw louder till the answer comes. All Christendom looks and listens. Cuba for area is Pennsylvania elongated and frayed at the edges."

The preacher then gave a description of Cuba and followed it with a history of the islanders' war with Spain. He told how Spain had oppressed the weak natives, and how finally the worm had turned. He then gave a resume of famous wars, and how they had resulted, comparing them with international difficulties settled by arbitration. Continuing he said:

"Instead of massacring wounded, behold Florence Nightingale, Christian sanitary commission, Clara Barton and Red Cross, balming and nursing Cubans and Spaniards alike. Such arbitration and tenderness never were nor are apart from Christianity; always are where real Christianity is. All that is barbaric in America thirsts for Spanish blood; all that is Christly hopes the Gospel method may yet adjust the Cuban-Spanish-United States embroglio."

FRANK TALMAGE ATTACKED.

Rev. Dr. Mitchell Criticises That Chicago War Sermon.

Rev. Dr. J. T. Mitchell, pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Braddock, last night delivered a severe rebuke to utterances recently made by Rev. Frank DeWitt Talmage, of Chicago. He said:

"There is a young man occupying a place in the pulpit of our land to-day who is gaining much notoriety through the fact that he is the son of his father. Recently he declared that he was ready to leave the pulpit at any time and go to the front to fight against Spain. We may have war with Spain, but it is away out of place for a minister of the gospel to make such declarations. I venture the assertion that one Spanish regiment could whip into forgetful nothingness at the first charge 10,000 such preachers as this one."

WATCHING THE "ROOSTS."

Yaghum Headquarters Are Kept Under Police Surveillance.

Extraordinary efforts are being made by both the postoffice and police authorities to apprehend the letter-box thieves who operated successfully in the downtown and Hazelwood sections Friday night. Policemen in citizens clothes were patrolling the streets until 6 o'clock this morning. Government agents also kept watch on the boxes.

Belief that the robberies were committed by tramps has gained strength in police circles. A number of "yaghum roosts" are under surveillance, and it was stated last night that at least three of the men might be in custody by this morning. Police officials think the robberies were committed between 6 and 8 o'clock in the morning.

Commercial Freight Agent Changes.

The office of the commercial freight agent of the Baltimore & Ohio in Pittsburg will be moved from the present location, 412 Seventh avenue, to the second story of the Park building, Smithfield street and Fifth avenue.

Northward Bound Passengers.

TACOMA, Wash., Feb. 27.—The steamer South Coast cleared for Alaska with 35 passengers, 300 tons of freight and 60 horses from Tacoma.



Have you tried it yet?

Booth's Hyomei Cures Catarrh

vice presidency of the National organization, and the few enemies he has made by reason of his always honest and fearless conduct of affairs thought they saw a chance to down him in his fight for re-election as district president. A quick canvass of every local in the district was made, and it was learned that there was not sufficient strength to be mustered against him to make even a creditable showing, but the matter was not given up, and a systematic canvass was made, with the result that an opposition candidate was found who was willing to stand upon the old platform of rotation in office. President Dolan contented himself with the statement that if he was not wanted for the chief office of the district he had no regrets, and would gladly retire in favor of anyone the miners might deem proper to elect in his stead. So on with his friends, however, and the great majority of the miners, who recognized in his able and impartial management of the order the only real power of the organization in the district. They likewise began work, and it is absolutely certain, stated one of his supporters last night, that he will be elected again at this convention by an overwhelming majority.

W. N. McConnell, who has been superintendent of the open hearth department, retires from the Homestead Steel works March 1 to become general manager of the Buhl Iron works at Sharon, Pa. He will be succeeded by Reese James, who was superintendent of the open hearth department. George Forrester, who has been Mr. McConnell's assistant in the open hearth department, has been made superintendent of the new open hearth mill which will be completed in a month. The appointment of Mr James left a vacancy in the converting mill management. Stephen Leightner, of Braddock, was appointed to fill the vacancy. J. W. Janson, assistant chief mechanical engineer, leaves to-day for Sweden to take a position with the Iron and Steel association of that country. He will be succeeded by R. H. Stevens.

AGAIN EMMA GOLDMAN.

Belief in Providence, She Asserts, a Relic of Unenlightened Days.

It was a typical anarchistic affair, that Emma Goldman meeting yesterday afternoon. There were about 200 people present, mostly foreigners. They sat and heard with relish the speaker proclaim her contempt for a Divine Providence, denounce authority, ridicule in cutting sarcasm the rich, and talk of wreaking vengeance on Sheriff Martin and the Hazleton deputies for their "legal murders."

Miss Goldman was to have spoken at Marion hall, out Fifth avenue. Instead the lecture was delivered at the Imperial dancing academy, on Wylie avenue. The hall is a bare and dimly lighted second-floor room, and there was an anarchistic air about the place.

Cigarets, rolled by the smokers, sent heavy stringing fumes toward the ceiling. A boy, sallow faced and dark haired, distributed a paper, "Free Society," to all who entered, and answered some questions in broken English. There were probably 15 women in the hall, with as many children, who interrupted the discourse at times. Miss Goldman was half an hour late, but the audience regaled itself with the paper meanwhile. She came and was greeted with applause. She took off veil and hat, put on spectacles and walked to the platform. Her first words told the nature of her address.

"Workingmen and workingwomen," she said, "there is no necessity for an introduction. I have spoken too often in Pittsburg that you should not know me. I am opposed to a chairman and will conduct the meeting myself, hoping my hearers know well enough how to behave without subjection to constant calls for order. My subject is "Authority versus Liberty."

After the lecture Miss Goldman apologized for being compelled to take up a collection, hitting at the land-owner, the landlord. She then opened a discussion answering a few questions, closing with a little speech along the lines of her lecture.

LOOKING UP HIS RECORD.

Clinton Williams Retired 30 Days for Further Investigation.

Clinton Williams, who was arrested Saturday for selling his household furniture and hiding a clothes line full of clothes belonging to his wife and two children, was sent 30 days to the workhouse yesterday. William twice tried suicide after being arrested and spent five hours in a dungeon at Central station as a result. He spent yesterday singing gospel hymns and preaching fervent sermons to an imaginary congregation. His record will be looked into.

ED. WITTISH, 434 Fifth ave., Pittsburg, wants mortgages and securities. jy28-dsu-tf

SITUATIONS WANTED.

Males.

POSITION — By honest industrious young man, of no bad habits, as distributer or sign tacker, best experience in running elevators, gilt-edge references. Address H 113, Office of The Post. fe27-3t

POSITION—By boy of 16 in an office or store, willing to work and can furnish good reference. Address W. C., 212 Fifth ave. fe27-3t

SITUATION By first class house and sign painter, grainer, varnisher and hard wood finisher. Address F. L. Shaffer, No. 1 Grandview ave., Thirty-fifth ward, Duquesne Heights. fe27-3t

POSITION By young man as plain cook or waiter. Address F. G. 29 Webster st. fe27-3t

POSITION - By young married man, good education, sober and industrious, well acquainted in both cities as warehouseman or shipping clerk, has had business experience and can furnish best of references. H 104, Office of The Post. fe27-3t

WORK At sign painting, paper hanging, or any kind by a colored man. Address Geo. W. Delaney, No. 6 Fisk st., Allegheny City. fe27-3t

POSITION as engineer or fireman; can do all repair work and erecting machinery, 14 years' experience, the best of city reference, can take charge of electric plant. J. C., 146 Bidwell st., Allegheny. fe26-3t

POSITION—By boy of 17 to learn electrical engineering. Address H 114, Office of The Post. fe27-3t

SITUATION by engineer, 15 years' experience, 8 years at last place. Address J. C. Davies, 11 Belonda st., Mt. Washington, S. S., Pittsburg. fe27-3t

POSITION—Druggist, 15 years' experience, references married. A. H. Parker, 910 Locust st. fe27-3t

POSITION—By a first hand bread and cake baker, city or country, can take charge of a shop, good references. Address G. Becker, Thirty-eighth ward P. O., Pittsburg, Pa. fe27-3t

SITUATION Male cook, waiter, clerk, cashier, hotel or restaurant, sober, age 26, and wife, A 1 hustlers, good service, reference H. Walters, 388 Fortieth st., corner Penn ave., city. fe27-3t

POSITION—As bookkeeper or assistant bookkeeper, by a graduate from high school, can do typewriting and can give good reference. Address J. V., 2626 Fifth ave., city. fe27-3t

POSITION—By an honest young man 20 years of age, with best of reference and bond, position at any kind of office work; moderate salary. Address H 106, Office of The Post. fe26-3t

POSITION—By a boy 18 years of age, just out of school; willing to work in store, warehouse, workshop, or anywhere, or to learn some good trade. Address M. J. M., Office of The Post. fe26-3t

POSITION—Having 20 years' experience at the marble and granite business, I desire a position with a good firm and steady employment, I understand the business well, can letter both marble and granite, do good carving, and held the position as foreman for 17 years with one man; I can give any reference you desire, and must hear from some one within 10 days. Address B., Box 113, Berlin, Somerset county, Pa. fe26-3t

POSITION—As bookkeeper by young man of experience in wholesale, retail and banking; want to make a change from present position; can furnish the best of references from present and past employers, and bond. Address Lock Box No. 4, Toronto, O. fe26-3t

SITUATION By a reliable and thoroughly competent young man, with three years' practical experience as bookkeeper or assistant; can furnish good reference, will work for small salary. Address H., Box 211, Washington, Pa. fe26-3t

WORK—By a first-class paper cleaner and general house cleaner. C. Evans, 1718 Webster ave. fe26-3t

SITUATION—By a first-class bread, cake and pastry baker, on Vienna bread, rolls, etc.; stock or compressed yeast; I will give one week as trial, and if I can't do the work I won't want a cent; reference given cheerfully. Address H. C. Manning, 71 Magee st. fe26-3t

POSITION—Man 26 years of age, with 11 years' experience, desires position with manufacturing company as shipping clerk. Address H 112, Office of The Post. fe26-3t

SITUATION—In retail grocery store, as clerk or driver; speak German and English; well acquainted in both cities. H 109, Office of The Post. fe26-3t

SITUATION—By young man of experience, as stenographer and typewriter; can furnish best of references. H 110, Office of The Post. fe26-3t

LOST.

LOST—A set of plans between Oliver station and Fourth avenue. Liberal reward if returned to F. Sauer, architect, sixth floor, Hamilton bldg. fe28-1t

Exchanges for cl...
Notes of other Na...
Fractional paper c...
els and cents ...
Lawful money re...
vis
Specie ...
Legal tender no...
Redemption fund ...
treasurer (5 per ...
lation)
Due from U. ...
other than 5 per ...
tion fund
Total
LIAI...
Capital stock paid...
Surplus fund
Undivided profits ...
penses and taxes ...
National bank not...
ing ...
Due to State ba...
and ...
Individual deposits ...
subject to check ...
Demand certific...
of deposit
Certified checks ...
Cashier's checks ...
standing
Total
State of Pennsylv...
ber, ss.
I, A. Long, ca...
named bank, do ...
the above statement ...
of my knowledge ...
Subscribed and ...
this 28th day of F...
WM. F. H...
Correct—Attest
M...
F...
E...
fe28-1t

SPECIAL...

Office of the ... Municipal ...
NOTICE is hereby ... (whether resident ... city of Pittsburg) ... buggies, etc., to the ... office forthwith. A... or before the first ... will be placed in the ... officer for collection ... tion fee of 50 cents ... persons neglecting ... first Monday in M... to a penalty doub... license, to be reco... legal authority of ... metal plates of ... turned at the time ... or 25 cents additio... each license. [illegible] one-horse vehicle, ... hicle, $10; each 4-h... four-horse hack, $... ber wheels drawn ... extra dollar will be ... diplomat horse on ... hicles.
fe2-d-11ap30

MONEY.

MONEY TO LOA... household furniture ... removal, easy pay... TIAL. Also, on go... short loans on real ...
No. 412 Fourth ave...
an10-dsu-tf

MONEY—Any per... a loan on household ... ons, pianos or hicy... from us on short n... borrower; goods le... sion. The Little ... Smithfield street.

MONEY to loan ... from $100 to $3... time payments, bri... PENN LOA...

MONEY TO LOA... estate. Immediately ... interest, bring deed... No. 6212 Penn ave.,...

SITUATION...

Fem...

POSITION in wall... lady, experienced; ... reference given. A... The Post.

SITUATION—By ... cook, best of refere...
fe27-3t

POSITION—An ho... or private family; c... I 1, Office of The P...

SITUATION—At ... housekeeper by a w... can give references; ... ply Mrs. M., 46 Fa... Pa.

SEWING—By a g... family sewing; wages ... of East End refere... The Post.

134

890413007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Various Voices / Emma Goldman. – p. 71 ; 37 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Lightbearer [Chicago]. –(March 2, 1898).

Obtained from the Stanford University Libraries, Stanford University.

through the trees with a giggling scamper, the tan-coues peter out a little to the shoulder and over the sleeper. He wakes, not drowsily, but all at once wide-awake, with eyes black on awakening, gray as the pupils close with the light, steel-gray as a lake without sunlight.

To be continued.

VARIOUS VOICES.

M. L. Studebaker, Fort Hunter, Pa.:—I enclose twenty cents; send "Personal Rights and Sexual Wrongs." If it were not for the bigotry of the people here I might get some subscribers, but the masses don't want the truth. They don't like the priests but I can't make them understand the Bible is only a mass of heathen literature, etc., but while the feeling is strong against priests, and what they call the abuse of government they are afraid they will be murdered in the absence of government.

H—— S. S——, London, Ky.:—I see you offer to give a thirteen weeks trial subscription and twenty-five cents' worth of literature, all for twenty-five cents. I enclose sixty cents and a list of the literature I want at present. Mrs. Josephine K. Henry, my friend, sent me a copy of the paper. I am very much interested in the subject of sexology. I am fully convinced of the unrighteousness and injustice of the present enslavement of women by laws of church, state and society. Am not just decided what is the best thing to be done, but I do want to learn. The gratitude of all women is due to you for the noble blow you are striking for the emancipation of their sex, and I tender mine with unstinted measure.

J. A. Wilson, Phila., Pa.:—A large and appreciative audience filled the hall of the Ladies' Liberal League last evening to hear Emma Goldman's address on "The New Woman." Miss Goldman does not believe in a new woman but rather in an emancipated woman freed from the shackles of law, church and society; the equal, and the equal only, of man. She pictured the false education of the sex taught from infancy. That her mission was to marry, and thus have a claim for support on a man, and yet totally unfit, because of lack of knowledge of her sexual functions and rights, to become a mother. The duty of a wife is treated as a subject too impure and immoral to be even hinted at before a priest or magistrate has handed her over, it may be, to some reformed rake for a husband. Instead of aping man as is the fashion of the would-be new woman Miss Goldman contends that both sexes are equal even under present social and economic conditions, and that a new man must first be had if he is to be worthy of imitation by the other sex. As at present conditioned no man is worthy of the labor bestowed on him by woman, who, in her household cares spends, on the average, more hours of toil than does the man, and who at a correct financial valuation on her services as housekeeper, cook and dredge, as well as nurse and trainer of her family, never can be repaid. She does not believe in angels, either masculine or feminine on earth. With most men woman is an angel before marriage and a devil after marriage. The whole address was a masterly arraignment of the double standard of morality of the sexes, and was listened to with close attention. A number of speakers took exception, in ten minutes addresses, to some of her points, but in her rejoinder Miss Goldman showed herself fully capable of upholding her end of the argument, and possessed of the courage to announce boldly and plainly her views and opinions on any given subject. She delivers several other addresses here before starting further west. Those who miss hearing her miss a treat.

Sophie M. Rivers, San Jose, Calif.:—Enclosed find fifty cents for three months trial subscription and for the books named. I am very much delighted with your dear paper, only I wish you had a different title. I am sure the paper, with a smoother name, would work its way into many families. "L[illegible] startling—not a suitable heading for a paper [illegible]. We must of necessity be careful what the w[illegible] long as we have to make our own living.

[The objection to the name Lucifer, though] an old one, and has been many [illegible] these columns. It is true that the name chosen for the weekly paper devoted mainly to [illegible] from sex-slavery is "startling" to the average reader. Most people have been told, from early youth, that Lucifer means the "devil," and to the average mind the word devil is the personification of all that is bad, wicked, sinful and destructive to human happiness, "in this world and in the next." That the name of our paper repels many people who would otherwise become readers and helpers is doubtless true. But there is another side to the question. The word Lucifer challenges attention. Women as well as men are everywhere learning to think for themselves, and one of the first things that a [illegible] pendent thinker learns is that his theological teachers are not to be trusted. That they deliberately teach what they know to be false, in order that they may obtain and retain power over the people. (I speak of the priestly hierarchy collectively, as organizations, rather than as individuals.) A very conspicuous example of their false teaching is the perversion of the meaning of the word Lucifer. This name, as all scholars know, belongs to astronomy, and not to theology. It means "light-bringing," and, very naturally, was anciently synonymous with "Morning Star." And so it has continued to mean, in the minds of all except the ignorant and superstitious priesthood and those who pin their faith to priestly dogmas. But now that modern science, with her "starry eyes," has shown the fallacy of the old myths and fables even the clergy are getting ashamed of their own perversions, as witness the rebuke administered by the Biblical Commentator Henderson—See Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, edition 1886, page 792, under the head "Lucifer":

"The application of this passage [in Isaiah—'How art thou fallen from heaven, Lucifer, son of the morning,' etc.] to Satan and to the fall of the apostate angels is one of those gross perversions of sacred writ which so extensively obtain, and which are to be traced to a presumption to seek for more in a given passage than it really contains—a disposition to be led by sound rather than sense, and an implicit faith in received interpretations."

The worst of all the enemies to woman's emancipation is priestly domination, and until woman herself finds out this fact but little can be done for her deliverance. The history of the word Lucifer is an excellent educator to show how utterly untrustworthy are the theologic guides upon whom woman has been taught to depend as her best friends. M. H.

Personal Rights and Sexual Wrongs.

Contains matter pertaining to the Legitimation League and the Personal Rights Association of England. Also, four and one-half page portraits of Mrs. E. Heywood, Moses Harman, Lillian Harman and Lois Waisbrooker, together with sketches of their personalities and work. By Oswald Dawson. Neatly bound in boards. Price, 25 cents. Address Moses Harman, [illegible] Congress st., Chicago.

The Adult for February

Contains Music, Religion and Sex, (I.) by Oxford Northcote; Maltha, by Lady Cook; "Love's Coming of Age," by Sagittarius; The Sex Philosophy of Exeter Hall, by W. F. Dunton; The Divine Woman, by William Platt; Two Gifts, by Edward Carpenter; Wonderland, (a poem,) by Amy C. Bowles; The Home and the Family, by Robert Braithwaite; Controversial Correspondence; William Platt and the Adult. Price, 10 cents. $1 a year.

LOVE, MARRIAGE, AND DIVORCE,

And the Sovereignty of the Individual.

A Discussion between Henry James, Horace Greely, Mrs. Stephen Pearl Andrews. There are here included the final replies of Mr. Andrews, printed by the New York Tribune, and a subsequent discussion, continuing twenty years later, between Mr. James and Mr. Andrews.

[illegible] to be TAKEN CARE OF. [illegible] freedom Mr. G. friendly co-operation, [illegible] vided for by another, and [illegible] and stolen. And the [illegible] wives as it is [illegible] house of bondage and [illegible] evils are inherent or incidental, whether they [illegible] administration of the institution, whether they are [illegible] by means of restriction, are the questions that are here [illegible]

Price 25 cents. Address Lucifer, [illegible] W. Congress street, Chicago.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

135

890308002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika [Part 2] / Emma Goldman. – 31 cm. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. –(March 5, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Merseburg, Germany.

Nr. III

Vertraut. 5 ten März

Reisebriefe aus Amerika.

Von Emma Goldmann.

(Dem New-Yorker „Sturmvogel" entnommen.)

II.

In Boston sprach ich in zwei gutbesuchten Versammlungen, von da gings nach New-Haven, wo ich ebenfalls eine starke Versammlung hatte. Von New-Haven fuhr ich nach New-York und von da nach Philadelphia. In N. Y. sprach ich vor einer Protestversammlung gegen den Pabeltoner Mord von 21 Streikern. Ach, dieses Protestieren auf Worten hin ist die reinste Ironie! Ich möchte mich immer selber ohrfeigen, wenn ich nach einem gradezu bestialischen Gewaltakt, wie der vom Sheriff Martin verübte, nur dagegen rede, während jeder Nerv in mir zuckt, der herrschenden Klasse einen Beweis zu liefern, daß sie nicht immer ungestraft wehrlose Arbeiter morden kann.

In Philadelphia fanden sehr gut besuchte englische Versammlungen statt. Von dort ging über Washington nach Pittsburg.

In Washington fand keine Versammlung statt, aber ich machte dort Halt, um verschiedene Freunde des „Arm. Teufel" kennen zu lernen. Ich konnte nur einige dieser Brüder treffen und ich muß gestehen, daß mich der Abstecher nach Washington nicht reute, denn ich habe dort ein paar treffliche Menschen kennen gelernt.

Weider bleibt es einem in der Welt nicht erspart, wie den wackeren Menschen auch solchen Gesellen zu begegnen, bei deren Zeugung ein unverzeihlicher Irrtum begangen wurde. Diese Leutchen hätten nämlich als Vierfüßler zur Welt kommen sollen, denn als Zweifüßler sind sie weder Menschen noch Tiere.

Da war unter anderen ein Architekt, alter Abonnent des „A. T.", ein Regierungsknecht, ein Mensch mit einem „Ohrfeigengesicht", wie Freund Reitzel sagt, der nicht begreifen konnte, daß ich als Anarchistin den Sinn für das Schöne und Gute im Menschen erwecken möchte. So ein Staatsverbrechen, der Masse begreiflich machen zu wollen, daß sie auch ein Recht zum Leben hat!

Es wollte diesem Patron garnicht in den Schädel, daß ein Anarchist das Predigen von Entbehrung, Opfern, Geduld und Resignation den Pfaffen überläßt, um für den höchsten Genuß in jeder Form einzutreten. Natürlich nicht für den Genuß des Einzelnen auf Kosten der Anderen, sondern für das Wohlleben des Individuums, als auch für das der Gesamtheit. Was versteht übrigens so eine Regierungsseele vom Genuß?

Der Zweite ähnlichen Schlages war ein dicker Bierbrauer aus Cincinnati, ebenfalls ein alter Leser des „A. T.", der sich gerade in Washington aufhielt und im Hotel Fritz Reuter wohnte, wo auch ich abstieg. Dieser schien zwar irgend welche Begriffe vom Genuß zu haben, seine stark gerötete Nase veranlaßte mich, einen solchen Schluß zu ziehen. Ein Riesenkerl mit einem Wanst, bei dessen Anblick ich mir meiner Mängel in der Mathematik bewußt wurde; denn um das Quantum Bier zu berechnen, das dieses Faß in sich barg, dazu gehörten die mathematischen Kenntnisse einer Kowalewska*). Sein Schmalzgesicht glänzte nur so, als er hörte, daß ich die E. G. bin, und er traktierte sogleich die ganze Gesellschaft; ich arme Seele aber mußte dafür alle seine Familiengeschichten hören, und da er schon Großvater ist, so kann man sich denken, wie lang dieselben ausfielen. Er vertraute mir sogar die Nummer seines Zimmers an und frug so ganz nebenbei, welches Zimmer ich inne hätte. In der Hitze des Gefechts, oder des Gelages, um die Wahrheit zu gestehen, fiel mir diese Frage gar nicht auf, und ich sagte ihm meine Nummer.

Nach langem Hin- und Herdiskutieren über alle möglichen Tagesfragen wurde es 2 Uhr morgens und an der Zeit aufzubrechen. Ich war kaum eine halbe Stunde im Bett, als Jemand ganz leise an meine Thür klopfte. „Wer da?" rief ich; keine Antwort. „Who is there?"

*) Sophia Kowalewska, eine russische Sozialistin, bekleidete in Schweden eine Professur der Mathematik.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890308002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika [Part 2] / Emma Goldman. – 31 cm. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. –(March 5, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Merseburg, Germany.

riefe aus Amerika.

on Emma Goldmann.

Yorker „Sturmvogel" entnommen.)]

[illegible] II.

nch ich in zwei gutbesuchten Versamm-
gings nach New-Haaen, wa ich eben-
Versammlung hatte. Van New-Haaen

frug ich nachmals, indem ich glaubte, der Klapser verstehe nicht deutsch. Richtig war's mein dicker Bierbrauer aus Cincinnati. In meiner Empörung schnauzte ich ihn nicht übel an, ich brauche nicht erst zu betonen, daß ich dem Kerl einen solchen Sack voll Grobheiten sagte, daß er sich schleunigst trollte. Ich hatte die ganze Episade wahl kaum des Niederschreibens wert gehalten, würde dieselbe nicht Betrachtungen traurigerer Natur in mir wach gerufen haben.

Seit Jahren liest dieser „ordnungsliebende" Bürger (er sagte mir ganz stolz, daß er Republikaner und sein Ideal Karl Schurz ist) den „A. T." pardan, ich wollte sagen, er hält den „A. T." Denn wenn er den Inhalt desselben all die langen Jahre gelesen hätte, müßte doch ein wenig Freiheitssinn haften geblieben sein; er würde dann begreifen, daß eine Frau ebensa viel Recht hat, allein zu reisen, wie er, ohne Beleidigungen ausgesetzt zu sein. Soweit reichen aber die Rechtsbegriffe dieses versaffenen und verspießerten Kaffern eben nicht. — —

Pittsburg — dieses traurige russige Nest mit seinen madernen Zwingburgen der Arbeit und seinem Gefängnis, weckt immer die trübsten Erinnerungen in mir; — weilt doch in letzterem seit Jahren einer meiner teuersten Freunde, Alex Berkmann, den eine Bourgeais-Justiz nach einem mißglückten Attentat verdammt hat, seine jungen Jahre hinter grauen Wällen zu verbringen.

In P. wollte man dieses Mal keine Versammlungen für mich arrangiren, weil gerade Freund Berkmanns Angelegenheit vor the Board of Pardons gebracht werden sollte, und die dortigen Genossen befürchteten, durch mein offentliches Auftreten die Sache zu schädigen. Nachdem ich aber in Manaca, 27 Meilen von P., sprechen sollte und außerdem meine erst kürzlich aus dem Gefängnis entlassenen Freunde Nold und Bauer sehen wollte, so beschloß ich, einige Tage in P. zu bleiben.

Während meiner ganzen Fahrt von Washington nach Pittsburg regnete es fortwährend, und als ich meinen Bestimmungsart erreichte, gaß es, nur so, als ob eine zweite Sintflut auf die Menschheit herniedergesandt werden sollte. Schaden würde es wahrhaftig nicht, denn nur durch solch ein Ereignis könnte die Welt von allerlei Ungeziefer befreit werden. Unser Nold, der angehende Dichter (ach, wenn der nur das Dichten unterlassen würde —) und der große Bauernjunge mit dem goldenen Herzen erwarteten mich am Bahnhof. „Bringt mich nur gleich auf mein altes Quartier zu Gordon," bat ich die Brüder, denn ich bin todmüde. — Ja, ja, aber zuerst müssen wir einkehren.

Ich war über das Wiedersehen mit meinen lieben Zuchthausaögeln so erfreut, daß ich nicht nein sagen konnte, zudem war meine Kehle ziemlich trocken, und so ging es denn mit Sack und Pack bei gräßlichem Regen in eine Wirtschaft, deren Besitzer zur „A. T."-Familie gehört. Trotzdem fällt ihm aber doch das Herz in die Hosen, wenn ein Anarchist sein Lokal betritt, wie mir Freund N. sagte, mit einer Anarchistin könnte man übrigens schon eine Ausnahme machen, dachte ich mir. Der gute Mann schien über meinen Besuch erfreut zu sein und ließ gleich Essen und Trinken auftragen. Er war sehr aufgeräumt, rückte immer näher an meine Seite, zwinkerte mit den Augen, gleichzeitig ängstliche Blicke auf eine gegenüberliegende Thür werfend. „Was ist los, daß Sie immer nach der Thür blicken?" frug ich ihn. „Ja, wissen Sie, ich möchte gar zu gerne bei Ihnen bleiben, aber im anstoßenden Zimmer sitzt meine Alte mit noch einigen Klatschschwestern, und wenn sie erfährt, wer Sie sind, dann bin ich verloren. Um Gotteswillen, sprechen Sie nicht so laut." Trotzdem der Mann so gastfreundlich war, konnte ich doch nicht umhin, ihn wegen seiner Feigheit zu strafen, ich sprach und erzählte mit lauter Stimme, bis der arme Kerl es nicht mehr auf seinen Sitz aushalten konnte.

So gegessen und getrunken hatten wir ja, gekostet hatte es auch nichts, und dazu noch die Schadenfreude. Die Karavane konnte nun getrost abschieben.

„Jetzt können wir Dich nicht mehr zu G. bringen, es ist zu spät," pustete Bauer, der sich noch immer vor Lachen über das Erlebte schüttelte. Wir gehen jetzt in ein naheliegendes Gasthaus, dessen Inhaber auch ein „A. T."-Leser ist. Na, hoffentlich nicht so einer als unser Wirt. O, nein, das ist einer von den Radikalen, riefen meine Begleiter unisona. Also los. Dort angekommen, wurden noch einige Gläser hinter die Binde gegossen, während das Bauerlein mit den Hauswirt betreffs eines Zimmers verhandelte. Endlich, nach langem Warten, hieß es zu Bett gehen. Im Begriffe, von meinen Kumpanen Abschied zu nehmen, höre ich dicht neben mir eine kreischende Stimme: „Wir haben keine Zimmer für Frauenzimmer!" Was war zu thun? Ich konnte doch gegen den Willen der züchtigen Hausfrau nicht dort bleiben. Also Bündel und Begleiter gepackt und weiter geschaben. Der Wirt, dem meine Freunde gehörig den Kopf gewaschen, war ganz trostlos, als er hörte, wer dieses Frauenzimmer eigentlich ist, und er bat mich unter vielen Entschuldigungen, ja nur zu bleiben; aber ich hatte keine Lust, eine Keilerei zwischen Ehegesponsen zu verursachen und so blieb ich eben nicht. Wahin jetzt? „Weißt Du," sagte Bauer, der den Mut noch nicht verloren hatte, während der arme weichherzige Nold ganz verzweifelt war, „jetzt führen wir dich zu einem Genossen, da kannst Du übernachten." Meinetwegen in die Hölle, wenn ich nur schon ein Unterkommen habe. Auf dem Wege zu diesem Genossen fiel mir mein kranker Freund R. R. mit seinem „A. T." ein. Was der für Augen machen würde, könnte er sich manches seiner Abonnenten aus der Nähe besehen, müßte er, was das für Michel sind, wie wenig Einfluß sein Wirken auf diese Menschen ausgeübt hat. — Natürlich kannte ich bis dahin nur wenige Leser seines Blattes, sonst hätte ich nicht so urteilen können. Ich habe mich während der übrigen Zeit meiner Reise überzeugt, daß der größte Teil der Freunde desselben wirklich liebe und freie Menschen sind, die mir durch ihre Güte und Liebenswürdigkeit die unangenehmen Erfahrungen mit „A. T."-Lesern in Pittsburg und anderen Plätzen leicht vergessen ließen.*)

Der Genasse, von dem Bauer sprach, wohnte in einem Zimmer, in welchem sich sein ganzes Eigentum, Ehebett, Weib und Kind mit eingeschlassen, befand. Die sogenannte bessere Hälfte, eine aus der Hefe hervorgegangene Deutsch-Amerikanerin, die ich schon aon früher her als eine Xantippe kannte, schien nicht sehr erbaut darüber zu sein, daß ihr Mann mir seine Stelle im Bette abtreten sollte. Unter solchen Umständen, war mein Bleiben nicht sehr angenehm, aber ich war zu müde und abgespannt, um erst lange zu überlegen, ich war froh, mich endlich meiner nässen Kleider entledigen und in ein warmes Nest kriechen zu können, wo ich denn auch gleich in einen erquickenden Schlaf fiel.

Während ich nun von einer herrlichen Zukunft und freien, edlen Menschen träumte, brachte mich ein schreck-

*) Zur Ehrenrettung des „A. T." und seiner Leser teilen wir übrigens hier eine Briefkastennotiz mit, die Reitzel in der letzten Nummer des „Armen Teufel" an Emma Goldmann richtet: „Eine kleine Berichtigung mußt Du mir schon gestatten: Die beiden Herren, die Du in Washington 'traffst und von denen Du im „Sturmvogel" so unliebsame Dinge erzählst, der Regierungsarchitekt und der Bierbrauer, sind nicht Abonnenten des „A. T." D. Red.

R 94.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

137

890308002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika [Part 2] / Emma Goldman. – 31 cm. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. –(March 5, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Merseburg, Germany.

licher Lärm in die öde Wirklichkeit zurück. Ich war zu schlaftrunken, um im ersten Moment die Situation zu erfassen; dazu war es im Zimmer dunkel. Endlich konnte ich am Fußboden zwei Menschen unterscheiden, die sich gegenseitig mit Fäusten bearbeiteten und dazwischen die heisere, rauhe Stimme der Frau hören, die ihren Gatten, den teuren, meinen Gastwirt, in der gemeinsten Weise beschimpfte. Die ganze Situation war so horrend, dabei aber so komisch, daß ich eigentlich nicht wußte, ob ich weinen oder lachen sollte. Ich zog mich rasch an und stürzte in den peitschenden Regen hinaus, um zu Bauer zu gehen, der in der Nähe wohnte.

Der arme Kerl, der schon längst schnarchte, kroch schnell in seine Unaussprechlichen und ging mit mir in Nacht und Nebel hinaus, ein Hotel suchen. Die traurige Affäre trug sich in Allegheny City zu, wo keine Hotels zu finden sind. Ein Wagen nach Pittsburg war um diese Zeit, 3 Uhr Morgens, auch nicht mehr zu haben; also hieß es laufen, eine angenehme Sache bei dem Hundewetter.

Nach zwei Stunden kamen wir endlich an einen Platz, wo man auch für Frauenzimmer Zimmer hat. Ich konnte lange Zeit nicht zur Ruhe kommen, denn die Ereignisse des Abends und hauptsächlich diese ekelhafte Familienszene standen noch zu klar vor mir. Eigentlich hätte mich eine derartige Affäre nicht alterieren sollen. Geht es denn bei Eheleuten überhaupt anders zu? Wie ist es möglich, daß zwei Menschen, die absolut nicht für einander passen, ihr elendes Dasein doch zusammen dahinschleppen. Was hält sie denn vereint? Diese Fragen durchkreuzten mein müdes Gehirn. Die Liebe, werden Manche sagen. Lächerlich! Menschen, die so wenig gegenseitig Achtung haben und sich mit Schmutz und Kot bewerfen, die sich sogar soweit vergessen, handgreiflich zu werden, solche Geschöpfe wissen nichts von der Liebe. Es ist nur die verfluchte Gewohnheit und Feigheit des Mannes sowohl wie der Frau, welche sie die größte Schmach viel eher ertragen läßt, als auseinander zu gehen, oder lieber den Tod einem solchen traurigen Leben vorzuziehen.

Ich war am nächsten Tage ganz zerschlagen und angeekelt von dem Schlamm, in dem sich die Menschheit wälzt. In diesem Zustande reiste ich nach Monaca, wo es mir in anderer Beziehung nicht viel besser erging.

Vom Mannesmut des Bürgertums.

Der bürgerlich-demokratische Berliner Arbeiter-Verein hat eine eigenartige Feier zum 50jährigen Revolutions-Jubiläum am 18. März projektiert. Er fordert alle Veteranen des Befreiungskampfes vom Jahre 1848 auf, sich am 14. d. Mts. an einem bestimmten Ort zusammenzufinden, um den Erinnerungstag festlich zu begehen.

Die Absicht mag eine gute sein. Aber es ist daran zu zweifeln, daß eine größere Anzahl der Leute den Mut finden wird, sich zu beteiligen. In den verflossenen 50 Jahren hat das deutsche Bürgertum soviel an Mut und Ueberzeugungsstolz verloren, daß es sich in Berlin nicht einmal dazu aufschwang, seinen Toten ein Denkmal zu errichten. Es ist eher anzunehmen, daß sich gar mancher grauhaarige Spießbürger seiner jugendlichen Begeisterung schämt, die ihn auf die Barrikade trieb, und den Kopf über diese Dummejungenstreiche schüttelt. — Vielleicht meldet sich Herr von Miquel! Er preußischer Finanzminister?

Verleger und verantwortlicher Redakteur: Hermann Greß.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890308003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika. Part 3 / Emma Goldman. – 25 cm. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. –(March 12, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Merseburg, Germany.

Reisebriefe aus Amerika.

Von Emma Goldmann.

(Dem New-Yorker Sturmvogel entnommen.)

III.

Angeregt durch den A. T., wahrscheinlich, wurde ich vom Turnverein in Monaca, Pa., eingeladen, dort über das Thema „Die Frau, Ehe und Prostitution" zu sprechen, was mich zu dem Glauben verleitete, daß die Turner von Monaca außerordentlich fortgeschrittene Kerle seien. Leider war meine Annahme zu voreilig. Einen Tag vor der Versammlung wurde ich nämlich benachrichtigt, daß dieselbe abgesagt wurde, weil die Hälfte der Mitglieder vor dem schrecklichen, unmoralischen Frauenzimmer E. G. Reißaus genommen habe. Unter anderen Umständen hätte mir ein solcher Fall nur Spaß gemacht, da ich aber, der Einladung des Monaca Turnvereins folgend, einen Umweg in meiner Tour gemacht hatte, so versetzte mich die Nachricht von der Feigheit der Jahnbrüder gerade nicht in eine rosige Laune. Diesen Helden zum Trotz ging ich dennoch nach Monaca und mit Hilfe eines alten Genossen und Mitgliedes des Vereins wurde die Versammlung doch zustande gebracht. Das Publikum war ganze 50 Mann stark und anstatt das Thema: die Frau, Ehe und Prostitution zu behandeln, sprach ich über das Kaffertum der Turner. Daß ich die Herren nicht geschont habe, beweist der Umstand, daß die Turner eine Woche später eine Versammlung einberiefen, um zu entscheiden, wen ich zum Kaffern gestempelt hätte. Wie mir aber der alte Genosse mitteilte, ließen sie diesen Punkt der Tagesordnung fallen, um sich nicht noch mehr lächerlich zu machen.

Nach meinen unangenehmen Erfahrungen mit dem Monaca Turnverein fuhr ich nach Chicago, um an der dort am 27 September stattfindenden Arbeiter-Konvention teilzunehmen.

Chicago ist zweifellos das London im verkleinerten Maßstabe, denn in keiner anderen Stadt Amerikas starrt einem das graue Elend Amerikas so grell ins Gesicht, wie gerade hier. Soweit ich in diesem Lande herumgekommen, habe ich noch nicht so viele zerlumpte Gestalten, verkrüppelte Menschen, abgezehrte Gesichter mit tiefliegenden Augen und abgestumpften Zügen gesehen, wie in dieser sogenannten Gartenstadt. Ich weiß nicht,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890308003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika. Part 3 / Emma Goldman. – 25 cm. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. –(March 12, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Merseburg, Germany.

ob es der Schmutz der Straßen, der Gestank des Chicaga River, der Rauch der Fabriken, der wie ein dichter Nebel über der Stadt liegt, der Menschenmarkt in Court Str., wo arme Mädchen aller Nationen für 25 und 50 Cents ihre kranken, müden Leiber verkaufen, oder ob es die Erinnerung an den gräßlichen Mord vom 11. November 1887 ist, das mir Chicago in solch düsterem Licht erscheinen läßt, – ich weiß nur, daß ein längerer Aufenthalt in dieser Stadt Selbstmordgedanken in mir erwecken würde.

Die Freunde und Genossen werden sich wohl noch erinnern, welch große Erfolge sich die Arbeiter allerorts von besagter Konvention versprachen. Dieselbe wurde auf einer Seite von Debs, der so radikal und energisch in der St. Louis-Konvention auftrat, und auf der anderen von den Vertretern der hungernden, verzweifelten, streikenden Grubenarbeiter einberufen. Auch ich maß der Konvention Wichtigkeit bei, und da ich ohnehin in verschiedenen von den Genossen arrangierten Versammlungen sprechen sollte, so ging ich einige Wochen früher nach Chicaga um mich an derselben zu beteiligen. Ich kann meinen Freunden die Versicherung erteilen, daß ich weder auf Kosten irgend einer Gruppe, noch als Vertreterin dorthin delegiert wurde. Ich hatte ein Mandat von einem N. Y. Arbeiter-Verein, lediglich zu dem Zweck, um zu den Verhandlungen zugelassen zu werden.

Die Konvention detailiert zu beschreiben, würde zu viel Raum in Anspruch nehmen, ich will mich daher begnügen zu sagen, daß ich einer solch lächerlichen, nichtssagenden, bedeutungslosen Affäre noch in meinem Leben nicht beigewohnt habe. Die Convention fing damit an, daß Gompers, der Groß-Mogul der American Federation of Labor, aus lauter Neid und Eifersucht über die Popularität Debs, den verschiedenen Organisationen, den Befehl erteilte, keine Delegaten dahin zu schicken, und Eugene Debs, der neue Messias, zeigte bei dieser Gelegenheit, daß er absolut nicht Herr der Situation war. Er ließ sich von Gompers einfach in's Bockshorn jagen und rief ebenfalls alle Delegaten der Sozialdemokratie ab, infolgedessen blieb die Konvention, mit Ausnahme jener Weniger, in Händen von Politikanten und Stimmhaschern aller Schattierungen. Dieses Gesindel brachte die Zeit damit zu, sich gegenseitig damit zu beschimpfen und die absurdesten Anträge zu stellen. Die Meisten kamen schon am Morgen im betrunkenen Zustande an, denn mit 5 Dollars pro Tag, so viel bekam jeder Delegat als Vertreter seiner Union, kann man sich schon ziemlich viel leisten, und das Geschrei und Gejohle den ganzen Tag über war geradezu haarsträubend. Zwei Tage wurden vergeudet mit der Prüfung der Mandate und die übrige Zeit mit Vorschlägen albernster Natur. Kein Wort über den Kohlenarbeiterstreik, über die brutale Behandlung der Arbeiter seitens der Minenbesitzer, Nicht der geringste Protest gegen die Ermordung von wehrlosen Arbeitern in Hazelton, nichts von alledem. Am Ende des zweiten Tages wurde ich dieses Schauspiels müde und überdrüssig. Ich wollte aus dieser Atmosphäre hinaus, aber zuerst mußte ich diesen verlorten, schmutzigen Gesellen meinen Standpunkt klar machen. Es gelang mir, das Wort zu ergreifen und das Resultat meiner halbstündigen Ansprache war, daß die besseren Elemente mit mir den Saal verließen.

Nach alledem glaube ich aber doch, daß meine Anwesenheit in der Konvention nicht ganz nutzlos war. Erstens hatte ich die Gelegenheit meine Ansicht über den Grubenarbeiterstreik, und über die Arbeiterbewegung im Allgemeinen vor Leuten zu bringen, die sonst nie in eine anarchistische Versammlung gehen, denn es waren da auch eine Anzahl Besucher aus allen Schichten der

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890308003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika. Part 3 / Emma Goldman. — 25 cm. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. —(March 12, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Merseburg, Germany.

Bevölkerung zugegen. Zweitens habe ich mich mehr als je zuvor überzeugen können, wie schrecklich die Arbeiter dupiert und von ihren Vertretern ausgenützt und betrogen werden. Drittens hatte ich Gelegenheit, Debs, der den Arbeitern sehr viel versprochen und sehr wenig hielt, kennen zu lernen. Ich habe mich überzeugt, daß die Frau Recht hat, die mir einer Versammlung von Debs gesagt, er habe ein großes Herz, aber einen leeren Schädel. Er ist nicht der Mann seiner Zeit, es mangelt ihm an Energie und Willenskraft und er klappt bei dem geringsten Windstoß wie eine Fliege zusammen. Trotzdem er sich privatim zum Anarchismus bekennt, glaubt er doch, den Stimmkasten als Mittel, die Masse heranzulocken, gebrauchen zu müssen. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß er in seiner Art ehrlich ist und gute Absichten hat, aber was nützt das alles, wenn ein Mensch nicht die Kraft in sich trägt, offen hervorzutreten, der ganzen Welt die Stirne zu bieten, alle Schranken zu durchbrechen und seinen eigenen Weg zu gehen.

Die Genossen in Chicago hatten nicht nur keine einzige Versammlung arrangiert, trotzdem sie mir geschrieben hatten, daß deren ein halbes Dutzend meines Kommens warteten, sondern nicht einmal einen Wohnort für mich besorgt. Glücklicherweise traf ich einen alten lieben Freund in Chicago, der zwei Zimmer bewohnte und sich sofort bereit erklärte, mir eines davon zu überlassen. Zum Entsetzen aller Philister, Kalter Jungfern und Moralisten nahm ich die Gastfreundschaft meines Freundes an und zwar während meines Aufenthaltes in Chicago. Sei ihm [illegible] wenn nicht seine Wirtin ganz entsetzt über die Unanständigkeit ihres Mieters, eine Frau in seinem Zimmer zu beherbergen, gegen mein weiteres Verleihen Einsprache erhoben hätte. So mietete ich mir eine Bude auf eigene Faust, wo ich nun ungestört [illegible] konnte.

In Chicago blieb ich beinahe zwei Wochen. Während dieser Zeit sprach ich in sechs Versammlungen, die in Bezug auf Besuch viel zu wünschen übrig ließen. Bei einer Gelegenheit, beim Feste des sozialen Turnvereins, sprach ich über Freund Herrmann's Angelegenheit, sprach, wurden 35,50 Dollar zu seinen Gunsten kollektiert.

Von Chicago fuhr ich nach Milwaukee, wo ich drei Versammlungen hatte, von da wieder zurück nach Chicago, um in einer zu Gunsten der inhaftierten „Firebrand"-Leute einberufenen Versammlung zu sprechen. Der Erfolg derselben wurde leider durch Lucy Parsons geschwächt, indem sie statt die ungerechtfertigte, niederträchtige Verhaftung der drei Genossen in Portland und die immer mehr um sich greifende Zensur Comstock's und Konsorten zu verdammen, gegen den Redakteur des Firebrand, E. Addis, zu Felde zog, weil der Artikel über freie Liebe in den Spalten des Firebrand duldete. Abgesehen davon, daß der Anarchismus nicht nur die Freiheit auf ökonomischem und politischem Gebiete, sondern auch im sozialen und geschlechtlichen Leben lehrt, so hat L. Parsons am wenigsten Ursache, Abhandlungen über freie Liebe zu verwerfen und noch dazu zu einer Zeit, wo es galt, Genossen aus den Klauen der Ordnungsbanditen zu befreien. Ich sprach nach Parsons und hatte einen schweren Stand die unangenehme Stimmung, die ihre Auslassungen hervorbrachten, zu verscheuchen und es gelang mir auch, die Sympathie und die materielle Unterstützung der Anwesenden für das Portland-Trio zu gewinnen.

Ich kam nach einigen Wochen wieder nach Chicago, um in der [illegible] December-Feier zu sprechen und auch da, wie bei den anderen Versammlungen, machte ich die traurige Erfahrung, wie abgestumpft und gleichgiltig die Massen der Genossen sind. Die Erinnerung an den ungeheuren Mord von 18[illegible] d. Anblick des Schanddenkmals

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890308003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika. Part 3 / Emma Goldman. — 25 cm. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. —(March 12, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Merseburg, Germany.

am Haymarket und die sich immer wiederholende Brutalität der Chicagoer Polizei hätten doch etwas Enthusiasmus und Feuer in der Brust der dortigen Arbeiter zurücklassen sollen. Nichts von alledem! Es kommen immerhin am 11. November einige tausend Leute zusammen, aber nicht weil sie das Bedürfnis haben, das Andenken der Gefallenen zu feiern, nicht weil sie die Schrecken der Erwürgung unserer Freunde nachempfinden, sondern sie kommen aus Gewohnheit. Darum fiel auch die vorjährige 11. November-Feier so zahm und lendenlahm aus und ich glaube, jede 11. November-Feier hatte denselben Charakter, seitdem sich die Arbeiter dem Befehle an diesem Tage nicht in Massen nach Waldheim hinauszugehen, ruhig beugten, statt sich dieses Recht zu erkämpfen.

Man stelle sich eine solche Feier, beginnend mit der Abspielung von Hymnen und Liedern wie „Morgen muß ich fort von hier", vor, folgt ein Krähen-, pardon Damenchor, ein Lied krächzend, so ein Lied das Stein erweichen, er, hierauf die langathmige Ansprache des englischsprechenden Festredners, der zum so und so vielten Male die Geschichte des Prozesses breittritt und zum Ueberfluß noch die Anwesenden mit der Recitation eines von ihm selbst verfaßten endlosen Poems regaliert. Zu all dem der Anblick der gähnenden, gleichgiltigen Masse — man kann sich unschwer vorstellen, welchen Eindruck eine derartige Affäre auf einen sensitiv und enthusiastisch veranlagten Menschen machen muß. Um das Interesse der Arbeiter dieses Landes wach zu halten, müßten jeden Tag die Lingg's und Andere für ihre Ueberzeugung an den Tod gehen, denn hierzulande hat nur das Bedeutung, was neu ist, das Alte zieht nicht mehr.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890223006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman in Philadelphia / Emma Goldman. – pp. 2-3 ; 43 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – (March 13, 1898).

Obtained from the State Library of Pennsylvania. Institutional Location: Special Collections.

where the "violent Anarchist" has assassinated. Let the passive resistants, then, go to the ... offender with their doctrines. Do they preach to us not to strike back when smitten? Don't ... those who always aim the first blow, and you will save much time and labor.

Here are men crowded off the earth, comparatively, huddled in tenements. But here is vacant land all about them. It is impossible that such a condition should not cause question and thought—evolution. Having questioned, discussed and arrived at the conclusion that they have a right to the use of any unused land, they move onto it. Nobody is assassinated; nobody's life is endangered by these Anarchists. But all the same there will soon be a show of guns. Forced by whom? Who fires the first shot? Who is the first assassin of peaceable men?

In this example is proof of all I or any Anarchist claims in regard to violent resistance: that it is an inevitable part of the evolution toward free land and free conditions generally. Of what avail is the brain part of evolution if the consequent part is to be decried and discountenanced?

We need not worry about the Anarchist becoming too violent. It is the other fellow that needs watching. All intelligent students of history and sociology have discovered this fact.

Violence, force, is Anarchistic only when used in defense. But this cannot be construed to mean that we are to sit supinely and wait until the hand is raised to strike us. We threaten danger and destruction to no one. But the attitude of the opposition toward us is clearly demonstrated. We are to expect no quarter.

Now some will call this incendiary; and indeed the plain statement of facts is sometimes inflammatory, and ought to be. But I am not "advocating violence"—I do not need to. I see it coming, to my intense regret and sorrow.

Much has been said in praise and condemnation of some individuals who committed, some would say, unprovoked acts of violence in the name of Anarchy. The facts are very plain and simple. It does not seem that such cases would need to be discussed at all by intelligent persons. Those men were the product of conditions, the same as were the men attacked or assassinated. We do not know the motives that conditions had given those parties. How, then, shall we condemn? Their acts were as inevitable as the coming violent struggle, under existing conditions.

I have no hard words for any individual or class—the millionaire, the pauper, the slave-driver or slave—all are the products of conditions; the thoughts and the acts of each are alike inevitable. Not in the sense of foreordination, of course, but in accordance with inherited tendencies and the play of present environments upon the organism.

J. H. M.

* * * * *

WHY I AM AN ANARCHIST.

I try to do to others as I would have them do to me. I would not be governed, therefore I would not govern others, which constitutes me an Anarchist.

I say as did Christ, "Neither do I condemn them." "Father forgive them—they know not what they do." If I had been organized and environed as the most negative, ignorant so-called criminal I can think of, I should have done just as he did, therefore I have no right to punish him and do not favor laws that would. I have only a right to influence him by teaching and by example to do as I think right. I am therefore an Anarchist.

I have a right to love even my enemies. I do not allow myself to hate or think evil of others so far as I can avoid it. I am therefore an Anarchist.

I am naturally sympathetic with suffering, and do not try to suppress my sympathies, for I never thought them harmful. I am too sympathetic, if for no other reason, to kill any living thing, much less a fellow man, and for that reason I never owned a gun nor killed anything with a gun in my life.

I, being an Anarchist, could not sanction government, and therefore could not nor ever did ask for an office.

I never commanded anyone, for a command implies obedience—obedience implies inferiority of the commanded, and punishment for disobedience; for behind every command is hidden in ambush—"If you don't, I'll make you." I am therefore an Anarchist.

I have lived a life of Anarchy for sixty years. I have never cost the county or state a cent for my support in poorhouse, in office, or in court; but on the contrary, I have always paid a heavy tax assessed against me for which I never received a cent benefit except in the roads and bridges built. I never went to war to tax others to pay me a pension. I never went to law to tax others to pay for courts. I do not support churches for the reason that they are authoritative, sanction and foster governments, war and all other evils that government implies. Yet there are some, especially among professed christians, who do not love me as their teacher would if he were here. I feel sure that if Christ were here, and we could have a familiar conversation on sociological subjects, subjects he was so fond of discussing, that we would agree exactly. What he taught of sociology was profoundly true. Much of what he taught has since been demonstrated by Herbert Spencer and others of modern times to be true. He was the great sociological commentator and Anarchist of his time.

Of course, if he lived now, he would modify some things he said, but the main purport of all his teachings was just what Anarchists teach now. I know church members do not like to have his name associated with Anarchy, for the reason that they are either ignorant of Anarchy or christianity. I have asked, and now repeat the request, please point to a single word or action in Christ's short life on earth that does not fully comport with Anarchy. If you can, I will cease to quote him. Yet professed christians are the bitterest opponents of Anarchy we have. It is prima facia evidence to my mind that the Church is not christian. Of course, I mean the orthodox churches. There are a few churches, largely in the minority, that approach christianity in their ethical teachings. They are, however, illogical by not openly avowing Anarchy. Take the Friends or "Quakers." They oppose war and slavery logically, but illogically support government. They have never thought that all government is founded on war. If a command to pay your tax to support soldiers is disobeyed, the command is backed up by the sheriff, and he by his posse, they by the state militia, and the latter by the whole army of the government. Government is all and essentially physical force. Might is right. No appeal is made to the better emotions nor reason of men. Christianity and Anarchy appeal ENTIRELY and EXCLUSIVELY to LOVE and REASON.

It is not so difficult a matter, as some imagine it might be, to live an anarchistic life. One may not accumulate so much wealth, as society is now constituted, but the consciousness of having lived a non-aggressive Christ-life, void of offense to any man, is ample compensation for abstinence from so-called worldly pleasures, such as contentions, hatreds, law-suits, wars and offices of authority.

Christ might and doubtless would have lived to be over a hundred years of age if he had only kept his mouth shut. It is not for what any martyr for Anarchy ever did that he died, but for what his sympathetic and sanguine nature prompted him to utter. Simply for words, words, words, they died, and those words often disconnected and the sentences distorted to make a case of violation of man-made restrictive laws against freedom of speech.

I have never seen an Anarchist, but have read of them and have read their writings, and am fully persuaded that Anarchists, as a class, are the most noble, intellectual, philanthropic and sympathetic people living. It would not be strange if some Anarchist, driven to an insane frenzy on witnessing his comrades tortured—as 300 of them were in Barcelona, from which 28 died—to get them to confess to a crime they never committed, should assassinate Canovas the premier of Spain.

But notwithstanding the fact that diatribes, innuendoes, and epithets have been hurled at them, and even their name Anarchist is almost always used in an opprobrious sense, but one or two Anarchists in all the world have ever been proven guilty of infringing upon the rights or freedom of anyone. Why should they be so unreasonably accused of crime when the fundamental principles of Anarchism are equal freedom and non-aggression? Some Anarchists even go so far as to be non-resistants to force or persecution as Christ did. They are taxed to support governments, soldiers, pensions for soldiers and churches, none of which they endorse. They are the most patient, long suffering ... worst maligned and persecuted people anywhere ... found in the world.

I believe it was Rousseau who said the ... triotism was the last refuge of a ... Anarchists are not patriots. They believe as I do in the solidarity of the race; that if one member suffers the whole body is in pain. We are all interdependent creatures. If the most remote people on earth suffer, we feel it sympathetically.

I am an Anarchist because Anarchism appeals to every pure and noble emotion of the human soul. It is absolutely just, philanthropic, altruistic, and inspiring to every good action, and leaves no excuse or temptation to do a bad thing. I have never heard an effective argument against it. One argument often used against it consists in the question "What would you do with your criminals?" It is not a pertinent question to put to an Anarchist, for we challenge the world to disprove that government itself is the crime of crimes and the sole cause of all crime. We in turn ask our opponents, what are you going to do with your criminals? Now, since the prisons are bursting to overflow, and with criminals on the increase it is a serious question for them to answer.

A starving man might break into my house now, since there are so many against whom we bar our doors, but under Anarchist-Communism no laws nor locks would be needed.

No more important truth was ever uttered by Herbert Spencer than that, wherever society rids itself of an evil by coercive force, other evils as great or greater, unforseen, spring up in its place. "Coercion," says he, "can by no process be made equitable."

Governments have in all times vainly tried to suppress crimes, and people seem to learn nothing from history. People still have faith that if there was a strong repressive LAW, with a heavy penalty to its violation against a certain evil, the millenium would be here. Did they ever have any experience in smoothing and straightening a sheet of copper or tin that had become cockled, as we say, at one corner? If they put it on an anvil and attempted to straighten out the cockle with one fell blow they would find they had made a half dozen more small wrinkles unforseen and unthought of. Never, never, was evil corrected by evil! Government is evil. It is coercion. It is antagonistic to charity and every other elevating emotion. Since government has always failed to benefit the people, let us try freedom—Anarchism.

Hindsboro, Ill. J. C. BARNES.

* * * * *

EMMA GOLDMAN IN PHILADELPHIA.

The extraordinary popularity of Emma Goldman was again attested by the crowds that flocked to hear her. A large audience is no criterion by which to judge of the popularity of any speaker, but the ovations she received are sufficient confirmations. Comments were frequent anent her remarkable improvement in public speaking, and what greater achievements this remarkable woman may yet attain, if she reaches life's autumn, can only be conjectured.

Owing to the fact that Comrade Goldman delivered six lectures here last week, it is impossible to make any extended remarks, but I will attempt a fair summary of each of the lectures.

On Wednesday evening before the Ladies' Liberal League the lecturer spoke of "The New Woman." She made a brilliant plea for the economical, political and sexual freedom of her sex, endorsing the sentiment expressed by John Stuart Mills in his memorable speech in the house of commons, that "The principle which regulates the existing social relation between the sexes, the legal subordination of one sex to another, is wrong in itself and ought to be replaced by equity."

She said that from time immemorial woman had been subjected by Church and State to abject humiliation and that the farther away woman progressed from these gorgons the nearer she approached the goal of intellectual liberty.

On Thursday evening she spoke at the Single Tax society on "The Absurdity of Non-Resistance to Evil."

She showed the fallacy of the Tolstoic argument maintaining that the great reforms of the past were not attained through "passive resistance" but through force.

She very skillfully reviewed several great historical events and proved that they were successful only through the application of force.

She said she believed in non-acquiescence to injustice and not in a calm, docile submission to despotism.

890223006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman in Philadelphia / Emma Goldman. – pp. 2-3 ; 43 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – (March 13, 1898).

Obtained from the State Library of Pennsylvania. Institutional Location: Special Collections.

with a quotation from Ibsen, that "when necessity breeds no revolt, then the people are not worthy of their own redemption."

On Friday evening she delivered an address before the Society for Ethical Research on "The Basis of Morality." This address was listened to by several well-known educators who have been holding their annual convention here. Comrade Goldman maintained that all morality is dependent upon what is known to moralists as the "materialistic conception", that is to say, the ego. She said she was thoroughly in accord with Frederick Nietzsche in his "Twilight of the Idols" when he wrote that "our present morality is a degenerate idiosyncracy which has caused an unutterable amount of harm."

To sustain her argument that morality depends upon individualistic conception she cited the irrefutable axiom of Kropotkin, that the man who steals a loaf of bread and the man who gives away his last shirt to a child are both actuated by the same egoistic impulse. She denied the right of Church or State to frame a code of ethics to be used as a basis for all moral action. She stigmatized such usurpation as vile casuistry. She showed the relation existing between morals and economics proving that economic thraldom is responsible for nearly all the crimes so-called, and she closed by saying that as long as the present system of economic slavery continues she believed with Lacassagne, that "every society possesses the criminals it deserves."

On Saturday evening Comrade Goldman addressed the German Anarchist society upon the subject of "Freedom." The hall was so densely crowded that the narrator was unable to obtain admission and is therefore unable to furnish FREE SOCIETY with an epitome of her remarks. Suffice it to say, however, that she handled the subject ably.

Comrade Goldman was billed to deliver two addresses before the Friendship Liberal League on Sunday. The subject of the afternoon's discourse was "Patriotism." She said that patriotism has always been "the last refuge of a scoundrel." That it is a tool wielded by subtle politicians to accomplish their own designing ends. The lecturer referred to patriotism as the antithesis of comradeship and solidarity. She said that the history of mankind proves the fallacy of a chauvinistic policy. It is a breeder of dissension and strife between the proletariat of different countries. She referred to patriotism as the Veil of Maya that obscures the real issues of the day.

The lecturer warmly eulogized the Communists for the destruction of the Vendome Column, and who while in the act of demolition, exclaimed: "We will not tolerate this barrier against our German brothers. Our cause is their cause."

She closed her remarks with an eloquent plea for the abandonment of patriotism and warned her auditors not to allow their minds to be circumscribed within the narrow confines of any nation, but to be men and women of universal sympathy.

"Charity" was the topic for the evening discussion. She commenced her remarks by drawing the line of differentiation between charity and assistance, stating that her experience as a trained nurse had justified her belief that hospitals being indispensable institutions, should not be included in the category of charity. She characterized charity as the crumbs that fall from the table of the modern Dives. Charity, said Comrade Goldman, is an indictment against christianity.

The lecturer applied her scalpel to the management of penal institutions (which are based upon "sweet" charity) and stated that the "festering dung-heap," commonly known as "society," was responsible for the very criminals that it attempts to reform by incarceration. She said that charity and justice were incompatibilities.

She spoke of foundling asylums as institutions created by society to hide the defects of its marital relations.

During the discussion that followed her remarks she was blackguarded by a notorious Camden pettifogger. I will contribute an article to your valuable paper upon this discussion, including Comrade Goldman's opening address, the criticism of an intellectual bastard and her clever rejoinder to him.

I leave it to the calm and philosophic consideration of the reader of this article who is the greatest benefactor to the human race, the wealthy Baroness Burdett-Coutts who distributes the very money in charity which is stolen from the laborers of England, or that poor, much vilified Anarchist propagandist who is endeavoring to eliminate those conditions in society which make charity a possibility.

Comrade Goldman has gone to Pittsburg to "spread the gospel." She has the affectionate esteem of her Philadelphia comrades, who believe in her undying fealty to the cause; in her intellectual and discoursive ability to expound and defend it; and in her indomitable will which is unswerved by either persecution or imprisonment.

O. SHELLING.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

"CALL FOR ACTION."

Comrade Bodendyke's call for action in the issue of No. 150 with reference to establishing a colony is disturbing the minds of radicals of late. It seems there is sickness in our ranks, and the expounders of such erratic ideas furnish proof of it. If I look at things rightly there can be no such thing as an Anarchist community successfully conducted. First, we have not the means to start it; second, we cannot live up to our ideal so long as the dominant system makes war upon us, and admitting this to be a fact, our sole aim should be to make war upon the prevailing system; or, in other words, to be the yeast to revolutionize an oppressed and superstitious people. To do this, and do it right, we must stay in their midst, and not fence ourselves up in a community or colony.

The only object we can have for any kind of association is not to try to free ourselves from surrounding conditions (and finally to prove it to be a failure where every one of the participants accuses the other of having brought it about), but associate to further the propaganda. Let us, instead of trying to bring about impossibilities, establish a center for distribution of literature. Go to work and do something, instead of bewailing our own inactivity, and soon we will have something else than such a state of things as we have now. Comrade Bodendyke cries: "I dread to work for a boss. I'd sooner go to war if I could." We are in war now, comrade, and you either do not realize it or else your servitude has so affected you that you would unconsciously fall into the trap of a boss again, because if you would co-operate with ever so many or few mechanics, you would be as much under the power of monopoly as now. Where would you get the raw material to work upon, if not from them? And to whom could you sell, if not to a monopoly-ridden surrounding? As things are we could not lift ourselves out of this mire by our own boot-straps. We shall have to get out of it, else clear it away. No other method is possible, however we may dislike it. Therefore, if everyone of the comrades would help clear away the miro of superstition, and not waste away his life-blood trying to elevate hims elf above it, we soon would have better conditions around us, and not until we do this will our surroundings improve.

Now, comrade, get up and go to war again and you will have better results than you have had during the past three years.

CLEMENS PFORTZNER.

Chicago, Ill.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

BIBLE TEACHING UP TO DATE.

"But Christ is ALL, and in ALL."

Logically therefore an Anarchist must be Christ and christianity Anarchism.

Paul realized the ideal Anarchy when he said, "Lie not one to another, seeing that you have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him; where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free; but Christ is all, and in all. Put on therefore as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long suffering, forebearing one another, and forgiving one another if any man have a quarrel against any; even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye."

Paul earned his living in the sweat of his face, and by thus following the first law of nature, he at last found the truth in other matters, and became a leader of the very class he before persecuted even unto death; and in many instances, (such as the above) preached freedom.

Booth, the self-dubbed general—a more appropriate title would be, aide de camp of the plutes—has commenced his campaign of degradation in California by saying: "We want, however, not more bibles, nor more truths, but more men and women who love the truth; christianity means real men and real women who live free from sin;" right you are, and one sin is that of keeping you producing nothing but childish superstition; the greatest sin, the concentration of all sin, is that of Labor submitting to legal robbery, through which those who produce rags, live in hovels and suffer [illegible]. tinue these conditions quietly is the [illegible] gated by the Salvation army. Brother [illegible] is not an attractive one, there being no [illegible] equity in enticing dupes to still crawl down the road to fall among thieves.

Those professing or attempting to lead [illegible] must first get rid of all the superstitions on which [illegible] were fed as babies, when they swallowed every lie the barons and priests selected from the [illegible] of biblical barons and priests, so as to retain them in bondage through ignorance.

Miss Francis Willard, the distinguished temperance advocate, for a long time preached intemperance as the cause of poverty and crime, but being an earnest seeker after truth she arrived at the conclusion that the unjust conditions under which Labor has to live, was the real cause of both the poverty and the crime.

Christianity means real men and real women, "who know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain them;" and they cannot carry this out in Salvation barracks, with hallelujah soup, and praise-the-lord-bare-bones. Let the general begin at the sore place; try the healing of the people by following the example of Jesus, and whip the money changers off the earth, clean out of the temple of humanity—then, and not till then, will there be peace on earth and good will between men—don't the Doctorers of Divinity know this?

But what is Booth's mode? raise the down-trodden? No, tread them down so deep in the mire of superstitious fear and submission, that they will never rise again! The plutocratic press gives us the news that an ovation headed by Oakland's mayor was accorded him, before entering his carriage to be driven to Hotel Meritt, where he told the interviewer, "Since my visit to America three years ago the increase in membership of the Salvation army is something marvelous. I also find among MY PEOPLE a great advance in the character of work, and their devotion to the great and good cause is beautiful in the extreme. It can be expressed in just three words; they are, poverty, chastity and devotion" (what keen perception!) "Among the Salvationists the world over the likeness is striking. They are willing to serve, obedient to authority, to suffer, and are the most lovable people on [illegible] of the earth. If the world goes on [illegible] a mighty force and a great aid to civilisation."

The offer of a civilization of robbed, crushed slaves is not enticing; no one wearing any uniform can be free, be he priest, police, or collector of odd trifles under false pretenses—the Pope must be Booth's model; the pennies come in so thick and handy in both cases, through fear of damnation, purgatory and hell.

We prefer to follow the carpenter who taught that the truth shall make us free; freedom in hell is preferable to a heaven-community of brass bands, banners and buncombe; howls and prayers, colonels and slaves.

The Salvation army is a positive block on the road to Labor's emancipation.

We may meet beyond the river to check your baggage, barons, priests and colonels; you have at least saved us that worry.

J. ALFRED KINGHORN-JONES.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

FOR CHICAGO.

Concert and ball of The International Group, Saturday, April 9., 1898, at 12th St., Turner Hall near Halsted St., for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY and the Berkman Fund. Comrade Emma Goldman will deliver an address. All comrades interested in our movement are earnestly requested to make this testimonial a financial success.

THE INTERNATIONAL GROUP.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

IMPORTANT NOTICE!

Allegheny, Pa.
February 19, 1898.

The committee which is assisting H. Bauer in distributing prizes has resolved to postpone this [illegible] until April 2, 1898, for the reason that most of the tickets are still outstanding.

Those having received tickets are kindly requested to settle and to return those not sold before March 29, 1898.

The Committee:

P. HAUBERT. H. G[illegible]
C. NOLD. A. F[illegible]
P. SCHLIFF. L. B[illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890320006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Commune Celebrated / Emma Goldman.– p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Leader. –(March 13, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission. Institutional Location: Division of Archives & Manuscripts.

E SAME DATE.

CROCOLLEGIATE MEETS TSBURG ON ONE DAY.

iversity in a Decided Di- he State Intercollegiate e Figured on Doc Date, ir Constitution Fixes Hot Causes Trou-

n Pittsburg in the on connected with the parlors Y M C A yesterday al- during the session a de- lected situation developed with the coming annual ed for May 21

y stated in the "Leader," ercollegiate meet will be ong this year, as at first he 20th of the same month, on, however develops the day set by the constitu- ate association is May 21. e dates of the two meets day, 14th to be held in low the delegates to the e state organization over the error of the big meet t known Mr F W Mil- esented the Western and- Philadelphia meeting, says tes mentioned the date as It was published in the that way, he himself only istake by reading the con- e state association The he situation was made by yesterday's meeting and ted quite a commotion as be made somewhere. lleges entered the West- holds the most unenviable matter in so much that member of the Western ssociation, which will be state meet and further eet in charge An effort yesterday's meeting to maller meet one week, or May, an action made nec- ary that, unlike the state e date of the annual meet y the constitution of the tion. This change, how- he meet too late for the athletes which institution on the 26th An effort however, by the Geneva dd their team until the e Western university has ay one-half of the ex- ly so doing the matter e adjusted in that way. discussion which followed ent of the difficulty in- nade to hold the small e Monday following the at the W A J Grounds Issue with this proposi- ound that the Western could hardly compete in ree days and would prob- of the smaller meet At argument Delegate Mil- was forced to guarantee would put a team in the ents The final decision now depends on the ea college athletic board r colleges comprising the lvania association ac- pt the second date.

the subject above men- gates yesterday prepared s from which the offi- meet will be chosen A of the Schenley park as expected to meet with yesterday but did not rance The question of yet been finally decided. tives present at yester- ere President E M Long, ary J P Alexander of F Kirchner of W & of W P P George J Grove City college C R and W J Holmes of

HLETES, ATTENION

Association Preparing Annual Exhibit.

tor Aldrich, of the East A., has issued the fol- the athletic members of

nur annual gymnasium reaching, and if we ex- the reputation we have we must begin our pre- e. We want at least 75 se 100 if they come We s of the students' class n club drill, 24 members rticipants to go in the d large squads for high- e German horse parallel ar, etc There will also thletic events—the rope the high jump or pole ork will be accompanied me a great deal of prac- e necessary and, above dance at practice.

nday, March 14, regular conducted on Monday, turday evenings at 8 afternoon at 4 o'clock. man who has been in whether he is in training not, and each man can ill go in—Please get in help to make the 1898 xt in the history of the

tained its good name during the year just passed the business men have become interested and assure the club that in the event of a race being given during the season they will contribute liberally. The intention is to limit the membership to 75 and as it has to active members now this will be easily done during the summer, and the social part for next winter will be boomed.

P. A. C. BOXING TOURNEY.

Much Interest Evidenced in the Scanlon-Lehrman Bout.

"Honest Joe" Leonard the well known boxer and referee, has been agreed upon by the principals for the referee of the fistic boxing show at the Pittsburg athletic club next Monday night. The announcement of the selection was pleasing to the patrons of boxing for it insures the presence at the ring of a referee thoroughly competent and one with nerve to give a decision on the merits of the bouts.

This is the program: Six rounds between "Steve" Russell and Paddy Sullivan of Lawrenceville the featherweights; ten rounds between "Jimmy" Scanlon, of East End and George Lehrman, of the South Side, the undefeated heavyweights, and a four-round go if the entertainment proves too short. All these contests are for decisions. All the principals are anxious for a decision and want no unsatisfactory draws. The show will begin promptly at 8:30 P. M. and should be over by 11 P. M. All East Liberty street cars go right to the club house, on Shady avenue. The way that seats have been selling at Sterrett's drug store, in the East End, and at Pratt's on Wood street, downtown, indicates that the patrons of the sport appreciate the pleasure of seeing clean, fast, straight boxing, where everyone can have a seat and one seat is as good as another. The big bout between Scanlon and Lehrman is attracting great attention. Betting continues about even. Both have fought about ten battles without losing one. Both have been doing a daily drill and are in the fettle.

LISTS SOON TO BE OUT.

Entry Blanks for the Dog Show to Be Issued To-Morrow.

Preparations for the bench show announced for April 6, 7, 8 and 9 in Old City hall, to be given by the Western Pennsylvania kennel club, are progressing in a very satisfactory manner. Secretary P. S. Steadman has received many entries already, although the premium lists will not be out until to-morrow. After to-morrow they can be obtained from the office of the secretary, room 218 Lewis building. The entries will close on March 26.

Application has been made to the American kennel club for its sanction of the show and a special meeting of the directors will consider the matter on Tuesday. There is little doubt of the show receiving favorable consideration from the club. With the awards to count "A K C" the show will certainly be a success. The show committee are especially anxious for the local entries to be numerous and up to the standard. The premiums so far have been many and it is certain that the finest dogs of Allegheny county will be seen in the show.

The entries from a distance are certain to be few. It is understood that Dr. C. A. Longest of Boston, the proprietor of the finest kennel of bloodhounds in the world, will exhibit his prize winners here. The famous bench mastiff, Black Peter, just imported at a cost of $500, will also be a feature of the show. Dr. Longest claims Black Peter to be the finest specimen of brindle mastiff in the world. He has never been exhibited in America, although entered at the Brooklyn show he arrived too late to be benched.

The Central league club has co-operated with the Western Pennsylvania kennel club in the show and has offered all its special trophies and cups.

The show committee has decided that in breeds where no puppy class is provided in the prehiuim list, one will be made when four or more entries are promised. This action has been taken in response to numerous requests from exhibitors.

Secretary Steadman is in receipt of numerous letters from prospective exhibitors, endorsing the selection of judges as the best that could have been made. The selection of E. M. Oldham as man-

The Team Picked.

Washington, Pa., March 12.—The measuring for suits to-day for the following W. and J. students indicates that they will play on the varsity football team this season: F. Nesbit and Rodgers, '98; Allen, Elcher, Moore, Hawiman and C. Nesbit, '99, Carson, 1900; Kearns and Service 1901, and Theurer, 1902.

The candidates for the team have been practicing steadily this week at College park and the prospects for a winning aggregation are growing brighter every day.

DISORDERLY HOUSE RAIDED.

One Woman Tried to Escape and Had Her Clothing Badly Torn.

Captain Grant Smith and Officer Thos. Martin raided a disorderly house at 2708 Arlington avenue shortly before 11 o'clock last night and locked up the proprietor and four visitors. The proprietor was John Lawrence, colored. He was charged with keeping a disorderly house. The visitors were Mary Magill, Alex. Paxton, William Hughes and Louis Tellner. Mrs. Magill tried to escape arrest by jumping through a window. One of the officers caught her and dragged her back into the house, but in doing so tore most of her clothes from her. On the

COMMUNE CELEBRATED.

ANARCHISTS HEARD THEIR ORACLES TALK LAST NIGHT.

Emma Goldman Made Prophecies and Epigrams—It Was Her Last Appearance in Pittsburg for Some Time—There Was Speaking in a Variety of Languages and Music Added to the Enjoyment.

"Then there will be no more cries of 'Vive la commune,' but a glad shout, 'Long live anarchy, let there be freedom, happiness and plenty for all."

With this prophetic declaration Emma Goldman last night completed a word picture of the apotheosis of free society. Then she stalked off the stage. She wore a long red ascot puff tie and as the last words of her impassioned utterance died away the ends of it fluttered in the breeze created by her motions.

The Elite orchestra played the "Marseillaise." The harmony which prevails among Miss Goldman's admirers was illustrated while it was being played. A German Socialist muttered "D—— that hymn; the bourgeois government of France would have been dead years ago without it." Several French Anarchists went out humming:

'Marchons, marchons!
Q'un sang impur
Abreuve nos sillons."

They celebrated the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Paris commune. There were about 300 of them and they gathered in Imperial dancing hall, on Wylie avenue. It was to be Miss Goldman's last appearance in Pittsburg and an admission fee of 10 cents was charged to pay for music. After they had all got there the Elite orchestra played several tunes. Then a "Saenger Bund," composed of progressive brewery employees sang the "Lobgesang der Freiheit." If "Freiheit" had been there to hear them she would probably have preferred anarchy to any more of it. Then the speaking commenced. The first oration was in French and was by Louis Goazion. Mr. Goazion is a handsome young man with a pink and white Belgian bloom on his cheeks and a pretty little yellow mustache, which it must cost him a nickel extra to have curled whenever he gets shaved. He was manifestly out of place. He made a few remarks about the history of the Paris commune and concluded with the moral that when the people have all ceased to be ignorant the social question will be forever solved. There was no anarchy in that and the audience did not applaud. He sat down. More music, then address in Hebrew by Henry Gordon. When he opened his mouth the words flowed out of him faster than beer flows at an Anarchist picnic. He said the commune fell, but those who fought for it were heroes whose work brought the time of universal liberty nearer.

That was better and the audience warmed up. It was quite enthusiastic when after some more music Emma Goldman appeared and recited a German poem, which the master of ceremonies said was a call to liberty. In it she said several times, "Erwoche, folge mir und du bist frei." The Anarchists followed her closely through the poem, and felt free when it was over. The orchestra played some more and then Carl Nold spoke in German. He began by admitting that "die commune von Paris ist todt." Then he said the American workingmen know nothing about it and proceeded to instruct them with some choice "hoch Deutsch" and a lot of wind-producing gesticulation. He floundered around in the history of the commune awhile, and then switched onto the Cuban war. The gist of his views was that the Anarchists will not fight, it makes no difference if Spain sinks every American ship. "Wir wollen freiheit," he declared.

Some more music, and then came

month for celebrations, and declared the people will some day be free in March. The French commune failed because the people did not understand their own power and trusted leaders. Next time there is a revolution they will not have any leaders, but will establish Anarchy and free co-operation. Her speech did not seem intended to establish any point in particular. Here are a few choice expressions:

"The French people are stupid but if the conditions in America prevailed in France they would overthrow the government as they did when they cut the throat of that beautiful woman, Marie Antoinette.

"The French soldiers sometimes side with the people but the

THE TREATMENT THAT C

The TREATMENT that CURES.

Doctor Copeland's New Treatment, that has lifted the darkness and blight of the word "Incurable" from hundreds of thousands of those cases of diseases in the Throat, Bronchial Tubes and Lungs, works its curative action for two reasons:

(1) It reaches every sore spot, from the orifice of the nose to the deepest part of the lungs, to the innermost recesses of the middle ear.

(2) Instead of irritating, inflaming and feeding the fires of the disease, it soothes, quiets, heals and cures.

What is the treatment that cures these conditions, once regarded incurable? By what process does it restore the diseased membrane, remove the poison and relieve the soreness of disease? Let the experience of persons cured and being cured tell.

HOW IT CURES COMMON CATARRH.

Here is a patient taking treatment for Catarrh in the Head. He breathes the soothing medication through his nostrils, and the nasal channels open up, the stuffed-up feeling in the head leaves and he can breath naturally through the nose again. The dull pains across the front of the head fade away, and the nasal membrane is soothed until inflammation and soreness are all gone. The bad odor of the breath passes away, and the lost sense of smell returns. The dropping in the throat is checked, the nose does not stop up toward night any more, the sneezing and snoffing have ceased, the discharge from the nose grows less and less and finally stops altogether. The disease has been checked and eradicated from the system before it ever reached the throat. It has not been driven down into his throat or into his lungs or into his ears, as is so often done by other treatments.

HOW IT CURES CATARRH OF THE THROAT.

Here is another patient who had Catarrh in the Head. He caught cold after cold, and the disease spread down into his throat. He breathes and drinks in the disease-banishing medication. It bathes the membranes of his head and throat. The soreness of the head and throat becomes less and the desire to hawk and spit is disappearing, the sense of taste is returning and the voice again becomes soft and melodious. There is no more gagging and vomitting in the morning. No longer does every exposure to the weather result in a stuffed-up throat that becomes sore and inflamed, and no longer does he find his throat and tongue dry as chips when he wakes from an unrefreshing sleep.

HOW IT CURES CATARRH OF VOCAL ORGANS.

Here is another patient who contracted Catarrh that extended from the throat into the glottis, the gateway that opens to the windpipe and lungs. This disease attacks the vocal chords, this sensitive instrument of the human voice, and soon mars its sweet tones or destroys them altogether. Here sits a lady, inhaling the soothing preparation. She has been ten months silent, and the treatment has already restored her voice. Who can say what joy she feels in being restored to the usefulness and the pleasure of conversation!

HOW IT CURES CATARRHAL DEAFNESS.

Here is another patient who for years had been a sufferer. Every [illegible] seemed to stay longer than former colds, and he noticed that his ears got stopped up and his hearing became duller and duller, and there were ringing and buzzing noises in his ears. The catarrh had passed upward and backward from the throat along the eustachian tubes leading from the throat into the ear. He had visited throat doctors and ear doctors and catarrh doctors without relief. In this condition we find him inhaling the never-failing medication, and soon he notices a change. The noises in the ear stop, there is no more discharge, the hearing gets better, and finally the tubes of the ears open up and something seems to give way in the head. His hearing had completely returned. No wonder he considers the result a marvel.

HEARING ENTI

Mrs. Rachel M street, city: "I h my head for a go time I took cold n denly become enti while it would se with a snap and I At last it became remained so until from Doctors Cope treatment has entir ing in my ear, and health has been g

HOME TREATM PATIENTS THE

Mrs. Annie M. street, East Liverp your new treatmen November 11, with sults. I am very pecially with the trouble. My stom hadn't much faith when

My Son S

"I thought that t thing quite so good that I used to "get somewhat disappoi send me the old tr the new treatment.



Christie Martin Hearing Restored and Head Noises

It has given greater troubled with chro asthma a good ma ose my name for a r for I certainly d method of treatment instrumental in help been all this time

Making ap

about giving my tes like having it publis it over it seemed se I had received so m your treatment. Be ment I couldn't sleep ing and wheezing. was weak and my Now I do not cough know that if it was cine I would be pre this kind of weather.

In Tucker Co

J. M. Domer, county, W. Va.: "My 15 years as the result work, which is that nostrils would clog in them so I could mucus would drop int ing me to hawk and vomit in my efforts hearing became impai nervous trouble also In the Pittsburg pa cures accomplished b and Byers by mean Treatment decided me thn result of treatme returned as good as trils and throat do no My nerves are strong anything now, and I me."

In Butler

Miss Iola McCandl county, Pa.: "I had a general catarrhal bead, lungs and stoma which was always g during the winter mo always have a cold- would blow large cru trils. In the winter expectorate like one and had severe darti my sides. I doctored without benefit, until been cured by Docto Byers, advised me to received five months that I have been cur

145

890320006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Commune Celebrated / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The Pittsburg[h] Leader. —(March 13, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission. Institutional Location: Division of Archives & Manuscripts.

...tion was made by ...ny's meeting, and ...e a rammahon as ...e somewhere. ...ncerned the West... ...e most unenviable ...pin.so much that ...r of the Western ...on, which will be ...meet and further ...hurge An effort ...ny's meeting to ...meet one week, or ...nother made pos..., unlike the state ...f the annual meet ...onstitution of the This change, how...t too late for the ...s widely institution ...e 26th An effort ...r, by the Times ...ir team until the ...ern university has ...half of the ex... doing the matter ...ted in that way. ...n which followed ...the dilemma the ...to ... the small ...following, the ...& J. delegates ...with this propos... ...that the Western ...hardly compete in ...s and would prob... smaller meet At ...nent Delegate Mil... forced to guarantee ...put a team in the ... The final decision ...epends on the ...llege athletic board. ...ges comprising the ...association are ... second date.

...ubject above men... yesterday prepared ...m which the offi... will be chosen. A ... Schenley park ...ected to meet with ...rday, but did not ... The question of ...en finally decided ... present at yester... ...sident E M Lons, J. P. Alexander of Kirchner of W. & ... P., George J. ...City college C R. W. J Holmes of

TES, ATTENION

...lation Preparing ...al Exhibit.

...ldrich, of the East ...has issued the fol... ...thletic members of ...annual gymnasium ...ling, and if we ex... reputation we have ...must begin our pre... ...e want at least 75 ...if they come We ...the students' class ...b drill, 24 members ...to give a bar bell ...ints to go up the ...ge squads for high... ...man horse parallel ...te. There will also ...ic events—the rope ...high jump or pole ...ill be accompanied ... great deal of ne... ...cessary and above ...e at practice.

March 13, regular ...ucted on Monday, ...day evenings at 8 ...rnoon at 4 o'clock. ... who has been in ...er he is in training ... and each man can ...o in. Plans are in ...a to make the 1898 ... the history of the

E BELT.

...lf "Champion of ... Will Fight Any...

...2.—Richard K Fox ...telegram to-day ...o signs himself ...orld." The dispatch ...me, Ind. ...tulations. Will ne... ...d fight two cham... ...cessary every year ...gers to defend the ...ors and the 'Police ... belt here."

... Joke.

...ch 12.—Harry Stees, ... and baseball play... ...e victim of a prac... ...y paper on Thurs... ...r under a Harrisburg ... by Mrs Harry ...rmation of Robert ...d ball with Stees ...ees was an appren... ...faine and had been ...n and his mother ...gh regarding busi... ...a reporter called at ... Muench street, to... ...himself, who pro... ...foud joke He had ...rrisburg since last

L GAME.

...e Championship ...ling League.

...Six bowling clubs, ...ogue, have played ... winter. The rule ... was between the ...rams, the Centrals ... championship. The ...ing of the clubs at ...ament:

	Won.	Lost.
.....	37	13
.....	34	16
	27	

...great attention. Betting continues about even. Both have fought about ten battles without losing one. Both have been doing a daily drill and are in fine fettle.

LISTS SOON TO BE OUT.

Entry Blanks for the Dog Show to Be Issued To-Morrow.

Preparations for the bench show announced for April 6, 7 8 and 9, in Old City hall, to be given by the Western Pennsylvania kennel club, are progressing in a very satisfactory manner. Secretary E. S. Steadman has received many entries already, although the premium lists will not be out until to-morrow. After to-morrow they can be obtained from the office of the secretary, room 218 Lewis building. The entries will close on March 25.

Application has been made to the American kennel club for its sanction of the show, and a special meeting of the directors will consider the matter on Tuesday. There is little doubt of the show receiving favorable consideration from the club. With the awards to count "A. K. C." the show will certainly be a success. The show committee are especially anxious for the local entries to be numerous and up to the standard. The to just say — can have been many and it is certain that the finest dogs of Allegheny county will be seen in the show.

The entries from all time are certain to be few. It is understood that Dr. C. A. Longest, of Boston, the proprietor of the finest kennel of bloodhounds in the world, will exhibit his prize winners here. The famous bulldog mastiff, Black Peter, just imported at a cost of $2,500, will also be a feature of the show. Dr Longest claims Black Peter to be the finest specimen of bulldog mastiff in the world. He has never been exhibited in America, although entered at the Brooklyn show—he arrived too late to be benched.

The Central Bough club has co-operated with the Western Pennsylvania kennel club in the show and has offered all its special trophies and cups.

The show committee has decided that in breeds where no puppy class is provided in the premium list, one will be made when four or more entries are promised. This action has been taken in response to numerous requests from exhibitors.

Secretary Steadman is in receipt of numerous letters from prospective exhibitors, endorsing the selection of judges as the best that could have been made. The selection of E. M. Oldham as man-

The Team Picked.

Washington, Pa., March 12—The measuring for suits today for the following W and J students indicates that they will play on the varsity football team this season: F. Nesbit and Rodgers, '95; Allen, Elder, Moore, Bowman and C. Nesbit, '99, Carson, '00 Kearns and Service 1901 and Thorpe, 1902.

The candidates for the team have been practicing steadily this week at College park and the prospects for a whining aggregation are growing brighter every day.

DISORDERLY HOUSE RAIDED.

One Woman Tried to Escape and Had Her Clothing Badly Torn.

Captain Grant Smith and Officer Thos. Martin raided a disorderly house at 2706 Arlington avenue shortly before 11 o'clock last night and locked up the proprietor and four visitors. The proprietor was John Lawrence, colored. He was charged with keeping a disorderly house. The visitors were Mary Magill, Alex Paxton, William Hughes and Louis Tellner. Mrs. Magill tried to escape arrest by jumping through a window. One of the officers caught her and dragged her back into the house, but in doing so tore most of her clothes from her. On the way to the police station she made a desperate effort to jump out of the wagon and it required the efforts of two officers to hold her. Owing to her struggles to free herself she was almost entirely nude when she reached the matron's department at the Twenty-eighth ward police station.

BEAT THE HOTEL.

A New Yorker Worked the Hotel Anderson for His Board.

Addison Archer is charged with leaving the Hotel Anderson last night without settling his bill and E. E. Bonneville, the clerk, made information against him before Alderman C. F. Anderson, charging him with obtaining board by false pretense. Archer, however, had taken the 9 o'clock B. & O. train for the east before that was done, and Detective Thomas Richards telephoned to Connellsville to have him taken from the train and held until an officer could go after him.

Archer is about 30 years of age and is presumed to live in Philadelphia, to which city he bought a ticket yesterday. He had been at the hotel more than a week and had a young man in his employ as a secretary. He vouched for the secretary and promised to pay his bill. The secretary left for his home in Indianapolis on Thursday. Archer got Mr. Bonneville to cash a check for $25 yesterday. The check was given to Archer by Mordock, Kerr & Co., and is presumed to be all right. Mr. Bonneville was at the B. & O. depot to take the train for the east, but not having a warrant at the time could not arrest him. Archer left two trunks at the hotel and a bill of some $30 unpaid.

Archer, during his stay in Pittsburg, had been trying to work an advertising scheme, but his efforts to interest local daily papers were without success. The Newspaper Publishers' association turned him down at a meeting held last Tuesday, refusing to have anything to do with him or his advertising scheme.

Hit With a Bootjack.

Thomas Yackel was admitted to the South Side hospital yesterday suffering from injuries said to have been received by being struck on the head with a bootjack by Peter Planis. Both men were boarding at the same house. Planis was

'Marchons, marchons!
Q'un sang impur
Abreuve nos sillons."

They celebrated the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Paris commune. There were about 300 of them and they gathered in Imperial dancing hall, on Wylie avenue. It was to be Miss Goldman's last appearance in Pittsburg and an admission fee of 10 cents was charged to pay for music. After they had all got there the Elite orchestra played several tunes. Then a "Suenger Bund," composed of progressive brewery employees sang the "Lobgesang der Freiheit." If "Freiheit" had been there to hear them she would probably have preferred anarchy to any more of it. Then the speaking commenced. The first oration was in French and was by Louis Gouzion. Mr. Gouzinn is a handsome young man with a pink and white Belgian bloom on his cheeks and a pretty little yellow mustache, which it must cost him a nickel extra to have curled whenever he gets shaved. He was manifestly out of place. He made a few remarks about the history of the Paris commune and concluded with the moral that when the people have all ceased to be ignorant the social question will be forever solved. There was no music by in that and the audience did not applaud. He sat down. More music, then address in Hebrew by Henry Gordon. When he opened his mouth the words flowed out of him faster than beer flows at an Anarchist picnic. He said the commune fell, but those who fought for it were heroes whose work brought the time of universal liberty nearer.

That was better and the audience warmed up. It was quite enthusiastic when after some more music Emma Goldman appeared and recited a German poem, which the master of ceremonies said was a call to liberty. In it she said several times, "Erwoche, folge mir und du bist frei." The Anarchists followed her closely through the poem, and felt free when it was over. The orchestra played some more and then Carl Nold spoke in German. He began by admitting that "die commune von Paris ist todt." Then he said the American workingmen know nothing about it and proceeded to instruct them with some choice "hoch Deutsch" and a lot of wind-producing gesticulation. He floundered around in the history of the commune awhile, and then switched onto the Cuban war. The gist of his views was that the Anarchists will not fight. It makes no difference if Spain sinks every American ship. "Wir wollen freiheit," he declared.

Some more music, and then came Goldman. She thought March a great month for celebrations, and declared the people will some day be free in March. The French commune failed because the people did not understand their own power and trusted leaders. Next time there is a revolution they will not have any leaders, but will establish Anarchy and free co-operation. Her speech did not seem intended to establish any point in particular. Here are a few choice expressions:

"The French people are stupid but if the conditions in America prevailed in France they would overthrow the government as they did when they cut the throat of that beautiful woman, Marie Antoinette.

"The French soldiers sometimes side with the people, but the American militia never will. Its members are the sons of the rich and it is sport for them to shoot workingmen.

"The people must help themselves; it is not in the power of God or the devil to help them."

"Patriotism is idiocy; religion is ignorance; capitalism is slavery.

"A year is a good deal for Zola; it would be little for us, who are no better than dogs and have comrades in prison for 22 years.

"The American government is no better than that of crazy Wilhelm and Wilhelm ought to be given a gun so he could blow out his own brains."

McKees Rocks Gospel Meetings.

A series of Gospel temperance meetings will be conducted at McKees Rocks and Esplen this week, under the direction of Rev. G. H. Vibbert, of Boston, Mass. The meetings will be held at 7:45 each evening, and the following schedule has been arranged: Monday, March 14, at the Presbyterian church, McKees Rocks; Tuesday, March 15, at the Methodist Episcopal church, McKees Rocks; Wednesday, March 16, at the United Presbyterian church, Esplen; Thursday, March 17, at the Presbyterian church, McKees Rocks; Friday, March 18, at the Methodist Episcopal church, McKees Rocks; Saturday, March 19, United Presbyterian church, Esplen. Special services will be held at the United Presbyterian church, Esplen, at 2:30 P. M., on Sunday, and at the Presbyterian church, McKees Rocks, on Sunday evening, at

—On next Thursday evening Old City hall will be the scene of a patriotic celebration by the president, students and friends of Holy Ghost college. In connection with Father Murphy's lecture, which will be the great event of the evening, the following attractive program will be given: Orchestra, "Gems of Ireland," "Irish Brigade," "Medley of National Airs;" chorus, "Oft in the Stilly Night," College Glee club; song, "Oh, Breathe Not His Name," Robert Boss; song, "'Tis a Handful of Earth," Master J. Hayes; chorus, "The Minstrel Boy," college Glee club; song, "Who Fears to Speak of Ninety-eight?" Mr. David T. Moore; song, "Kerry Dance," Thomas Trudell, Albert Eschman and John Hayes; "Itich and Rare Were the Gems She Wore."

Catarrh in the Head. He breathes the soothing medication through his nostrils, and the nasal channels open up, the stuffed-up feeling in the head leaves and he can breath naturally through the nose again. The dull pains across the front of the head fade away, and the nasal membrane is soothed until inflammation and soreness are all gone. The bad odor of the breath passes away, and the lost sense of smell returns. The dropping in the throat is checked, the nose does not stop up toward night any more, the sneezing and snuffling have ceased, the discharge from the nose grows less and less and finally stops altogether. The disease has been checked and eradicate from the system before it ever reached the throat. It has not been driven down into his throat or into his lungs or into his ears, as is so often done by other treatments.

HOW IT CURES CATARRH OF THE THROAT.

Here is another patient who had Catarrh in the Head. He caught cold after cold, and the disease spread down into his throat. He breathes and drinks in the disease-banishing medication. It bathes the membranes of his head and throat. The soreness of the head and throat becomes less and the desire to hawk and spit is disappearing, the sense of taste is returning and the voice again becomes soft and melodious. There is no more gagging and vomitting in the morning. No longer does every exposure to the weather result in a stuffed-up throat that becomes sore and inflamed, and no longer does he find his throat and tongue dry as chips when he wakes from an unrefreshing sleep.

HOW IT CURES CATARRH OF VOCAL ORGANS.

Here is another patient who contracted Catarrh that extended from the throat into the glottis, the gateway that opens to the windpipe and lungs. This disease attacks the vocal chords, this sensitive instrument of the human voice, and soon mars its sweet tones or destroys them altogether. Here sits a lady. Inhaling the soothing preparation. She has been ten months silent, and the treatment has already restored her voice. Who can say what joy she feels in being restored to the usefulness and the pleasure of conversation!

HOW IT CURES CATARRHAL DEAFNESS.

Here is another patient who for years had been a sufferer. Every fresh cold seemed to stay longer than former colds, and he noticed that his ears got stopped up and his hearing became duller and duller, and there were ringing and buzzing noises in his ears. The catarrh had passed upward and backward from the throat along the eustachian tubes leading from the throat into the ear. He had visited throat doctors and ear doctors and catarrh doctors without relief. In this condition we find him inhaling the never-failing medication, and soon he notices a change. The noises in the ear stop, there is no more discharge, the hearing gets better, and finally the tubes of the ears open up and something seems to give way in the head. His hearing had completely returned. No wonder he considers the result a marvel.



Mrs. Rachel Naumer, 15 Machon st., City, Testifies to Dr. Copeland's Skill in Curing Deafness.

HOW IT CURES BRONCHIAL CATARRH.

Here is another patient who was always sensitive to the weather. He contracted Catarrh of the Head, and it passed to his throat, then down the windpipe and into the bronchial tubes. He coughed at night so that he could not sleep; there was pain behind his breastbone and under his shoulder-blades. When he coughed he brought up a frothy, grayish material, streaked with blood. He lost appetite and strength. He tried cough syrups and different medicines to no avail. He now breathes in with full inspiration the restoring and soothing medicine. The sore spots along the bronchial tubes heal, the cough ceases, the pain leaves. The appetite and strength return. He is again a well and happy man.

HOW IT CURES CATARRH OF THE LUNGS.

Here is another pitiful case. He had all the history of colds and catarrh extending downward from the nose to throat, to glottis, to windpipe, to the bronchial tubes, and then into the small tubes of the lungs. His cough always

...I thought that ... thing quite so good ... that I used to get ... somewhat disappoin... send me the old tre... the new treatment, pow...



Christie Martin, Natro... Hearing Restored in L... and Head Noises Cured.

it has given greater relief. troubled with chronic bro... asthma a good many year... use my name for a referenc... for I certainly do rec... method of treatment. I fe... instrumental in helping oth... been all this time in

Making up My M...

about giving my testimonia... like having it published, bu... it over it seemed selfish on... I had received so much h... your treatment. Before be... ment I couldn't sleep at nig... ing and wheezing. The h... was weak and my stomac... Now I do not cough and v... know that if it was not fo... mine I would be pretty we... this kind of weather."

In Tucker County,

J. M. Domer, Alber...

county, W. Va.: "My troub... 15 years as the result of ex... work, which is that of a... nostrils would clog up and... in them so I could not b... mucus would drop into my ... ing me to hawk and gag ... vomit in my efforts to cl... hearing became impaired, ... nervous trouble also follo... In the Pittsburg papers ... cores accomplished by Doc... and Byers by means of ... Treatment decided me to w... the result of treatment my ... returned as good as ever, ... trils and throat do not clog ... My nerves are stronger, a... anything now, and it does ... me."

In Butler Cou...

Miss Iola McCandless, ...

county, Pa.: "I had been ... a general catarrhal condi... head, lungs and stomach ab... which was always greatly ... during the winter months. ... always have a cold in my ... would blow large crusts o... trils. In the winter I wo... expectorate like one with... and had severe darting pa... my sides. I doctored cons... without benefit, until a fri... been cured by Doctors C... Byers, advised me to cons... received five months' treatm... that I have been cured. ... I saw that the cure was ... permanent before I gave th... I have not had a bad col... have no cough and have no...

In Jefferson Cou...

Mr. L. R. Llewlyn, Con...

ferson county, Pa.: "I was ... years, and doctored all th... out relief. One doctor said ... bled with heart failure, and ... told me that I would neve... work in the mines again. ... sulted Doctors Copeland and ... weak and nervous, had no ... not eat enough to give ... strength for my work. Wh... eat caused a miserable f... stomach, bloating, rifting, ... general distress. I also ha... my head and lungs. My ... throat were clogged up ... mucus, and I had a very ... received five months' tre... Doctors Cupeland and By... was influenced to consult ... ing of the cures published ... I want to add my testimo... their treatment in serious ... bles."

In Lawrence Co...

H. Rosenkrans, Eli...

Lawrence county, Pa.: "... consulted Doctors Copelan... was in a very miserable ... my head, stomach and ne... I had constant ringing n... head, which almost drove ... nostrils were stopped up ... taste in my mouth in the ... no appetite for food. My ... turbed by horrid dreams, ... ed my nervous system. I ... tired, aching and trembling ... out, worse than if I had ... all night. I thank God ... Copeland and Byers' trea... easy to take and gives s... God help you to continue ... work."

FREE CONSULTATIO... AND EXA...

Doctor Copeland's ... Deafness, his Two ...

880926024

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Letter from Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— p. 3 ; 28 cm. *In* Solidarity [New York]. —Vol. 1, no. 9 (March 15, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

SOLID

A LETTER FROM EMMA GOLDMAN.

Dear Comrades - Hurrah for the new paper! Though I don't care for the name "Solidarity" (we have had experience with it before), yet I hail its appearance, knowing how sadly a paper is needed in New York. After all, what's in a name? The principles and tendencies of a paper are all-important, and knowing the comrades who are to conduct "Solidarity," I am satisfied that our ideas will be ably set forth in its columns. I cannot tell you how many people are now interested in the philosophy of Anarchy. Even the most conservative clubs and organizations, that only a few years ago would have refused to listen to a professed Anarchist, are now inviting Anarchist lecturers. They have learned that conservatism is fast losing ground, and that nothing but advanced and radical ideas meet with popular approval. The Friendship Liberal League, of Philadelphia, for instance, has heretofore been controlled by its older members, who for twenty five years have been killing God one night and reviving him the next; who have ceased to believe in a heavenly Lord, and yet have stood by without protest while earthly lords were robbing the people. Even these "pillars of society" have been taught the lesson that the old order changes and gives way to the new. The comrades of Philadelphia, who arranged five meetings for me in the city of Brotherly Love, had a hard battle with these gentlemen, who had decided that no Anarchist should speak from the platform of the League. The younger members, however, together with our energetic comrades, won the victory. In spite of the strenuous opposition of the "respectable element," we had two glorious meetings at the League, in the afternoon and evening of Sunday, Feb. 20th. I lectured on "Patriotism" and on "Chastity." The comrades have sent reports to "Free Society" and other liberal papers, so I will refrain from telling you the details.

In Pittsburg the comrades have arranged meetings for almost every night of the three weeks I expect to stay here, to try my endurance they say, but you know how much it takes to tire a woman of talking.

Here, too, I have had proof that our ideas are marching on. The Glass Blowers' Union, No. 36, of Monaca, Pa., the largest and most conservative labor organization of the country, had me down to speak on "Majority Rule," Saturday, Feb. 26th, at a meeting specially arranged for me. I must say that I was treated with unusual politeness by the committee who showed me every attention. Of course, I care little for such courtesies but I think we have cause to be satisfied with the progress of the propaganda when we, who have until recently been treated like criminals, or else according to the "Christ of the Free thinkers," Bob Ingersoll, ought to be treated like lunatics, are invited to expound our doctrines, and are listened to with enthusiasm by people who a few years ago joined in the plutocratic cry "Hang the Anarchists."

I [illegible] to give you a better report [illegible] when I return home, [illegible]

LATTIMER.

Society is saved again! The Lattimer jury has returned the verdict which all level-headed observers expected from the first. How could it have been otherwise? A lot of workingmen, whose only function in our society is to earn dividends, interest and profits for their masters, became dissatisfied with the rations, shelter and clothing allowed them, and laid down their tools. They struck for higher wages, better treatment, and what not. This, I believe, is still permitted them. The "Injunction" method has not as yet been adopted against coal miners, but the strikers must be very peaceful and law abiding, as the law is construed and executed by the servants of the masters.

Of course, the labor leaders and labor politicians tell us that these poor slaves of Hazleton were all of them peaceful and law abiding.

Quiet, peaceful behavior was preached to them by their priests, and respect for the law and good citizenship generally, was most strenuously recommended them by their champions of press and forum; and peaceful they doubtless were, for the coal mines are still in operation and the towns are still standing. Nevertheless, we need not believe that "scabs," workingmen who would not join the strike, were treated all too gently by the strikers.

But in spite of all their protestations of peace, it is doubtless true that the mine owners and managers were afraid of them. It is impossible for the well-fed and well-conditioned exploiters to realize how awfully degraded are the victims of their exploitation.

In such cases they always imagine the strikers will act like men. [illegible] what would have been left of the [illegible] barons' possessions if the coal miners had acted like men—that is, like [illegible] accustomed to walk on their hind [illegible] and believing in their right to live [illegible] earth?

An evil memory and certain [illegible] documents, I fancy. And just as [illegible] mediæval baron went to sleep at night [illegible] with visions of a horde of invading [illegible] ants in mind, so our modern barons live always in the shadow of an [illegible] ized uprising of their victims.

It is quite easy to understand, therefore, how the young gentlemen of the [illegible] regiment faced the crisis. They [illegible] their Winchesters or shotguns [illegible] taking their [illegible] servant, the [illegible] sheriff of the county along, proceeded to meet the foe like valiant men, [illegible] defending their [illegible] in their own way the lawful and constitutional way, be it remembered.

The miners of Hazleton had decided to march on Lattimer to persuade the fellow workers of that place to join the strike. They were fools enough to go unarmed, in obedience to the advice and entreaties of their leaders. They were met on the way by Sheriff Martin and his masters, who advised, implored and ordered them to go back, but they relied on certain vague words, printed in certain musty old books about the right of peaceable folk to walk on the public highways, and insisted on going. Sheriff Martin, making use of a convenient trolley car, intercepted them on

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

8809216024

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Letter from Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— p. 3 ; 28 cm. *In* Solidarity [New York]. —Vol. 1, no. 9 (March 15, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

servative class ——— only a few years ago would have refused to listen to a professed Anarchist, are now inviting Anarchist lecturers. They have learned that conservatism is fast losing ground, and that nothing but advanced and radical ideas meet with popular approval. The Friendship Liberal League, of Philadelphia, for instance, has heretofore been controlled by its older members, who for twenty-five years have been killing God one night and reviving him the next; who have ceased to believe in a heavenly Lord, and yet have stood by without protest while earthly lords were robbing the people. Even these "pillars of society" have been taught the lesson that the old order changes and gives way to the new. The comrades of Philadelphia, who arranged five meetings for me in the city of Brotherly Love, had a hard battle with these gentlemen, who had decided that no Anarchist should speak from the platform of the League. The younger members, however, together with our energetic comrades, won the victory. In spite of the strenuous opposition of the "respectable element," we had two glorious meetings at the League, in the afternoon and evening of Sunday, Feb. 20th. I lectured on "Patriotism" and on "Charity." The comrades have sent reports to "Free Society" and other liberal papers, so I will refrain from telling you the details.

In Pittsburg the comrades have arranged meetings for almost every night of the three weeks I expect to stay here, to try my endurance they say, but you know how much it takes to tire a woman of talking.

Here, too, I have had proof that our ideas are marching on. The Glass Blowers' Union, No. 26, of Monaca, Pa., the largest and most conservative labor organization of the country, had me down to speak on "Majority Rule," Saturday, Feb. 26th, at a meeting specially arranged for me. I must say that I was treated with unusual politeness by the committee, who showed me every attention. Of course, I care little for such formalities, but I think we have cause to be satisfied with the progress of the propaganda, when we, who have until recently been treated like criminals, or who, according to the "Christ of the Free Thinkers," Bob Ingersoll, ought to be treated like lunatics, are invited to expound our doctrines, and are listened to with enthusiasm by people who a few years ago joined in the philocratic cry, "Hang the Anarchists!"

I will be able to give you a better report of my tour when I return home, which will be in the latter part of April. So far, meetings have been arranged until March 13th in this city. After that in Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago for two weeks; in Cincinnati by the Liberal League of Ohio, another free thought society that has never invited an Anarchist speaker before; St. Louis and other cities. In fact I think of extending my present tour as far as San Francisco, Cal.

I need not assure you of my hearty co-operation; it is a matter of course that I will do my best for Solidarity. Please send me several hundred copies of the first number. With best wishes for the success of your enterprise I remain

EMMA GOLDMAN

Rochester, N. Y. March 1898

must be very peaceful and law abiding as the law is construed and executed by the servants of the masters.

Of course, the labor leaders and labor politicians tell us that these poor slaves of Hazleton were all of them peaceful and law abiding.

Quiet, peaceful behavior was preached to them by their priests and respect for the law and good citizenship generally, was most strenuously recommended them by their champions of press and forum; and peaceful they doubtless were, for the coal mines are still in operation and the towns are still standing. Nevertheless, we do not believe that "scabs," workingmen who would not join the strike, were treated all too gently by the strikers.

But in spite of all their protestation of peace, it is doubtless true that the mine owners and managers were afraid of them. It is impossible for the well fed and well-conditioned exploiters to realize how awfully degraded are the victims of their exploitation.

In such cases they always imagine the strikers will act like men. And what would have been left of the coal barons' possessions if the coal miners had acted like men—that is, like men accustomed to walk on their hind legs and believing in their right to live on this earth?

An evil memory and century old documents, I fancy. And just as the medieval baron went to sleep at night—with visions of a horde of lawless serfs in mind, so our modern barons live always in the shadow of an unavenged uprising of their victims.

It is quite easy to understand, therefore, how the young gentlemen of the region faced the crisis. They took their Winchesters or shotguns and, taking their humble servant, the high sheriff of the county, along, proceeded to meet the foe like valiant men defending their right to live in their own way (the lawful and constitutional way be it remembered).

The miners of Hazleton had decided to march on Latilmer to persuade the fellow workers of that place to join the strike. They were fools enough to go unarmed, in obedience to the advice and entreaties of their leaders. They were met on the way by Sheriff Martin and his masters, who advised, implored and ordered them to go back, but relied on certain vague words, printed in certain musty old books about the right of peaceful folk to walk on the public highways, and insisted on passing. Sheriff Martin, making use of a convenient trolley car, intercepted the men on the road and drew up his forces on either side, largely in order to keep the strikers to the road if they still insisted on going to the Lattimer breaker. Then, when the procession of men came up, he went forward to meet the leaders. There he read the Riot Act, the star spangled banner, emblem of freedom etc. The sheriff and a couple of deputies and the [illegible] who carried [illegible] Then the sheriff [illegible] Martin [illegible] Not [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

890308022

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika. Part 4 / Emma Goldman. – 33 cm. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. –(March 26, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Merseburg, Germany.

Reisebriefe aus Amerika.

Von Emma Goldmann.

(Dem New-Yorker „Sturmvogel" entnommen.)

IV.

Von St. Louis aus wandte ich mich nach Capelingers Mill, einem im südwestlichen Teile Missouris gelegenen Farmerstädchen, von wo aus mir eine englische Genossin im Verein mit ihrem Manne, die seit 6 Jahren als Farmer in jener Gegend ansässig sind, eine Einladung zugehen ließ, dortselbst in mehreren von den Beiden zu arrangierenden Versammlungen zu sprechen. Nach 20-stündiger Fahrt per Bahn und 4 Stunden der Pein in einem Farmerwagen, gezogen von zwei halboerhungerten Pferden, einen Weg entlang, wo man jeden Augenblick nahe daran ist, Hals und Beine zu brechen, langte ich endlich am Ziel der Reise an.

Aber es war der Mühe wert, den Weg gemacht zu haben, denn ein dankbareres Publikum habe ich nirgends getroffen. Alle 4 Versammlungen waren für die dortigen Verhältnisse sehr gut besucht, und so groß war das Interesse der Leute, daß viele von ihnen sich nicht scheuten, 4 bis 6 Meilen zurückzulegen, um in jeder Versammlung anwesend zu sein.

Tagsüber kamen verschiedene Farmer zu mir, um ihr Leid zu klagen, das Leid, das sich wohl wenig von dem der Fabrikarbeiter unterscheidet und doch eigentümlich in seiner Art ist. Trotz schwerer Arbeit können sie doch nicht soviel zusammenbringen, um ihr Stückchen Land abzuzahlen, so daß sie Hals über Kopf in Schulden stecken; zudem ist die örtliche Bodenbeschaffenheit eine schlechte und gewährt nur armselige Ernten. Frisches Fleisch wird von den Farmern als der größte Luxus betrachtet, und es ist ihnen sehr selten gestattet, davon zu genießen. Die Hütten, die noch vor dem Bürgerkriege gebaut wurden, sind in einem solch schlechten Zustande, daß sie die Leute kaum vor den Unbilden der Witterung schützen. Zu alledem beutet der Staat diese Aermsten in Form von hohen Steuern und Abgaben aus. In solch elender Lage plagen und schinden die Menschen sich dort ihr ganzes Leben lang thatsächlich für den Großgrundbesitzer. Was Wunder, wenn sie rebellisch werden, wenn sie sich empören, wenn sie jedes Mittel willkommen heißen würden, das sie aus dieser Misere befreien könnte. Immer sich in der freien Natur bewegend, nicht umgeben von dem korrumpierenden Einfluß des Stadtlebens, besitzen die Farmer mehr Mut als die Fabrikarbeiter, sie sind nicht so demütig und zufrieden als die Letzteren, aus welchen Gründen sie auch die Ersten wären, die bei einer ausbrechenden Revolution zu den Waffen griffen. Angesichts solch guten Materials ist es nur zu bedauern, daß von anarchistischer Seite bis jetzt sehr wenig für die Aufklärung der amerikanischen Landarbeiter gethan wurde.

Von vielen Glückwünschen und Dankesworten der wackeren Farmer begleitet, fuhr ich zurück nach St. Louis. Ich sprach dort bei der 11. November-Feier, die im Allgemeinen viel zu wünschen übrig ließ, und am folgenden Tage im Trades and Labor-Council, einer Körperschaft bestehend aus Vertretern verschiedener Unions. Trotzdem ich dort die Krebsschäden des Trades-Unionismus und die Korruption der Führer ganz gehörig blosstellte, scheint doch meine Ansprache nicht ohne Wirkung geblieben zu sein; denn wie ich seitdem durch einen Genossen aus St. Louis erfuhr, zeigen sich jetzt die Herren dieser Körperschaft Anarchisten gegenüber etwas toleranter. Sie müssen doch endlich zur Erkenntnis gelangen, daß man heutzutage nur durch Propagierung von Streiks, Achtstunden-Arbeitstag, 1. Mai-Feier usw. den Arbeitern ökonomische und politische Freiheit nicht verschaffen kann.

(Schluß folgt.)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890308021

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika. [Part 5] / Emma Goldman. – 32 cm. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin]. –(April 2, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Merseburg, Germany.

Der arme Konrad. (Berlin)

14. Berlin, 2ten April 1898.

Reisebriefe aus Amerika.

Von Emma Goldmann.

(Dem New-Yorker „Sturmvogel" entnommen.)

IV.

(Schluß.)

So hat sich denn mein seit Jahren gehegter Wunsch erfüllt und da bin ich denn endlich in Detroit —. Gar Vieles hätte ich über Detroit und die dortigen Freunde zu berichten; da ich aber, um allen gerecht zu werden, sehr viel Raum in Anspruch nehmen müßte, und ich die Absicht habe, mit dieser Nummer meine Reisebriefe zu schließen („Gelobt sei Gott!" werden wohl viele ausrufen) so will ichs versuchen, mich so kurz als möglich zu fassen. Auf meiner ganzen diesmaligen Tour, sowie auf früheren Vagabundenzügen wurde mir nirgends so viel Gastfreundschaft, Gutes und Liebes erwiesen wie in Detroit; nicht nur seitens meiner speziellen Freunde, deren ich bei meiner Ankunft nur sehr wenige hatte, sondern auch von Körperschaften, darunter die Turner, Central Labor Union u. s. w. wurde ich auf die aufmerksamste und zuvorkommendste Weise behandelt. Am liebevollsten und thatkräftigsten von Allen hat mich Freund Robert Reitzel in seinem „Armen Teufel" unterstützt.

Der große segnende Einfluß, den dieses Blatt auf die Propagierung freiheitlicher Ideen und Bestrebungen ausübt, macht sich nicht nur allein in Detroit fühlbar; obgleich der „A. T." nicht vorgiebt, ein Organ der Anarchisten deutscher Zunge zu sein; (er hat seine eigene und eine verflucht schneidige dazu) wirkt er allerorten für individuelles, freies Denken und die anarchistische Weltanschauung mehr als irgend ein Blatt, welches irgend eine dombastische Devise zur Schau trägt.

Die 11. November-Feier welche am 16. November in der dortigen Turnhalle stattfand, erinnerte mich an die ersten riesigen Versammlungen in der Cooper-Union in N. Y., welche nach der Ermordung unserer Chicagoer Genossen abgehalten wurden: da war Feuer und Enthusiasmus vorhanden und Jeder schien, wenn auch nur für den einen Abend, der Gefallenen in würdiger Weise zu gedenken. Die zweite Versammlung, die sozusagen am gleichen Tage arrangiert wurde, war ebenfalls gut besucht, und die dritte und letzte, welche in einer Kirche stattfand, setzte dem Ganzen die Krone auf. Es hat wohl schwerlich je eine Versammlung so viel allgemeines Aufsehen erregt wie gerade diese. Daß ein Pfaffe so viel Toleranz besitzen soll, einem Verfechter freier Ideen seine Kanzel anzubieten, ist an und für sich schon als ein großes Wunder zu betrachten; daß er aber dieses Anerbieten gar einer Anarchistin machte, war einfach unerhört; selbstverständlich habe ich die Gelegenheit benützt, um von der Kanzel herab nicht das Wort Gottes, sondern den Anarchismus zu verkünden. Man höre und staune, die Kirche, in der mir außer Anderen auch die Schafe in Christo andächtig zuhörten, steht noch an demselben Platz: weder Schwefel und Pech regnete auf das „entweihte Gotteshaus", noch holte es der Teufel mit all der sündigen Brut, die sich darin befand.

Es waren nicht die Erfolge der Versammlungen in Detroit allein, die mir soviel Befriedigung verschafften; ich gedenke auch der Freude, die mir der Verkehr mit den vielen lieben Menschen bereitete und der angenehmen, fröhlichen Stunden, die ich in deren Gesellschaft verlebte.

Der Abschied fiel mir recht schwer, aber da nun einmal geschieden werden muß, so segelte ich am 20. Nov. per Boot nach Cleveland ab.

In Cleveland fanden 4 Versammlungen statt, von denen drei sehr gut und die vierte nur spärlich besucht war. Auch dort lernte ich einige ausgezeichnete Menschen kennen, die mich mit Güte und Zuvorkommenheit überhäuften.

Von Cleveland gings nach Buffalo, wo es einigen Freunden trotz aller von gewisser Seite in den Weg gelegten Hindernissen gelang, zwei englische und eine deutsche Versammlungen zu veranstalten. Eine der für mich veranstalteten englischen Versammlungen fand im Spiritualisten-Tempel statt, der Meinung der Spiritualisten gemäß eine Auszeichnung, welche außer mir nur noch dem Genossen John Turner zuteil wurde.

In Rochester, der letzten Station meiner Tour, sprach ich ebenfalls in 3 Versammlungen. Und da R. sozusagen meine Vaterstadt war, kann es nicht Wunder nehmen, daß ganz „Jerusalem" auf den Beinen war, aber auch Amerikaner und Deutsche kamen in Massen, um das Wundertier zu schauen, das noch vor ungefähr 9 Jahren für 2,50 Dollar per Woche als Fabrikarbeiterin ihr Dasein fristete.

Einer meiner Ex-Ausbeuter, mehrfacher Millionär und Fabrikbesitzer, der sein ganzes Vermögen aus den Knochen der Arbeiter gepreßt hat, fand sich veranlaßt, mir einen Besuch abzustatten. Der alte Sünder befürchtete wahrscheinlich, daß ich einen für ihn persönlich ungünstigen Einfluß auf seine Arbeiter machen werde. Er war ängstlich bemüht, mir begreiflich zu machen, wie human und gerecht er seine Arbeiter behandle und wie er sie mit Wohlthaten überschütte. Ich habe dieser elenden Kreatur, diesem deutsch-jüdischen Emporkömmling, meine Meinung in unzweideutiger Weise zu verstehen gegeben, worauf er sich wie ein begossener Pudel schleunigst trollte.

Am 14. November kam ich endlich nach 14wöchentlicher Abwesenheit in New-York wieder an. Im Ganzen genommen kann ich mit dem Erfolg meiner Reise zufrieden sein. Ich besuchte 18 Städte und sprach in 40 Versammlungen, erwarb mir sehr viele gute und teure Freunde und hatte Gelegenheit, mich zu überzeugen, daß das Geschrei von gewisser Seite, Amerika sei nicht der Boden für den Anarchismus, falsch ist. Die Amerikaner sind von Natur selbstständig veranlagt und mehr als ein anderes Volk befähigt, die Ideen des Anarchismus zu begreifen; es ist somit nicht ihre Schuld, wenn sie bis jetzt wenig davon wissen, sondern Schuld Derer, welche die „Bewegung" nur in Deutsch machten und mit allen möglichen Mitteln die Aufklärung in englischer Sprache hintertrieben haben. Die anarchistische Propaganda in englischer Sprache zu betreiben war und bleibt die Hauptsache; denn nur wenn das englischsprechende Element sich unseren Anschauungen anschließt, wäre auf einen Umsturz der Verhältnisse in Amerika zu hoffen.

Na, glücklicher Weise ist ja von jener deutschen Bewegung wenig übrig geblieben, die Alten gehören nur noch Gesangvereinen und Logen an, verkriechen sich in ihre Bierwinkel, wo sie über Unmoral und Ungehorsam der Jugend losziehen. Die Jungen, welche sich von den anarchistisch-kommunistisch-autonomistischen Dogmen und Vereinsmeiereien emanzipiert haben, ziehen ihre eigenen Wege und verbreiten auf selbständige Art die Ideen der Freiheit. —

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881029006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Animal Instincts of Man / Emma Goldman.— p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* The Rocky Mountain News [Denver]. —(April 15, 1898).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.



:R RICHARDSON CLOVER, U. S. N.
ned as the Probable Chief of the Naval Intelligence Office

AT
S NEAR

ies From
Hostile
tates.

be Powers
the In-
ue.

ele-American
Liberation
War by
s Dis-
ce.

The morning
tches from the
e same tenor.
vitable is uni-
ng of hostility
papers contain
culating upon
securities, the
s.
ally: "Spain's
e no effect ex-
e issue. The
ntervene, while
ited States nor
is doubtful
McKinley re-
the situation.
ide of popular
war."
m what it calls
ident" signing
rints a remark-
overt Anglo-
el the liberation
n overwhelming
ting editorially
hronicle thinks
to seek to bring
entente, espe-
ion interests of
reat Britain in

WILL FORCE SPAIN TO YIELD

(Continued From First Page.)

has supported his government. He has abandoned all hope of a peaceful adjustment.

A member of the Spanish legation today said that Spain would put up a long and vigorous fight. "We may lose," said he, "but irreparable damage will be done to your commerce."

Archbishop Ireland still hopes for peace. He is in constant communication with the Vatican and it is understood that the pope has advised the queen regent to give up Cuba rather than fight. It is not believed that she dare comply with the pontiff's request. Such an act would almost certainly be followed by an uprising on the part of the Weylerites and the Carlists.

PLOT AGAINST THE MARIETTA

Spaniards Fail to Blow Up the Gunboat in Chilian Waters.

Special to The News.

NEW YORK, April 14.—The Herald's Valparaiso cable says that a plot against the American gunboat Marietta has been foiled. Our minister to Chili was informed that when the ship reached this port on its way to the United States resident Spaniards would attempt to blow her up. He informed the Chilian government and the latter took vigilant precautions. The gunboat has sailed on her way around Cape Horn.

LEE TO COMMAND VOLUNTEERS

President to Appoint Him Leader of the Virginia Forces.

Special to The News.

NEW YORK, April 14.—The World's Washington leader says the president has decided to appoint Lee to command the Virginia volunteers and may call on them to go to the front first of all the volunteer forces.

Congress may pass a special act making Lee major general of volunteers.

SAYS WAR IS INEVITABLE.

Special to The News.

orous Fight Against the Proposed Increase in the Standing Army—New Mexico Land Bill.

NEWS BUREAU,
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 14.

Special to The News.

It is probable that little business will be transacted in congress from this time until the passing of the war cloud, that does not pertain to our foreign relations. There is no doubt that congress will adjourn as soon as international security is restored, and the Republican party will appeal to the people in the fall elections on the record as made up. If so, it will be "riding for a fall" with a vengeance, for the record of the dominant party has been ridiculously weak and vacillating. It has achieved none of the things it was pledged in the platform adopted at St. Louis, and—except that its leaders have permitted themselves to be irrevocably committed to the gold standard—there has been a rank failure even in a legislative demonstration of loyalty to the money power. The Gage currency plan died a-bornin', and nothing else worth mentioning has been considered by the banking and currency committee. In fact, the utter inability of the banking and currency committee to get together and agree upon any legislation has disgusted Joseph H. Walker, the typical Yankee capitalist, who presides over the committee. "Why doesn't your committee report some currency bill?" he was asked by The News correspondent.

"Agree on anything!" he said, with great scorn, "why, that committee can't even agree to adjourn. The only way we ever close a meeting is by enough members getting up and going away to break a quorum. Then we have to quit."

The failure of the committee and the congress to pass any currency legislation acceptable to the money lords of the country is not, however, to be taken as in the slightest degree indicative of a failure in loyalty to them. The bankers and stock brokers have not been able to get an agreement upon any legislation, but it is because they could not agree among themselves as to just what they should demand. Thus, with all the willingness of the Republican congress to serve its moneyed masters by direct legislation on the currency question, nothing has been or will be done in that direction.

In many respects the second session of the Fifty-fifth congress is doing nothing as strictly as did the first session, during which congress simply met when Reed was willing and adjourned whenever he ordered.

\+ \+ \+

Representative John C. Bell made a vigorous speech in the house in opposition to the bill to increase the standing army. He said he was against the bill because he considered 25,000 men as enough for the regular army, either in times of war or peace. "I object to the bill also," continued Judge Bell, "because I think it is wholly oblivious of all the laws of human nature. In the last war President Lincoln and his advisers ignored the same law of human nature. They first started as though they had the idea that it was to be a war of the Republican party. That it was in other words to be a Republican war. You know what effect that had. You known that the great apathy it created in the Democratic states. You know that they said if this is to be a Republican war we are not in it, of course. But when old Ben Butler was called to the capitol of the nation he said, 'Mr. President, let me go into these great Democratic strongholds; let me advise them that this is a popular war in favor of the Union—a war by the people, for the safety and integrity of the constitution, and you issue commissions to Democrats, and they will give full support to it; it will give an opportunity to Democrats to serve as officers in

young men live there with her and that two young ladies living in the neighborhood had attempted to undermine her in the attachment of the young men.

Miss Zearing further charged that for years she had suffered silently the caustic remarks of members of Central Presbyterian church, who attributed ignoble motives to acts which she performed in true Christian spirit and that instead of helping her save from eternal ruin young men without friends, members of the church did all they could to destroy her influence.

The matter will be investigated prior to the next meeting of the presbytery.

THEY HAD A MYSTIC INITIATION

Kansas Fraternal Insurance Company Used Strange Methods.

Secretary of State C. H. S. Whipple has been attending the United States district court at Topeka, Kan., as a witness in a case in which the charge brought is using the United States mails to defraud. Edward Roselle, the secretary of the Fraternal Aid association of Wichita, is the accused. It has been the practice of his company to serve with a mystic initiation all persons subscribing to its benefits. Roselle claimed to have initiated J. M. Richey and sister and a short time after the initiation he announced Richey's death, which he said occurred in a runaway accident in Bandito, Huerfano county, Colorado. The claim for the insurance money, amounting to $3,000, was accompanied in the mail by affidavits signed and sealed by a notary public. Suspicions of members of the insurance company were aroused. A letter to the secretary of state of Colorado brought forth the fact that no such notary as was named in the papers is registered in the office here. It was also discovered by the company in Wichita that the physician purporting to have examined Richey, whose name was given as J. H. Cammack, did not live in Bandito, nor had anyone ever heard of him.

Mr. Whipple's presence at the trial of Roselle was needed to prove that the notary mentioned was not in existence. Court adjourned until next week to allow the secretary to come to Colorado and attend the meeting of the state board of equalization.

ANIMAL INSTINCTS OF MAN

Emma Goldman Delivers Her Second Socialistic Lecture.

Emma Goldman, the New York labor leader spoke to a good sized audience at the Trades assembly hall last evening, William Holmes presiding. Miss Goldman said in part: "If you wish to destroy selfishness, you destroy life. You would change economic conditions, for it is something that will be found in all communities. We understand perfectly well that the man who takes a piece of bread from a little child who is starving, or the man who gives such a child food is acting on the same principle in their minds. If there were not animal instincts in a man he would not enjoy either action. There can be nothing so important as in developing the individual. If that is done he will hope that others will change the existing conditions and will join the movement himself.

NEW DEPARTURE ON WEST SIDE

Arbor Day Services Held in Advance of Holiday.

A new departure was yesterday inaugurated in Arbor day observation in the West Side schools. Heretofore very little interest has been taken in the doings of the day, on account of a holiday being declared. Exercises were held in district

hours if there is a sediment or
is also convincing proof that ou
and bladder need doctoring. A
overlooked, is that women suffe
from kidney and bladder troub
do.

Dr Kilmer's Swamp-Root is t
ery of the eminent physician
tist and is not recommended f
thing, but will be found just

$25

Redu
of $5
China
plates
counter
sign—n
service
very ra
induce
copy.

Do

LIVELY TIMES IN T

**CHURCH LEADERS MIX U
UNFORTUNATE AFFAIR
MR. PASSMORE.**

**With Arms Around the
Preacher's Neck They
Him a Liar and Sugg
That He Is Also a
Scoundrel.**

During the deliberations of t
the Passmore trial at Trinity ch
nesday night, Rev. Dr. C. M. C
W. C. Madison, Rev. E. J. Wil
Passmore and a number of lay
congregated in the pastor's stud
the verdict. A discussion aros
Dr. Madison and Mr. Passmore.
tor placed both his arms arou
minister's neck and shouted in
Mr. Passmore is very deaf, "Y
cal, I have talked with you
errors and prayed with you but
do right."

The Lie Passed.

The statement was repeated s
times before Mr. Passmore wa
understand. He laughed and s
tor, you haven't done that and
you to point to a single instan
I have failed to preach the go
The doctor again embraced
reltrant and called louder than
lle, you lie," but Mr. Passmore

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881029004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Christian Idea Is False / Emma Goldman.– p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* The Rocky Mountain News [Denver]. –(April 16, 1898).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Mail from St. Vincent, Cape Verde Is., says a Spanish fleet of six torpedo boats, two ironclads and one transport is there awaiting orders.

...ERN NEWS FROM WASHINGTON

Stanton Military Reservation Bill—Shafroth's Bills Favorably Reported.

NEWS BUREAU.
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 15.
... to The News.

...house committee on military affairs favorably reported the Gaitinger bill ...ing the Fort Stanton military reservation for the use of a Boston Invalid aid ...ation.

+ + +

...house committee on public lands ...afternoon favorably reported both ...afroth bills reported in yesterday's ...ches.

+ + +

...war department has officially re... to Delegate Fergusson that Fort ...d will not be discontinued.

+ + +

... F. Walden and Miss Warrie H. ... have been designated as members ... board of civil service examiners in ...office at Boulder, Colo.

+ + +

...ostoffice has been established at ...k, Saguache county, Colo., with ... J. Martin as postmaster.

...FF WEBB IS DANGEROUSLY ILL

...ttalion of Physicians Called ...at Night, but Their Diagnosis ...is Withheld.

... to The News.
... DIEGO, Cal., April 15.—Sheriff E. ...b, who returned to this city a few ...s ago from Los Angeles, has taken ...ed turn for the worse and his end ...ght to be very near. A consultation ... physicians was called to-night at ...ck, but the result of their diagnosis ... withheld. Sheriff Webb is at ...and Date streets with his daughter ...s Libbie Webb.

...IFF WEBB DANGEROUSLY ILL.

...patch was received from Sheriff E. ...b at San Diego last night which ... that he had taken a turn for the ...nd was unable to retain food. As ...ver in the dispatch, Harry Chitten..., member of the firm in which Sheriff ...s identified, left for San Diego.

SLIDE MINE CAVE-IN.

... to The News.
...LDER, Colo., April 15.—It was ru... here to-night that a disastrous ... had occurred an the Slide mine ...ld hill. The Slide is the deepest ...um mine in the state, being 1,100 ...ep. It is understood that no men ... the portion of the mine that caved ...t but particulars cannot be secured ... times.

...UMMING BIRD MINE SOLD.

... to The News.
...S, Idaho, April 15.—The Humming ...ine, owned by the Shaughnessy ... company of Salt Lake, was sold ... sheriff to-day to satisfy the claims ... miners and other creditors. It is ...able property and was bid in by ... W. S. McCormick of Salt Lake, ...enting some of the stockholders.

...BRIGHTON CATTLE SALE.

... to The News.
...HTON, Colo., April 15.—An important ...tle deal was consummated here ...day, W. E. Evans sold 875 head of ... to Alex Shears of Denver for $28 ...

ranch of James King, twenty miles southwest of Laramie on the Big Laramie river and burned over an area of over 2,000 acres before it spent itself. The fire started from some dead grass in a ditch which had been set afire and soon got beyond control. Several large stacks of hay belonging to Mr. King and others were destroyed and it was with great difficulty that he could save his ranch buildings. A party of Laramie persons who were coming across the fields were surrounded, but escaped without trouble by driving into a small pond of water.

BOSTON'S RECEPTION TO MR. BRYAN

Arrangements Completed for Entertainment of the Silver Advocate, and White and De Armand.

Special to The News.
BOSTON, April 15.—Arrangements were completed to-night for the reception of William J. Bryan, Senator White and Congressman De Armond to-morrow. The affair promises to be the grandest political affair of recent years in this section. Mr. Bryan will arrive from Connecticut early to-morrow morning with State Committeeman Walsh, and be tendered an informal breakfast. From 12 to 1 he will receive at the American house, and at 2:30 o'clock be tendered a banquet, at which practically every Democrat of note in New England will be in attendance. Mr. Bryan will speak on the issue of the day. In the evening he will address a mammoth mass meeting.

WALLACE, IDA., HOTEL BURNED

Charred Remains of an Old Veteran Found in the Ruins.

Special to The News.
WALLACE, Ida., April 15.—Al Page's three-story hotel at Wardner was consumed by a fire commencing at 2:30 this morning. About eighty men were sleeping in it and Mr Page visited every room, waking all the sleepers, and it was supposed all had escaped. But about 9 o'clock the remains of a man were found in the ruins. There seems no doubt they are those of John J. Gallagher, who had been working in the Last Chance mine for three weeks. He was about 60 years of age and nothing is known of his antecedents beyond the fact that he had a discharge from the One Hundred and Eighth Pennsylvania volunteers, dated August 13, 1865. The head and limbs were missing, only the charred trunk remaining. The origin of the fire is unknown; but it started in the third story in a room occupied by eight miners, and a miner's candlestick is suspected. Mr. Page estimates his loss at $35,000, with only $6,100 insurance. He is already putting up temporary quarters and will rebuild immediately. It is the fourth hotel he has lost by fire in the town during the past eleven years.

TRAFFIC ON COEUR D'ALENE LAKE

Special to The News.
WALLACE, Ida., April 15.—The Northern Pacific resumed traffic on Coeur d'Alene lake to-day, after having been closed down since last fall. Connection is made with the Oregon Railway and Navigation company at Harrison.

FIRST OF SALVATION ARMY COLONY

Special Car Leaves Chicago With Destitute Families for Prowars County, Colo., Homes.

Special to The News.
CHICAGO, April 15.—A special car containing a large number of people who have found city

judicious use of these several appropriations for the seven school buildings mentioned a few other schools may receive some artistic attention.

The committee of this year has decided to recommend to its successor the permanent placing in schools, otherwise unsupplied with art reproductions, the pictures acquired by the art committees of preceding years for circulation among the schools.

An important decision of the present committee is to the effect that all pictures and other art works placed in the schools by the club committee shall be understood to remain permanently under the authoritative care and direction of the club, as represented by its art committee of each succeeding year.

Interest of the Pupils.

The serious work of our committee has been this year, as in former years, abundantly rewarded by the eager interest taken in its plans by both pupils and teachers of the schools. The parents and friends of the pupils have shown no less interest in the work, and numerous art leagues formed by them are effectively active in proving their appreciation of the educative value of art, by securing artistic decoration for some of the schools still outside the reach of the club.

The gratifying results of the work apportioned to the club committee on pictures for the public schools seem a fresh demonstration of the pleasant fact that unforeseen and often indirect but always positive good follows every progressive effort made on true lines.

By the courtesy of the Artists' club of Denver all the pictures, casts and potter... purchased for the Denver schools by the art committee will be placed on exhibition in their rooms in the Tabor opera house block during the first week in May. All members of the club and friends of the schools are cordially invited to view the collection before its distribution to the schools for which it has been selected.

Respectfully submitted by the chairman of the committee on pictures for the public schools of the Woman's club of Denver.

ST. BERNARD A LIFE SAVER

Year-Old Puppy in Arvada That Has an Eye to Business.

J. T. Brock of Arvada has a year-old St. Bernard dog that is a born life-saver. Yesterday morning the animal saw several geese swimming in a pond and he concluded they needed assistance, so he brought them to shore amid much screeching and fluttering of wings. Mr. Brock whipped the dog in an attempt to teach him not to interfere with geese. Later in the day Mr. Brock's little boy tumbled into a tub of rain water and the St. Bernard promptly fished him out alive.

HITZLER WAS DISSATISFIED.

Alexander C. Hitzler, who was mentioned in The News yesterday morning as a pupil of Miss Zearing, the Sunday school teacher who provided a home for three of her pupils who had differences with their parents, has written saying that he was not drawn from Miss Zearing's house by the designs of other young ladies, but left there because he did not relish the attractions of Miss Zearing as offered.

REFUSED TO RETURN HOME.

Maud Miller, the 14-year-old daughter of Mrs. Emma Miller of York and Colfax avenue, was arrested yesterday in company with Heitle Huseman, six years her senior. Maud ran away from home to join Heitle, and refuses to return. Former Detective Gordon is said to have been mixed up in the matter and Chief Farley will follow up the information.

CHARGES BELIEVED ABSURD.

J. V. Brown, charged with enticing Jennie Comer, appeared before Justice Crane yesterday afternoon and gave bonds for his appearance. Brown is a Globeville druggist and his friends brand the charges as absurd.

and all the events in American history in which the Red Men, though under other names at first, figured very prominently. Past Great Sachem Adam Geiger told of the relation of church and state to fraternalism and Great Junior Sakamorn Charles S. Metcalf outlined the standing of the organization in Colorado. Joe Newman, Benny Allen, Charles Witter and Harry Linton received much applause for musical selections.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE NAMED

Preparations Being Made for County Teachers' Association.

County Superintendent of Schools W. H. Knapp yesterday appointed the following as members of the executive committee of the Arapahoe County Teachers' association: Professor E. R. Downs, principal North Side High school, district 17, chairman; Principal A. W. Elder, Longfellow school, district No. 1; Principal H. S. Phillips, Logan school, district No. 2; Mrs. Mary E. Smith, Harman school, district No. 4; Principal M. E. Eagleton, Littleton schools, district No. 6; Principal L. H. Hall, Lower Clear Creek schools, district No. 16; Principal W. H. Eagleton, Villa Park school, district No. 21; Principal S. T. Shipman, Petersburg school, district No. 22; Principal J. J. Ward, Brighton schools, district No. 27; Principal Kate A. Gardiner, University Park schools, district No. 35; Principal Clara E. Lowell, Montclair schools, district No. 44.

The committee will meet in County Superintendent Knapp's office at 4:30 this afternoon to arrange a programme for the next meeting of the association, Saturday, April 30.

CHRISTIAN IDEA IS FALSE

Turning the Other Cheek Opposed to All Physical Laws.

Mrs. Emma Goldman lectured last night to a small house at Union hall. The subject was, "The Absurdity of Non-Resistance," which she did not handle with sophistical tongue.

She opened by saying: "Any educator who advocates the theory of non-resistance does not understand nature. Resistance is one of the bases of nature. Our books on the physical sciences teach us that for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction, and what holds good throughout the physical world, holds in the mental, or in the chemical. There is absolutely no such thing in the world as non-resistance, and the Christian idea of turning one cheek after having been smitten of the other, is false."

TRIED TO ROB A PASSENGER

Negro Pursued by Depot Policemen Who Fired Several Shots.

The eyes of the depot policemen carry an unusual glitter now-a-nights. They are looking for a suspicious negro, who made matters warm Thursday night. Shortly after 11 o'clock the character rode a wheel into the depot yards and boarded a passenger coach wherein a lady was dozing. His avident intention was to rob her, but Policeman Love espied him and was about to bring him within reach of the patrol when the fellow broke and ran across the tracks. Love emptied the contents of his revolver after the fleeing figure, giving chase, followed by Officer Sullivan. But the negro disappeared in the darkness. He had stolen the wheel.

CATTLE IN SEARCH OF GRASS

Quarantine Restrictions Removed From Pacific Coast Stock.

State Veterinarian Charles Gresswell

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881011004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman, Anarchist / Emma Goldman.– p. 16 ; 34 cm. *In* The San Francisco Call. –(April 27, 1898).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

bility rests upon Contractor
. but in order to acquit themselves
tual complicity in the job they will
mpelled to set up the plea of gross-
egligence. O'Brien, who is Director
's brother-in-law, draws a salary of
month from the department to pre-
just this kind of work. His duty as
tor requires him to measure every
of lumber delivered to the depart-
and to see that it is of the quality
for.
an O'Brian is so closely related to a
or whose influence among the other
ers is most potent, he may have
nt it entirely unnecessary to devote
me to the city. Besides, his private
cts, in which lumber played an im-
nt part, demanded much of his time
the city paid for.
for Contractor Swift, the best advice
est ardent well wisher can give him
strive long and faithfully to lose the
ation he has among the members of
umber Dealers' Association.
Buildings and grounds committee of
ision Directors, as constituted last
was composed of Burns, chairman,
allagher and Drucker. This com-
had entire charge of all the re-
under investigation. It ordered the
done and the lumber with which t
aid. If the members accepted
se reports as correct without any
igation they will have an opportu-
to try and convince the Grand Jury
t was the proper thing to do.
er, who is already under indict-
but still has more to say in the
meetings than the other eleven Di-
s combined, was chairman of the
e committee last year, his associ-
being Burns and Armor. Burns and
r are fast friends, and it was they
transacted all the business of the
ittee. Armer was thrown in the dis-
soon after the committee was
d, and was never given an opportu-
to attend its meetings.
was not notified of the call for
ngs, and finally he became so dis-
t with the manner in which the
ittee was conducted that he re-
d from it. Consequently Waller and
will have to tell why Contractor
s bills were audited when they had
g but O'Brien's word for it that
umber at all had been furnished.
committee of the Grand Jury, with
rs. Holt, Campbell and Rickard,
ued its investigation all day yes-
y. Its first visit being made to the
ount School, away out in the Mis-
District. It was while the party was
at school that one of the experts
a casual remark that disclosed a
channel for the drainage of the
l funds. Grand Juror Bauer re-
ed that the hauling of lumber must
ffitable, judging from the bills paid
department.
ert Campbell, who is a member of
Lumber Dealers' Association, re-
d that the association had a regular
ule of rates for hauling. He said



EMMA GOLDMAN, ANARCHIST.

A little woman—she can't be five feet tall—her round, slender figure neatly dressed in black, a bunch of carnations at her belt and one glowing vividly in her brown hair, a white collar at her fair throat and white lace falling over her tiny hands. Her eyes are beautifully clear and gray, her forehead is fine and low, though the head itself seems narrow, the small nose is a bit blunt and the thin lips have an habitual disdainful curl that is far from

that had the money been properly c
ed each month the shortage would
have occurred.
Edwin Warfield, president of
Fidelity and Deposit Company of M
land, which was Widber's sole surety
rived in the city yesterday morning
left last evening, the object of his
trip being to investigate and confer
decide upon the course the com
should adopt. There was a conferen
his apartments at the Palace Hotel
terday at which Mayor Phelan wa
earnest and interested member, an
result was a formal demand upon
city to bring proceedings, first ag
whatever estate Widber may have
then upon the chairman of the board
should have counted the money.
The position of the company was
lined to the Mayor in the following
munication, a copy of which was
him:

To the City and County of San Fran
Although no demand has been made upo
we, taking notice of the fact that one A
tus C. Widber, formerly the Treasurer o
City and County of San Francisco, ha
faulted in the sum of one hundred
eighteen thousand dollars, more or less,
that we, the Fidelity and Deposit Compa
Maryland, a corporation duly orga
created and existing under and by virtu
the laws of the State of Maryland, ar
sole surety from the first of January,
upon the official bond of said Augustu
Widber for the sum of one hundred tho
dollars, do hereby state that in entering
said bond of said Augustus C. Widber, w
cepted and became liable upon the same
dar and by virtue of the law that require
President of the Board of Supervisors in
junction with the County Judge and Au
of said city and county, every month
examine the books of the said Treasurer,
shall be permitted, and it shall be their
to see and count over all the money
maining in the hands of such Treasurer,
it appearing to us that said President o
Board of Supervisors and County Judge
Auditor have wholly failed in the perf
ance of their duties to examine the boo
the said Treasurer and to see and count
all the money remaining in the hands of
Treasurer.
Now, Therefore, we state for the benef
the said city and county of San Fran
that we require it under the law of the
of California, relating to the rights of
ties to proceed against the said Augustu
Widber and his estate and to pursue its
edy against the President of the Board
Supervisors and all other persons who
be liable and responsible in the premises
to take all other remedies which the
Fidelity and Deposit Company of Mar
cannot, itself, pursue, and which
lighten its burden.
Thereafter the said Fidelity and De
Company waiving all technicalities hereb
clares that it will pay any balances or d
for which it may be liable under its bond
the law and to the full extent thereof.
Fidelity and Deposit Company of Mary
per EDWIN WARFIELD, Presid

Another letter demanding that sui
brought against the estate of Widber
also served upon the Mayor, and al

881011004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman, Anarchist / Emma Goldman. – p. 16 ; 34 cm. *In* The San Francisco Call. –(April 27, 1898).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

EMMA GOLDMAN, ANARCHIST.

A little woman—she can't be five feet tall—her round, slender figure neatly dressed in black, a bunch of carnations at her belt and one glowing vividly in her brown hair, a white collar at her fair throat and white lace falling over her tiny hands. Her eyes are beautifully clear and gray, her forehead is fine and low, though the head itself seems narrow, the small nose is a bit blunt and the thin lips have an habitual disdainful curl that is far from pleasing.

This is Emma Goldman, the anarchist, who suffered a year's imprisonment in New York for "inciting to riot."

"I didn't incite to riot," she said to me after last night's meeting was over. "I merely quoted Cardinal Manning's words: 'Necessity knows no law'."

"But there was an implication, wasn't there? You meant them to riot?" I asked her.

Incite to riot?

Why this five feet of feminine anarchy is the most dangerous enemy society has. Had she lived a century ago she'd have been beheaded. Two centuries ago Emma Goldman, anarchist, would have been given over to the loving embrace of the Jungfrau; while in the sixteenth century she would have been nicely boiled in oil or beheaded and then neatly broken on the wheel.

But this little Russian woman, with her thickened speech, her good rolling r's, her disdain of rhetorical rules, her vehemence of expression, her potent, unstudied postures, is the most interesting woman I ever met. She has life, she has courage, she has brains. She is fiercely consistent, unwaveringly true and, though I can't agree with her, I believe her to be absolutely sincere.

You should hear her talk. It doesn't matter whether you're socialist or anarchist or are endowed with a blessed indifference of isms in general. You can better afford to miss hearing Melba or even Bernhardt than listening to this genuine creature. She is San Francisco's sensation, as she was that of New York and Chicago; and next to the departure of the soldiers who marched off to Cuba, there is nothing so thrilling as listening to Emma Goldman. For nothing cows this woman, who alludes, in her full, strong contralto, to the Deity as "the old gentleman who employs full-stomached idlers, priests, rabbis and ministers to mind his business"; who attacks the Press, and charges it with the responsibility of the war with Spain; who speaks mockingly of President McKinley as "a low politician," and says that it was honesty among thieves that made De Lome so express himself; and who then turns upon the people themselves present and taunts them with their ignorance, their helplessness, their gullibility.

"You—you—you fools," she cried, "you slaves, who prate of humanity! Did you interfere in humanity's name when Sheriff Martin and the other murderers, his deputies, shot the strikers down? O, no, you did nothing of the kind! You believe what you're told to believe, you do what you're told to do. You stand like cattle before the bulletin boards with the war news. What for, my friends, what for? That the ruling classes may rejoice; that the yoke may press tighter upon you; that your blood and your body and your purse may suffer. And then you talk of freedom, of liberty!"

O, the contempt in this woman's voice! O, the power she has over this large audience that shouts bravos and stamps and roars in response to her fiery words!

"As if a workingman could ever be free! Why, you are slaves, slaves. And 'the brave boys, the brave boys,' "she went on, quoting sarcastically. "I say 'the brave boy' who goes to offer himself in battle while his father slaves and sweats at home and his sister sells herself in the streets deserves the lash —and I hope he gets it."

I asked Miss Goldman later whether she didn't fear to address men in such terms as this.

"Never," she answered. "I have talked to workingmen at the mines, in Chicago, during strikes and never once was molested."

She doesn't mince words, this fierce, scornful woman. She denounces the present war—all wars—as a relic of a barbarous time. She declares that the men we honor—Washington, Jefferson, and Wendell Phillips—were not patriots, but rebels. She deplores love of country because it makes one intolerant.

"Do you mean to tell me,' she demands, one little hand outstretched and the other braced upon her hip; "do you mean to tell me that it is wise and noble to throw yourselves like wild beasts upon the Spaniards, and that you'll believe it perfectly wise and perfectly legal and noble simply because you're told so by the press and the pulpit—the pulpit," she sneered, "for war!—and the monopolists and the Government that is not by the people and for the people? They tell you you'd tear yourselves to pieces if you had no leaders. Who does the lynching in the South—the white or the black?"

Miss Goldman's speech is epigrammatic; it is highly quotable. "The world is my country," she declares. "To do good is my only religion." Freedom, freedom, is her cry. According to her creed every barrier is tyranny; every Government, all laws, an imposition.

And the remedy?

"I may be a fool; I am not a prophet," she answered a question from the gallery, with a swagger, the only betrayal of self-consciousness she was guilty of last night.

This small fire-brand will suggest no remedy save this:

"Truth is a dangerous weapon in the hands of working men and women. Your enemy is not in Spain, but in Washington; not in Madrid, but here in San Francisco, in New York, in Chicago. I believe in holding up a looking glass before you, so that you can see and know yourselves. When you are educated, when you realize your power, you'll need no bombs, and no dynamite or militia will hold you."

...all had been furnished. ...tee of the Grand Jury, with ...t, Campbell and Rickard, ...vestigation all day yes... ...that visit being made to the ...hool away out in the Mis... ...It was while the party was ...ed that one of the experts ...ed to mark that disclosed a ...f ... drainage of the ... Grand Jury or lumber re... ...the hauling of lumber must ...ed from the hills proper ... who is a member of ... Lumbermen's Association, re... ...association had a regular ...ct of ... Building. He said ...distributed and a large map ...ered, showing those dis... ...member was permitted to ...than the schedule rates. ...beside, he said, is $2 25 per ...d to ... county line $2 50, ...the two longest hauls in the ...

...r Truman stated that on one ...rth of lumber for one of the ...hools the city had been ...for mill work and hauling, ...of the cost of the material. ...e that the Grand Jury will ...hase of the job to the fullest ...on as the present line of in...hed.

...ount School yard was re... ...some additional class rooms ...last vacation, consequently ...lumber was large, being as ...000 fancy shingles (best ...tract price $1 90 per 1000; this ...ce paid. 37,926 feet of 2-inch ...s of varying width; 10,000 feet ...ed. The experts found 15,500 ...n shingles, contract price 99 ...0, 27,500 feet of No. 2 and 3 ...0 feet of 4x4 redwood. The ...n robbed of 13,500 shingles, ...planking and 2500 feet of 4x4 ...addition to being shamefully ...the quality received. Here, ...other schools, the experts ...ingly liberal allowances for ...to quote Expert Holt, any ...furnished lumber for the ...on the experts' measure... ...know there would be some... ...carry away.

...the Horace Mann School on ...ret had new classrooms ...for lumber as paid by the ...tors calling for 3645 feet of ...ngue and groove flooring; ...x8 rustic; 22,000 shingles; 3452 ...planking, and 940 feet of 4x4 ...e experts' figures show 2400 ...ng; 1950 feet of rustic; 14,000 ...feet of planking, and 451 ...dwood.

...the Buena Vista primary on ...near Eighteenth, disclosed ...iggest steals yet brought to ...ity paid for 46,591 feet of 2-...s and received 22,000 feet, a ...feet; 11,670 feet of 4x4, and ...feet, a difference of 5820 feet, ...f stepping, of which no trace ...overed.

...utting this case of robbery ...s made a jump to the down... ...alighting first on the Whit... ...on Harrison, near Fourth. ...awful, those responsible for ...illing even to divide, but in... ...allowing the city a third of ...aterial it had paid the high... ...The bill called for 55,740 feet ...king, but only 20,500 feet were ...feet of 3x6 redwood at $8 95 ..., but for which pine at $7 40 ...ed, and only 9200 feet deliv... ...et of 4x8 redwood, in place ...feet of 4x6 and 4722 feet of ...7490 feet, was found; 750 feet ...of which but 504 feet was in ...d 422 feet of 2x12, which ...feet under the experts' tape

...King Primary, on Bryant ...Eighth, concluded the day's ... Here the city got about ...her it paid for, except step... ...ch only a fourth could be ...l the stairways in the build... ...easured. The 44,760 feet of ...rged for actually measured ...ith an allowance of nearly ... the experts. Twenty-... ...ven hundred and seventy-... ...4x4 proved to measure 9800 ...of these measurements in... ...of material in the yard not ... the replanking of the yard

...of California, relating to the rights of sure... ties to proceed against the said Augustus ... Widber and his estate and to pursue its reme... edy against the President of the Board of Supervisors and all other persons who may be liable and responsible in the premises and to take all other remedies which the said Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland cannot, itself, pursue, and which would lighten its burden.

Thereafter the said Fidelity and Deposit Company waiving all technicalities hereby declares that it will pay any balances or deficit for which it may be liable under its bond and the law and to the full extent thereof.

Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland,
per EDWIN WARFIELD, President.

Another letter demanding that suit be brought against the estate of Widber was also served upon the Mayor, and also a third letter, in which the position of the company is again outlined and the demand is made that the Mayor be made a party to another suit for recovery.

"We are not raising technicalities," said Mr. Warfield, in speaking of his company, "but we have a right under the law to seek every means of lightening the burden upon us either by recovery from the estate of the persons we guarantee or by suit and recovery against those whose business it was not only to protect him but to protect us. We had what was called a thirty-day risk on Widber—that is, we went on his bond with the knowledge that the money in his charge was required to be counted every thirty days by a responsible board or commission, and with the expectation and the tacit understanding that the officials whose duty it was to serve on this board would attend to their duties. We did not insure them for the performance, consequently we cannot be held responsible for what happened as a result of their dereliction.

"We contend that the shortage would never have taken place had Widber known that the money would be carefully counted every month; and we assert that the way in which it was counted gave him the knowledge that he could steal from the treasury with impunity; further, granting that the money was properly counted every month, it is plain that the shortage would have been discovered long before it had reached the sum it was eventually found to be, and therefore by their neglect the commissioners have rendered us liable for two or three times as much as we would have had to pay had they discovered the defalcations as soon as they should have done.

"We do not object to pay the loss, and we will not raise technicalities, but we have a right to redress from those who have made such a defalcation possible by neglecting a duty designed to make such a state of affairs impossible."

It is expected that Widber's estate will be large enough to cover a good part of the defalcation. He is said to own an interest in a mine worth $50,000, which has upon its dumps sufficient ore to yield $50,000 more. The surety company is entitled to all this, and having obtained it the liability of the Mayor and his financial assistants will occupy the attention of the courts.

THE MAYOR RESISTANT.

He Charges the Guarantee Company With Having Adopted Equivocal Methods.

Mayor J. D. Phelan is much exercised over the prospect of being compelled to make good the ex-Treasurer's shortage, and last night issued the following statement:

"I saw President Warfield of the Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland by appointment at 4 o'clock this afternoon in his room at the Palace Hotel. City and County Attorney Creswell was with me. Representing the company was not only the president, but its attorney, C. H. Wilson of 590 California street, and for a part of the time Mr. Peixotto, representing ex-Treasurer Widber, was also present.

"This is the first time I have had any communication with the company, the bond having been approved by Mayor Sutro. There is nothing in the bond that re-

880926032

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Short Account of My Late Tour / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 36 cm. *In* Solidarity [New York]. —(June 15, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

SOLIDARITY.

An International Review of Anarchist Communism.

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY

at No. 50 First Street, New York City.

Price 50 cents per year. Single copy 2 cents. Large discount on orders of 100 or more.

Address all orders and communications to JOHN H. EDELMAN, 50 First St. All money should be sent to CHAS. B. COOPER, Treasurer, 50 First St., N. Y. City.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF MY LATE TOUR.

I had promised friends and comrades to give a detailed account of my tour through the States in the form of traveling notes, either in "Free Society" or in "Solidarity." But on thinking the matter over, I concluded that this would be impossible, for if I should give a full history of all my experiences, all I encountered, and the many incidents which I recall, the people I met and their characteristics, during eighteen weeks on the road, it would fill a book of considerable size. As time and space will not permit me to do this now, I must beg my friends to accept a short account.

I left New York with $2 in my purse and a ticket to Philadelphia, my first stopping place. Through the kind assistance of various comrades I traveled to the Pacific Coast, South as far as Los Angeles, and North to Portland. I have visited in all eighteen cities, among them Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and in the Western Pennsylvania mining districts, McKeesport, Roscoe, Newton, Manaca, and Homestead, where six years ago the slaves of Carnegie's iron and steel mills fought like men to protect their lives and liberty for a time, only to return to greater hardships and humiliations than ever. I was in Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Denver, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, San Jose, Los Angeles and Portland, but was compelled to cancel engagements in Tacoma and Seattle and other places on account of misunderstandings. I addressed 66 meetings and conducted a debate with a leading Socialist in San Francisco. On looking back over my tour I can say without flattering myself too much, that I have done good work. I have made friends for the cause of liberty, have done away with a good deal of prejudice formerly entertained by different people against Anarchy and Anarchists, and have won a number of personal friends. In fact I was received with open arms wherever I went, and the comrades did their utmost to make my visit pleasant in every respect. Of course I also made enemies. I do not understand why some people assert that America is a poor place for the spread of radical ideas. My experience in my last two trips has been that this country is an excellent field for them. I believe that if we only had a few able, energetic workers going constantly back and forth between the Atlantic and Pacific we would have a strong movement in a short time.

It will surprise many of the comrades to learn that very little is known of Anarchy in the West. "Yet much money and time have been spent in literature, papers, pamphlets, etc.," some will exclaim. That is true, but unfortunately the papers, pamphlets and leaflets have only reached the few, not the many. It is only of late that a Western paper has been doing good work in propaganda, and that is "Free Society." The Western people are ready to accept radical ideas, [illegible] are now paving the way for Anarchy very rapidly.

[illegible] of the Workmen is of [illegible]

East. Sunday laws, moral laws, laws prohibiting speech in the open air, etc., are little known in the far West, and I hardly think ever will be. This alone makes life pleasanter on the Pacific than here, where every bluecoat exercises the power of a Czar.

Therefore, if the time, energy and money used in propaganda in the East had been devoted to the Pacific Slope we would have had a very different movement. However, better late than never. Philosophic Anarchy is still new to the American tongue. Let us continue our efforts, carry on an energetic propaganda, and we will soon see that intelligent Americans will join hands with the intelligent people of all countries in the battle for liberty.

I have often heard reformers say that the working class does not revolt because it is not yet wretched and starving enough, and that the sooner economic conditions get worse the sooner they will revolt. This is another wrong conception of men and conditions. Take the coal miners, the most ill paid and ill treated wage workers in existence. To try to describe the condition of the miners of Western Pennsylvania is to attempt the impossible. In many places grown men, with families, have not been able to earn more than $1.50 a week. They are herded together in miserable, filthy hovels, 12 or 15 people occupying one room; for how else can they pay rent? Yet these men do not revolt, and never will. They have not the strength. They are like animals—dumb, stupid, indifferent, ready to lick the hand that lashes them. But when I reached the districts where they earned $5 and $6 a week (a fortune [illegible] as they work), I found men carrying themselves with some pride and self respect, and open to ideas. It is therefore an unpardonable mistake to sit with folded hands awaiting the development of things to such a state that it will be too late to act. Men with empty stomachs do not fight for freedom. They fight for bread, and as soon as they get the crust, gnawing on it they forget their good intentions to fight for more. I have not spent 18 weeks in missionary work without learning that it is useless to appeal to the overfed, but still of less use to appeal to the underfed. To be successful we must reach that class whose brains have not yet been destroyed by starvation.

The convention of the Social Democracy, held in Chicago June 7th, which I attended as a visitor, was a fiasco, as many such have been. For the credit of the colonization side, however, be it said that it was their intention to develop a sound, healthy, economic movement, leaving all politics to the politicians. The will was strong, but the flesh was weak, not strong enough to maintain their position to the last, they compromised, that is, they dropped one, politics, but accepted the other, the colonization propaganda. I have no faith in either, for I know that nothing short of the propaganda against political control and against economic dependence will satisfy.

I will write no more of my tour, as most of the meetings have been reported in "Free Society" and in "Solidarity." I will add that some of my lectures are to appear in "Free Society" shortly. Let me also add that before long I will start on another tour. Therefore, not good-by, but au revoir.

Fraternally, EMMA GOLDMAN

New York, July, 1898.

OUR "TAGGED" SOLDIERS.

The "Coming Nation" says:

[illegible] soldiers who go to Cuba wear numbers not [illegible]. Private soldiers are not worth knowing by name. Some of the generals, majors or colonels will wear [illegible]. They are our aristocracy. The "incentive" offered by the [illegible] is something fearful and wonderful to behold. Tagged and numbered [illegible] a battle for the liberty of [illegible] so far.

How common it is that whenever our State Socialist friends come across, in our present system, some detail that will be a feature of their own, if it ever comes into operation, they invariably kick against it. Witness the above protest against tagging and numbering. But why complain? The State-Socialist system would work out to the same end because it is simply the same present governmental system, with the lines drawn tighter and everything more rigid and stereotyped than we have it now. The State-Socialists of a generation or so back knew this, intended it, and in their writings frankly outlined the Socialist scheme on this very "tagging and numbering" system. In these days of my inquiring middle-age, I often recall such State-Socialist literature as I read in the days of my inquiring youth. Its advocacy of these tagging and numbering methods, of cell-like simplicity of surroundings, and the general reduction of life to the monotony and discipline of the army and the penitentiary kept me from ever getting up any enthusiasm for State-Socialism.

Our modern State-Socialists object to this army and penitentiary method being taken as a model as much as we Anarchists do; but they fail to see that centralization, regimentation, disciplining of the individual, and this very tagging and numbering, must be the result of their system. It works out into open day even now in all they do, both in their present organized efforts and in their fictional literature. Every one is to be, and is, dragooned by the majority, whether you take the living examples of Ruskin and the S. L. P., or examine literary fiction like that of Bellamy. State-Socialism does not get rid of the people corresponding to "generals, majors or colonels," or "captains of industry." Through its tyrannical method of "majority rule" it would hand everything over to a centralized governmental clique more powerful than is the present one, and its administrators, no matter by what names you might call them, would still be "on a pinnacle, you see," and the tagging and numbering would go on as before.

It would be a good thing, as an eye-opener, if some of the State-Socialist literature of a generation or so back were reprinted in our day. As a starter, I suggest the republication of "Social Architecture," by an "Exile," published in London, in English, many years ago. It is a picture of tagging and numbering, of regimentation, ascetic simplicity, etc., etc., all set forth as the ideal. To-day State-Socialists would disclaim the ideal, but they hold fast to the methods which would inevitably produce it. They endeavor to meet criticism of their always-honestly-held ideas by telling us of the great things that could be done for humanity by machinery and natural resources all held and worked by a centralized monopolistic state, compelling all through majority rule (if only that majority is a Socialistic one) to work for the "general good" instead of for private gain.

"Just how officials put "on a pinnacle, you see," by a State-Socialistic majority, are to become more angelic, more honest or humane than those elevated to a pinnacle by any other kind of a majority, is never explained. The appeal to the "general good" as the aim, while throwing an air of justice and humanity over the scheme, is delusive and conceals the fact that the method proposed is in effect a consolidation of all the forces of tyranny into a form much more dangerous than the present one. Deciding the general good by Socialistic majority rule is nothing more than the present method of governing by the alleged will of the majority through the representative system, with one fatal difference. That difference is that the present State, which pretends to (but does not) carry out the will of the majority, owns very little, and its control over what it does not own can be and is limited. There is a limit to the power of the State now, even when it has a majority; outside of officialdom there are things the State cannot yet control. Hence there is some freedom. State-Socialism endows the State with complete ownership, and outside of officialdom there is no control, and even the "majority" ceases to have what little freedom it now has.

Of the two, the present system is by far the better. It is better that a comparatively few, in the army, navy, and other penitentiaries should be "tagged and numbered" than that all should be.

"Private soldiers are not worth knowing by name." Well, under State Socialism, private citizens would not be worth knowing by name. They could only be working ciphers, completely in the hands of State officials elected by majority decision. "Majority decision" to-day puts things in the hands of officials controlled by and doing the bidding of "bosses." Majority decision by Socialistic majorities would produce the same contradiction. It does so to-day, among the Socialists. After the majority has spoken, at present the Hannas, Crokers and Platts dictate. The Socialists *already* have their Hannas, Crokers and Platts, eager for the spoils of a party which has no prospect of power. Into what hands will Socialism fall when it does get power? Into hands that will "tag and number" worse than those in which we are at present, to the extent that they can control all instead of part.

The "incentive" offered by a Socialistic state owning and controlling everything "is something fearful and wonderful to behold" in comparison to the "incentive" held out by the present State owning and controlling less. Away with the State in any form.

CHAS. B. COOPER.

(From the Boston "Evening Transcript.")

A business-busy looking man on the train who got off in Connecticut, said: "It's not the Socialists or Anarchists who open up big squares and fill them with flowers. Anarchists haven't got anything but their jaw. It's religion does everything in this world, and lots of times it's rich folks' religion. What is it makes an ambulance with a hurt bricklayer in it take its place by right in front of a rich man's carriage? Isn't that religion? Yes, sir." And his companion made answer with evident sincerity: "Yes, sir; and wouldn't it make a difference in things if every man could be a good, decent Christian gentleman?" Yes it would, a decided difference. They would soon be burning witches again and heretics and infidels. As to liberty, here is an illustration from the same paper:

FIRM AGAINST TOBACCO.

(From the Boston "Evening Transcript.")

The United Presbyterian General Assembly of the United States, which meets in Omaha, Neb., the 24th of next month is to act upon a resolution directing that no minister shall engage in home mission work as a beneficiary of home mission funds, nor shall any one be employed by the General Assembly or Board of Home Missions in administrative or clerical capacity, and who is to be paid for his services from funds contributed for home missions, who is addicted to the use of tobacco in any form. This resolution is in accordance with the action of the General Assembly in 1870, when it was voted that "the use of tobacco is demoralizing in its tendency, and should be discountenanced by all who profess the Christian name," and in 1879, when it was resolved that "no student addicted to the use of tobacco in any form be granted aid by the board." This resolution was reaffirmed in 1885, 1888 and 1895.

Wouldn't it be a fine world to live in if such fellows had the power to decide what we could and what we couldn't do?

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

851024004

The Emma Goldman Papers

Miss Emma Goldman Replies to Questions Asked by Mr. F.B. Livezey / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The Sentinel [Detroit]. –(July 30, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Agnes Inglis Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

DETROIT, SATURDAY, JULY 30, 1898. ONE DOLLAR PER

MISS EMMA GOLDMAN

Replies to Questions Asked by Mr. F. B. Livezey.

She Does Not Favor Compulsory Education or Force as Anarchistic Propaganda —Interesting Letter.

To the Editor of The Sentinel:

In your paper of July 23 I notice an item headed "Emma Goldman Wanted," in which Mr. F. B. Livezey, of Sykesville, Md., sends me his compliments and inquires whether I am in favor of "compulsory education," and whether I advocate "force" in the propaganda of anarchy. He also states that he is in sympathy with my antagonism to marriage and the clergy, and with my appreciation of Jesus Christ.

May I ask that you be kind enough to publish this reply to Mr. Livezey's queries:

I do not favor compulsory education; nor have I ever lectured in favor of it. Not only do I not believe in it, but I am entirely opposed to our present school system, considering it injurious to the natural faculties of the child. I know by my own experience that instructors and teachers can seldom regard the individual abilities and inclinations of their pupils; they must follow the lines laid down by the board of education and stuff the children's heads with a lot of rubbish, which only hardens the little minds and which is of no benefit to the children.

Until instructors will make it a special study to understand the nature of their pupils, their physical and mental wants, their trials and worries, their pleasures and sorrows, children will leave their schools automatic machines and not thinking and reasoning young men and women.

I have never advocated "force" for the propoganda of anarchy, nor do I know of any anarchist who has done so.

Every student of anarchist philosophy knows that anarchy has nothing to do with force and violence; that it denotes peace, safety and liberty, and does not recognize the right of one to rule, injure or coerce the others.

But every anarchist is also a student of history, and as such he or she must recognize that the ruling classes have never granted privileges to the oppressed until forced to do so by the latter.

Judging from the events of the past and present, there is no doubt in my mind that the struggling masses of the present century can expect nothing from their masters, and if they want to

Boss Comstock. Certainly Mr. Livezey must know by this time that free press and free speech are things of the past; that Comstockism is fast spreading in this country, destroying the liberty of each victim it reaches. True, Comstock has not succeeded in crushing the right of expressing one's opinion entirely, but the pen can no longer be used as openly as at the time when such biggots as Comstock were not known.

Every liberty-loving man or woman must be antagonistic to the clergy and our marriage institutions, and oppose them as obstacles in the way of freedom and as impertinent meddlers in private affairs.

I do not recollect ever having expressed my appreciation of Jesus Christ, and therefore I do not consider myself deserving of Mr. F. B. Livezey's compliments.

ing "homes" for the new comers at $9.80 for each house.

A simplified combination of the Thorne and Cox typesetting machines will soon be on the market.

The city of Hamilton, Ont., has decided to employ only union labor in the construction of sewers.

The Italian parliament has seated Signor Norfri, Socialist, who was cheated by the capitalistic parties at Turin.

The labor forces of Brisbane, Australia, have organized a new labor party and adopted a strong Socialist platform.

Cramp & Sons, Philadelphia shipbuilders, will construct two battleships and to gunboats for the Russian government.

Notwithstanding times are dull in the slack barrel line in Chicago, Coopers' Union No. 15 continues to grow in membership.

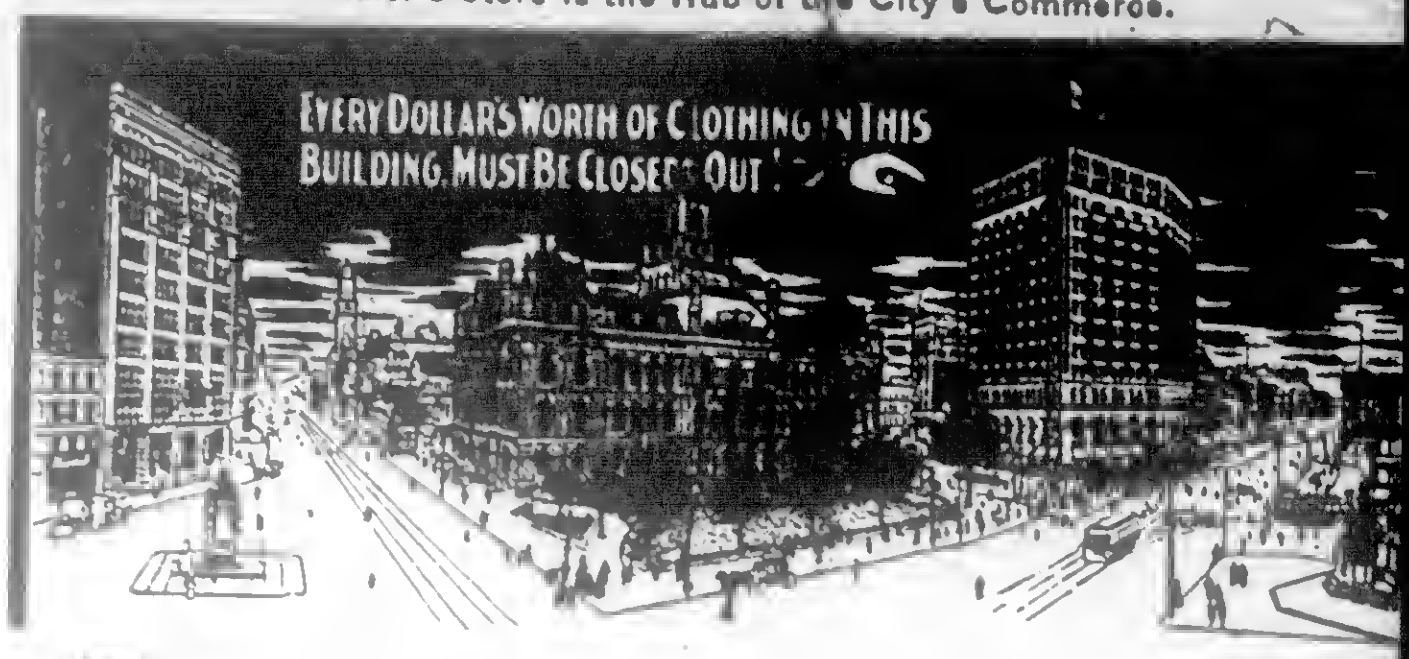
tion will be the protege an
Standard Oil company, and a
New York companies are in

The New South
decided to do without the al
men contractors in building
tion of the Inverell-Moree ra
work is to be carried out by
der government supervision.

Since 1887, when it was l
government whiskey monopo
the Swiss people $8,600,000,
otherwise have gone into pri
The monopoly has also
paratively decrease the con
whisky.

Ten large envelope compa
solidated into the United Sta
Company, with a capacity fo
17,000,000 envelopes a day,
of commercial envelopes.

Shafer's Store is the Hub of the City's Commerce.



THIS WEEK (Monday) we began a grand UNLOADING SALE of our entire stock MEN'S and BOYS' CLOTHING. This is no half hearted effort—no ordinary cleaning up sale with only the profits sacrificed—but a gigantic trade convulsion—a cutting into cost that will create a commotion, not only among Clothing dealers, but throughout the community generally. Everybody in Michigan who wears Clothing is personally concerned in this sale. We will not carry a dollar's worth of Clothing over from this season to the next if we can possibly avoid it. We are about to take our first inventory; our record of sales for the first six months will soon be determined and we want to make it a big one. For these reasons and also because we desire to close our first half year's business with a huge advertisement for unprecedented value giving—we offer Clothing to the men and boys of Detroit and Michigan at prices *guaranteed to be the lowest ever named here or anywhere else for like quality.* That you may comprehend the full import of this offer, we might add that it includes

Choice of any Suit in this store—the pick of the Very Finest Tailor-made Outfits (Heavy Clays alone excepted) —a selection from ALL styles of cut—ALL materials—ALL sizes—for only **$7.50**

When you stop to consider that this sale embraces hundreds of Suits that have retailed all this season at $15, $18 and $20 you will begin to appreciate the full import of this announcement—the extraordinary character of this offer. Medium and low priced Suits go at proportionately reduced prices.

YOUTHS', BOYS' and CHILDREN'S SUITS are correspondingly cut to close out, it being the intent, as already [illegible] to make a clean sweep, dispose of everything in the line of Clothing now in this store.

Don't procrastinate—an opportunity like this is not likely to come again in a life-time. The chance to select ANY Suit in Shafer's store to choose from all—for only $7.50 is a proposition that no other dealer can duplicate—a concession that in human probabilities we will not care to repeat under any circumstances. Orders by mail promptly filled.

C. A. SHAFER

General Outfitter.

156

851024004

The Emma Goldman Papers

Miss Emma Goldman Replies to Questions Asked by Mr. F.B. Livezey / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* The Sentinel [Detroit]. ÷(July 30, 1898).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Agnes Inglis Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

the contracts a
he employment of
rivate and public
ttested to by the
of the several
rship.

ations for The
be mailed to
Block, 101-
Street. New

BOARD.

Do In Their
Case.

ase betwen
of Lansing
rinting Company
ednesday last it
e member of the
ation and Modla-
ns, was present.
ed themselves as
the case, but the
full board should
lge Robbins said
leavor to get the
also desired to
he case, notwith-
wed one member
ad and take testi-
oard, T. H. Rob-
e, nearly 600 miles
was almost im-
to attend. His
robable. Mr. Carl
member of the
in time to attend.
by the court and
les that the award
from the time of
ation (July 1), an
n till August 16.
nuous efforts will
board present.

been appointe
Commission, an-
of the bill for that
ssion of congress:
er, Lorimer, Lov
ell; Senators Kyle,
tiel and Mallory.
e completed by the
names of repre-
pital and agricul-

workers' Nationa
on its plan of put-
ts into operation.
rected at Sweetser
county, Ind., and
at Toledo, O. It
os a dozen plants
ational Association
tering the co-opera-
ong time and also
s and markets.

I have never advocated "force" for the propoganda of anarchy, nor do I know of any anarchist who has done so.

Every student of anarchist philosophy knows that anarchy has nothing to do with force and violence; that it denotes peace, safety and liberty, and does not recognize the right of one to rule, injure or coerce the others.

But every anarchist is also a student of history, and as such he or she must recognize that the ruling classes have never granted privileges to the oppressed until forced to do so by the latter.

Judging from the events of the past and present, there is no doubt in my mind that the struggling masses of the present century can expect nothing from their masters, and if they want to change their conditions and bring about a state of society in which no one shall enjoy the toil of his fellow man they will only succeed through the social revolution, never through peaceful methods.

As to individuals using force: well, whether we agree with them or not, whether we like them or not, such cases will occur from time to time, as a natural result of the causes existing in society. Let me give you an example. You will no doubt remember the shooting of Prime Minister del Castello, of Spain, by the young student Angellillo Goll.

If Canovas had not re-established the Inquisition in Spain, if he had not caused 300 innocent workingmen to be tortured in the most barbarous and inhuman way in the prison of Montjoich, the world had never heard of Angellillo Golf. He, whose heart was filled with love and sympathy for his fellow men, would not have thought of shooting Canovas, as he was too gentle, refined and noble even to hurt a fly. But Canovas del Castello, with his murderous genius, has produced a Golf, just as Caesar produced a Brutus.

We might as well fight against cyclones, earthquakes, tornadoes, lightning and other phenomena, as to fight against individual acts of violence. They have been and will be as long as we retain the causes which produce them; and I look upon such occurences as warnings of the coming danger to the tyrants of the world.

Of course I understand that violent acts do not change conditions unless a change has taken place in the minds of the people. Yet individual acts often set men to thinking and then books, papers, lectures and other methods of propaganda develop the first thought, which deeds like Angellillo Golf's, Santa Caseria's, Alexander Bergman's and others have first stimulated.

I hardly think Mr. Levisey will succeed in proving to me that the pen is anarchy's best weapon at present. It might have been so were it not for that Comstockism is fast spreading in this country, destroying the liberty of each victim it reaches. True, Comstock has not succeeded in crushing the right of expressing one's opinion entirely, but the pen can no longer be used as openly as at the time when such bigots as Comstock were not known.

Every liberty-loving man or woman must be antagonistic to the clergy and our marriage institutions, and oppose them as obstacles in the way of freedom and as impertinent meddlers in private affairs.

I do not recollect ever having expressed my appreciation of Jesus Christ, and therefore I do not consider myself deserving of Mr. F. B. Livezey's compliments.

If Christ existed, of which I am not quite positive about, as there are so many pros and contras, he undoubtedly was a reformer; but unfortunately he advanced ideas based on sentiment and not on reason. I suppose this is the reason why priests, parsons and preachers have been able to use his teachings for their own benefit, causing humanity so much suffering. I prefer modern reformers, who base their philosophy both on sentiment and reason, knowing full well when people will learn to reason there will be no room for gods, devils or their emissaries, priests, Comstock and other parasites.

In conclusion I would like to thank Mr Livezey for his high appreciation of me, but as he has gained this only from a description in Free Society, he may yet change in opinion should he ever meet the original of that description.

EMMA GOLDMAN

New York, July 23, 1898.

GENERAL LABOR NOTES.

Cry for the Label.

Butchers are on strike at Indianapolis.

Hallnorth's Garden Theater at Cleveland is still on the unfair list.

At Geneva, Switzerland, 1,000 carpenters and cabinetmakers are on strike.

The bone, sinew and brains of the western hemisphere will celebrate Labor Day.

Twenty Socialists were elected to the municipal council at Zurich, Switzerland.

The Purrington Paving Brick Co.'s yards at Galesburg, Ill., have been unionized.

In the late elections Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, went strongly Socialistic.

It is probable that Victoria will soon follow South Australia in giving women the suffrage.

White workmen in a steel works at Pueblo, Col., have been displaced by negroes. The management is now erecting and Cox typesetting machines will soon be on the market.

The city of Hamilton, Ont., has decided to employ only union labor in the construction of sewers.

The Italian parliament has seated Signor Norfri, Socialist, who was cheated by the capitalistic parties at Turin.

The labor forces of Brisbane, Australia, have organized a new labor party and adopted a strong Socialist platform.

Cramp & Sons, Philadelphia shipbuilders, will construct two battleships and 10 gunboats for the Russian government.

Notwithstanding times are dull in the slack barrel line in Chicago, Coopers' Union No. 15 continues to grow in membership.

The officers of the Western Labor Union, the new western federation, report that they are deluged with applications for charters.

Charters have been issued by the Metal Polishers to unions in Philadelphia, Thompsonville and Stamford, Conn., and Kewanee, Ill.

The English Association of Operative Cotton Spinners has a fund of £235,000, an increase of £36,000 in one year. The membership is 17,760.

The Birmingham, Eng., municipality is the latest to follow the examples of Liverpool and Sheffield and buy out the private electric lighting company.

Machines to turn out 288,000 fruit jars a week have been put into a glass plant at Washington, Pa., and the factory refuses to close down during summer.

Forty local coopers' unions have voted in favor of paying strike benefits to the members of local Union No. 1 who went on strike at Swift's packing house in Chicago.

In Hamburg, Germany, 1,000 journeymen bakers are on strike; 55 bakeshops, employing 200 men, have acceded to the demands of the men and are not affected.

The unions of Colorado are assessing their members 5 cents per week for the support of the miners at Lafayette, Col., who have been on strike for four months.

As a distributing concern Cleveland's Industrial Co-operative society has discontinued business. The organization will be kept up as a social educational institution.

Bronko Pete—Did ye lynch that hoss thief ye caught over at Red Dog? Alkali Ike—Nope. The durn sneak had got out an injunction forbiddin' it before he stole the hoss.—New York Journal.

The slack barrel bosses of Dallas, Tex., say that if the Coopers' Union does not accept a reduction of 2 cents on slack work they will cease making it. The men look upon the threat as a bluff.

A gas trust with a capital stock of $78,000,000 has been formed. The combina-

The New
decided to do
men contract
tion of the I
work is to be
der governme
Since 1887,
government
the Swiss peo
otherwise ha
The monopol
paratively d
whisky.
Ten large
solidated into
Company, wi
17,000,000 en
of commercia
says there's a
The freque
dangerous
brought publ
the press is c
no misunder
month of last
30 females w
and color wo

HELP US

And Help
Int

Short wee
matters of
our friends
ly appreciat
ment. Mak
the point, s
will reach u
each week.
news;
Election
Any actio
by your o
hours, boy
Notes of
penings in
meetings, o
Grievance
factory, sh
dangers to
children, o
Ideas u
remedies,
form, or co
ries advanc
Write o
per, and s
lly for publ
good faith.
Direct
Sentinel,
Griswold
New Tak

Buy un

157

880712001

The Emma Goldman Papers

New York Anarchist Leaders Denounce the Murder of Austria's Empress / Emma Goldman. – p. 20 ; 28 cm. *In* The World. – (Sept. 18, 1898).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

EW YORK ANARCHIST LEADERS DENOUNCE THE MURDER OF AUSTRIA'S EMPRESS.



J. L. Fireman

They Say that Lucchesi Is the Natural Result of Prevailing Conditions but They Do Not Excuse His Crime.

The New York Anarchists denounce and repudiate Lucchesi, the assassin of the Empress of Austria. He had no "justification" according to their code for slaying a human being unhappy and not looked for. No distinct nationality is recognized by the Anarchists, they are all brother comrades. The ringleader of a secret band of Italian Anarchists in Zurich who plotted the murder of Humbert, the Duke of Genoa and the Austrian Empress is described by the Swiss police, and is well known Anarchists here.

The name of Lucchesi is not known by them, and while he may have called himself an Anarchist he did not, so far as New York members know belong to a "group." Indeed anarchy does not recognize a united assembly. With its theories everything rests in the individual.

Salvatore Pallavicini, the leading Italian Anarchist, was found at the place of business of the reigning piece of his group in Macdougal street.

Pallavicini received the reporter courteously and introduced him to several men present, some of whom were writers and editors.

BY S. PALLAVICINI.

To the Editor of The World:

A woman is a woman, and I am too much of a man to raise my hand against the weaker sex.

This reason alone would prevent my disapproving Lucchesi's crime.

But there are many others.

I don't recognize individual acts unless prompted by good reasoning power in the man or woman and unless the effect of the deed has been previously taken into consideration.

We do not wish to kill anybody, and yet I would not own that revolution is to be disregarded, for without an armed uprising the education of the unjust classes, blinded by money power, hence you will find a great number of Anarchists there.

And look at the measures against them. Don't you know that where oppression is greatest crime grows to gigantic proportions?

The Meaning of Anarchy.

Anarchy [illegible] We do not want to kill men but desire a social system to regenerate them.

We want to build on the debris of present kingdoms, empires and bourgeois republics the kingdom of peace, justice and true liberty for all.

The deserved result is the ordinary penalty imposed on the professional criminals alone, all men who are known as Socialists or Anarchists. This penalty is confiscation or some insane until for habitation. Pierre Gay ate paid ten cents a day for living exposes.

Hundreds and thousands of intelligent young men are condemned every year to the penitentiary. For instance, they [illegible] anarchy accepts [illegible] and I personally am one of them.

[illegible] a personality is dead man, [illegible] I renew and in the [illegible] whatever he [illegible] have been, no life was lost. I admit, in order to terrorize [illegible] Anarchists, sentenced Vaillant to death.

[illegible] Anarchy and assassin, who [illegible] Carnot was [illegible]

The Case of Canovas.

[illegible] he Spanish [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] countrymen.

Canovas was a [illegible] bright man, he should have known better than to [illegible] a reign of [illegible] [illegible] of throwing the bomb in a Barcelona cafe.

Karditzi shot at the King of Greece purely out of a personal grudge and his deed would not be recognized by Anarchy, yet he was one of our believers.

BY EMMA GOLDMAN.

To the Editor of The World:

EVEN if this man Lucchesi declared himself an Anarchist I would be the first one to say he is not one.

Any man who understands the philosophy of anarchy could never commit such folly. The philosophy of anarchy forbids the destruction of human life, particularly in a useless manner.

Had this man chosen Francis Joseph for his victim I would have approved it, because he in his fifty years' reign has succeeded in bringing his empire nearly to dissolution.

While yet a young lad, in '48, he was the first one to set an example of cruelty by ordering the captive fighters [illegible] ing, sorrowful appeal of a mother for her son?

You may try to locate his incentive in the hatred the Italians have for the Hapsburgs for their injustices, but do not charge Anarchy if deeds of villainy unworthy

S. PALLAVICINI.

BY EMMA GOLDMAN.

To the Editor of The World:

EVEN if this man Lucchesi declared himself an Anarchist I would be the first one to say he is not one.

Any man who understands the philosophy of anarchy could never commit such folly. The philosophy of anarchy forbids the destruction of human life, particularly in a useless manner.

Had this man chosen Francis Joseph for his victim I would have approved it, because he in his fifty years' reign has succeeded in bringing his empire nearly to dissolution.

While yet a young lad, in '48, he was the first one to set an example of cruelty by ordering the captive fighters [illegible] change to defend themselves by arms or law ordering them shot down like dogs.

The most conservative people of his land opposed this act as unworthy of a monarch.

Had Lucchesi immortalized his name by the dethronement of the Spanish Queen Regent it would also be accepted by me. She did not utter one word to prevent the Barcelona horrors.

It was there that, during a religious procession last year, a bomb was thrown by a man whose identity remains hidden up to this day.

The Barcelona Horror.

Yet for the crime more than three hundred radical workingmen, professional men and artizans were arrested and subjected to tortures too horrible to relate, a very repetition of the quondam Spanish inquisition.

All this was her work and the work of Canovas del Castillo, who has since met retribution at the hands of An-

First Signed Statements Given to a Newspaper by New York's Italian Anarchist and "New York's Louise Michel."

country and none of them would approve of this murder.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

VIEWS OF OTHER LEADING ANARCHISTS.

I do not like the killing of a woman, but I feel that Lucchesi has been called to do this bloody act by reasons that are above my right to judge.

N. SLOTTO.

I do not approve the bloody murder at Geneva. I am unable to understand the causes which impelled Lucchesi to act as he did.

C. FERIARA.

No, Lucchesi has not done a logical deed. Women are to be respected. But before I pronounce a definite opinion I would like to read the reports of the trial. I have very little faith in the official telegrams.

G. IMPERATO.

A SIBERIAN TRAIN.

Surpasses in Cozy Luxuries Any American "Limited."

A new Siberian railroad train which has just received the approval of M. Khilkow, Russian Minister of Ways and Communications, is something of a marvel even in these pleasure-loving days.

This is what the "semi-barbarous Russ" has provided for passengers in the wilds of Siberia. There are five coaches, two second class, one first, one dining-car, one baggage van. There is a bathroom with gymnastic apparatus, a library in several languages, a piano and selection of music, maps, guide-books, albums of views, an ice-cellar, an arrangement for boiling water in three minutes, plates which indicate the next stopping-station and show how long the train stops.

The windows are protected by plate-glass guards. The first coach is an "observation car." A stationary bicycle, with arrangements for measuring in minutes and kilometres the work done; a barber, qualified to give medical assistance, and a superintendent who speaks Russian, French, German and

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880712001

The Emma Goldman Papers

New York Anarchist Leaders Denounce the Murder of Austria's Empress / Emma Goldman. — p. 20 ; 28 cm. *In* The World. —(Sept. 18, 1898).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.



ANGIOLILLO SHOOTS CANOVAS



Canovas and H. Petrel[illegible] in the uniform in which they fought for Cuba—From a Photograph



LUCCHESI STABBING THE EMPRESS OF AUSTRIA

BY S. PALLAVICINI.

To the Editor of The World

A woman is a woman, and I am too much of a man to raise my hand against the weaker sex.

This reason alone would suffice for my disapproving Luccheni's crime.

But there are many others.

I don't recognise individual acts unless prompted by good reasoning power in the man or woman and unless the effect of the deed has been previously taken into consideration.

We do not wish to kill anybody, and yet I would not call that revolution if to be disregarded, for without an armed uprising the elevation of the working classes, bilkled by money power cannot take place.

If a comrade comes to me and says he wants to kill somebody, I tell him, "Do as you please. You have a right to your own opinions and to carry them out in accordance with their promptings, always bearing in mind that one's own liberty ends where that of others begins."

It would do me no good personally to see the death of a tyrant effected, but the classes would be benefited by the removal of oppression if would meet with my approval.

Why Luccheni is an Anarchist.

The act of Luccheni cannot be regarded as a benefit for our party from any standpoint. He has not [illegible] strated any utility by his act. As Italians being more dangerous when they are converted to anarchism than other nationality I will say that [illegible] Italians are perhaps more dangerous Anarchists than those in any other political creed.

But this is not all the [illegible] are handled with greater [illegible] oppression by the Government [illegible] tides in Italy than in any other [illegible]

hence you will find a great number of Anarchists there.

And look at the measures against them. How I can know that where oppression is greatest crime grows to gigantic proportions!

The Meaning of Anarchy.

Anarchy [illegible] We do not want to kill men. But to overthrow a social system to regenerate humanity.

We want to build on the debris of present kingdoms, empires and tyrannical republics the kingdom of peace, justice and true liberty for all.

The domicile [illegible] the ordinary penalty imposed [illegible] the professional provincials upon all men who are known as Socialists or Anarchists. The penalty is condemnation to some island or for habitation in [illegible] and penalties a day for [illegible]

He knows a [illegible] of intelligent [illegible] published every year.

Two assassinations [illegible] say, they are the [illegible] documents in the hands of [illegible] of Europe.

Many earnest [illegible] leave their homes after [illegible] opinions and to carry them [illegible] accordance with their principles.

[illegible] of [illegible] than one other man [illegible] with [illegible] to be [illegible] Anarchists.

An Appeal to Americans.

[illegible] could [illegible] think of these regulations [illegible] out to you, an American, in [illegible] Russia to [illegible] alongside of [illegible] the Americas!

[illegible] Frenchman [illegible] of Pasteur that [illegible] oppression by the Government [illegible] It was on act [illegible] had a beneficial effect [illegible] in the Russias in France, and hence anarchy accepts it and I personally approve of it.

Carnot was certainly a good man, but when Caillaux threw a bomb in the Chamber of Deputies whether his [illegible] was lost. Carnot in order to terrorize [illegible] Anarchists, murdered Vaillant to death.

This [illegible] was [illegible] by Anarchy and Caserio who stabbed Carnot, was [illegible]

The Case of Canovas.

It is [illegible] say that Canovas the Spanish [illegible] the [illegible] the head of the [illegible] Anarchy [illegible] Canovas was a criminal, a bright man he should have known better than to [illegible] murder of innocent [illegible] in order to [illegible] of [illegible] Bowing [illegible] in a Barcelona cafe.

Cardinal shot at the King of Greece [illegible] out of a personal grudge and has [illegible] would [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible] victims [illegible] every year.

[illegible] assassinations. I will say, they [illegible] the [illegible] documents in the hands of [illegible] Europe.

Many earnest [illegible] leave their homes after [illegible] opinions and to carry them [illegible] accordance with their principles.

[illegible] of [illegible] than one other man [illegible] with [illegible] to be [illegible] Anarchists.

An Appeal to Americans.

[illegible] could [illegible] think of these regulations [illegible] out to you, an American, in [illegible] Russia to [illegible] alongside of [illegible] the Americas!

[illegible] Frenchman [illegible] of Pasteur that [illegible] oppression by the Government [illegible] It was on act [illegible] had a beneficial effect [illegible] in the Russias in France, and

ing, sorrowful appeal of a mother for her son."

You may try to locate his identity in the hatred the Italians have for the murderings for their injustices, but do not [illegible] Anarchy of deeds entirely unworthy.

S. PALLAVICINI.

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

To the Editor of The World

EVEN if this man Luccheni declared himself an Anarchist, I would be the first one to protest against it.

Any man who understands the philosophy of anarchy could never commit such folly. The philosophy of anarchy forbids the destruction of human life, particularly in a useless manner.

Had this man chosen Francis Joseph or his victim I would have approved it because he in his fifty years reign has succeeded in crushing his empire nearly to dissolution.

While yet a young lad, in '48, he was the first one to set an example of cruelty by causing the captive fighters for freedom and, without giving them a chance to defend themselves by arms or law, ordering them shot down like dogs.

The most conservative people of his land opposed this act as unworthy of a monarch.

Had Luccheni immortalized his mama by the dethronement of the Spanish Queen Regent it would also be accepted by me. She did not utter one word to prevent the Barcelona horrors.

The Barcelona Horrors.

Yet for his crime more than three hundred radical workingmen, professional men and artizans were arrested and subjected to tortures too horrible to relate, a very repetition of the quondam Spanish inquisition.

All this was his work and the work of Don Leo del Castillo, who has since met retribution at the hands of Angiolillo.

In my opinion, Luccheni was an individual who saw that life had nothing in store for him, and having nothing to lose has destroyed life.

And I should consider him a drank or insane. Rather say that he is a product of present economic, political and social injustices.

I formed this opinion when I heard of the Empress' death and before I learned anything about the man, who as I heard later, did not know father or mother.

Just as little as the moon can dim the splendor of the barking of a dog, just as little will the philosophy of Anarchism lose of its grandeur because of acts committed by social outcasts.

Because so many Italians have figured as political assassins it does not follow that Anarchists would select Italians as martyrs.

Every man acts individually and [illegible] happen to be very zealous [illegible] have many Italian Anarchists in the [illegible]

LEADING ANARCHISTS.

I do not like the killing of a woman, but I feel that Luccheni has been called to do this bloody act by reasons that are above my right to judge.

N. BLOTTO.

I do not approve the bloody murder at Geneva. I am unable to understand the causes which impelled Luccheni to act as he did.

C. FERRARA.

No, Luccheni has not done a logical deed. Women are to be respected. But before I pronounce a definite opinion I would like to read the reports of the trial. I have very little faith in the official telegrams.

G. IMPERATO.

A SIBERIAN TRAIN.

Surpasses in Cozy Luxuries Any American "Limited."

A new Siberian railroad train which has just received the approval of M. Khilkow, Russian Minister of Ways and Communications, is something of a marvel even in these pleasure-loving days.

This is what the "semi-barbarous Russ" has provided for passengers in the wilds of Siberia. There are five coaches, two second class, one first, one dining-car, one baggage van. There is a bathroom with gymnastic apparatus, a library in several languages, a piano and selection of music, maps, guide-books, albums of views, an ice-cellar, an arrangement for boiling water in three minutes, plates which indicate the next stopping-station and show how long the train stops.

The windows are protected by plate-glass guards. The last coach is an "observation car." A stationary bicycle, with arrangements for measuring in minutes and kilometres the work done; a barber, qualified to give medical assistance, and a superintendent who speaks Russian, French, German and English accompany the train, which is lighted inside and outside by electricity. A lavatory has been so fitted in the second-class car that the enthusiastic photographer can change plates and develop negatives during the journey. Electric fans and portable electric reading lamps are in each compartment. The kitchen can furnish a hot dinner for sixty people. Paper and envelopes are supplied gratis at the buffet. There is no charge for the barber, but two rubles is the price of a bath.

The whole Asia railroad travelling is surprisingly cheap, and the [illegible] Siberian railroad is no exception to the rule. Less than a cent a mile is the usual cost of travelling in Siberia.

A JOKE FROM PUNCH.

Commander—What is your complaint are not this boy?

Bluejacket—Well, sir, as I was a-walkin' arft this 'ere boy, 's up an' calls me a bloomin' idjit. Now, now would you like to be called a bloomin' idjit, suppostn' you wasn't one?

BENJ. FINCH, 108 YEARS OLD.

The pride of Bread Hollow, Greene County, N. Y. is Benjamin Finch. Mr. Finch was born July 6, 1790, is one hundred and eight years old and can hear clearly, but has been blind three years. He is a basket maker by trade and has had fourteen children. Of his four sons two fought in the civil war. One of them was buried a few days ago at the age of eighty-six.

Mr. Finch's wife with whom he had lived for seventy years, died twelve years ago. Only his youngest child is now living, but he has a sister one hundred and four years old.



Benjamin Finch, of Allaben, N. Y.

FROM HAPPY WIFEHOOD TO SELLING PAPERS ON PARK ROW.

DOWN on Park Row, in the [illegible] of the surging human stream [illegible] a woman selling newspapers. Since [illegible] and refined her bearing is stamped with the seal of a gentlewoman.

Her garments, though well worn, are of fashions in make and fine texture. They are worn with the distinction of a well-bred woman.

Men and women in the throng pause to take a second look at the [illegible] corner—for now she is to the business.

Shrinking from the [illegible] she holds out her papers, timidly bidding for their disposal.

The woman is Mrs. Helen Hall. Her story a tale of sorrow [illegible]

"I only ask to be allowed to earn my living in peace and to be free from persecution," she said in a quiet, cultivated voice. I have no other wish or desire. Yes sell the papers in the [illegible] but I miss [illegible] at [illegible]

Helen Hall had a rich beauty and the advantages of education and a comfortable home. Life was to her happy [illegible] when no premonitions of the future darkened the horizon of her dreams. There were many admirers and suitors, but the spoiled girl at last picked up a crooked stick.

Then there was more cloudy weather than sunshine. The [illegible] daughter came to bring gladness to the young mother, but joy was clouded by [illegible] woes.

The storm burst the wedded pair were [illegible] and with [illegible] Mrs. Hall [illegible] [illegible] had promised much and made a cozy home. [illegible]

Then came an [illegible] of a serious nature. Returning home at dusk one winter evening, an [illegible] elevator shaft yawned for the young woman, who fell [illegible] stories. A frightful wound on the head and a broken arm made Helen Hall an [illegible] for many months. The [illegible] [illegible] weakened arm still bear testimony to the accident.

The Beginning of the End.

Nursing and medical attendance made heavy inroads on Mrs. Hall's slender means. While lying ill, half-dazed by the [illegible] she was told [illegible] Work but determined to [illegible]



the stricken woman resumed [illegible] Moving to a boarding-house, she set [illegible] to seek employment.

At last that was a dreary task. [illegible] home [illegible] and where [illegible] spoke to [illegible] with. I sought anything honorable. I was even willing to [illegible] but my broken arm [illegible] from that [illegible] long time. I tramped the streets utmost begging for work. But my trouble had [illegible] and I was hounded by detectives [illegible] and women. My every move was shadowed until my days and nights were one long horrible dream.

"One night after [illegible] a boy [illegible] for work I went in [illegible] boarding-house. The doors were closed, and every [illegible] was in prayer. [illegible]

"Then came the sights of the river and [illegible] I felt that my mind and body had been strained beyond endurance.

"As I wandered [illegible] the river front I passed the Young Woman's Christian Association. I wondered if I could not get help there. For a year or more I had gone in there frequently for meals and my face was well known.

"I went in and told them that I was homeless and they directed me and gave me a reference which admitted me to my present home. It is a home for working women and is comfortable. To me it is a haven of rest. I pay [illegible] a week for a clean comfortable bed. There are [illegible] women several girls in a room, but they are the better class of working women.

The New Life, the New Work.

"After I was admitted that dreary night I murmured a prayer of thankfulness. The fears seemed further off, and I awoke next morning with renewed hope. I remembered an acquaintance uptown who was a newsdealer.

"I went to him, told him my terrible straits and asked him in mercy to help me. He gave me an armful of papers and I started on my new career.

"I began uptown, but found Park Row a better place. I manage to make enough each day for food and shelter, but hope to earn more after I get over my timidity."

SADA, HYPNOTIC VIOLINIST.



The Pretty Girl Violinist of Ohio.

Sada is an Ohio girl who has been making a sensation in Europe as a violinist.

She is a hypnotic player. After winning the highest praise in the Continental capitals she is coming back to her native land to hypnotize her countrymen.

By what charm this strange child exerts such a peculiar power the critics cannot decide. As soon as the nerve of her violin steal through the house a strange lethargy seizes the audience, and they drop into a waking slumber.

Her control of the violin is wonderful. The magnetic strains soothe the audience into a state of tranquillity which borders strongly on the hypnotic state.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880616008

The Emma Goldman Papers

An Undelivered Speech / Justus Schwab, Ed[ward] Brady and Emma Goldman.— p. 8 ; 35 cm. *In* Liberty [New York]. —Vol. 13, no. 9 (Jan., 1899).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

a moral condemnation, but from a sudden disgust and shudder. Whence this intensity of feeling? Perhaps we shall be told that at bottom we are not quite sure of ourselves? That we set about us betimes thorough edges of the sharpest contempt, in order to make it impossible for us to leap over our own contempt in the decisive moment when old age makes us weak and forgetful? In all sincerity, this supposition is false, and he who makes it knows nothing of what moves and determines the free spirit; how little to him does the *change* of opinion in itself appear as contemptible! On the contrary, he reverses in the *ability* to change one's opinions a rare and high distinction, especially if it continues unto old age! And his ambition (and *not* his pusillanimity) aspires even to the forbidden fruits of the *spernere se sperni* and the *sperners se ipsum*; while the fear inspired thereby in the vain and the comfort-loving is with him entirely out of the question! In addition to all this, the thesis of *the innocence of all opinions* is as certain to him as the thesis of the innocence of all actions; how could he turn judge and executioner before the apostate of intellectual liberty! The aspect of this apostate rather affects him as one afflicted with some loathsome disease affects the physician; the physical disgust engendered by the spongy, soft, overgrowing, festering masses dominates for a moment the reason and the will to help. Thus our good will is overcome by the thought of the enormous *dishonesty* which must have operated in the apostate of the free spirit,—by the thought of a general degeneration affecting the very framework of the character.

An Undelivered Speech.

The following correspondence explains itself:

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 7, 1898.

Dear Mr. Tucker:

The Alexander Berkman Defence Association is making an attempt and moving heaven and earth to have our friend, Alexander Berkman, pardoned.

It becomes necessary to plead with Mr. Carnegie, and solicit his aid for that purpose. Mr. Carnegie is reported to be in New York at present.

Will you kindly coöperate, select others you may choose, and act as spokesman?

If so, we will ever pray, etc.

Fraternally yours, for the committee,

JUSTUS SCHWAB.
ED. BRADY.
EMMA GOLDMAN.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 11, 1898.

To Justus Schwab, Ed. Brady, and Emma Goldman, representing the committee of the Alexander Berkman Defence Association:

FRIENDS,—Answering your letter of December 7, honoring me with an invitation to act as your spokesman on the occasion of a proposed visit to Mr. Andrew Carnegie to solicit his aid in securing the release of Mr. Alexander Berkman, I hereby gratefully accept your trust, and I submit herewith a draft of the remarks which it is my intention to make to Mr. Carnegie, should the plan be carried out in the manner proposed.

I beg to add that, should the tenor of these remarks prove unacceptable to you, a withdrawal of your invitation would be received by me in perfect good part.

Awaiting your pleasure, I am

Yours sincerely,

BENJ. R. TUCKER.

Mr. Carnegie:

Mr. Alexander Berkman, who is now serving a sentence in a Pennsylvania prison for an attempt to kill your business partner, Mr. Henry C. Frick, in 1892, and the Alexander Berkman Defence Association, which is seeking to shorten that sentence, have asked me to solicit, on their behalf, the exercise of your influence with the Pennsylvania pardoning power, to the end that Mr. Berkman may go free. In compliance with their request I come to you.

You, in considering this petition, will be largely influenced, and very properly, by the attitude of your petitioners. In determining what that attitude is, you surely will take it for granted, as I take it for granted, that they approach you as penitent sinners, asking forgiveness and seeking remission of penalty. Their very appearance before you, in person or by proxy, on such an errand, must be taken to indicate that what they once regarded as a wise act of heroism they now regard as a foolish act of barbarism; that the method of reform by violence which they once thought efficacious they now think futile; that they keenly regret the attempt upon the life of Mr. Frick; that the six years of Mr. Berkman's imprisonment have convinced them of the error of their ways; and that henceforth they will neither commit, counsel, or approve any acts of violence whatsoever. Any other explanation of the prayer of these petitioners is inconsistent with their lofty character. Certainly it is not to be supposed for a moment that men and women of their courage and dignity, after shooting a man down deliberately and in cold blood, would then descend to the abject and basely humiliating course of begging their victim and his friends to leave them the freedom to assault him again. It is obvious, then, that they come here to-day in an attitude of sincere repentance,—no longer as reformers, but as reformed, and asking for liberty as a reward of their reformation. Now, sir, you are too close a student of social problems to need any argument of mine to convince you that punishment of the truly penitent is not politic on the part of society. In thus establishing the reality of their contrition, I am sure that I have commanded your assent to their petition.

But I cannot close without saying another word, no longer as their spokesman, but for myself. My own attitude in asking you to favor mercy for Alexander Berkman is not that of these petitioners. I do not appear here to-day as a repentant sinner. In my record on this matter there is nothing for which I have occasion to apologize. I reserve all my rights. In the past, in the exercise of my liberty, I have refused to commit, counsel, or sanction violence, but, since circumstances may arise when a policy of violence will seem advisable, I decline to surrender my liberty of choice. I have never so much favored force as to attempt assassination, and I have never so much opposed force as to be willing to pledge myself never to resort to it. If I, then, ask your intercession in favor of Mr. Berkman, I do so without occasion for penitence or promise, and less in his interest (although I shall be glad to see him free again) than in your own and that of good order, hoping that such a concession on the part of those who now have him in their power will lessen the temptation to a renewal of the policy of violence, and will induce a state of public feeling that will insure enlarged opportunity for that peaceful evolution of opinion which alone can avert social upheaval and all its attendant terrors. And, each in his respective way, your petitioners will ever pray.*

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 13, 1898.

Mr. Benj. Tucker:

DEAR SIR,—Prompted by humane feelings, we may perhaps have gone too far to invite *you* to so excite the sympathy of Mr. Carnegie in an act of justice,—*viz.*, the pardon of Mr. Alexander Berkman.

We will by no means enlist the aid of Mr. Carnegie, the author of "Triumphant Democracy," from your point of view, and therefore respectfully beg to withdraw the invitation sent you.

Sincerely yours, for the committee,

JUSTUS H. SCHWAB.
EDWARD BRADY.
EMMA GOLDMAN.

* It should be stated that my representation of the attitude of the petitioners does not justly apply to such of them as have steadily discountenanced propaganda by deed from a day ante-dating Berkman's act of violence. Justus Schwab certainly is one of these exceptions; perhaps Edward Brady also.

State Socialism and Anarchism

HOW FAR THEY AGREE,
and
WHEREIN THEY DIFFER.

By BENJ. R. TUCKER.

The opening chapter of "Instead of a Book" reprinted separately. The best pamphlet with which to meet the demand for a compact exposition of Anarchism. 88 pages. Single copy, 5 cents; 10 copies, 28 cents; 100 copies, $2.40. Postage included. Mailed by the publisher,

BENJ. R. TUCKER, Box 1312, New York City.

A Blow at Trial by Jury.

By BENJ. R. TUCKER.

An examination of the special jury law passed by the New York legislature in 1896. A speech delivered by the editor of Liberty at a mass meeting held in Cooper Union, New York, June 25, 1897, under the auspices of the Central Labor Union, Typographical Union No. 6, and other labor-organizations. Distribution of this pamphlet among lawyers and legislators will tend indirectly to interest them in Anarchism. 48 pages. Single copy, 5 cents; 10 copies, 28 cents; 100 copies, $2.40. Postage included. Mailed by the publisher,

BENJ. R. TUCKER, Box 1312, New York City.

INSTEAD OF A BOOK:

BY A MAN TOO BUSY TO WRITE ONE.

A FRAGMENTARY EXPOSITION OF
PHILOSOPHICAL ANARCHISM.

Culled from the Writings of
BENJ. R. TUCKER,
EDITOR OF LIBERTY.

With a Full-Page Half-Tone Portrait of the Author.

A large, well-printed, and excessively cheap volume of 534 pages, consisting of articles selected from Liberty and classified under the following headings: (1) State Socialism and Anarchism: How Far They Agree, and Wherein They Differ; (2) The Individual, Society, and the State; (3) Money and Interest; (4) Land and Rent; (5) Socialism; (6) Communism; (7) Methods; (8) Miscellaneous. The whole elaborately indexed.

Cloth, One Dollar; Paper, Fifty Cents.

Mailed, post-paid, by the Publisher,

BENJ. R. TUCKER, Box 1312, New York City.

VOLUNTARY SOCIALISM.

BY

F. D. TANDY.

A complete and systematic outline of Anarchistic philosophy and economics, written in a clear, concise, and simple style. It is followed by a suggestive bibliography of books of service to those who wish to study the subject more deeply, and contains also a complete index. 228 pp. 12-mo.

Price, Cloth, $1.00; Paper, 50 Cents.

Mailed, post-paid, by

BENJ. R. TUCKER, Box 1312, New York City.

THE THIRTY-SIX TRADES OF THE STATE.

BY

ARSENE ALEXANDRE.

Translated from the French by Benj. R. Tucker. Showing the State as a jack-at-all-trades and good at none. Single copy, 3 cents; 10 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 80 cents. Postage included. Mailed by the publisher,

BENJ. R. TUCKER, Box 1312, New York City.

THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY.

BY

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS.

A well-printed book of 165 large pages, consisting of two essays bearing the following titles respectively: "The True Constitution of Government in the Sovereignty of the Individual as the Final Development of Protestantism, Democracy, and Socialism"; "Cost the Limit of Price: A Scientific Measure of Honesty in Trade as One of the Fundamental Principles in the Solution of the Social Problem."

This work is an elaborate exposition of the teachings of Josiah Warren by one of his foremost disciples.

PRICE IN CLOTH, $1.00; IN PAPER, 50 CENTS.

Mailed, post-paid, by

BENJ. R. TUCKER, Box 1312, New York City.

MUTUAL BANKING.

BY

WILLIAM B. GREENE.

Showing the radical deficiency of the existing circulating medium and the advantages of a free currency; a plan whereby to abolish interest, not by State intervention, but by first abolishing State intervention itself.

One of the most important works on finance in the English language.

New and Cheap Edition.

PRICE, TEN CENTS.

Mailed, post-paid, by

BENJ. R. TUCKER, Box 1312, New York City.

THE BALLOT.

BY WILLIAM WALSTEIN GORDAK.

A short poem illustrating the absurdity of majority rule. Printed as a leaflet, with an effective advertisement of Liberty on the back. Excellent for propagandism.

Ten Cents Per Hundred Copies.

Mailed, post-paid, by

BENJ. R. TUCKER, Box 1312, New York City.

160

880617013

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Free Speech Suppressed in Barre, VT / Emma Goldman.—pp. 1, 3 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. —Vol. 5, no. 17 (March 5, 1899).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rose Pesotta Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

AFTER LENOX AND ... FOUNDATIONS

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. V. NO 17. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, MARCH 5, 1899. WHOLE NO. 205

SOMETIME.

A dirge for the minds in thrall—
A wail for the bondaged soul—
Oh, give us hearts like beaten steel,
Or else o'er fate control.

A wail for the seamstress lone
Who toils for her daily bread,
Until there gleams in her golden hair,
Full many a silvery thread.

And a dirge for the workman brown,
Whatever may be his name,
Who crushes thoughts with his hammer strokes,
That might give him world' fame.

But a shout for those who lea
The battle hymn of life,
And calmly sing it amid the jar
Of Truth's unequal strife.

One thing we are glad to know,
As we wrestle with demon powers
In less than a hundred years, their hearts
Will lie as low as ours.

But a dreadful doom awaits
The men who have tricked and lied,
And pressed their heels on their brother's necks,
Until reason itself has died.

But I rather would be a serf
And exist on the rich man's crumbs,
Than to have his gold and his shrinking soul,
When the lay of reckoning comes.

And after a weary while,
Somehow through the scourge of pain,
Will come the knowledge—not a I have lived,
Nor al. have died in vain.

San Diego, Ca.. M. J. [illegible]

* * * * *

FREE SPEECH SUPPRESSED IN BARRE, VT.

In vain have our fathers fought, until were the battles, wasted the lifeblood of our best men. Centuries of oppression, the denial of liberty of conscience, the ruthless slaying of all those who dared to think, who dared to speak, sent the small band of Pilgrim Fathers from despotic tyranny to people a new country. The right to think, the right to speak has always found staunch defenders in hilly Vermont. There manhood grows, there manhood lives—or shall we say it lived? Shall we think that the sturdy race of men, who risked their lives in defence of free speech, has been supplanted by pigmies and by weaklings? It almost seems so.

Hark, read and consider! "One Emma Goldman" has the chief of police of Barre, Vt., pleases to term this fearless, progressive, energetic woman) had the hardihood to deliver some lectures in our State. Three meetings were held in Barre, all were well attended, all three were exemplarly orderly, the crowd was eager to hear what the speaker had to say. Not the slightest disorder was noticeable, if we except some hissing at the last meeting, which was generally attributed to the lack of good manners on the part of the hissers. As is her wont, Emma Goldman told the good people of Barre some unpalatable truths. But truths they were, no one could gainsay that. Repeatedly the challenge went forth to dispute them successfully,—no one could do it.

Seeing that the common people began to open their eyes, that they began to recognize the great [illegible] from our moral system,—[illegible] were, of course, hit by [illegible] the workers, persuaded their tool, the Mayor of Barre, to prevent any further lectures. In obedience to this command, one Warren Howland, chief of police, by Patrick Brown, forbade the hall keeper to rent his hall for any further lectures. If this [illegible] wanton, brutal denial of the right of free speech (guaranteed by that idol of the people, the Constitution of the United States), it was perpetrated on the 31st of January, in Barre, Vt. Evidently Emma Goldman did not state falsehoods, evidently she did not incite to riot. For had she done so the police would have arrested her. But they had to prevent her in one way or the other from enlightening her listeners, and as the easiest way, they chose to trample upon your rights. It was plainly shown that you have no rights which the clubbing policeman is bound to respect. Free speech forsooth! It is dangerous to the welfare of present society to tolerate it, and, therefore, they muzzle all who have something to say. This is the new order of things—the moneybag is almighty; bow down before it or you will be silenced.

Will you, descendants of those men, who spent their best energies, their best years, their own heart blood in fighting for the right of free speech, buckle down before a petty tyrant? Today it is a stranger—an Anarchist; tomorrow it will be you who will be forbidden to express your opinion. Nay, nay, let us by all means assert our manhood, let us show the world that that spirit which craves for freedom, and which grants freedom, is still alive in us. Let us say, and let us say it in unmistakable terms, that we, one and all of us, are ready to sacrifice all, even our lives, for freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, and freedom of action.

As to the particular case in question: Having no other means to give a shadow of excuse, the perpetrators of this outrage have resorted to infamous lying. They accuse Emma Goldman of having exclaimed "God bless the hand that blew up the Maine!" They circulate the falsehood that she had said that all those boys who went to the front in our late war with Spain deserved to be shot. All who know the nature of Miss Goldman are ready to state that such words could not come from her lips; she, being an atheist, could not ask the blessing of God for any one; and as to the other slander, every one knows that she has always the greatest pity for those unfortunate men, who were duped by capitalistic instigators of that war into giving up their lives, that those vultures should extract riches from embalmed beef, by which they poisoned those poor boys.

We append here an extract from the undelivered speech entitled "Authority vs. Liberty:"

Have you ever, my friends, thought about the meaning of authority and about its injurious effects upon Liberty? I doubt that you did, for else how could you continue to worship it, to kneel before its altars and offer such awful sacrifices to this insatiable monster. Let me show you what authority has done, look what it is doing today, be it exercised under the cloak of religion, government, paternal rights or public gossip. Let me impress you with the disastrous results it has produced, and some of you those who think, those who love liberty—will agree that authority must be replaced by liberty.

There was a time, when to doubt the powers of God and his representatives meant death, horrible torture, agonizing persecution. Hideous and countless crimes were committed in the name of God, and his self appointed part ly representatives perpetuated their existence by compelling implicit obedience to their authority. No one is able to tell all the struggles, all the sufferings, through which the rebellious minds went on account of the tyrannical absurdities of Church authority. Thousands, yea, millions of lives were sacrificed, the earth was deluged with the blood of heretics before the authority of gods and devils lost its hold upon the thinking men and women. Thousands refuse allegiance to religion today, they know that it is rooted in ignorance, fraud and humbug; and they combine their efforts to pull down the relics of Church authority. The growth of freedom from Church authority, Church despotism would be very encouraging indeed—but for the fact that a large number of unbelievers, freethinkers, atheists and infidels have not yet advanced far enough in freedom to benefit the world at large. Unfortunately they have only changed the form of authority; they have done away with the authority of the Bible and have replaced it with that of the statute book. They are ready to persecute and to condemn all those who refuse to acknowledge the right of the State to dictate to society just as quickly as the religious monomaniacs were to burn heretics and witches.

What is the statute book? Nothing else but the commands of earthly gods, monarchs, despots, czars, kings or presidents. True, to disregard heavenly authority meant persecution and death, yet it is still more dangerous to rebel against earthly authorities. They are so much more numerous, they have so much more power to back them, they can enforce their will in so many ways, that it sometimes seems as if there were no salvation for mankind. It is easy to convince a man nowadays that a supernatural being is an absurdity, that the story of creating the world out of nothing is ridiculous; science has demolished these fables; intelligent men and women do no longer spend their time in killing dead gods, nor are subject to Church authority.

Much more difficult it is to convince men that the authority of government of the State, is injurious, and that man made laws are the worst foes of society. Abolish all laws? Do away with the State? You destroy society, people say when one enters into the discussion of the fallacy of belief in authority. No intelligent man or woman wants to destroy society, for society and State are not identical. Hear what Thomas Paine says: 'Society has grown as necessity of man, but government out of folly of mankind.' He said it a hundred years ago, and we have learned that the State is really of recent date, while society exists since the world exists. I do not distinguish between monarchy and democracy, whether one man or a dozen of men backed by force represent authority it is the same sin; the results are the same. They exercise their power at all cost and check every independent tendency. The statute book forbids theft, robbery and murder as crimes against the law, but those who worship these new gods profit by it. Thou shalt not kill, steal rob and cheat, says the law, at the same time under its very wing wars are carried on, whole nations are destroyed, prisons are crowded, armies enlarged, battleships built, thousands beheaded, garotted, hung and sent to the electric chair, while a few are getting richer and richer, monopolizing half the earth, and the great mass of producers hunger, the army of the unemployed is on the increase and uncounted thousands of children die for lack of food and want of air.

And why all this misery? Because the State authority has taught you so long the sacred rights of property that you have learned to take it as truth. You do not recognize that it is the statute book by which capitalism is maintained; you do not understand that there is a new trinity: God, Capitalism—God, the State and God, the Church. So long have you submitted to this "worthy" trinity that you believe that authority is absolutely necessary and that if it be abolished men would cut each other's throats. How little you know of human nature, how little you know its history. Says Kropotkin, the scientist, "You fail to recognize that the most glorious epochs in humanity were those in which the liberties were not destroyed by the State and when masses of men lived in free communities and free federations." Only those who do not think, who do not reason, who accept everything as it is because they do not investigate still cling to authority. Intelligent people see clearly that authority in any form is but a check to development and growth, that it is but a chain tied to a man from

(Continued on page 3.)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

161

880617013

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Free Speech Suppressed in Barre, VT / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1, 3 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. —Vol. 5, no. 17 (March 5, 1899).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rose Pesotta Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

preachers convert you to the True Religion before making its blessings so necessary to you. But your estate and your children still remain. I will administer the one, and furnish a suitable Training in Civilization for the other."

And then the Muse of History made another entry under the head of, "Treasons to Liberty."—John H. Marble in San Francisco Star.

• • • • •

FREE SPEECH SUPPRESSED IN BARRE, VT.

Continued from page 1

cradle to grave which hinders the free use of his limbs. It has terrorized the mass of mankind into submission and slavery, it maintains itself by force only, producing cunning, slyness and violence.

Some I hear ask: "Do you not acknowledge authority in science, art and literature?" Most certainly I do. But that authority has no force to back it, it cannot compel my acception nor can it prevent my rejection of it. If, for example, I refuse to accept Spencer as an authority on Communism, he cannot punish me, he cannot imprison me, he cannot hang me. He represents his thoughts only, and probably does not care one bit whether men accept his theories or not. But should I refuse to recognize the order of the chief of police in Barre, which prevents my speaking to you, I should find myself in your prison in short order. There lies the difference. Behind Spencer there is no force, behind your chief of police are the clubs and pistols of your policemen; and it is this brutal force that makes authority a curse to humanity.

Let us see, on the other hand, what liberty has brought us, and then choose whether you prefer to bow your neck before authority or walk erect under the banner of liberty.

We have precious little of it and we are rapidly losing it; but even under the curse of government, side by side with despotism, the actions of individual free efforts are legion. Schools adopt free methods of instruction, they develop the liberal tendencies in their pupils; hundreds of societies spring up for self improvement and the benefit of mankind. Societies for scientific research are founded without the aid of government and they produce the best works. Poets, artists, scientists and others have worked upon individual effort and not by dictation of government. Everything that is good and noble, grand and beautiful, wise and useful, has been done by the spirit of liberty, from the love of freedom, in spite and in the teeth of government and authority. When man will have recovered from the effects of authority, when he will understand that freedom is the most precious thing, when he will be free to live, to work, to act, to develop, to enter into social relations with whom he is in sympathy, then warfare, conquests, robbery, theft, corruption, poverty and all the ornaments of the State, all the burden of authority will be looked upon as relics of barbarism.

This, my friends, is a rough sketch of Anarchism, of the ideal you hate and persecute, the ideal of thousands of men and women in all spheres of life, who are proud of being called Anarchists. You are shocked when you hear that word, you shiver at its very sound. Your fear is but the result of authority, which has instilled into you the hatred for those who wish you well, who at the risk of their own lives and comforts try to free you from the clutches of your masters. You do not see our work in this light, you join in the cry of fools and knaves "Hang the Anarchists," but I see the time coming when you'll understand that all efforts to check the growth of Anarchism are in vain. For its teachings are based upon the power of the individual within himself and not without. Its philosophy is based on that stern, undisputable logic that liberty is just as necessary for man as air, light and food.

Do not waste your time in trying to stop the waves of the ocean with a broom; it is useless. Already the elements are growing into immensity, tearing down every obstacle in the way; after the storm has passed the air will be calm and pure, and the world will be filled with the sweet odor of liberty.

• • • • •

PROSPECTS ARE GLOOMY.

The meeting of parliament is preceded by the usual crop of speeches. It is strange to observe the unanimity with which prosperous politicians shun the condition-of-the-people question. The country is tired of the poor. Ten years ago slumming was fashionable. Parliamentary commissions were held on the sweating system, on the invasion of destitute aliens, on the housing of the poor, and a dozen cognate subjects. Some legislation followed, but little good has been done. One-fifth of the inhabitants of London still occupy dwellings unsanitary from over-crowding. Within a mile of the Mansion House are masses of men, women and children who are more truly barbarian than the Basutos, Sudanese, or the aboriginal tribes of the Himalayas. Greater interest is excited among educated people by Sir William Harcourt's attack on prelates who have found the Narrow Way, a path to the House of Lords, than in the ghastly failure of civilization in Whitechapel, Spitalfields, and most of the great towns and the great cities in England and Scotland. It is true that the country is prosperous, that the revenue is increasing, that philanthropists are active, that politicians are eagerly on the lookout for grievances that will tell with the voters. But the mass of national misery is appalling. It remains practically untouched by legislation. Over a million of our social failures are provided for in our workhouses. The sum of poverty and degradation outside the poor laws, inherited by this generation from its predecessor, is not being reduced. We are in a fair way to hand down to the next generation greater embarrassment and more efficient machinery for the manufacture of larger masses of human degradation. The national debt of the country is under $100 a head. In 1815 it was $225 a head. While liability for past expenditures has thus diminished, responsibility for our social failures has increased. In London alone the number of prostitutes exceeds the population of Albany. The folk without homes in London equal the population of Boston. Known criminals exceed one third of the population of Memphis.

It is economically untrue that the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer; but the gulf between the Haves and the Have-nots is deeper and wider and blacker as education enables the latter to understand the contrast between their lot and that of the comfortable classes. I have seen men willing to work throw themselves down in the street praying for death to end the misery of want. I have heard the wailing of children locked lonely into a bare insanitary room while the mother, all too soon after recent childbirth, seeks the wherewithal to feed them. From the cheap lodging houses, from the railway arches, from the over-crowded tenements, rises an ever-increasing volume of inarticulate but unquenchable revolt against intolerable conditions of life. Statistics published by optimistic officials are satisfactory to those who wish to believe that all is well in this overcrowded island. Discontent is not a matter that lends itself to statistics. Discontent however is growing. For the present everything is quiet. Trade is good. The disinherited have no means of co-operation, no political pull, no leverage as against the prosperous members of the community. The combined efforts of all the churches and all the societies have undoubtedly produced certain visible effects, but the evils that remain are so enormous in their extent that the blindest and most preoccupied politician can scarcely fail to perceive that expanding trade, a strong navy, friendship with the United States, a settlement with France, and public and private charity will leave something to be desired if the British people are to escape the charge of hypocrisy.

Myriads of children produced in reckless disregard of parental responsibility and plunged into an environment of villany and vice, with no playground but the streets, is a feature in English city life which attracts little attention, but it is as much a reality as the Sedan disaster. The social reformers are no more in agreement than the theologians themselves, though there is a general conviction that a great deal requires to be done. Canon Barnett who has done brave and good work in Whitechapel for many years has recently called public attention to the horrors of Whitechapel and Spitalfields, but, with the exception of one or two letters in the newspapers, has met with no public response.

Although there is no country in the world where the social revolution is less likely to take place than in England, there is national weakness and shame in the social condition of the masses of our countrymen, and until a new Savonarola arises to arouse the national conscience, the tendency will be to go from bad to worse. Many of the younger members, especially on the unionist side, in the present parliament, are keenly alive to the social question, but the preoccupation of the country, and necessarily, therefore, that of the prime minister, in foreign affairs, renders them impotent, even if legislation could accomplish anything in a direction where nothing but change of character and of morals can be of permanent benefit.—Arnold White in *Humane World*, letter dated January 21, 1891.

The conditions in England are the same as in this country, but the "change of character and of morals" will never "be of permanent benefit" as long as the causes that produce such evil effects are left intact. With the abolition of monopoly in land and machinery and the repudiation of governments, which are the tools of those that control the means necessary to sustain and enjoy life, the social question will be solved. "Remove the restrictions to freedom of production and exchange," says James Armstrong, "and the abundant returns to industry will destroy the greatest temptations to crime and meanness. Banish want and the fear of want—which today hangs like a Damocles sword over the heads of the people. This will afford the better traits of human nature—now warped, repressed and crushed—fair opportunities for manifestation, and a wondrous change will be wrought; avarice will gradually dwindle away and assume less offensive forms, while the flowers of hope, kindness and generosity will flourish and bloom in perennial beauty, shedding their fragrance in a world of peace and plenty, a world redeemed and disenthralled."

And when we have removed the restrictions now hampering production, distribution and exchange, and the traits of human nature not warped and repressed by laws and customs, then we have attained a condition of freedom—Anarchist-Communism, a condition in which there will be plenty for every human being. V. L.

• • • • •

POLITICAL PARTY.

A political party attains the goal of the most benefficent endeavor, no less through constancy of purpose than through incorruptible leadership. Every party is somewhat a factor in the development or degradation of mankind, every organization contributes more or less to the sum total of human weal or woe; and, since every organization declares itself for freedom and not the enslavement of mankind, it has principles, the abandonment of which is criminal; and duties, the sacrifice of which deserves the severest condemnation.

The one duty of every party is the unfailing advocacy of what it deems the right, and its noblest principle, that which arrays it forever with democracy, against despotism. In the outset, persecuted it will preserve its purity, but, as it develops and rises to power, slander will give way to supplication, and men who were recently despised, will find themselves growing into favor. Venality, with subtle lure, points to the path of power, which may be surely and quickly traveled, if on the altar of the god of spoils, the best interests of humanity are offered up.

It is then that the party, whose former integrity was prophetic of real achievement, survives or perishes in a severer ordeal test. The general and melancholy lesson of all history is that the corruption of all organizations, both political and religious, upon their rise to power. The organization of parties makes it necessary to lodge great power in the hands of some or more individuals, who are certain to abuse it more often than use it. Liberty therefore, is best promoted by itself. It can be promoted by nothing else.

In the long run we will have either slavery or freedom, for liberty is like a flame—it either increases or expires. The least abridgment of freedom will at last result in tyranny; hence the progress of society has been a saw from slavery to liberty and back again. We are now growing towards slavery. Although while present institutions will be overthrown, but as the basic principle of slavery is likely to be left untouched, society will again journey to despotism.

The one great reform, therefore, that is needed is the abolition of the law of contract.—Armstong's Autonomist.

• • • • •

"THE SPEECHES" PUBLICATION FUND.

reviously acknowledged	$108 60
Hulling, Quist, Chenarska Beseda, each $1	3 00
Smaller	26

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

162

890320009

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] An Interrupted Interview... / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The Evening News [Detroit]. —(March 14, 1899).

Obtained from the Detroit Public Library, Detroit, MI.

Reddick

A large accumulation of cases existed some years ago. With the assistance of outside judges who have been sitting here under authorization of the act of [illegible] has been partly cleared, and both bench and bar are assured that, with the present competent and industrious force it can be kept reasonably clear for the time to come, without [illegible] the county with additional expense in salaries, etc. The fight of the latter seems to be that the new judgeship if created, is being provided for the benefit of some gentleman who has rendered more or less valuable service in Wayne county and state politics. It seems hardly fair to make the taxpayers provide the reward. If such is not the purpose of the bill it has many

---

Is leaving a track [illegible] confessions to Senator McMillan? Has President McKinley [illegible] to confess his sins among nations to a higher power than ever before known?

While all agree with Dr. Hunt as to the class that there are good and bad newspapers, a difference of opinion as to which is which possibly depends upon his politics.

If [illegible] thing more than gout we fear it will, all the wealthy men will be found busily [illegible] to the rivet [illegible] industry.

Wrong suffrage will never make any great headway as long as a statement of the age of the applicant is a prerequisite to registration.

When the man is found up to whom Dr. Pearse and the scouts can agree he will be more valuable in a museum than in an assembly.

As long as they're going beyond the short ballot, the Legislature might as well create enough circuit judgeships to go around.

Mr. Croker evidently means to have a full complement of democrats, to unite the [illegible] with the reputable Democratic [illegible].

Perhaps Spain would remit a part of that $20,000,000 payment, if we would accept the rest of her troublesome Pacific possessions.

Hearse he overlooked some silverware in another drawer the Italian minister to China is being accused of being too mild.

If [illegible] Brooks really leaves the Ohio assembly he will deprive himself of a legitimate source of investment [illegible].

The Algoa refinement under [illegible] is a sort of political cancer, which breaks out in a new place after each [illegible].

If he had wanted protectorate she should have taken about it while she was [illegible] with [illegible].

Tom Grimes has been in too many fights [illegible] get seated when a deserving [illegible] has his [illegible].

UNCLE JABEZ TO KIPLING.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

880708003

The Emma Goldman Papers

To My Friends and Comrades in New York / Emma Goldman.– p. 2 ; 35 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 6, no. 21 (May 7, 1899).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND

50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address [illegible] to FREE SOCIETY, 1 Sheridan St., San Francisco, California.

Anarchy [illegible] with the [illegible] position [illegible]

THE SPEECHES.

[illegible] age [illegible] the [illegible] mond [illegible] Neeter [illegible] stone [illegible] gover [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] w [illegible] [illegible] per [illegible]

• • • • •

NOTE AND COMMENT.

The [illegible] Looked forward for [illegible] tion to [illegible] this year, to [illegible] independent [illegible] they [illegible] at her [illegible] of May [illegible] steal [illegible] whose [illegible] some [illegible] they [illegible] own

[illegible] but [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]

• • •

[illegible]

• • •

[illegible] this [illegible] and [illegible] strong [illegible] week there now,' remarks [illegible]

• • •

That laws are not made or [illegible] and [illegible] classes [illegible] legislature recently passed two [illegible] signature law, the latter demanding that [illegible] and editorials appearing in the press must [illegible] by the writers. The day these laws were supposed to go into effect the daily papers were full of cartoons of "prominent citizens" and not a single editorial even bears a signature. The [illegible] disposed thirteen cartoons under which it sarcastically said: "We are glad the anti-cartoon law is now in force," and the article concludes, "The law goes into effect, but the press goes its own way." Thus the great dailies defy the laws with impunity and the guardians of "law and

[illegible]

• • •

[illegible] Workers, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Mass. Many favorable and [illegible] [illegible] press [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

890206001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] An Anarchist Propagandist / Emma Goldman. – p. 5 ; 43 cm.
In Oakland Enquirer. –(July 15, 1899).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

WANT CUTS.

eWater Companies' San Francisco Assessments.

n Francisco, July 14.—Several neda county corporations whose s and principal places of busi- are on this side of the bay, are ng for cancellations or reductions heir assessments.' The Oakland er Company was assessed $10,000 its franchise for supplying water Alameda county. The company its having an office in this city that it transacts most of its bus- s here. The claim is made that, he company is taxed in Alameda nty for fiscal purposes, it cannot be ssed in this county. The com- y asks that the assessment of $400,- on its franchise be cancelled.

similar application was filed by Contra Costa Water Company, a oration doing business in Alame- county. The company has an of- in this city and the assessor this r assessed the company $750,000 on franchise. It is claimed that the essment is illegal and the Board of ualization is requested to cancel it irely.

RED ON A FRENCH VESSEL

Gibraltar, July 14.—The French rk D'Artagnan, which was in more British waters, has been fired on a Spanish revenue boat. An in- tigation is proceeding.

CUT FOURTEEN TIRES.

Stockton, July 14.- While a party of Christian Endeavorers were enjoying social at a farm house near town, the miscreant punctured and cut the es of fourteen bicycles. Only one heel escaped, most of them being no- ly badly punctured but cut. Those who made the journey out on bicycles are compelled to walk to town.

LATEST APPOINTMENTS.

Sacramento, July 14.—O. C. Dranga San Diego has been appointed a blary public.

The Governor has appointed Frances Underhill a director of agricultural strict No. 37, Santa Barbara county.

AIMED AT GUATEMALA.

Berlin, July 14.—An Anglo-German nonstration is being planned against ntemala on behalf of the English nd German holders of Guatemalan onds. The German cruiser Geir is n her way to Guatemala now.

A CALIFORNIAN APPOINTED.

Washington, July 14.—The President his morning appointed Sergeant Chas. irst of the First California to be nd lieutenant in one of the new olunteer regiments.

A REBELLION IN PERU.

Lima, Peru, July 14.—The Separatist prising in the southern provinces is reading. The government has sent nforcements into the rebellious dis- ict.

A TERRA COTTA PLANT.

Claus Spreckels May Locate One in [illegible] County.

NO SPECIFIC LAW

Bearing on the Question of Teachers' Citizenship.

Question of Instructor Gale's Eligibility May Come up Before the School Board.

The question of Goddard Gale's eligibility to serve as a public school teacher on account of not being a citizen of the United States may be brought up at the meeting of the Board of Education on next Monday night. Gale stated when being examined as to his qualifications to serve as a juror in the Police Court that he had not yet taken out his second papers, although he expected to do so in a month.

The only section of the school law that seems to have any bearing on the matters is the following:

"It shall be the duty of all teachers to endeavor to impress upon the minds of the pupils the principles of morality, truth, justice and patriotism; to teach them to avoid idleness, profanity and falsehood, and to instruct them in the principles of a free government and to train them up to a true comprehension of the rights, duties and dignity of American citizenship."

City Attorney Dow, when spoken to, said that he didn't think the section above quoted was strong enough to debar a man who was not a citizen from teaching in the schools. However, he did not wish to give a legal opinion as to Gale's eligibility, as he had not looked into the law bearing on the subject.

Gale is employed as drawing teacher at the Central school, having held the place about a year. He came here from Livermore.

THEIR HASTY ACTION.

Supervisors Quietly Discuss Their Having Taken up the Mehrmann Matter Monday Last.

During a quiet moment [illegible] there was a consultation [illegible] the Board of Supervisors [illegible] Monday [illegible] Mehrmann [illegible] Alameda [illegible] was away and passed on his bills.

It seems that Supervisor Church made the first [illegible] He was of the opinion that the Board should [illegible] the first decision and not [illegible] the matter after Mehrmann had been [illegible] and had been [illegible]

[illegible] the members voted to take some action. [illegible] Chairman Tay[illegible] and [illegible] explanation [illegible] There were [illegible] but [illegible] Monday [illegible] Mehrmann will be on hand with his attorney.

MISS GURNETT A PROSPECTIVE BRIDE.

An engagement that will interest a very large number of people in this city is just announced. It is that of Miss Matilda Gurnett, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William J. Gurnett of 151 Twentieth street, to Alfred G. Swain of 1505 Tenth avenue.

The wedding will take place in the near future. Mr. Swain, the prospective groom, is secretary of a mining company with headquarters in San Francisco, and, like Miss Gurnett, has many friends in this city.

Christian Church Conference.

The State Conference of the Christian Church will open at Garfield Park, Santa Cruz, on Monday, the 17th and continue to the 20th inst. A large number of Oaklanders will be in attendance from different parts of the State. Dey Guy W. Smith of the First Church of this city will be present and probably a number of other delegates from Oakland.

Christopher Columbus Society.

The Christopher Columbus Society of this city will hold its annual picnic on [illegible] Park, San Le[illegible]

AN ANARCHIST PROPAGANDIST.

Emma Goldman Upon the Aim of Humanity.

Says It is For the Greatest Satisfaction at Smallest Exertion.

Declares That Absolute Freedom is Necessary to the Development of Individuality.

The announcement that Emma Goldman, a real live anarchist, would lecture at Grand Army hall last evening, attracted an audience of 200 people, some of whom were in sympathy with the sentiments of the speaker, and others attracted through curiosity or in a desire to hear of this social philosophy from one of the cult. Before the speaker of the evening was introduced, the singing section of the Verein Eintracht of Oakland rendered a chorus with fine effect. Miss Goldman, who has attained some prominence as a propagandist of the doctrines of the anarchist communists of the country, is a young woman who might be taken for a college student or an exponent of suffrage. She is of medium height, with hair tending toward the Titian, with strong features and wears eyeglasses. She speaks with a considerable vehemence and a foreign German accent. The topic of the speaker was The Aim of Humanity. She said that there are many people who think that life is fashioned by fate or shaped by divinity and not subject to human will. "We live in an age," she contended, "when actually have the audacity not to accept any political theory or religious doctrine upon authority. I investigate the authority [illegible] political principles and think for myself. I believe that most human beings are striving for some purpose, every one of them. If mankind did not have some ideal or end no one could [illegible] What, then, is the ideal of life? I have considered and investigated the subject and what I may not be infallible I think it is to reach the highest amount of happiness or satisfaction that most men strive to obtain the greatest amount of happiness with the least expense of time and energy is the common end of human life. Men's conception [illegible] of happiness differ greatly. Some are happy at the mere satisfaction of [illegible] wants, some desire higher intellectual [illegible] and others have the right to fight a battle for a cause or an ideal. Even to die for an ideal is happiness to some. For the realization of one's ideal of happiness there must be absolute liberty. Our forefathers had a certain conception of liberty [illegible] and they believed that the remedy for oppression was to get away from the conditions which created it, and they established what they called religious liberty in this country. But while theoretically religious liberty prevails, the church practically controls the education, the morals and the ethics of the country, and while persons who may differ from accepted beliefs are not subjected to the rack and thumbscrew they are often subjected to ostracism."

POPULAR UNREST.

"Why the great unrest of the people? Why the continual strife, battle and discontent? This is an evidence that there is life and growth. Stagnation follows the negative existence. Content with hope lost and crushing develop conditions favorable for despotism. To whom shall those who desire a better condition of things look for direction and leadership if they do not inform themselves? Yon Harvards and you Yales [illegible] with the sons of the workers [illegible] they are the show pieces of the sons of aristocrats. The rich send their sons to college simply because they desire the name of having a university education. These young men care little for the cause of the common people. They care little for the economics or the politics of the country [illegible]

foro the law. The aspiration for wealth began when one man fenced in a piece of ground and said to the rest: "This is mine; keep off the grass." There are those among the working classes who are so dense that they think if the masters did not give them work they would have to lay down and die. It is a false idea that the beauties of nature were bestowed for the benefit of a few. The true conception of society is one of the interdependence of solidarity. That the happiness of each is based upon the happiness of all and that if your fellow man suffers you must suffer and if you suffer your fellow man must suffer. Let us try to become useful men and women and give what we have of ability and talent to educate and to help others. It is only through this that we will realize the true aim of life.

The lecture was followed by a number of questions which the speaker answered from her standpoint. During the evening there were distributed copies of Free Society, a publication issued in San Francisco, which is now in its fifth volume and is avowedly an exponent of anarchist communism.

Rickards the HEALER.

has resumed business, after a six months vacation, and may be consulted free of charge at 961 Clay street.

Healer Rickards has performed some remarkable work, especially in chronic cases. No matter how long standing your malady a call on the healer will prove beneficial. He will relieve you of pain in a few moments without the aid of knife or medicine—proof positive to the patient of the wonderful power with which he is gifted.

Among the many testimonials of cures—many of the cases pronounced incurable by doctors may be noted—Mrs. Thorne, 1106 East Twenty-fourth street, cured of nervous prostration and weakness. Her daughter, Mrs. Dees, same address, heart disease and partial paralysis. Mrs. Olson, 11 Everett avenue, near Parker street, [illegible], general debility. Mrs. Garrett, 366 Brush street, Oakland, dropsy and various other complaints.

Mr. Johnson, 561 Broadway, heart trouble and partial paralysis, cured by Rickards after the best physicians had failed to relieve him.

A. W. Howard, Baker City, Oregon—case of chronic rheumatism of long standing—a very bad case of swollen joints—cured.

Mrs. Ferguson, 555 Telegraph avenue, had case of chronic sick headache and neuralgia—cured. Mrs. Summers of same address will speak for herself.

Georgia Nye, 310 Telegraph avenue, withered hand, now nearly restored to former size. Sister mother.

Mrs. Newell, 601 San Pablo avenue, paralysis of the stomach and bowels. Mrs. Bard, 514 Tenth street, very bad case of complication of various diseases. Other testimonials can be secured by calling on the healer at his residence. Catarrh, kidney disease, dropsy, rheumatism, tumors, nervous prostration, asthma, neuralgia, poor circulation of the blood, weak eyes, neuralgia of the stomach and various stomach and bowel troubles successfully treated. No fixed charge for treatments. Patients can pay according to their means.

Open Air Concert.

Tomorrow at Leona Heights the First Artillery Band will give an open air concert. Take Alameda electric cars, which connect with the Leona Heights road.

The Masonic Home.

The Masonic Widows' and Orphans' Home at Decoto hereby gives notice that they have admitted into the Orphanage from April 1st to June 30th, 1899, the following named orphans.

Arthur Needles, 13 years 2 months; Fay Needles, 9 years 8 months; Joseph Tarlton, 13 years 9 months; Thomas Tarlton, 11 years 8 months.

An ideal whisky for home and sick room is Old Gilt Edge; pure, recommended by physicians. At grocers and saloons.

County Board of Equalization.

NOTICE TO TAXPAYERS

—OF—

ALAMEDA COUNTY, CALIFORNIA.

Office of the Clerk of the Board of Supervisors of Alameda County, California.

TRY AL[illegible]

A powder [illegible] Your feet fe[illegible] and get [illegible] ing feet or [illegible] Ease. It co[illegible] ing easy. C[illegible] Ingrowing n[illegible] Relieves cor[illegible] gives rest a[illegible] Sold by all [illegible] 25 cents. Tr[illegible] Allen S. Olm[illegible]

Por[illegible] FINE Stein[illegible] dition. 512[illegible]

THOROUG[illegible] small bree[illegible]

FROM THE CITY HALL

GRAND cl[illegible] the line of bargains of [illegible] H. Franklin st[illegible]

W[illegible] EXPRESS [illegible] ble. Addr[illegible]

WANTED—[illegible] lished sub[illegible] ful part of [illegible] quirer office.

Para[illegible] NICELY f[illegible] Addy M. Broadway.

Unfur[illegible] HANDSOM[illegible] on Castro [illegible] will new [illegible] yard. Call [illegible]

$10—FLAT;[illegible]

FOR REN[illegible] Mary's [illegible] Lodge wood [illegible] Call 35 Oa[illegible]

FOR REN[illegible] ble block [illegible] old & Co.[illegible]

LOST—A [illegible] Twenty-[illegible] Twelfth, [illegible] to 35 Twe[illegible]

LOST Eye[illegible] English [illegible] Clay. Ret[illegible]

A COMPE[illegible] raphor A[illegible] ence. Ad[illegible] Engineer [illegible]

WANTED [illegible] premises [illegible] lering at [illegible] street.

WANTED [illegible] sitch, $[illegible] age and re[illegible] Chestnut [illegible]

Fur[illegible] FOR rent [illegible] at 1020 W[illegible]

LARGE [illegible] two gen[illegible] neat local[illegible]

NEWLY [illegible] without [illegible] Lodge groo[illegible] 715 Eighth[illegible]

SUIT of [illegible] leeping; [illegible] other con[illegible] Doe Webs[illegible]

SUNNY f[illegible] or with[illegible] lent to le[illegible]

THRIFT [illegible] to [illegible] street.[illegible]

CAPITAL[illegible] loving lo[illegible] $1,500, $1,50[illegible] and $10,00[illegible] way.

WANTED[illegible] to priva[illegible] with oth[illegible] to Oak B[illegible]

Fur[illegible] FOR rent [illegible] at 1020 W[illegible]

165

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890206001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] An Anarchist Propagandist / Emma Goldman.– p. 5 ; 43 cm.
In Oakland Enquirer. –(July 15, 1899).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

FRENCH VESSEL

rnitar, July 14.—The French D'Artagnan, which was moored rtish waters, has been fired on Spanish revenue boat. An ination is proceeding.

CUT FOURTEEN TIRES.

ckton, July 11.—While n party of tian Endeavorers were enjoying hal at a farm house near town, miscreant punctured and cut the of fourteen bicycles. Only one escaped, most of them being not badly punctured but cut. Those made the journey out on bicycles compelled to walk to town.

LATEST APPOINTMENTS.

cramento, July 14.—O. C. Iranga an Diego has been appointed a ry public.

e Governor has appointed Francis nderhill a director of agricultural rict No. 37, Santa Barbara county.

AIMED AT GUATEMALA.

rlin, July 14.—An Anglo-German onstration is being planned against temala on behalf of the English German holders of Guatemalan ds. The German cruiser Gelr is ier way to Guatemala now.

A CALIFORNIAN APPOINTED.

ashington, July 14.—The President morning appointed Sergeant Chas. st of the First California to be nd lieutenant in one of the new nteer regiments.

A REBELLION IN PERU.

ma, Peru, July 11.—The Separatist ising in the southern provinces is ading. The government has sent forcements into the rebellious dist.

A TERRA COTTA PLANT.

us Spreckels May Locate One in Alameda County.

is stated that Claus Spreckels is g to put in a plant for the manufture of terra cotta on this side of bay. This is how it was brought ut:

hen Mr. Spreckels stood in need of e miles of terra cotta conduits for ding his electric wires in San Fran o underground, the terra cotta people who were in a combine thought had a crack on the old man and the price up on him. He demurred one of the terra cotta people told to go to the devil. Spreckels t like that, so he figured on getthe stuff from the East, but that ldn't do. So he said to those terra a fellows:

ery well; keep your terra cotta can make it so can I. I'll buy e mud and go into the business self."

hat is what Spreckels is said to be paring to do.

he local potteries, however, do not ear to know anything about Mr. eckels' plans.

Prices of Sugar.

he Western Sugar Refining Company of San Francisco has issued the lowing statement of prices under e of July 13th. Prices for California, Oregon and Washington: Cubes crushed and fine crushed 5c; dered 5c, candy granulated 5c, granulated fine 5c; confectioners' 5c, California A 4¾, Magnolia A Extra C 4½, Golden C 4½.

A Steam Fire Engine.

he Golden Gate Improvement Club d a meeting this week and adopted a resolution favoring the purchase of a steam fire engine in Golden Gate. The delegates to the central body were instructed to meet with the delegates from the other clubs in the Merchants' Exchange rooms on the matter.

Arrested for Battery.

William Lewis of Berkeley has been arrested by Town Marshal Lloyd on a charge of battery, it being alleged that the prisoner beat Lloyd's son.

THEIR HASTY ACTION.

Supervisors Quietly Discuss Their Having Taken up the Mehrmann Matter Monday Last.

During a quiet moment Thursday afternoon when no outsiders were in the room the Board of Supervisors had a little discussion over their action on Monday last in first deciding to postpone the Mehrmann hearing and in taking it up later when the coroner was away and passing on his bills.

It seems that Supervisor Church made the first declaration. He was of the opinion that the board should have abided by the first decision and not have considered the matter after Mehrmann had been told it would not be considered.

One of the members wanted to take some action, but Chairman Talcott ruled that all explanation, if there were any, had better be made next Monday at 10 o'clock when Dr. Mehrmann will be on hand with his attorney.

MISS GURNETT A PROSPECTIVE BRIDE.

An engagement that will interest a very large number of people in this city is just announced. It is that of Miss Matilde Gurnett, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William J. Gurnett of 454 Twentieth street, to Alfred G. Swain of 1505 Tenth avenue.

The wedding will take place in the near future. Mr. Swain, the prospective groom, is secretary of a mining company with headquarters in San Francisco, and, like Miss Gurnett, has many friends in this city.

Christian Church Conference.

The State Conference of the Christian Church will open at Garfield Park, Santa Cruz, on Monday, the 17th and continue to the 20th inst. A large number of Oaklanders will be in attendance from different parts of the State. Rev. Guy W. Smith of the First Church of this city will be present and preside, a number of other delegates from Oakland.

Christopher Columbus Society.

The Christopher Columbus Society of this city will hold its annual picnic on Sunday at Pittsville Park, San Leandro creek.

Parted With His Money.

A Stockton dispatch reports that A. Bistorius of Livermore lost $100 on a horse race in which he was induced to back a sure winner.

A Visiting Apostle

Apostle C. T. Griffiths, one of the twelve of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is visiting at 153 East Nineteenth street, this city.

Cold Feet.

Simms' Electric Soles for cold feet; price 50 cents at Osgood, Seventh and Broadway.

"Who Gives to All Denies All."

This is as true of the spend-thrift of health as of the waster of money. Do not waste your health by allowing your blood to continue impure, but purify, vitalize and enrich it by taking Hood's Sarsaparilla, America's Greatest Medicine.

Dyspepsia—*"My husband doctored a long time for dyspepsia with only temporary relief. The first bottle of Hood's Sarsaparilla helped and the second cured him. It cured my sick headaches."* *Mrs. Mary A. Clark, Wilmington, Vt.*

Hood's Sarsaparilla
Never Disappoints

Hood's Pills cure liver ills; the non irritating and only cathartic to take with Hood's Sarsaparilla.

fate or shaped by divinity and not subject to human will. "We live in an age of doubt," she contended; "men actually have the audacity not to accept any political theory or religious doctrine upon authority. I myself have the audacity to differ from generally accepted political principles and think for myself. I believe that most human beings are striving for some purpose; have some end to attain. If men did not have some ideal or end human society could not exist. What, then, is the chief end of life? I have considered and investigated the subject and while I may not be infallible I think it is to reach the highest amount of happiness or satisfaction that most men strive to attain the greatest amount of happiness with the least expense of time and energy is the common end of human life. Men's conception of what real happiness is differ radically. Some are happy at the mere satisfaction of physical wants, some desire higher intellectual satisfaction, others have their highest delight in fighting for a cause or an ideal. Even to die for an ideal is happiness to some. For the realization of one's ideal of happiness there must be individual liberty. Our forefathers had a certain conception of liberty, they believed that the remedy for oppression was to get away from the conditions which created it, and they established what they called religious liberty in this country. But while theoretically religious liberty prevails, the church practically controls the education, the morals and the ethics of the country, and while persons who may differ from accepted beliefs are not subjected to the rack and thumbscrew they are often subjected to ostracism."

POPULAR UNREST.

"Why the great unrest of the people? Why the continual strife, battle and discontent? This is an evidence that there is life and growth. Stagnation follows the negative existence. Content with more food and clothing develop conditions favorable for despotism. To whom shall those who desire a better condition of things look for direction and leadership if they do not inform themselves? Your Harvards and Yales are not filled with the sons of the working classes, they are the show places of the sons of aristocrats. The rich and their sons do not seek the privilege of having a university education. These young men are cared little for the economics or the politics of the country.

In the German universities during the stirring times from 1848 to 1889 the leaders of radical thought were the students. The same is true today of the universities of Russia and it is among the students that most of the reforms originate. This is because in these countries many of the poor people work nights that their children may be educated and many of the students come from the ranks of the common people and are in sympathy with them. To some extent conditions have changed in Germany, where at the present time the highest conception of liberty with many of the students is that of drinking beer and bowing to the monarch the present representative of absolutism.

We find the church under the domination of the capitalistic class and arises to maintain its dominance over the thought of the people, but it will not permit liberty of thought.

The newspapers are the least suitable source of information for the people. They will give you full accounts of the Jeffries-Sharkey prize fight and of the latest purchase of a European prince by an American millionaire's daughter, or the social doings of the aristocrats, but do the newspapers report the proceedings of labor meetings or speeches of those who are trying to better the conditions of the working classes. They are simply jumping jacks in the hands of capitalists who own them.

IDEALS OF LIBERTY.

The average young man of the rising generation in this country has no real conception of what liberty means. If the American people realized what real liberty [illegible] the existing conditions for an instant? There can be no real equality without equality of opportunity. If you had no laws you would have equality: if you have laws you will not have equality. Only public freedom will permit the development of personality. Now position and importance attaches to a person not for what he is but for what he possesses. Society rests upon the basis of the almighty dollar. Wealth gives power and creates inequality be-

Mrs. Drew, same address, heart disease and partial paralysis. Mrs. Olsen, Benvenue avenue near Parker street, Berkeley, general debility. Mrs. Warren, 366 Brush street, Oakland, dropsy and various other complications.

Mr. Johnson, 1461 Broadway, severe trouble and partial paralysis cured by Rickards after the best physicians had failed to relieve him.

D. W. Howard, Baker City, Oregon, cured of 19 years' case of long standing; a very bad case of swollen jugular. Mrs. Thompson, 525 Telegraph avenue, bad case of chronic sick headache and neuralgia—cured. Mrs. Summers of same address will speak for herself.

George Nye, 3th Telegraph avenue, withered hand; now nearly restored to former size. See her mother.

Mrs. Newell, 601 San Pablo avenue, paralysis of the stomach and bowels. Mrs. Rhead, 513 Tenth street, very bad with complication of various diseases. Other testimonials can be secured by calling on the healer at his residence. Catarrh, kidney disease, dropsy, rheumatism, tumors, nervous prostration, asthma, neuralgia, poor circulation of the blood, weak eyes, neuralgia of the stomach and various stomach and bowel troubles successfully treated. No fixed charge for treatments. Patients can pay according to their means.

Open Air Concert.

To-morrow at Leona Heights the First Artillery Band will give an open air concert. Take Alameda electric cars, which connect with the Leona Heights road.

The Masonic Home.

The Masonic Widows' and Orphans' Home at De Coto hereby gives notice that they have admitted into the Orphanage from April 1st to June 30th, 1899, the following named orphans.

Arthur Needles, 12 years 2 months; Fay Needles, 9 years 8 months; Joseph Tatton, 13 years 3 months; Thomas Tatton, 11 years 1 months; Clarence Tatton, 7 years 8 months.

Alcohol whisky for home and sick room. Good Old Edge, pure, recommended by physicians. At grocers and saloons.

County Board of Equalization.

NOTICE TO TAXPAYERS

—OF—

ALAMEDA COUNTY, CALIFORNIA.

Office of the Clerk of the Board of Supervisors of Alameda County, California.

Public notice is hereby given that the assessment roll of the fiscal year 1899 of Alameda County, California, has been completed and delivered to the Clerk of the Board of Supervisors of said County, and that the same will be open for inspection at the said Clerk's office in Annex to the Hall of Records in the City of Oakland, from 9 o'clock a. m. to 5 o'clock p. m. every day except Sunday.

Notice is also given that the Board of Supervisors of said County sit as a County Board of Equalization on Monday, July 3, 1899, at 12 o'clock m. of said day, and adjourned until Monday, July 10, 1899, at 10 o'clock a. m. of said day, and again adjourned until Thursday, July 13, 1899, at 2 o'clock p. m., from and after which time they will continue in session from time to time until the business of equalization is disposed of, and said Board will not sit later than July 20th, at 12 o'clock midnight.

Application for reduction or correction of assessment must be made in writing duly verified by the oath of the property owner or a duly authorized agent. Blanks for application for reduction or increase of assessment may be obtained at said Clerk's office.

By order of the Board of Supervisors, sitting and acting as a Board of Equalization of Alameda County, California.

Dated, July 10, 1899.

[Seal.] FRANK C. JORDAN, Clerk.

NOTICE.

Mrs. Rebecca Pantoskey having, without cause, left my home, bed and board, I will not be responsible for any debts contracted by her.

HERMANN PANTOSKEY.

359-Jy12-3t

Personals.

WILL you, the gentleman who has the sorrel mare with silver mane and tail, named Queenie, please call on Mrs. Harrell, at No. 916 Harrison street. 508-jy15-3t

DISSOLUTION NOTICE.—The Fruitvale Realty Co., Fruitvale Station, C. B. Lowry and J. W. Elrod, has this day dissolved by mutual consent, Mr. Elrod retiring, Mr. Lowry to continue the business at the same place and under the same firm name, Fruitvale Realty Co.

(Signed) C. B. LOWRY,
J. W. ELROD.

Fruitvale, July 15, 1899. 513-jy17-1t

Rooms and Board.

LARGE sunny room; hot and cold water; first-class table. 963 Oak street, corner Tenth. 514-Jy15-2t

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

166

890413008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] From San Jose / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. —Vol. 5, no. 37 (July 23, 1899).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. V. NO 37. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, JULY 23, 1899. WHOLE NO. 225.

THE FOUR TRAVELERS.

She had found it dull in the city,
So had they in a different mode
She traveled to seek for amusement,
They traveled to look for a job.

She was loaded with fruit and candy,
And her section was piled with flowers,
With magazines, books and papers
To shorten the weary hours.

Her friends came down in a body
With farewells merry and sweet,
And left her with laughter and kisses
On the broad, plush-cushioned seat

She was weary before she started,
For the journey was dull and far
"Traveling's hardly a pleasure,"
Said the girl in the palace car.

* * * * * * *

They shuffled out in the darkness
And crept in under the cars,
To ride on the trucks as best they might
To cling by the chains and bars

None came to see their starting,
And their friendliest look that day
Was that of a green young brakeman,
Who looked the other way

They were hungry before they started
With a hunger that turned to pain
"Traveling's hardly a pleasure,"
Said the three men under the train.

* * * * * * *

She complained of the smoke and cinders,
She complained of the dust and heat,
She complained of the table service,
She complained of the things to eat.

She said it was so expensive,
In spite of one's utmost care,
That feeling the portere and waiters
Cost as much as a first class fare;

That the seats were stuffy and dirty,
That the berths were worse by far
"Traveling's hardly a pleasure,"
Said the girl in the palace car

* * * * * * *

They hung on in desperate silence,
For a word meant a tell tale shout;
Their foul hats low on the blood-shot eyes
To keep the cinders out

The dust beat hard on their faces,
The noise beat hard on their ears,
For a moment's rest to a straining limb
Meant the worst of human fears.

They clutched and clung in the darkness
With a stiffness that grew to pain,
"Traveling's hardly a pleasure,"
Groaned the three men under the train

* * * * * * *

She stepped airily out in the morning,
When the porter had brushed her awhile
She gave him a silver dollar,
He gave her an ivory smile

She complained to her friend that morning,
Of a most distressing dream
"I thought I heard in the darkness
A sort of a jolting scream,

"I thought I felt in the darkness
The grave wheels joggle and swing
Traveling's hardly a pleasure
When you dream such horrible thing."

* * * * * * *

They crept shuddering out in the morning,
Red spots with the coal's black stain
"Traveling's hardly a pleasure,"
Said the TWO men under the train.

—Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

* * * * *

THE "FOURTH" OF 1899.

It was the morning of the Fourth of July, and tradition, said I, must do something unusual by way of celebrating it. Since four o'clock the roar and rattle and din of battle had resounded in my ears; I feared to look out lest I should see blood flowing down the streets. A flag fluttered against the sky in view of the upper part of my window; I heard shouts, and could it be?—a groan. Tremblingly I looked out. The smell of powder was in the air, but all looked peaceful. Several small boys were hovering over a piece of live coal; a man hurried by on a bicycle; a little girl sauntered carelessly along on the opposite side of the street.

No signs of alarm or excitement—we were still safe.

"I shall get away from this noise," I said, "I shall seek the quietest spot I can find, and quietly observe this significant day. Surely, I may consistently commemorate it. It marked an epoch in the world-long struggle for freedom. A huge portion of the burden of the ages was thrown off when my forefathers conceived and noted down that wonderful Declaration of Independence. The aristocrats, the conservative patriots do well to ignore the *meaning* of the day, and observe its *customs* —shoot off fire-crackers and empty, boastful eloquence."

I boarded a train and rode until the woods and streams looked wild and natural. I got off at a water tank and found a lonely country road winding in and out among trees, now in the sunshine, now in the shade. I followed it; so quiet, so enticing was the peaceful path that I walked amid the birds and shy, joyous animal life, long and dreamily, and came suddenly upon a pretty grove, prettily occupied.

A group of matrons hovering over capacious dinner baskets, and chattering placidly of the many little things which interested them; a few farmer-looking men gathered in twos and threes, whittling and discussing crops and politics; a throng of merry young people laughing and glancing at each other in the vague delight of youth and good health.

Good! An old fashioned, country celebration! The ubiquitous small boy and his fire-crackers were here, but inoffensively so, and I would be simple and old fashioned too.

An officious looking man climbed up on the wooden platform to read the Declaration of Independence. First, a song was sung by an amateur quartette, then the reading proceeded.

In loud sonorous tones the words rang out. "All men are created free and equal, with certain inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and more of the familiar sentences floated out on the still air. "Government should rest on the consent of the governed," and one after another those bold sentences which created such a reverberation round the world when first they were read aloud.

A stir amid the little audience gathered on the plank seats in front of the platform, indicated something unusual. A tall, lank man, with a stern face and something of an air of authority about him arose to his feet, while several hands sought to pull him back to his seat.

"Mr. Chairman," he began in a high-pitched, strident voice, "I want to protest against such words being read here. Under the circumstances, they sound too much like treason. I know, our forefathers wrote them, but that was more than a hundred years ago, and they succeeded in establishing their declaration. That made a big difference. After the surrender at Yorktown, they were no longer rebels, insurgents or rioters, they were citizens of a great nation.

"Now, our nation is spending money and sending the flower of her youth half way round the globe, to teach a lot of half-savage brown-skins that they have no business to govern themselves in their own islands. They belong to us, and this nation means to civilize 'em if two thirds have to be killed to do it. Our soldiers have had to wipe out a town in a single night—kill all the inhabitants, and burn the houses, in order to teach them. We've had to stab wounded men who were trying to crawl away and hide in the bushes; the strong young men of our country must be sacrificed; those who can outlive poisoned beef, unsanitary conditions, fevers, etc., will fight the Filipinos, and may be kill more of them, than they kill of ours.

"Now, if we want to be truly patriotic, we won't be reminding our great war leaders today of words our forefathers said when they were similarly situated to these islanders. Why do we, loyal citizens of the United States, want to be talking about 'all men being free and equal' and 'government resting on the consent of the governed,' and all the rest of it when our worthy administration is having such a time putting down a lot of barbarous people for saying the same thing. Less said about such things the better, in times like these, I say," and the old man sat down.

Several men arose to speak at once, all was confusion and noise for a few moments. Then the women folks, fearing trouble, announced loudly that dinner was ready and the crowd gathered around the board tables.

I wandered slowly away, unable to decide in my own mind whether the old man was in earnest or not.

LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

* * * * *

FROM SAN JOSE.

On July 11, Emma Goldman again addressed a San Jose audience at Hale's Hall. This evening she spoke upon the subject of "Charity" and while she did not carry out the general conception of Anarchy by bomb throwing, she at least, with well directed aim, threw bombs of thought into the well guarded prison of deep-rooted prejudices. "We give," said she, "then wish to dictate what shall be done with that which we have given. A beggar accosts us on the street and asks for money for food. With some hesitancy we give him twenty five cents or so, and afterwards are perfectly horrified to find that he has spent that quarter not for something to eat but for something to drink. Instantly we object to his doing so. If we had been really charitable we should have been willing for him to spend the money for whatever he most desired.

"The poets sing the praises vie with one another in proclaiming and all join in declaring that there is no love like a mother's. But when the girl of today dares to be led by her natural impulses, when she dares bid defiance to Madame Grundy and be herself, when she dares give expression to her love, the hands of so-called charity instantly seize her and the child born of this love is taken off to the foundling asylum. What becomes of this mother's love? But of course she has none. Love exists only at Madame Grundy's decree. Still, we call ourselves charitable."

In forcible language she attacked all of the abuses and mockery which exist under the name of charity. Any one hearing this lecture could not fail to be impressed by the truth and logic so clearly portrayed. And if ever a place needed radical work San Jose is that place. To be sure there are some broad, liberal people in San Jose, but they are few in number. Let us hope that the seed which Emma Goldman has sown will bear abundant harvest and through the darkness of ignorance at least some light will penetrate.

At her third lecture she spoke on "Why I am an Anarchist-Communist" and showed explicitly that real freedom to pursue happiness can only exist when authority—government in every form—is abrogated and the means to sustain life with are at the disposal of every member of society.

At the same meeting Miss DePeatt spoke on "What Shall we Do to be Damned?" demonstrating clearly that to be true to ourselves means to be damned, shocking many pious Christians and other "nasty-nice people."

K. D.

167

880617025

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman in Oakland, Cal. / Emma Goldman.— pp. 2-3 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. —(July 23, 1899).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Ass'n.

50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 42 Sheridan St., San Francisco, California.

Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal: absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

DIFFERENCES AMONG ANARCHISTS.

Are these fundamental or simply different versions of the same thing? If we could establish a dictionary among ourselves, but this would never do; our kick is against authority, and we don't want to establish one even for the definition of words. Still, if we could only agree to define our terms as we go along—every man an authority in himself—it seems to me we might avoid a good deal of quarrel and thereby have more time and opportunity to fight our common enemy—established authority. Accordingly, I define Anarchy—A condition of liberty, which means an absence of all established authority; no rule or rulers man is bound to respect. By established authority I mean forceful authority. Our shoemaker may be an authority on shoes. The specialist with peculiar faculty and diligent practice may establish an authority in his line, still no man is bound to patronize him. Even a faculty for deciding questions of justice and equity may establish an authority among men. I remember reading of an old gentleman who had succeeded in establishing himself such an authority, and was respected far and wide for the justness of his decisions. The writer called him "an Anarchist king." Such authority, I believe, would abound in a state of Anarchy, wherein no force but the inherent force of an idea existed. No man or woman should be in a position to say "you must" or "must not" act so and so, every person being subject only to nature and its forces.

Now, what is natural? Reaction follows action; force engenders force; love creates love. If you smile, a smile is returned; if you frown, you are met with a frown. Every individual acts in accordance with his own nature. When forced to act otherwise he becomes a rebel. Milton personified the idea in his "Rebellion in Heaven," where love was placed in power. It matters not what motive moves the ruler. A forceful authority is always a tyrant. A "good" master is just as much a master as a "bad" one. It is the master that incites rebellion. The rebel in man is really the best thing about him. It is born of intelligence and self reliance. The ego of man is a scientific conception.

Says W. K. Clifford: "As the dim and shadowy outline of the superhuman deity fades away from before us we perceive with greater clearness the shape of yet a grander and nobler figure—of him who made all gods and shall unmake them."

Any authority outside of the individual must be regarded as a god, to enable him, or it, to exist. Man's nature rebels, awakening intelligence seeks evidence against authority, an irresistible conflict is inaugurated. Liberty triumphant, what then? Why, the individual freed from restraint seeks dominion over others. The freed slave often makes the worst tyrant. To seek dominion is as natural as to seek liberty. Hence, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." I would define liberty as the absence of all restraint of the individual in his pursuit of happiness. Invasion is a restriction of that pursuit, and hence an enemy to liberty. But "who is to decide when doctors disagree" in regard to liberty? Here theory creates a "parting in our ways," some contending that an organization to protect the individual must arise. Of course it is a voluntary organization, and its members must retain their right of secession. The theory works all right under our present regime and will undoubtedly be a stage in the future evolution of society. But is it our highest ideal? Is it an evolution of liberty or authority? Is it opposing authority or qualifying it? The Anarchist posits the principle of liberty as a goal, a means and an end. He would not qualify slavery. He would not reform authority. He would abolish them. Slavery is none the less slavery because the slaves voluntarily enter it or even love their chains. The Anarchist is not a leader, a chief, to guide and direct men, but a teacher to instruct and advise. His force is the force of an idea, a principle. There is a substantial agreement in the minds of men as regarding acts being invasive or non-invasive. It is only when an abstraction as "God," "government," "good of society" or "good of humanity" is introduced, invented by designing rascals to bewilder the minds while they pick the pockets of the people, that any quarrel arises.

Natural justice, natural right, natural law, is very clearly defined, and would be rightly applied if men would deal with man, and not appeal to the *doctrinaires* of some organization—the "government" of political economy, the "social organism" of Socialism, or "voluntary organization" of Anarchists. Let us examine "organization," its object and aim. It aims to accomplish what the individual is supposed to be unable to do. Its "glittering generality" is "to protect the individual in his liberty; to successfully co-operate for individual advancement; to restrict and punish all who would invade the liberty of the individual." This is the aim, but what is the result? We find the motion or machinery is propelled by sovereign power. This power was originally "of God," later "of the king," by and by "of the nobles," and lastly "of the people." What is it? Our Anarchist friends would confine it to a voluntary organization limited. Our governmentalist friends would extend the supreme authority over certain territory. Of course the two cannot occupy the same space and are antagonists. But suppose the government force surrenders? The people have become convinced that the Anarchist is superior, more potent to reach that higher place of society. The Anarchist organization recognizes society. But will the nature of man be changed? Will he not rebel against the new authority? "Why yes," say our friends, "but he has the right of secession." But hold on! Conditions have changed. There is no opposing force to get behind. The Anarchist force was all right when playing "second fiddle" but becomes all wrong when "chief musician." When supreme power is vested in an individual or number of individuals all rights of the people are altered, or annulled, or abolished, as "public necessity may require." It is folly to tell what an Anarchist organization would not do or could not do. "Power pollutes whate'er it touches." Any organization to be at all effective must have sovereign power. Individuals must be subordinated to the will of certain officials, and a higher power with established authority must result, and, to a certain extent liberty must be denied. Hence, as an advocate of liberty, I deny the rights assumed by organization.*

Not wishing to monopolize the space of *Free Society* I leave further discussion of the differences among Anarchists to a future number.

East Elma, N. Y. A. L. Ballou.

* * * * *

EMMA COLOMAN IN OAKLAND, CAL.

The announcement that Emma Goldman, a real live Anarchist, would lecture at Grand Army hall last evening, attracted an audience of 210 people, some of whom were in sympathy with the sentiments of the speaker, and others attracted through curiosity or in a desire to hear of this social philosophy from one of the cult.

Before the speaker of the evening was introduced, the singing section of the Verein Eintracht of Oakland rendered a chorus with fine effect.

Miss Goldman, who has attained some prominence as a propagandist of the doctrines of the Anarchist-Communists of the country, is a young woman who might be taken for a college student or an exponent of suffrage. She is of medium height, with hair tending toward the Titian, with strong features, and wears eyeglasses. She speaks with considerable vehemance and a foreign German accent. The topic of the speaker was "The Aim of Humanity."

She said that there are many people who think that life is fashioned by fate or shaped by divinity and not subject to human will. "We live in an age of doubt," she contended; "men actually have the audacity not to accept any political theory or religious doctrine upon authority. I myself have the audacity to differ from generally accepted political principles and think for myself. I believe that most human beings are striving for some purpose; have some end to attain. If men did not have some ideal or end, human society could not exist. What, then, is the chief end of life? I have considered and investigated the subject and while I may not be infallible I think it is to reach the highest amount of happiness or satisfaction that most men strive to attain; the greatest amount of happiness with the least expense of time and energy is the common end of human life. Men's conception of what real happiness is differ radically. Some are happy at the mere satisfaction of physical wants; some desire higher intellectual satisfaction; others have their highest delight in fighting for a cause or an ideal. Even to die for an ideal is happiness to some. For the realization of one's ideal of happiness there must be individual liberty. Our forefathers had a certain conception of liberty; they believed that the remedy for oppression was to get away from the conditions which created it, and they established what they called religious liberty in this country. But while theoretically religious liberty prevails, the church practically controls the education, the morals and the ethics of the country, and while persons who may differ from accepted beliefs are not subjected to the rack and thumb-screw they are often subjected to ostracism.

"Why the great unrest of the people? Why the continual strife, battle and discontent? This is an evidence that there is life and growth. Stagnation follows the vegetative existence. Content with mere food and clothing develope conditions favorable for despotism. To whom shall those who desire a better condition of things look for direction and leadership if they do not inform themselves? Your Harvards and your Yales are not filled with the sons of the working classes, they are the show places of the sons of aristocrats. The rich send their sons to college simply because they desire the name of having a university education. These young men care little for the cause of the common people. They care little for the economics or the politics of the country.

"In the German universities during the stirring times from 1848 to 1880 the leaders of radical thought were the students. The same is true today of the universities of Russia, and it is among the students that most of the reforms originate. This is because in these countries many of the poor people work nights that their children may be educated and many of the students come from the ranks of the common people and are in sympathy with them. To some extent conditions have changed in Germany, where at the present time the highest conception of liberty with many of the students is that of drinking beer and bowing to the monarch, the present representative of absolutism.

"We find the church under the domination of the capitalistic class and anxious to maintain its dominance over the thought of the people, but it will not permit liberty of thought.

"The newspapers are the least suitable sources of instruction for the people. They will give you full accounts of the Jeffries-Sharkey prize fight and of the latest purchase of a European prince by an American millionaire's daughter, or the social doings of the aristocrats, but do the newspapers report the proceedings of labor meetings or speeches of those who are trying to better the conditions of the working classes? They are simply jumping jacks in the hands of capitalists who own them.

"The average young man of the rising generation in this country has no real conception of what liberty means. If the American people realized what real liberty is, would they submit to the existing conditions

* Comrade Ballou evidently refers to the so-called individualists who contend that "police, courts and prisons" will be necessary under Anarchy, demonstrating thereby that their conception of freedom is vague, to say the least. A. L.

168

880617025

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman in Oakland, Cal. / Emma Goldman.— pp. 2-3 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. —(July 23, 1899).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

for an instant? There can be no real equality without equality of opportunities. If you had no laws you would have equality; if you have laws you will not have equality. Only public freedom will permit the development of individuality. Now position and importance attaches to a person not for what he is but for what he possesses. Society rests upon the basis of the almighty dollar. Wealth gives power and creates inequality before the law. The aspiration for wealth began when one man fenced in a piece of ground and said to the rest: 'This is mine; keep off the grass.' There are those among the working classes who are so dense that they think if the masters did not give them work they would have to lie down and die. It is a wrong idea that the beauties of nature are for the benefit of a few. The true conception of society is one of interdependence, of solidarity; that the happiness of each is based upon the happiness of all, and that if your fellow man suffers you must suffer, and if you suffer your fellow man must suffer. Let us try to become useful men and women and give what we have of ability and talent to educate and to help others. It is only through this that we will realize the true aim of life."

The lecture was followed by a number of questions which the speaker answered from her standpoint.

During the evening there were distributed copies of *Free Society*, a publication issued in San Francisco, which is now in its fifth volume and is avowedly an exponent of Anarchist-Communism.—*Oakland Enquirer*, July 15, 1899.

• • • • •

HYPOCRISY OR FREEDOM, WHICH?

The Sunday *Examiner* of July 9 contained an article about an Indian girl, who had been taken from her savage tribe to our "civilization", to get an education and manners. After she had acquired a college education and all the manners of a high society girl, with the best opportunities of becoming a mistress of a rich man, she leaves "civilization" with all luxury, fashion and arts and returns to her tribe, casts aside her tailor-made gowns for the gaudy calico and cheap cotton handkerchiefs, weds a man of her tribe, performs such rough labor as comes to the female Indian, and enjoys life much better than among our "civilized" people.

The name of that Indian girl is Winneta Wilson, and she is from the northwestern part of Idaho. Her auto-biography is as follows:

"I was born on the battlefield while my mother was fleeing for her life from the approach of our enemies, the white men, and my father, Chief Looking Glass, was fighting with his thousands for our liberty, our lands and our homes.

"The history of the Nez Perce war has been written in blood. Side by side sleep its brave fighters, and the graves of the red men are a black spot in the history of the United States—records of shame, and frauds committed by dishonest Indian agents who have betrayed the trust reposed in them by the Great Father at Washington.

"It is true that since the outbreak of the Nez Perce war some twenty years ago, the Government has restored to us in a great measure our original preserves, but the best and bravest of my race have died, heroes of the battlefield and victims of a terrible wrong."

She then relates the history of the U. S.' persecution and butchery of her tribe in 1878 and concludes:

"Who, then, can blame me for feeling as I do? Who with any sympathy or sense of justice can condemn me for choosing to remain with my people? Why should I declare allegiance to those who in the past were not only disturbers of my people's peace, but their murderers as well?

"I want none of the white man's so-called civilization. I do not want to live in his world. My place is with my race—my kin are dearer to me than any new ties that I can form among the whites. My father was a red man. I have chosen a red man for my husband. My pappoose will some day be a red man. This is as it should be.

"I belong to a proud people; and none dare say that in returning to them I am not loyal. The love of father, mother and fireside—can I forget these sacred associations?

"Indian blood flows in my veins, and I rejoice in it. The Nez Perce faith teaches filial love, virtue and obedience, and although we have no colleges, no luxuries, no newspapers and no books, neither have we mortgages, gigantic trusts, tenements, sweatshops, lunatic asylums nor penitentiaries—all of which, and more that is equally repulsive to me, I have found in your boasted civilization.

"Living as children of nature, without pretense of any kind, we practice no deceit or hypocrisy, nor is there envy or jealousy in our midst. Our individual efforts procure sufficient food and shelter in these streams and forests. Civilization would make of us alms-takers, charity-seekers, beggars."

And that "respectable" reporter has the audacity to call this woman a "degenerate". Would it not be better for him to look in the mirror for the real degenerate?

Men that uphold a system so justly and aptly characterized in Winnetta's simple but strong arraignment are worse than degenerates.

No matter how much we may approve of education and refinement, what good are they, when only the rich are enabled to receive them? What good is art, when the majority of the people have not even the necessary means for their subsistence? Can any one blame that noble and courageous girl for condemning such a system? As far as I am concerned, I admire her action, and if not for the hopes I entertain that progress will sometime bring about social conditions that will enable every individual to be educated, free and happy, I would prefer to live among the savages and to even be called "degenerate," to living among the so-called "civilized" hypocrites. M. LEVITZKY.

• • • • •

"SCIENCE" VS. COMMON SENSE.

The May *Arena* has an article expository of some of the sleight-of-hand work performed by the greatest of present-day "scientific" impostors—when measured by the number of her dupes—Mary Eddy. The "discoverer" of Christian "Science" gets a severe shocking from one who had been within the fold, and uncovered the "discovery."

Mary learned something about hypnotic healing from P. P. Quimby who had treated her for spinal trouble. This formed the basis for her "Science and Health," which she published after his death. She denies, however, that her "science" bears any relation to hypnotism; indeed, she most vehemently denounces its vulgar materialism and shudders at the very thought that her great mind should be occupied with anything so beastly and low. No, no! The etherial spheres beyond the realm of material reach are the fruitful sources from which she absorbs her wondrous powers. Yet the writer of the article referred to does not know of a single instance wherein she effected the cure even of a headache. But what does it matter? She "founded" a church and then a "college" to facilitate the sale of her book, and soon her income enabled her to build a mansion in New Hampshire to which she retired from the vulgar gaze of the Boston mob, to enjoy in ease and comfort the just reward of her great genius.

The church grew, and with the sacredness of Mary and her Bible "key" and she soon found it prudent to forbid the use of any other book by the "faithful," not even permitting original sermons by her clergy, confining the Sunday exercises to readings from it, thus by action adding to her statement that "all is mind," the one, "and my mind is all."

For the humble souls who crave for a view of the sacred physiognomy of their heavenly guide, Mary has provided copyrighted photos at $2 each, while those who would fain possess a trophy from this great discoverer, may carry away souvenir spoons by depositing a five dollar gold piece for each one taken; any one may obtain these, for there is no difference in five dollar pieces. They are however especially recommended to members of the flock, for being blessed by the holy, if not virgin Mary; they are a great aid to the forgetting of their toothaches, etc. Mary, following the common practice of her craft, does not go into detail in explaining this phenomenon. Could and did she do so the game would be up and the Concord palace would soon become a vulgar materialistic boarding house, instead of the abiding place for ghosts and phantoms it now is, and Mary in her spare moments might write a "key" to some modern cook book.

Who would have thought that at this late day a fakir like Mary Eddy could have found "students" at thirty dollars per lesson? But she did, and in plenty. O, shades of Tom Paine, where is the age of reason you spoke of?

"In the *Nineteenth Century*," said Mary, "I affix the word Christianity to science and call the world to battle on this issue." What a glaring piece of audacity that is. Yet it was accepted, the battle begun, and Mary is now a god with thousands from all parts of the country crouched in fervent worship of her in the "mother church" in cultured Boston, whither they have gathered on their annual pilgrimage.

Again she says, "Christian Science and the senses are at war." Very well, then, since the senses are the only avenues through which science (knowledge) is conveyed to the brain of man her conviction as a lunatic and the condemnation of her vaporings ought to be easy. But no; Mary and her "science" are performing a valuable service to the "nation" in providing a means whereby the eyes of millions, who have outgrown the crude orthodox creeds, may be again turned skywards, leaving the grave earthly questions to be more justly and equitably settled by the plutes, priests and politicians.

The liberal contributions of far-seeing philanthropic capitalists are now in order; indeed the head of the piano trust is a regular and very active missionary already, and we would not be surprised to soon learn that the Standard Oil Co. has transferred its crusade against the senses to a new field.

Hail Mary full of "science," the plutes are with thee, blessed art thou among craven idiots! But cursed be thee and all thy kind, where courage and freedom hath invaded the mind, for the free man knows no good but himself, bows to no authority, nor reveres any law or edict that emanates not from his own brain. None but the feeble mind or body without courage or strength to take up life's burden and carry it boldly forward in the face of the innumerable obstacles that lie athwart its thorny path, but who in their endeavor to shirk the responsibility of their miserable existence by fleeing to hope, and gods, put any credence in the airy twaddle of balding priests. The lone of such weaklings that some relief, some haven of ease and pleasure from the fierce, relentless, struggle of life, *ought*, in justice, be their portion sometime, has long since grown into the possibility that it *will*. Therefore the priests, whose trade it is to impose their air-castle schemes upon the gullible mob of their fellows who have no understanding of the problem of life has ever had an easy task and the centuries of slavery under the yoke of Jesus and his crafty disciples in Church and State, have cleared the way for the new "science," the re-incarnated Karmaism, and the other fashionable spookologies of today, and I see in the growth of these arisms a sure sign of the decay of our civilization, for when man embraces any of them he releases his grasp of the earth and looks to fate or god to make things right, or goes mad and is condemned to an asylum, as was the case of two women in Chicago the other day who had taken Mrs. Eddy seriously, and tried to solve her "science." When men go into the clouds for the solution of questions that are under their feet, they are either mad or very near it. And the rulers of the earth will ever encourage such madness by feigning it themselves, and encouraging its propaganda, for while people keep their gaze thusly directed it is an easy matter to steal their lands and liberties, and point out to them a remote corner of the blue ethereal reigns where a heaven of bliss awaits them if they will only be patient and suffer much, a doctrine fit only for imbeciles, surely not for people of rational minds.

It is remarkable that all these new or recast myshes have women for their founders or chief promoters, and men are gradually receding from their time-honored occupations as gods. The new woman has invaded every sphere of man's usefulness. The "minister of divine grace" who has fought so heroically against the cheap scab labor of women, now finds them installed behind creeds of their own making, and by virtue of competition forcing the men into the ranks of the unemployed. And we can readily see that woman with her highly emotional nature and her more refined deceptive qualities, is much better adopted to leadership in the modern occult creeds than man, and to Mary Eddy is awarded the medal, *par excellence* queen of them all.

JAY FOX.

• • • • •

When people are freed from the daily terror of starvation and find out what they really want, being no longer compelled by anything but their own needs, they will refuse to produce the mere manities which are now called luxuries, or the poison and trash now called cheap wares. No one would make plush breeches when there were no flunkies to wear them, nor would anyone waste his time over making oleomargarine when no one was compelled to abstain from the use of real butter. Adulteration laws are only needed in a society of thieves; and in such a society they are a dead letter.—William Morris.

169

881018012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman: The Woman Anarchist Talks to Stocktonians Two Evenings / Emma Goldman.— p. 5 ; 40 cm. *In* Stockton Daily Record. —(July 24, 1899).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

...the shoulder blade opened into the lung, making every breath painful, but the robust condition of the sufferer may enable her to hold out and allow the wound to heal. Assio is still at large and the officers are searching for him and a clearer insight into the details of the affair.

When found the woman still held her babe in her arms. The infant was covered with blood and slept as peacefully as though in a cradle.

It is understood that the woman confirmed the report that her husband had reproached her for leaving him and in a fury declared that he would kill her.

It seems that Pegano, the woman's lover, and several others were near when the assault occured; in fact, Pegano was participating in the conversation. He had taken the precaution to arm himself with a revolver, which probably caused the husband to leave him alone. The interloper, however, showed himself to be a coward in that he witnessed the attempted murder and fled without trying to protect the woman he had wronged.

...most popular lady on the grounds, Miss Talbert.

Oldest man on the grounds, J. W. Clark.

Forty-nine gate prizes were given, the lucky numbers being as follows in the order given on the program:

200, 734, 949, 221, 459, 757, 268, 241, 130, 226, 923, 920, 2, 977, 66, 944, 263, 273, 849, 63, 933, 333, 845, 344, 964, 88, 834, 782, 107, 59, 731, 125, 877, 876, 904, 124, 106, 95, 234, 119, 948, 878, 113, 959, 114, 137, 144, 947, 247.

GOVERNMENT DREDGING.

Will Probably Be Completed to the Head of Stockton and Mormon Channels.

Major Heuer, the government engineer appointed to look after the harbor and river improvements in this section of the state, has prepared the specifications for dredging both Stockton and Mormon channels to the head of navigation, to Center street on the former and El Dorado street on the latter. The specifications have been forwarded to Washington for approval, which is nearly always given a government engineer's recommendations.

As soon as the plans have been approved Major Heuer will ask for bids for doing the work. This is the first time that the government has made a move toward improving Stockton harbor, having declined on all previous occasions to extend the dredging inside the city limits.

SALOON FIRE.

Fire broke out in the Lafayette beer hall on Levee street at 5:30 this morning. An alarm was turned in but the employes had extinguished the blaze. The fire is supposed to have been caused by a lighted cigar stump thrown in some sawdust at the base of the bar, and must have smouldered all night. The bar was damaged considerably and a hole was burned in the floor of the saloon.

To the Public.

The booklets published by the Merchants' Association can be had at Garwood's shoe store, Lauxen & Catts' furniture house, and at the Holden Drug Co. Get the number you want now. Mail them to your friends East and help us to advertise our city and county. (Signed)

THE COMMITTEE.

Keep Cool.

The Stockton Gas and Electric Company is now furnishing fans and power to patrons at $3 per month.

White Straw Sailor Hats

Prettily trimmed with quills and white liberty silk. A jaunty affair. Prices, $1.25, $1.35, $1.50, $1.75, $2.25 and up, at Mrs. M. A. Pealer's, 327 East Main street, under Yosemite hotel.

Sick headache absolutely and permanently cured by using Moki Tea. A pleasant herb drink. Cures constipation and indigestion, makes you eat, sleep, work and happy. Satisfaction guaranteed or money back. 25 cents and 50 cents. H. F. Prien, druggist, 210 East Main street, Odd Fellows' building.

If you are working during the day and want to learn shorthand and typewriting, join the night class at the Parker Institute, Masonic temple.

People's Express Co. has offices at San Francisco, Oakland, Alameda, Berkeley, Petaluma and Stockton. Reliable and prompt.

For the finest dentistry call upon Dr. R. W. Henderson, opposite the Mail's fountain, McKee building.

Large and airy warehouse for storage of all kinds of goods at People's Express Co., 16 and 18 West El Dorado street.

People's Express Co., prompt and reliable. 'Phone, main 70.

...and foreign goods care of People's Express Co.

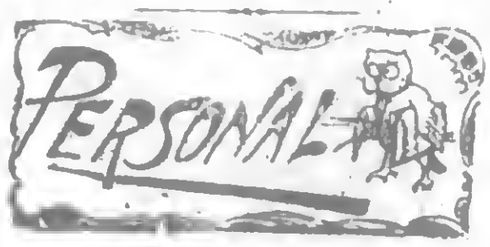
Men's Fine Hats
Men's Silk Top...
Men's Thin Un...
Boys' Short Pants...
Men's Straw Hats, all kinds...

THE FAIR

JOS. STEINHART, Manager.

340, 342, 344 E. Main St., Stockton.

...she is well. Both of the girls are unusually pretty and are the only companions of a widowed mother.



G. A. McKenzie has returned from San Francisco.

W. H. Yates, the grain man, came up on the Weber yesterday.

W. H. Smith, John Yardley and E. R. Hedges were in San Francisco Sunday.

Norvnl Douglass of San Francisco is visiting Joseph Gill and other friends in this city.

Dr. and Mrs. A. W. Holsholt and children are enjoying an outing at Lake Tahoe.

W. A. Fitzgerald, city editor of the Fresno Republican, is in the city on a visit to relatives.

Mr. and Mrs. F. E. Dunlap left last week for Pacific Grove, where they will remain some time.

R. W. Burke, formerly of this city but now of San Jose, is spending a two weeks' vacation here.

Mr. and Mrs. George Parker, together with their daughters and a party of friends, are camping in the vicinity of Ukiah.

Rev. Meredith, Mrs. Grace and Miss Georgie Roy and T. F. Knutzen are booked on the Weber for San Francisco to-night.

Edwin S. Parker, the phonographic teacher, has returned from San Francisco. Mrs. Parker remained for a short visit with relatives.

Mrs. Gumpertz and Miss Lizzetta Gumpertz of Syracuse, New York, accompanied by Miss Alice Arndt, have returned from a visit to the southland.

Miss Donna Whittaker, a Stockton graduate of Mills College, is spending her vacation here. Miss Whittaker will teach school at Fruitvale this season.

Girls on an Excursion.

Fifteen girls employed by Newmann & Levison in San Francisco, arrived here on the Weber yesterday on a pleasure trip. They were shown the city and returned on the Corcoran last night.

Peaches and Cream.

John Elliott will furnish the peaches—tempting and delicious. 'Phone, 331 brown.

Henry T. Higginbotham,

Sale and Feed Stables, 27-29 South San Joaquin street, Stockton, Cal. Tel. 321 green.

Have your shoes repaired at Joseph Kaiser's, 126 N. Hunter street.

Superior photo work at Monaco's

EMMA GOLDMANN.

The Woman Anarchist Talks to Stocktonians Two Evenings.

Emma Goldman, the woman who glories in her anarchistic record, spoke on Hunter square Saturday evening and at Union hall last evening. The woman is unquestionably well informed, and to an extent well read, but her discourse was in the nature of a sweeping denunciation of every existing condition, rather than along argumentative lines. All government, all religion and accepted moral codes came in for criticism.

Goldman is a rapid speaker, with a heavier voice than is possessed by many men. She has a fair presence, and every gesture and movement denotes great nervous energy. There is no question but that her talks are entertaining, providing the auditor is willing to pass for what they are worth her criticisms of cherished political, social and religious ideas.

In her address last evening at Union hall on "Authority vs. Liberty," she divided authority into three sections—church, governmental and moral. She bore very severely on the churches and bitterly denounced clergymen as a class who lived on the community without giving society any labor in return. She maintained that despite assertions to the contrary, the church had lost its hold on the people and that the government was now the source of authority which the Anarchists had to fight. She denounced constituted authority in all its forms and argued that without authority there would be no crime, no killing, no robbing.

She referred to Mrs. Grundy as the moral censor and violently reproached women as being their own worst enemies.

She said they accepted the decrees of Mrs. Grundy, and any woman who dared to disobey or step aside from the forms laid down by Mrs. Grundy was cast out of the pale of society.

Speaking about the rights of women, she said she pitied the men if ever the time did come when the women should get the upper hand and control, for they would give the men all the hell they could.

Miss Goldman was to have spoken again this evening, but owing to an exhausted physical condition and the fact that she is billed to speak in San Francisco to-morrow evening, her date for this evening was cancelled.

Cleanliness Next to Godliness.

You can have your windows and houses made as white as driven snow if you give your orders to the Stockton Window and House Cleaning Company, 16 and 18 North El Dorado street. Janitor work a specialty. This company is responsible for any damages. 'Phone, main 70.

Daily Record, 15 cents per week.

BORN.

JOSEPH—In this city, July 22, 1899, to the wife of L. Joseph, a son.

MARRIED.

SWEEM—PULLIAM—In this city, July 23, 1899, by the Rev. W. C. Evans, James Frederick Sweem and Mary Eugene Pulliam, both of Stockton.

SWEEM—BAKER—In this city, July 23, 1899, by the Rev. W. C. Evans, Sterling Price Sweem and Ida Myrtle Baker, both of Stockton.

DIED.

MASTERS—In this city, July 24, 1899, Harold Leslie Masters, a native of California, aged 8 years, 2 months and 17 days.

EMBALMERS, UNDERTAKERS.

P. D. CAMPBELL & CO.,

SUCCESSORS TO JOHN BARRETT.

The finest funeral goods, hearses, carriages, etc., furnished at the most reasonable rates. Corner of San Joaquin and Washington streets. Telephone main 43.

THE NEW UNDERTAKING FIRM

224 N. Hunter street, HALL & KITTO (Tel. 97 main), have both a white and a black hearse. The only complete outfit in the city and our prices are the lowest—$35, $38, $45, $50 and upwards for complete outfits. WE DO WHAT WE CLAIM.

NEW ADVERTISEMENTS.

WANTED—Rag carpet to weave. No. 626 East Weber avenue.

FOR SALE—Cheap, good gentle horse for lady or children. No. 520 East Jackson street. jy24-3t

FOR SALE—Modern residence on N. San Joaquin street, near the plaza; reasonable. Inquire Record office.

WANTED—By young lady attending business school, place to work for her board; references exchanged. Address R. J., Record office.

JOSHUA R. WEBSTER,

Attorney-at-Law,

Notary Public and United States Commissioner.

170

890112005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in Stockton, Cal. / Emma Goldman. – pp. 2-3 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 5, no. 38 (July 30, 1899).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Ass'n.

50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 43 Sheridan St., San Francisco, California.

Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

All readers of *Free Society* in arrears are kindly requested to send in their subscription or pay the same to our respective agents, if they want us to publish a lively paper. They should remember that we can neither live on wind nor pay the current expenses with kind words.

* * *

In Cleveland, where the street railway employees went on a strike in order to better their conditions; "life and property" are considered sacred and the troops eagerly protect the property of the company. What a sad spectacle! While the street railway owners enjoy a trip to Europe or the comforts of a summer resort the troops and wage workers, whose interests are identical, are fighting the battle for those that suppress and rob them, instead of consolidating their forces against their real enemy—monopoly and government.

* * *

Strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true that what is considered a crime in this country is glorified when perpetrated in Manila. The more people one kills on the Philippine Islands the greater a hero is he and the more property destroyed the greater the glory. The difference is that here it is the poor workingman who here and there dares to attack the property of the rich while in the Philippine Islands it is the government that commits murder and destroys the property of those who resist the imposition of an invader. But, "might is right" nowadays, a condition which the workers might easily take advantage of if they but cared.

* * *

Slavery and involuntary servitude of the most degrading form exist in the Hawaiian Islands today as a means for the enforcement of contracts made by laborers to work on the sugar and coffee plantations. Thirty-six Galicians are now confined in Oahu prison, Honolulu, because they refused to comply longer with the onerous conditions imposed on them by their masters. They were convicted of "deserting contract service," and were sentenced to indefinite imprisonment. They can gain release only by buying their way out of prison or going back to the cane fields. And such slavery is openly practiced under the American government, which pretends to protect the weak against the strong and the constitution of which provides that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction! Yet the dear people never seem to learn that the flag is an emblem of plunder and that government exists to protect the plunderers.

* * *

The American citizen will never become a willing slave. He will never tamely submit to the decision of a corrupt judge or the police power of a corrupt officeholder. Those who think otherwise will discover their mistake if they ever should attempt to force or starve the honest and worthy toiler into capitalistic slavery. —*Voice of Labor.*

Nothing but boastful words, Mr. Editor. The "American citizen" has become a willing slave and tamely submits to the imposition of the officeholders. This is no flattery, but it is the truth the American citizen is much in need of, and the truth is that he is sleeping while the chains are being fastened around his neck. A. L.

* * * * *

UNWELCOME CHILDREN.

For thousands of years men and women have been trying to reform the world. Why have they failed? I will tell you why. Ignorance, poverty and vice are populating the world. The gutter is a nursery. People unable to support themselves fill the tenements, the huts and hovels with children. They depend on the Lord, on luck and charity. They are not intelligent enough to think about consequences, or to feel responsibility. At the same time they don't want children, because a child is a curse—a curse to them and to itself. The babe is not welcome because it is a burden.

These unwelcome children fill the jails and prisons, the asylums and hospitals, and they crowd the scaffolds. A few are rescued by chance or charity, but the great majority are failures. They become vicious, ferocious. They live by fraud and violence, and bequeath their vices to their children. Against this inundation of vice the forces of reform are helpless; and charity itself becomes an unconscious prompter of crime.

Intelligence is the only lever capable of raising mankind. The question is, can we prevent the ignorant and the poor and the vicious from filling the world with their children? Can we prevent this Missouri of ignorance and vice from emptying into the Mississippi of civilization? Must the world forever remain the victim of ignorant passion? Can the world be civilized to that degree that consequences will be taken into consideration by all?

Passion is, and always has been, deaf. These weapons of reform are substantially useless. Criminals, tramps and beggars and failures are increasing every day. The prisons, jails, poorhouses and asylums are crowded. Religion is helpless. Law can punish, but it can neither reform criminals nor prevent crime. The tide of vice is rising. The war that is now being waged against the forces of evil is as helpless as the battle of the fireflies against the darkness of the night.

There is but one hope. Ignorance, poverty and vice must stop populating the world. This cannot be done by moral suasion. This cannot be done by talk or example. This cannot be done by religion or law by priest or hangman. This cannot be done by force, physical or moral.

To accomplish this there is but one way. Science must make woman the owner, the mistress, of herself. Science, the only savior of mankind, must put it in the power of woman to decide for herself whether she will or will not become a mother. This is the solution of the whole question. This frees woman. The babes that are born will be welcome. They will be clasped by glad hands to happy breasts. They will fill homes with light and joy.

I look forward to the time when men and women, by reason of their knowledge of consequences, of the morality born of intelligence, will refuse to perpetuate disease and pain—will refuse to fill the world with failures. When that time comes the prison walls will fall, the dungeons will be flooded with light, and the shadow of the scaffold will cease to curse the earth.—Robert G. Ingersoll.

* * * * *

REPLY TO A CRITICISM.

In No. 219 of *Free Society* I wrote, perhaps quite bitterly, about the attitude and action of the miners' union members, and in No. 221 of *Free Society* some one signing their name as Mama Rookie essays to criticize what I said.

The point I made, or tried to make, seems to have been lost sight of by the critic. I said:

It seems that the miners love to be bossed, love slavery. With the Wardner episode and its consequences in their eyes, in fact with this sickening transaction going on, the miners' union convention at Salt Lake City endorsed the S. L. P.

It seems they are unable to learn the lesson—though its tuition comes high—that government is conspiracy and murder, and that they had as good a right to take possession of the mill at Wardner as to blow it up. It seems they don't understand that if the government owned and operated everything they would be more powerless, more servile and more completely under the thumb of the bosses.

That is the point, "sweet Marie;" that is the point I wished to make clear. They endorse government just when the government is treating them worse than mangy cur dogs, and I don't doubt but that nine hundred—and may be the extra ninety-nine—of each thousand of the men who manned the train, ran the scabs away from the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine and mill, and blew up the mill would have responded to a call at any time to put down the Anarchists.

Again I say, why did they declare war, arm themselves, appropriate enormous amounts of dynamite and make all preparations for war if they did not intend to carry it out? Mine managers, governors and military authorities are not so easily bluffed as that, and if they did not know that the government stood ready to defend the capitalists they were lacking in ability to perceive the most patent facts.

Some of them say that they could have held the passes and prevented the soldiers from coming in, but were too loyal and law abiding. Oh, suffering saints! But their loyalty did not save them from the bull pen, nor their homes from pillage.

My critic asks why I don't criticise McKinley, and reminds me that every one must do as they must. So must McKinley. Who expected McKinley to act differently from what he does? Not I.

Then, too, if these miners are condoned in their continued worship of the monster that crushes them, will they ever learn to see that an endorsement of the S. L. P. is an endorsement of government, of the very power that is now denying them the right to work unless they sign a paper that is a renouncement of all personal liberty? No! Point out this fact to them, and tell them to take their medicine if they love government so well, and it will start some of them thinking. Some of the good trades unionists and S. L. P.ites sneered at us when arrested and asked how we enjoyed fighting the government. How do they enjoy upholding the government?

The Coeur d' Alene affair is indeed a bitter lesson. Will the miners learn it? Will they ever learn?

HENRY ADDIS

* * * * *

EMMA GOLDMAN IN STOCKTON, CAL.

The seats at Union hall were nearly all taken last night by people assembled to hear Miss Emma Goldman, the Anarchist of New York, speak on "Authority vs. Liberty." She speaks very rapidly, but her enunciation is good and she follows her line of thought very clearly. She makes great use of sarcasm, lashing most severely what she regards as the evils of modern life.

She spoke last night of three forms of authority. "The church," she said, "reigned supreme for centuries, and to doubt the existence of God or the sanctity of "His" ministers meant most cruel persecution. But now thousands have developed from the idea of creation or a supernatural being." She declared that christian dogma rested on belief, which was not knowledge, and that the progress of science had rendered obsolete the ideas of the church. While there were a few who still went to church in sincerity, most men went to gain a reputation for piety that would be of help to them in business, women went to show their clothes and boys and girls went to flirt. "And," she added, "it is a good place to flirt, for so many are asleep."

"It is not true," she exclaimed, "that God made man, but man has made gods, and every page of the church's history is soaked with the blood of those who have refused to accept the authority of the church, but now that authority is abolished in the minds of intelligent men.

"After the authority of the church was abolished," she continued, "another form of authority took its place." She said that Ingersoll had done a great work, but he had substituted the authority of the statute book for that of the Bible, and as the laws were largely based on the Bible they were not much better. The chief difference was that the church had to work on the emotions, while the State used force. In primitive life all had things in common, but after a while some one built a fence around a piece of land and he was the first robber. Then some one else wanted that land, and the struggle began.

She said that all the commands of the State were negative. It prohibits killing, but by means of its police and detective and military forces it murders men by hundreds. It says "Thou shalt not steal," and if a poor woman steals a little toy for her baby she goes to jail, but if a rich woman steals a silk handkerchief, they have invented a new disease to cover the case and call it kleptomania. So that the crime is not in stealing, but in being poor. "There is no equality before the law," she cried, "he who has no money never has had and never will have justice in the courts."

She said that while there was a time in this country when men like Jefferson believed in the principles of democracy, now the chief concern was for the triumph of party, and the time would come, if something was

171

890112005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in Stockton, Cal. / Emma Goldman. – pp. 2-3 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 5, no. 38 (July 30, 1899).

Pennission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

not done to stop it, when we would have our Count Vanderbilt and Lord Gould.

She admitted that the people of this country enjoyed some liberty, but declared that things were changing, or this country would not dare to invade another land to plunder and kill its inhabitants for greed. With a sarcastic denunciation of the czar and the kaiser, and a declaration that the tyranny of the bosses in this country was little less burdensome, she passed on to speak of the tyranny of Mrs Grundy.

She maintained that American women were mentally and physically ruined by their slavery to fashion, and that though the term "new woman" was a term of reproach, yet the women who defied conventionalities for the good of humanity were its great benefactors. The remedy was not in giving women the ballot, for that would only be changing masters, but in establishing liberty for all.

She closed with a vivid description of the triumphs of liberty and a picture of the ideal society, which could be based on the idea of peace and mutual cooperation, for anything maintained by force is most decidedly wrong.

In conversation with a *Mail* reporter after the lecture, Miss Goldman said she had been fourteen years in America. She had been in the cause of Anarchy in Russia from the time she was 15 years old. She first appeared publicly in this country in 1888 in the strike of the garment makers in New York. In 1892 the authorities tried to implicate her in the shooting of H. C. Frick, superintendent of the Carnegie steel works, but failed. In 1893, during another strike of garment makers in New York, she was convicted of inciting to riot and served a year in prison. She said that she opposed all violence that was aggressive or invasive, but believed in self-defense, and hence justified the killing of President Carnot of France and other deeds of that kind on the ground that the victims were invaders of the rights of the people. In conversation she is quite pleasant, and, except for her intense earnestness, shows none of the qualities usually attributed to the Anarchists.—*Stockton Evening Mail.*

The above is a report of the meeting of July 23, as it appeared in the *Evening Mail*.

The editor of the Stockton *Record* was very gracious to admit that Comrade Goldman "is well informed and to an extent well read. She has a fair presence, and her gestures and movements denote great energy, and her talks are unquestionably entertaining." Very fair of a newspaper man, is it not? The gentleman laments the opposition of comrade Emma Goldman to all cherished (by whom?) authority, particularly to that of Mrs. Grundy and her husband, Anthony Comstock, and our morals. (Our morals are indeed shaky, if they cannot stand criticism.) Comrade Goldman also lectured on the "Aim of Humanity," on Hunter Square (open air), Saturday, July 22, and created quite a stir.

* * * * *

THE SAVING IDEA.

If Stephen T. Byington had read what I wrote on saving, with any attention, I think he could hardly say I was talking of those who put money away in stockings to be idle. I have not my former paper at hand to refer to—I generally start such things on a missionary tour as soon as I see them in print—but I remember using some such expressions as these: "It may be said the man who saves a penny now-a-days does not bury it in the earth, but puts it into a bank, which loans it out to some manufacturer or other capitalist who employs labor, thus enabling him to employ more labor; and thus it ultimately causes production, as much as if our economical friend had spent it for products to consume. This seems plausible; but consider. What does the manufacturer hire laborers for? To produce. And why does he want them to produce? That he may sell. And why does any one buy of him? To consume. Whoever stops consuming in order to accumulate, knocks away as much as he can of the corner stone on which the whole fabric rests. It stands to make money for him only because there are others less parsimonious than he. When, therefore, he tells others that by saving, as he does, they can become rich, like him, he talks rubbish. If they all did so, they would stay poor, and he would become poor." I also, I am sure, gave examples in proof, whose effect is to show that this miserable gospel of Poor Richard does a great deal of practical harm in other ways than by teaching "the ignorant" and "the unthinking" that they depend for bread on the thrifty; which, so far as my acquaintance with them goes, they think unanimously.

Both friend Byington and S. D. deny the originality of my anti-saving idea. To Byington, I will say that I want to learn the addresses of those ignorant fellows who entertain it. I don't know them, never saw one of them, won't quarrel with them about priority, but will, if I can find them, try to organize them for propaganda work wherever political economy is being discussed.

To S. D. I will admit it is probable an idea something like my view of saving may have struck others before. But if you come to that, there is no such thing as originality. Newton was not the first who thought that gravitation probably held the planets in their "spheres." Kepler thought that and said it, but had no time left to work out a proof of it, as Newton did. The quotation from our old Comrade Wilson certainly does not show that he apprehended my exact formula "a penny saved is two pence wasted." Such a letter as Byington's, and such books as those referred to in my former articles certainly do show that my view is far from being understood clearly as yet, even by those who have some glimmering of its meaning. They confound it with "the broken window argument," and the "spendthrift" argument—either exchange of products must needs run over the snag of accumulation and capitalism; or else war and waste are "good for trade"—either a rich parasite had better devour his capital with harlots than put it into some productive enterprise, or else all producers (marvelous, yet familiar to us), might grow rich by ceasing to exchange their products! I say, no. *Consumption is the cause of production.* Those who abstain from it to get a cinch on the means of production, and thus extort a tribute from the producers, are *thieves*—government, their provider with such means, being the big boss thief. Wealth increases because *expected* consumption causes production to run ahead of *actual*.* The applications of wealth to produce more wealth—useful only in view of ultimate consumption—are not made by abstinence but by invention. Waste does not stimulate production—in itself it discourages production,—but exchange encourages both the direct production of capital,* and the indirect production of its products. As to the parasite, it matters little what he does with his ill gotten wealth. The accursed thing will never prosper anyway. If these ideas all flow from the central one, that consumption is the cause of production,—if they operate on political economy as Copernicus' theory on astronomy, changing the standpoint from what is—moved to what makes all move; from the capitalist, who is the basis of orthodoxy; and the laborer, who is the basis of Socialism, to the consumer, who is the basis of Anarchism, and is universal man;—then they have all the originality anything needs. If not, then, certainly I may hang up my fiddle, for I do not care to bore the public with old tunes.

C. L. James.

* Karl Marx justly says that "wealth applied to produce more wealth," is not a good definition of capital. But we still lack another word to denote "wealth applied to produce more wealth;" so, except by inventing one, some ambiguity must be left.

* * * * *

POLITICS AND RELIGION, OR CHRIST IN OUR ACTIONS.

We find in the history of political progress that man always had to depend upon himself to better the state of affairs. Religion has always been an enemy to progress directly or indirectly. By religion I mean a habitual all pervading sense of dependence upon or reverence for and responsibility to a supernatural being, supposedly divine. As Christianity is one of the religious systems, I will prove that it is against all progress and attempts to hold society in a low state of intelligence. As the intelligence of human beings is advancing, the ministers are obliged to get fresh cloaks under which to hide their past teachings and to deny that Christ is God, born of a virgin and other myths of the past. Christ is now interpreted to be an ideal, or putting it in the words of J. S. Mills: "A standard of excellence, a model for imitation, and a pattern of perfection of humanity." In my opinion this is the most foolish assertion he ever made.

It is also claimed that Christ was the first Socialist and Communist. It is said by the clerical fraternity that, because Jesus was always with the poor and opposing the rich and because he told a young rich man who wanted to know how to be saved to sell all he had and to give it to the poor, he must have been the first Socialist and Communist. Let us see what Socialism and Communism is and whether Christ's philosophy agrees with it. Socialism is a theory which recognises the right of the workers to the full products of their labor. To bring it about the land and implements for production are to belong to the nation and not to privileged individuals. It is to do away with individual wealth and poverty. A Communist is one who believes in the doctrine that a number of people may live in groups, large or small, and hold property or goods in common, each person of the group or commune to have free access to them, consuming according to their wants, and producing according to their abilities. Let us see what Christ taught, and if it agrees with these definitions.

In Matt. vi, 24-34, we find that he taught: "Take no thought for the morrow," that God will take care of us, clothe us, shelter us, give us food without looking for it, like the sparrows and the lilies. Innocent children today are starving and, without shelter and clothing, go about from door to door begging for a crust of bread; even the birds are starving by thousands, and yet the Christians have the audacity to tell us that God looks after the world and cares for it.

Another verse, (Luke vi, 20,) reads: "Blessed be ye poor." Is this Socialism or Communism? Is poverty a blessing? Certainly not, it is a curse. It makes honest men thieves, brave men cowards, true men liars, and pure and virtuous women prostitutes. Another teaching, (Matt. v, 39): "Resist not evil." He that believes in that and practices it is not only a coward but a fool. This teaching has been the whip which tyrants and the priestcraft have used to enslave mankind. Progress and the betterment of our miserable conditions are impossible when such principles are taught. Teachings like: "Sell what thou hast and give to the poor" (Matt. xix, 21); "Give to him that asks thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not away" (Matt. v, 42); "Lay not up for yourself treasures upon earth, but lay up for yourself treasures in heaven" (Matt. vi, 19, 20); and "Ye have the poor always with you" (Matt. xxvi, 11) look nice on paper, but they are the most foolish advice that can be given. Christ did not understand the position of labor and capital; he did not know how poverty came into existence; he did not understand the political and economical condition of his own people, much less of the world, for if he had known, he would not have said such foolish things as pointed out above. Every advanced person is opposed to charity, and in favor of justice instead.

Now, let us see whether Christ was "the highest ideal of a man or a standard of excellence, and a model for imitation." He sanctioned and upheld human sacrifices, (Lev. xxvii, 28, 29); slavery (Ex. xxi, 2, 6, Lev. xxv, 44, 46), the killing of witches (Ex. xxii, 18, Lev. xx, 27). He taught that a father is to slay his own family for a disagreement of religion (Deut. xiii, 6, 10). He taught massacre (Num. xxx, 1, 18). In fact he held up everything that is bad in the sight of unbiased, intelligent and honorable people.

Some people may object on the grounds that this is contained in the Old Testament, therefore I will cite from the New Testament where he sanctions all these crimes and recommends their practice. "Think not that I have come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy but fulfil. For verily I say unto you: Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled." Matt. v, 17, 19 etc etc. (2 Tim 15, 16, John v, 39, 46, 47.

Anyone wishing to be fair and to form conclusions whether to follow Christ would do well to read the following passages. Luke xiv, 26, xii 49-51, x x, 27, Matt x, 34, 35, x, 14, 15, Mark iv, 11, 12, v, 11, 13, xi, 1, 3, 12, 14, 20, 21.

In the words of Robt. G. Ingersoll regarding Christ "Was he kinder, more forgiving, more sacrificing than Buddah? Was he wiser, did he meet death with more calmness than Socrates? Was he more patient, more charitable than Epictetus? Was he a greater philosopher, a deeper thinker than Epicurus? In what respect was he the superior of Zoroaster? Was he gentler than Laotse, more universal than Confucius? Were his ideas of human rights and duties superior to those of Zeno? Did he express grander truths than Cicero? Was his mind subtler than Spinoza's? Was his brain equal to L. Kepler's or Newton's? Was he grander in death than Bruno? Was he in intelligence, in force and beauty of expression, in breadth and scope of thought, in wealth of illustration, in aptness of comparison, in knowledge of all passions, hopes and fears, the equal of Shakespeare, the greatest of the human race?" No! Then why should we follow him? All his good teachings were borrowed, but all the bad ones were his own. As Heine said "Formerly Christ rode on an ass, but now asses ride on Christ."

The sway of Christianity is over; the priest must make way for progress and the church collapses deservedly in its rubbish pile, for its practices are even worse than its principles.

M. Rosanadow.

London, England.

880727000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Farewell! / Emma Goldman.– p. 2 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. –Vol. 5, no. 40 (Aug. 13, 1899).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Ass'n.

50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 48 Sharpe St., San Francisco, California.

Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

Kropotkin's work "The Conquest of Bread" has been translated into the Italian and may be had at the Italian library, (Biblioteca Sociale Libertaria,) Paterson, N. J. Price 75 cents.

* * *

The *Little Freethinker* is being published again by Elmina Drake Slenker, Snowville, Va., and it is to be hoped that this iconoclastic little paper will be liberally supported and circulated among the children.

* * *

The Socialist Labor Party of this country shares the inevitable fate of all political parties. Its leaders are fighting among themselves for supremacy and the outcome of it is its disintegration, its members largely joining the Social Democracy. The same fate, however, is in store for this latter organization. What a pity to waste so much time and effort in such fruitless work!

* * *

A private company pays $10,000 to the United States government for a twenty years' privilege of running the Mare Island ferry boats, the government paying the company $300 a month for carrying the United States officials and clerks who have the use of the boats gratuitously. The clerks are engaged only six hours a day, their work being merely nominal. The company realizes the handsome profit of from $2,500 to $3,000 a month, and all this profit comes from the "horny-handed son of toil"—yes, and horny-brained as well.

* * *

Wonderful things do happen. Millerand, the Socialist, who pretended to be overthrowing the present social system, and Gallifet, the commune butcher who in 1871 had the Socialists (men, women and children) murdered by the thousands, are co-operating in the French government in directing the affairs of the nation. Kropotkin, in his autobiography in the *Atlantic Monthly*,—which by the way ought to be read by every progressive person—says very correctly regarding political parties:

It always happens that after a political party has adopted a program, and has proclaimed that nothing short of the complete attainment of its aim will satisfy it, it divides into two factions. One of them remains what it was, while the other, although it professes not to have changed a word of its previous intentions, accepts some sort of compromise, and gradually, from compromise to compromise, is driven farther from its original program, and becomes a party of modest makeshift reform.

* * *

Again and again the labor leaders assure us that organized labor will solve the social problem peaceably. One cannot help wondering whether those leaders are fools or knaves. It is but necessary to consider the latest doings between capital and labor in order to realize that the "peaceful solution" is taking a rather bloody start. In Cleveland strikers and scabs are killing each other, up to ten days ago eight were reported dead and over a hundred wounded. Cars are being blown up with dynamite, which, to be sure, is supposed to have been the work of hirelings of the railway company. The merchants are sympathizing with the workers and refuse to sell their wares to the military. The scabs are bombarded with stones by the women. And that is called a "peaceable" solution.

* * *

Judging from latest reports the Cleveland strikers are going to win their fight, yet in the end, experience teaches, it is the corporations alone who are victorious. Not until the workers of the whole country realize that their interests are identical can labor be victorious. Instead of sending money and sympathetic dispatches to Cleveland all the workers of the whole country ought to lay down their tools simultaneously; then the Cleveland strike would be satisfactorily ended in one day. Besides the workers must learn that not themselves, but the bosses—the exploiters—ought to be made to suffer starvation and privations during the strike, for the products on hand belong to the workers and not to the employer; when the worker once realizes this fact, exploitation will be at an end. A. I.

* * *

FAREWELL!

Emma Goldman has come and gone. Her presence in this city has apparently not left a ripple upon the surface of this community. The City Hall, the sink of corruption where all the villainous political schemes against the welfare of the community are executed and where the uncanny, hungry crowd of vultures congregates and conspires against the pockets of the unwary and "uncary" citizen, still stands in its old place with its sawdust-filled walls, a monument to thieving contractors and boodlers who robbed the community of millions of dollars;—the new Hall of (In)Justice, the latest fat steal of another gang of robbers is nearing its completion and almost ready to coil like a boa-constrictor around the vitals of the toiler upon whom depends the support of all of these hightoned loafers' and robbers' institutions as well as all the burdens of our modern civilization;—and the infamous commercial gambling dens known as stockboards are running as busily as ever at their familiar headquarters at Pine and Montgomery streets.

Yes, all of these institutions against the existence and mischief of which Anarchism contends are still with us and—no! not a ripple on the surface! For we are not doing surface work. We are laying the foundations for a structure as broad as the world and as solid as a rock. And we have learned from experience that the only effective and lasting method of work is the quiet, penetrating method of reason. Ours is not the aim of securing sinecures for a number of political corruptionists by way of "political action." Nor are we engaged in the patriotic work of producing "heroes" by way of setting human beings to slaughter each other like wild beasts and pouncing upon and disturbing the peace and tranquillity of "black savages" who are "too ignorant to recognize our glorious flag." Ours is not the work of retrogression and destruction but rather of construction and elevation. Hence the daily papers with the "largest circulation" of lies, villainies and sensations disdained Emma Goldman's presence and courage.

Yet, while she may not have left a ripple upon the *surface*, Emma has certainly rendered very valuable services in the grand work of disrupting this so-called society of ours by applying the social surgeon's probe and laying bare to the view of the layman the superficialism, stupidity and irrationalism of this sham civilization of ours and pointing out the way to a real society and genuine civilization with Reason as its guide and human happiness as its effect.

During her stay of seven weeks in this city Emma Goldman has delivered the following lectures:

"Politics: Its Corrupting Influence on Man."
"Authority vs. Liberty."
"The Power of the Idea."
"Why I am an Anarchist Communist."
"A Criticism on Ethics."
"The Origin of Evil."
"The Aim of Humanity."
"Sex Problems."
"The New Woman."
"The Development of Trades-Unionism."
"Charity."

The latter was delivered before the San Francisco Freethought Society.

While all of these lectures were exceedingly instructive and interesting and cannot but produce beneficial results, the most important lecture and that by which she has, in the writer's opinion, made her mark was that upon "Sex Problems."

The fact in itself of a woman's delivering a lecture upon a subject the very approach of which is so much feared even by many men who consider themselves radical, attests an admirable courage, and the fearless manner in which Emma Goldman handled the question as well as its clear and thoroughgoing presentation was a matter of genuine delight to all true lovers of liberty present. She said in effect:

"Intelligent minds are at last becoming reconciled to the fact that everything in the universe is subject to the eternal processes of change and variety; that this old world itself is nothing but a lot of overhanging matter; hence our institutions, customs and habits are subject to the same process of change. We have learned to make and unmake political and religious institutions; we are gradually stripping ourselves of the gods and governments of our semi-barbaric ancestors; but we are still gingerly upon the question which is of most vital importance to the race: the sex question. And yet this is the very basis of the weal or woe of the race. The human being could stand all the political and religious tyranny and be comparatively happy if the freedom of the affections were but guaranteed. Instead of that the heart is hampered and hedged in by all manner of ridiculous social and political laws and inhibitions, and those who would live up to their natural inclinations are scorned, ostracised and even persecuted. Particularly distressing and humiliating is the position of the woman. While some ascetics yet hold the male transgressor of these ridiculous laws in contempt, he is excused and even encouraged by most in society. The poor woman, however, who is but the necessary complement to the act is condemned. This double standard of morality is a perversion of reason. The man's act that requires the co-operation of the woman must be wrong in him as well if it be wrong at all. But it cannot be wrong. The sex act is simply the execution of certain natural functions of the human body, as natural, as healthful and as necessary when exercised temperately as the functions of the stomach, the brain, the muscles, etc., etc. We do not pay or consult a preacher or politician in the use of our other organs why should we do so in the use of our procreative organs? It is a shameful, degrading and degenerating interference with individual liberty, and the whole intellectual world is beginning to revolt against it. Nor should it be any third party's business how many persons of the opposite sex our affections go out to and with how many of them we associate; whether we be monogamists or varietists. As a matter of fact there is hardly one man in a hundred but is a varietist; why then should not the woman enjoy the same right if she so pleases? And where indeed is the harm? The basic law of society is non-interference with the rest of its members: non-invasion; the sex organs as well as all the other organs of the human body are the property of the individual possessing them and that individual and none other must be the sole authority and judge over his or her own acts; political and religious freedom are incomplete without social and sex freedom; sex slavery as now existing must fall if man is to be truly civilized."

The lecture was well attended and the audience with exception of an occasional burst of applause was spellbound. The questions asked by the audience as well as the discussion following the delivery of the lecture were indicative of an intense interest in the subject and brought out many fine points too difficult to record in a brief report.

Emma Goldman has left this city last Wednesday bound for Denver, whence she goes to Kansas and then to Spring Valley, Ill., to deliver an oration upon Labor Day. Thence she expects to visit England and Scotland and later to proceed to Paris to the World's Exposition and participate in the Anarchist congress. It is not an improbability that she may some day return to the genial clime of California to make her home here. But whether she do or not and wherever her plans may take her, she will always carry with her the esteem of her fellow workers as one of the most energetic and indefatigable champions of human emancipation. S. D.

* * * * *

RECENT EVIDENCE.

I was surprised to note that there was no comment in *Free Society* about the recent split in the S. L. P. in New York. Is it a case of small fry, or lack of interest in what the authoritarian brotherhood is doing?

It demonstrates beyond a doubt the failure of trying the dictatorial method of propaganda and its attempt to instil in the heads of the masses that socialism is good, if we will only bow down and worship. The administration of liberty will reap a harvest of [illegible] results.

The Anarchist chuckles a little at the failure of dictatorship. If it works such disastrous results in its infancy, what would it be if a whole nation were so governed?

The Socialist says those things will happen, they have happened before, and all such occurrences are but evolutionary.

To me as an Anarchist it proves that even in the ranks of the Socialists the desire for liberty is growing.

When the majority, or even the wise minority, reach the point of desiring liberty from the side of intellectual development—intelligent comprehension of what liberty means—I am convinced that the S. L. P. and other State-reform bodies will disintegrate, as they must, when the mind grows, and grow it must toward liberty and away from authority. B. F. Bauer.

173

881029002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Socialist Idea of Marriage / Emma Goldman.— p. 8 ; 28 cm.
In The Rocky Mountain News [Denver]. —(Aug. 19, 1899).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Correllus, J. T..	.50	O'Grady, Steve..	.50
Cldod, W. B....	2.50	O'Grady, Mike...	1.00
Cavalry, troop C.	25.00	O'Grady, John..	2.50
Cash	2.00	Packard, Dr. G. B	2.00
Cash	1.00	Reid, John	2.00
Cash	1.00	Rothwell, Dr. P. D.....	2.00
Cash	1.00	Rogers, Dr. E. J.. A....	5.00
Cash	1.00	Sheets, Dr. E. A	2.00
Cash	1.00	Sanchell, Wm ..	.50
Cash	.50	Smith-Brooks employes	5.00
Deichart, George.	1.00	"Seeing Denver" car	7.75
Denver Eng. Works Co. men	6.50	Thompson, J. B.	.50
Eisele, W. J....	1.00	Thomas, Dr. J. N	2.00
Fisher, W	2.00	Tregoning, Thos.	1.00
Funkhaugh, J. P.	1.00	Todd, A. M.....	2.00
Gatton, H	5.00	Thompson, Mrs. M. J. of Florence, Colo	1.00
Griffin Wheel Co	25.00	Van Zandt, C. B.	1.00
Holden, Dr	1.00	Westover, Dan..	.50
Huffman, E	.50	Wanderlip, L. C.	1.00
Huffsmith, Chas.	2.00	Winchester Repeating Arms Co	5.00
Huffsmith, Wm.	.50	Young, G. H.....	3.00
Hallin, J	1.00		
Herriott, P. H..	1.00		
Hickey, C. O...	1.00		
Hughes, P. W...	.50		
Hoeckris, C. F..	4.00		

Workingmen to the Rescue.

A list was circulated among the employes at the Denver Engineering works yesterday and $6.50 was realized in short order. A petition is now being circulated among the men of the Solis Cigar factory. It is hoped that other factories will follow suit at once. Every little helps. There are fully 300 secret organizations in the vicinity which have contributed nothing as yet. Letters have been sent them, and returns are eagerly awaited.

Mrs. William J. Rothwell and Mrs. Mahlon V. Johnson renewed their canvass among the physicians yesterday and got $31 additional, making about $100 they had secured from the profession in two days. Mrs. M. J. Thompson of Florence, could give but little, but she gladly sent in a money order for $1.

Troop C, First squadron of cavalry, has voted to donate $25.

The Denver Musical union yesterday sent the following letter to headquarters:

> The Denver Musical union, of which the First Infantry band are members, will furnish music for the entertainment of the Relatives' union on the occasion of the boxing contest to be given August 22 by the Olympic club for the free train benefit. Also, they will head the procession with a fine band on their arrival to this city.
>
> J. B. DURKEE.
> W. N. CAMPBELL.
> H. L. LIGHTFOOT.

Mrs. Ingersoll at once sent the following reply:

> Gentlemen—It gives me pleasure to receive your very generous offer of services now and appreciate the spirit of comradeship for your associates who have been in the service of their country.

The Denver Omnibus and Cab company will donate a big band wagon, with four white horses and a driver for the parade on Tuesday, preceding the boxing matches.

Apropos of the return of the boys, Mrs. E. C. Cady of Twentieth avenue writes that she will make a huge patriotic cake of red, white and blue, to be eaten at the banquet.

Tickets were received at headquarters yesterday for the twin performance at the Tabor and Broadway theaters Thursday afternoon. They range in price from 50 cents to $1.50. At the top of each is the phrase: "Lest we forget."—Kipling.

Five Thousand Tickets Provided.

Five thousand tickets have been printed. It remains for a patriotic public to decide whether or not they shall all be sold. The entertainment is promised by K. G. Cooper to be of the very finest order, and he says that the people must not infer that the talent will be ordinary simply from the fact that the proceeds will be devoted to a patriotic cause. Tickets will be on sale at headquarters from now on, and at the two theaters Wednesday and Thursday.

The Academy of Music concert at Elitch's will be given Friday afternoon next, instead of Thursday, so as not to conflict with the theaters. Miss Dora A. Diers, the manager, will conduct the programme in connection with that of Sig. Cavallo. As an inducement for a heavy

company G from San Francisco is not growing very fast. Up to date only about $1,200 will be subscribed and it will require about $3,500 to give free transportation to the Cripple Creek soldiers to the camp. Those interested have confidence of raising the full amount by September 1.

The newly organized militia company of this city and Victor will give a picnic and entertainment at the City park on Sunday, August 27, and the boys are confident of being able to raise at least $1,000 by this means. The park has been donated by Hanley and Williams, the owners, free of charge.

HOUSE TO HOUSE CANVASS FOR FUND IN PUEBLO

Special to The News.

PUEBLO, Colo., Aug. 18.—A meeting of the Pueblo Soldiers Aid society was held this afternoon and it was determined to make a house to house canvass for subscriptions to the free train fund. More than $800 has been subscribed already and vigorous efforts will be made to get every dollar within a few days that can be secured for the purpose of bringing the boys home. Pueblo is making great preparations to give the members of the First Colorado a rousing welcome when they reach Pueblo and it is felt that this city should subscribe her full share to the free train fund.

SOCIALIST IDEA OF MARRIAGE

Emma Goldman Says God Will Take Care of the Children.

According to the belief of Emma Goldman, expressed in an address delivered last evening at 1820 Champa street, marriage is a cumbersome and useless form. Men and women who are congenial, and who are fitted for each other's society, she argued, should live together. If they discovered that they could not exist together happily then they should separate. Miss Goldman's sentiments were applauded by a small portion of the audience. Others remained silent, reserving their criticisms to be expressed as they left the hall.

"The New Woman," was the theme of the woman socialist's discourse. After congratulating the people upon the advancement that has been made by woman in recent years she drifted into a discussion of the marriage laws, saying:

"Woman is as free as man. Why should she be bound by religion or state to obey the mandates of man, be they reasonable or unreasonable? There should be no marriage laws of state or church. When a man and a woman become convinced that each can aid the happiness and well being of each other they ought not to hesitate to live together as man and wife. If there is a progeny God will take care of it. Such is the ideal life socialism. It cannot be seen to-day or to-morrow, for the laws of the land say that there must be marriage vows exchanged. My friends, there is a bright day coming. I can look forward and see the time when this ideal existence will be possible. With the politics of the world reformed, and with the social laws revised people will enjoy perfect happiness, but not until then."

HAVING TOO SOFT A SNAP

Street Employes Impose on Good Nature of the Superintendent.

Hoping to bring the bondsmen of the defunct Blake Asphalt company to time, and to secure the resurfacing of West Larimer street, the board of public works yesterday adopted a resolution requiring the company to begin work on the reconstruction within five days. If the repair work is not commenced within that time the American Surety company, the Blake company's surety, will be called upon to make good the guarantee.

During the past week two fine Capitol hill residences have been sold to wealthy mining men,—who will make Denver their home. Henry Bohm sold his handsome residence on the corner of Colfax avenue and High street to W. G. Campbell of Los Angeles, Cal., who is a wealthy mine-owner of Old Mexico. The consideration was $21,000 cash. In paying the compliment to Denver of choosing this city in preference to sunny California, which has heretofore been the home of Mr. Campbell's family, the Mexico mining man was not influenced by any business advantages, as he recently sold part of his interests for an amount that alone would permit him to live in any part of the world his wishes might dictate. He chose Denver as his home, because he considered it the most ideal residence city.



HENRY BOHM'S RESIDENCE,
Sold to W. G. Campb

REPUBLICANS OF ARA

Straight Republicans of Arapahoe county have completed their district organizations so far as the city of Denver is concerned. Chairman Robert Morris of the county central committee, announces that the organization in the city is stronger than ever before in the history of the party. Now that the district organization is completed the leaders will personally begin precinct organization. Captains will be named in each precinct after the Tammany Hall idea and as soon as precinct organization is perfected, the organization by blocks will be prosecuted. The precinct captains will be elected as the members of the district organization see fit. The captains in turn will appoint lieutenants for each block.

Meetings of the different districts will be held each evening during the coming week. District E is arranging for a rousing celebration in Elk's hall on Thursday evening and other meetings will be scattered all over the city. In selecting district officers it has been the intention of the party leaders in each district to see that each faction of the Republican party is equally represented. Chairman Morris will call a meeting of the county central committee next week and the genuine preliminary work of the campaign will begin. The Republicans are

880107028

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Effect of War on the Workers / Emma Goldman. – pp. 10-11 ; 40 cm. *In* Freedom [London]. – Vol. 14, no. 146 (March-April, 1900).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The Boer mothers can safely go with the men to the trenches. From their fathers and brothers they will not hear a word that may offend their ears. They will not be in the company of those whom barrack life is rearing, and will be received as mothers and sisters.

"And now, when we ask ourselves: "Who is the cause of all that bloodshed?" our pen refuses to write down the names of the Chamberlains, the Rhodes, the Rothschilds and other Christian or Jewish gold-grabbers. These are only the leaders of a current whose deepest springs are in the hearts of the whole of the British nation.

Yes, the whole English nation has been abetting the commission of this crime in South Africa. The British workers as well as their Jingo masters!

From the time of John Bright, when the British proletarians turned their backs to the Socialists who worked amongst the Chartists, the workers of this country have been induced to believe that the more their masters plunder in distant lands, the richer they will be themselves.

Under the pretext of finding new "markets" and keeping "open doors", the British workers have supported their masters in their policy of sucking the blood out of Turkish and Indian peasants, Egyptian fellaheen and Negro slaves. All the world had to be turned into a field of exploitation for the British, and the British workers have supported this policy with all their hearts for nearly half a century.

When the open town of Alexandria in Egypt was bombarded by the British ironclads, without even showing the mere pretext of "resistance", and when the church bells rang all over England to glorify this massacre: where were the English workers to protest against this act of highway robbery in which France refused to join? When the Matabeles were shot "like mad dogs," their cattle were taken, and serfdom—true serfdom, I mean—was imposed upon the survivors, what did the British workers say to that? They gave their approval.

"After all," the worker said, "there is competition all round to our manufactures; so it will not be bad at all if so rich a country as Egypt be brought under English rule, and if so many millions of blacks are enslaved to us." The idea that the wealth of a nation is measured by the number of rich men in the nation, is so deeply rooted in England that by this time many millions of so-called "free-born Britons" feel happy to have thousands of rich men in the country, and themselves to earn their living as servants, as valets, as gardeners, as butchers and grocers in the service of those who plunder distant lands, or by supplying luxuries and amusements to those adventurers when they retire to a mansion or a cottage in Surrey or the Isle of Wight.

Britain is literally studded with such mansions and houses belonging to officers and officials retired on full pensions after a short service in India and the Colonies, to bankers enriched abroad, to serf-owners in Africa and the like. The main wealth of the nation is no longer made by the country's manufactures. Her chief net income is the £80,000,000 that she gets every year as interest upon the more than £2,000,000,000 distributed as loans all over the world, loans mostly twice repaid already (as Hyndman has proved figures in hand) by Egypt, but still inscribed to their full value on the books of the Egyptian Treasury. Banking (i.e. trade in money), not the sale of British manufactured goods, is now the great and profitable occupation of the British in every town of the far East and far West. England is no more "a nation of shopkeepers," as Napoleon I. said and Mr. Huxley repeated with pride, but a nation of moneylenders and traders in gold. And, this being so, the British workers become more and more the servants and pleasure providers for rich moneylenders, for "administrators" of India who have brought it to the verge of starvation, for bankers trading in money in Asia and elsewhere, for the Armstrongs and Whitworths, with their sub-Armstrongs and sub-Whitworths, all enriched in providing the British nation with a fleet in order to maintain these sources of income.

Masters enriched by plundering all over the world, and well paid servants of those masters: this is what the British nation is going to become with gigantic strides. The present war was only the means of making a further great step in this direction.

The worst of it is that, far from condemning this policy of the nation, the great mass of the British workers, and especially the London workers, openly support it. The ideal of the "free Briton" seems now to be a well paid servant to the man who has made a fortune at Johannesburg, at Cairo or at Hong Kong; his ambition is to have his daughter wearing the slavey-bonnet in the rich man's mansion, and his son running in a butcher, grocer or milk cart to take orders at the "gents'" doors, to be employed in the stables or the gardens of an Alfred Chapus and to glory in the horses and gardens of his master; to carry all over England the mistresses of the rich men on their holiday trips; to amuse them in the theatres and circuses; to sweep the streets for them; to build them mansions; to light them by electricity and to supply them with luxuries from all corners of the world. To be a servant to the rich who plunder the world: this now seems to be the highest ideal of the "free Briton", and the war is nothing but an attempt to go further and further in that direction.

When an agitation was started in this country, in 1886, to nationalise the land, to return it to culture, to give the mass of the English nation access to their own land and to create a wealthy agricultural population which would be the best customer to British manufactures: what echo did that agitation find amidst the British workers, apart from platonic resolutions voted at the Trade Union Congress and forgotten as soon as the Congress was over?

No, to cultivate the land may be good for Boers and Hungarians; not for us. Is it not far better to say to our masters: "Plunder the world, and, provided you bribe us with some share of the spoil, we shall give you full power for that; we shall stand by you, glorify you, erect you bronze statues, and throw eggs and pen-knives at your opponents." And this was what the British workers have never ceased to say to their masters: when they seized Egypt, when they shot down the Matabele, when the great Empire took for itself the cattle of these starvelings and imposed serfdom upon them amidst a Jesuitic talk about Liberty!

Let us hope, at least, that the heroic struggle of the Boers for their independence, and all the blows that this war is going to give the just-mentioned policy of Britain in Asia and everywhere will at last open the eyes of the British workers and show them that a policy of robbery and of sharing the spoil is not always the easiest way to well-being for a nation any more than for individuals. The "Maffia" system carried on by a nation is as risky for it as the "Maffia" organised in Italy by individual robbers.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Comrade Holt, of Yorkshire, writes to Cantwell as follows:

You will, perhaps, have some remembrance of the letters I sent to you a few years ago, when *Commonweal* was alive. I am still of the same opinion. I still believe that the problem of our great towns and cities is not only unsolved but unsolvable—unless taken in consideration with the agricultural interest. I regard, not only the minor evils from which our towns suffer, but the towns themselves as an effect, which it is useless to try to remedy whilst leaving the cause untouched.

I think I pointed out before, the absurdity of Land Nationalisation—inasmuch as the farm worker is already in *practical* possession of the land.

It is my earnest desire to see the worker able to retain possession and control of the produce he has raised, which impels me to write to you again. If only a knowledge of farm and country life was more widespread I think the task of showing or demonstrating the practicability of a solution of social evils by its help would be very easy.

If the problem of the towns is unsolvable, and there is a solution to the social problem: it must necessarily resolve itself on an agricultural basis. Being in possession, the question is: How to be able to hold both land and produce against Constituted Authority? The only way that I can see is to meet force by force; but how are we to organise ourselves into an efficient force?

No doubt it will take a large amount of propaganda work—far greater than any that has yet been undertaken in recent years.

This will imply a great expense, far more than can be raised in this country, try all we can. Where, then, has it to come from?

At the present crisis, at a time when the two South African Republics are engaged in a fierce struggle with the capitalists of this country, is it too much to hope for the means to be supplied us to strive for and proclaim a Commune in England?

Yours fraternally,

A. H. Holt.

THE EFFECT OF WAR ON THE WORKERS.

(Address by Emma Goldman on February 20, in London.)

Fellow Workers.—Let me begin my address with a quotation from one of England's greatest men: not the England of to-day, the invading, murderous, crushing England, but the England of a time when Liberty and Hospitality were her main virtues—the England that has given the world the profoundest thinkers, the most brilliant writers, the most touching poets, from among whom Carlyle stands out like a shining star upon the firmament. It was he who said, when asked "What is the net purport of War?":

"There dwell and toil, in the English village of Dundrudge, some five hundred souls. From these, by certain "Natural Enemies" of the French, there are successively selected, during the French war, say thirty able bodied men: Dundrudge, at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them: she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts so that one can weave

880107028

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Effect of War on the Workers / Emma Goldman. — pp. 10-11 ; 40 cm. *In* Freedom [London]. — Vol. 14, no. 146 (March-April, 1900).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

another build, another hammer, and the weakest stand under thirty more *smerdingain*. Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are coloured; all dressed in red; and shipped away, at the public charges, some two thousand miles, or say only to the south of Spain; and fed there till wanted. And now to that same spot.....are thirty similar French artisans, from a French Dumdredge, in like manner wending; till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into mutual juxtaposition: and Thirty stands fronting Thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word "Fire!" is given: and they blow the souls out of one another; and in place of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury, and anon shall teach far. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the Devil is, not the smallest! They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay, in so wide a Universe, there was even, unconsciously, by Commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! their Governors had fallen out: and, instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot."

In these few pithy words of Carlyle, lies the whole secret of War and Militarism. Only a short while ago in what is called the greatest and freest land in the world (I mean America), from each Dumdredge, thirty, nay, more, men were selected, dressed in uniform and shipped to a strange country; and the same was done in many Dumdredges of Spain. Both Spain and America had nursed and suckled their sons into strong and sturdy craftsmen. These same sons had children and wives to care for often a mother and sister to support; but no amount of tears or prayers could keep them at home, they were told to go, and so they went to blow each other's brains out. Had they any quarrel? None whatever; they, too, lived far enough apart, and in this wide world there was rather a bond of helpfulness between them. What then? In the case of the American man, we were told that a beautiful sentiment, a deep moral, was the motive power, and so it was to some extent—at least, the American people thought so. It was the deep sympathy with the suffering Cubans, tortured and starved by the butcher Weyler under the regime of the Spanish clergy and government: it was the just indignation of the American people over the atrocities committed in Cuba—I say: of the American people: I should say, of the American worker—and this noble sentiment, these humanitarian feelings, served the American governors as a good pretext for fighting Spain in order to get Cuba into their clutches.

Do you wish to know how the American Spanish war effected the workers? I will tell you. First of all, America lost thousands of her sons—who either died of fever, lack of proper nourishment, or were killed by Spanish guns, or (as a reward for their patriotism and devotion to their country) by embalmed beef furnished by American capitalists. Instead of those strong, able-bodied men who left their shores for the battlefield, we have today thousands of broken-hearted mothers, hungry widows and orphans, who swell the number of the unemployed and reduce the wages of the workers. Then we have the War Tax of Two Cents—only a penoy, you koow, for the Government was kind to us—a penny War Tax that still, like the sword of Damocles, hangs over the workers' heads, that has increased the price of meat from 4d. to 6d., bread from 2d. to 2½d. per loaf, coals from 17s to 25s, per ton, rent from 24s. to 30s. a month, beer, clothing and other necessities of life to still higher prices; it has ruined hundreds of small tradesmen, increased the ranks of the unemployed and reduced wages.

Still, all this suffering could be patiently borne if only one knew that the Cubans had been helped. Were they helped? I deny it. I say that all the blood spilt, all the lives lost, all the money spent has been in vain; the Cubans have been freed from the atrocious government of Spain but only to fall into the hands of another almost as unscrupulous. We have but to think of Homestead and its strike where eleven men were killed and some 30 wounded; of the coal strike in the Coeur d'Alene mines in Idaho, where 200 men were thrown to rot in the Bull Pen and confessions extorted at the point of the bayonet; when we think of the atrocities rampant in the South, of the negroes lynched, tortured and burned by infuriated crowds without a hand being raised or a word said for their protection—when we think of all these things, then I say that the American Government is hardly an improvement upon that of the Spanish, signs of which can already be seen in Cuba, where, 12,000 workers being out on strike, the army was threatened to be called out. We have saved the Cubans from the bullets of Spaniards, only, it seems to me, to expose them to the brutality of the bloodhounds of American capitalism. But as if this were not sufficient, there is a still more degrading, humiliating and brutal result of the late American-Spanish war—I allude to the invasion of the Philippine Islands and the crushing of the Filipinos, those noble rebels who are still defending their independence, though slaughtered by hundreds, their homes burned, their wealth destroyed, and their women ill-used by the very men who went to free the Cubans in the name of Liberty. Columbia! cover your face under the shame of it; for you have become but a prostitute to the vice and greed of your sons!

Again we can say with Carlyle, out of every British and Irish Dumdredge, men have been selected, dressed in khaki and sent to the Transvaal to blow out the souls of the Boers. Have these Englishmen quarrelled with the Boers? Why, no; on the contrary they were friends until a short time back! What then? In this case we cannot even say their Governors have fallen out, for the Governor of the Transvaal has certainly done more than any self-respecting man could or ought to do in the effort to prevent war, by yielding to the demands of Chamberlain, Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Milner. No, it is not the Governors who have fallen out, but a few greedy and insatiable monsters, who have gone mad at the sight of the red Gold in the Transvaal like the proverbial bull at the sight of a red rag, and Britannia must sacrifice her sons at the footstool of her insatiable treasure. No fight so justifiable, no more righteous a defence, no nobler struggle for liberty, than that we see today on the side of the Boers, a handful of farmers who have known little of military drill or modern warfare, who, a peace-loving people, have taken to their guns only from sheer necessity and are showing the world that when a people fights for Liberty and independence it needs neither God nor King on its side. I see a report in one of your dailies, that a number of ministers have called upon you to repent; God because of your sins, having been against you no little in this war. Now I always believed the English were the most pious people on the earth; at least, they have always pretended to be such yet God has punished you; might it not be because you obeyed the call of your Governors to invade and slay a peaceful people? But no, your ministers call you to repent because God for once in their crude imagination is on the side of the righteous—otherwise he is too often on the side of the rascal. I hardly, however, think it necessary to go into details regarding the English-Boer War; enough has already been said from different sides as to the results likely to obtain on the workers: blind indeed are those who do not see them already. Aside of the increase of the cost of the coal and food, aside of your 50,000 children going to school without breakfast, you have sold your birthright for a mess of pottage; you stand before the world as willing slaves to the crimes of robbers and thieves, and you have shown yourselves incapable (in spite of the gifts of chocolate from her gracious Majesty and plum-puddings from your aristocrats) of meeting and beating a handful of farmers!

Do not tell me Mr. Chamberlain is responsible for this war; it is you who are responsible. With Ruskin I can say: "There are two kinds of slaves—one are scourged to their work by the whip; others by their ignorance; some are bought with money, others with praise [or promises of chocolate!]. Again, it matters not what kind of work slaves do; some are set to digging fields, others graves; some press the juice out of vines, some the blood of men, but it is slavery just the same, because you do things at the bidding of others."

Yes, fellow-workers, this is your curse—doing things at the bidding of others. When, oh when, will you learn to be yourselves, to think for yourselves, to act for yourselves! Not until you have learnt to understand the wrongs of War, of bloodshed, of legal murder and robbery: that all class and racial hatred is but the result of your ignorance, and that while you wilfully choose this ignorance you become the easy tools of your Governors, who are too cowardly to go out and fight themselves.

EDWIN MARKHAM WITH A HOE.

(From THE LITERARY DIGEST, *New York.)*

Mr. Edwin Markham recently paid a visit to the Roycroft Shop, where Mr. Elbert Hubbard, "the sage of East Aurora, N. Y.," holds court, and where the Roycroft books and other objects of art are made. Mr. Markham has of late been so often accused of being a maligner of the hoe and of the man who uses it that we rejoice with Fra Elbertus in his discovery that the poet is himself no stranger to that implement. The sage thus tells the tale (in *The Philistine*, October):

"When Mr Markham arrived at the shop, Saint Gerome, Sammy the Artist Ali Baba and I were just starting for the potato-field, each armed with a hoe. Mr Markham laffi heartily at our appearance and thought it was a planned reception; but it wasn't, it was all purely accidental.

"I sent one of the boys to the barn to find another hoe. Mr. Markham did not shy, and when he was provided we started away. We reacht the field, and hoed.

"Mr. Markham is no stranger to a hoe. He is hearty, bronzed, and his white hair and beard quite belie his strong nzeek and boyish spirit. As we hoed we discussed the 'hoe man.' Probably I know more clearly than Mr. Markham does, himself, just what he had in view when he wrote 'The Man with the Hoe.'

"So I explained to Mr. Markham what he meant. He was grateful.

"The trouble with the hoe-man is too much hoe—it is hoe-congestion.

"The hoe is all right, and all men should hoe.

"If all men hoed a little, no man would have to hoe all the time.

"To hoe all the time sheets the brow.

"To never hoe tends to hydrocefalus and nervous prostration.

"Many men never hoe, because, they say, 'I don't have to.' It is a fool's answer.

"Then very many men are not allowed to hoe—the land is needed for game preserves. And in a country called Italy, where the true type of hoe-man is found most abundantly, there is an army of two hundred and fifty thousand fighting men who have to be fed with the things the hoe-man digs out of the ground.

"Wherever there are many soldiers there are also many hoemen.

"Some one must hoe.

"All food and all wealth are hoed out of the ground.

"If you never hoe, and yet eat, you are shaming the forehead of the hoe-man and adding to that awful look of God forsaken hopelessness. If you help the hoe-man hoe, he will then have time to think, and gradually the shape of his head will change, his eye will brighten, the outer mouth will become expressive, and at times he will take his dumb gaze from the earth and look up at the stars.

"Let us all hoe—a little."

"Free Society." An exponent of Anarchist-Communism, 236 Chutes Pk., San Francisco, Cal. U.S.A.

Agent for *Free Society*'s publications T. CANTWELL, 127 Doualston Street, London, N. W.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

176

880708005

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Propaganda and the Congress / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. —Vol. 6, no. 21 (April 8, 1900).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. 21. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, APRIL 8, 1900. WHOLE NO. 261.

TO NATURE.

I stand before thee silent and amazed,
Transported with delight, and filled with awe,
For on thy splendors, Nature, I have gazed,
And scanned the secrets of thy changeless law.
The everarching heavens are spread above,
The earth revolves in harmony below,
And in their midst stand I, all wrapt in love,
Flushed with their aspect's life inspiring glow.

When from the hills thou smilest unto me,
From azure skies and clouds of wondrous hue,
All my emotions then flow forth to thee,
Who dost my heart with such deep love endue.
And wells of music from my bosom gush,
When I behold thee, infinite and fair;
Forth from my body all the pulses rush,
To meet the fondlings of thy ambient air.

And when soft spring, awakening, overfloods
The earth with melody, and love, and light,
When gentle zephyrs kiss the opening buds,
Wafting their odors on the tranquil night,
When all the streams gush from the sunlit rocks,
And through the vales their peaceful passage trace,—
Then my wild heart, in thee rejoicing locks
All thy creations in my warm embrace.

How I was humbled in my foolish pride,—
When, in the haste of my unrammeled zeal,
I saw before me all thy wonders wide,
And dared to break Eternity's dark seal!
How thou hast chastened and made me wise
To be content in solitude, alone,
To smile at human sorrow and to rise
Above the world on thought's eternal throne.

Why should I tremble at the quick decay
Of youth's full bloom, and manhood's ample strength?
Why should I fear the fast approaching day,
When life's short thread shall have run out its length?
To thee, sweet Nature, I shall then return
To mingle ever with thy radiant spheres
And thy domain shall be the glorious urn
To keep my dust through all succeeding years.

BASIL HALL.

* * * * *

THE PROPAGANDA AND THE CONGRESS.

(Read before the organizing committee of the Anarchist congress, Paris.)

COMRADES AND FRIENDS,—I have learned that the assistance received from the comrades in America and England in behalf of our congress, has not been very encouraging. I hope this has not led you to lose faith in the American or English Anarchistic movement, or that you have concluded the comrades in those countries are inactive or indifferent.

I have just finished an eight months' propaganda tour in America, having delivered 240 lectures, visited 60 cities, and addressed from 50,000 to 60,000 people, and a four months' tour in England and Scotland, which, although not as successful as the former, yet enables me to give you the assurance that the comrades, at least the English speaking of America and England, are heart and soul with you in your undertaking of the coming congress, and that they will assist you both materially and morally. The reason why you have heard so little from them so far is due to the various difficulties we have to deal with in the United States and Great Britain.

I shall try to give you an idea of how we stand in both countries just now, so that you may better understand our hard struggle. To begin with America, let me say: I am quite sure that many of you know more or less about the movement, I mean the Anarchist movement of the American people, not the foreigners, (for although the Italian, Spanish, French, Bohemian and Jewish Anarchists are larger and stronger in numbers, yet they are of no importance inasmuch as we must have the Americans interested in our philosophy, if we wish to succeed in the establishment of a free society in the United States), still you only know about it through our papers, and because of that you may not be aware of the fact that the American movement is yet in its infancy, not older than five or six years. Up to that period the movement was in the hands of the foreign speaking element, who themselves were either mostly Revolutionists only, or Anarchists by name, and Social Democrats in their tendencies. Only since the first issue of The Firebrand, in Oregon, seized by the authorities, and now published under the name of Free Society, in San Francisco, have we begun to make headway among the American people.

The best proof of my statement you will find in the fact that American trades unions, social and literary clubs, ethical and philosophical societies, no longer look upon us as bomb-throwers, wild beasts, drunkards, or uncombed and unwashed tramps, (this idea having been manufactured by our enemies, and their tool, the daily press), but meet us friendly, invite our lecturers and listen with interest to the exposition of the philosophy of Anarchist-Communism.

However, the American Anarchists not being numerous, and living in the far west, such as Colorado, Texas, and California, it will be extremely difficult for them to raise 1500 francs ($300) to send a delegate to the congress, (it may even cost more than 1500 francs). But we have not abandoned the idea of sending one yet. Comrade Peter Kropotkin has recently sent an article to Free Society, explaining the importance of the congress this being absolutely necessary, as some of the German Anarchists in America have opened a crusade against the sending of a delegate, and have denounced the congress as parliamentarian), and I shall soon have an article in the same journal proposing some of our ablest comrades as delegates, at the same time opening up a subscription to raise the necessary sum, and with the assistance of the foreign speaking comrades, especially the Jewish Anarchists, who are the strongest and most active, we hope to send a delegate from America. If, however, we fail in our aim, we have decided to send reports about our propaganda, and the general outlook for our ideas at large. Comrade William Holmes, James Morton, Carl Nold, and others, have begun to work out reports for California, Colorado, Texas, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, etc.

In England, the comrades have formed what is called a Congress Group, consisting of members of Freedom Group, including Comrade Kropotkin, Tscherkesoff, Tscharkoffsky and others. This group, with Comrade Charles, recently liberated from nine years hell in an English prison, as secretary, is in communication with groups of a similar nature in Leeds, Glasgow, and other cities for the purpose of raising funds for the congress, and working out reports. Leeds has already raised 300 francs, and the group has prospects of raising more. In all, you may expect at least six delegates from England.

At present, the comrades in England must pay all their attention to getting up meetings, demonstrations, and manifestoes against the most cruel, brutal, inhuman, unjust and dastardly war, brought about by a gang of large thieves and money-mongers, and sanctioned by the insatiable monster—government, against a handful of brave, courageous farmers, who are fighting like lions for their independence and liberty. The first large protest meeting was held February 20, and I can assure you that a London meeting has not seen as much enthusiasm and honest indignation for a long time.

As Anarchists it is our main aim to oppose and fight every form of injustice and oppression, and because of that, I hope you will join with us and the English comrades in the most vigorous protest against the cold blooded murder of the admirable Boer fighters by the English army, backed by robbers like Chamberlain, Cecil Rhodes, Milner, and other English capitalists who are anxious to get the gold mines in the Transvaal, over the bleeding and quivering bodies of the Boers and their families.

Down with all form of injustice; long live our love of independence and Anarchy! EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * * * *

A FEW POINTERS ON COMMERCIALISM.

This is a commercial age. Commerce is king—a despot, a Nero. Everything is in the market to be bought and sold. The earth and appurtenances, including mankind, living and dead, are "handled" for profit. The simple exchange of commodities for mutual benefit of the persons making the trade, has grown into the monster, commerce, or exchange for gain. In a system of exchange, the object of which is gain, the person to whom the gains accrue, acquire ascendency in proportion to his profits over the person who loses, and this enables him to demand premiums and to continue his exactions indefinitely. In commerce, to prey upon the weak is lawful, and the smart man, the one who puts his victim into the belief that it is the will of Providence that he should be devoured, is "successful."

Exchange of labor or of labor's products, when for mutual advantage, is co-operation; but commerce is one of the many varieties of slavery with which we are afflicted. It has long been our custom to speak of chattel slavery only, as slavery, and infer that all other forms of servitude were freedom; but the inference will not bear the weight of investigation.

Suppose two persons discover that by working together they can produce more than by working separately. When the job is finished, if one should say to the other: "I lifted more than you and I claim two thirds of the product. You couldn't have made a third as much, had you been alone," or "I thought of doing it this way. Brains should count for something. By right the extra product is mine," would the claims be just? In a co-operative movement, in which many persons engage, the impossibility of measuring the exact amount of brain or muscle to be expended by every individual will be readily seen, consequently the product cannot be divided according to ability nor to the amount of work performed, and as the union of forces should be for the benefit of all, "to each according to his needs" would be the most equitable division.

But profit to the individual is the acknowledged basis of our present system of co-operation,—if by any stretch of the imagination commercialism can be made to take on even a semblance of co-operation. It is, to be sure, co-operation after a clumsy fashion of the workers. The manipulators of the system, the "leaders," pocket the proceeds. The laborers must be deceived, so they will permit this to be done, therefore certain intricate business processes, that are quite beyond the comprehension of the mediocre mind, are made use of. As the wits of the "hard" become sharpened by constant grinding, new machinery is fitted to the original plant, and the disturbing element, which pointed a threatening finger at the system, supposing a change has been made to better its condition, subsides and again "peace and prosperity" reign supreme. The use of this machinery, though necessary for the maintenance of "trade," becomes senseless and burdensome when the end striven for is the welfare of the whole people. There is the endless bookkeeping; the retailing of small quantities of goods; the labor of printing the limitless advertisements of all things, good or bad—commercialism covers everything; manufacturing of money and stamps, the supporting of consuls and the general fussing of the national government, to say nothing of that of the county.

The profit system allows a person to accumulate more products than he has use for and guarantees him the power to say, "This is mine; I can do nothing with it, but neither shall you, unless you give me ten, fifty, a hundred per cent more labor or labor value in return than was required in its production." The master said to the slave, "You are mine;

Continued on page 8.

177

880708007

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Suggestions / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-3 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. —Vol. 6, no. 23 (April 22, 1900).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

F
Apr 30 1900
E NEW YORK
BLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDS.

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. 23. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, APRIL 22, 1900. WHOLE NO. 263.

MARTYRDOM.

To utter your thoughts before all men,
Speaking full freely with voice and pen;
True to the truth, while it brings to you
But cold contempt or a harsh taboo;
Or to lock your lips, all truth resigned,
While you make a grave of the fruitful mind
And fawn on the knee with the fawning crowd,
The shallow souled and the narrow browed,
The price of your silence a slave's ease; come,
Which is the greater martyrdom?

To act as you think—untrammeled and bold,
To reject, and to hold what is worthy to hold;
Enduring scorn, or things more fell
The mob perhaps, or a prison cell;
Or to chain your hands to your chained lips,
And wait, your birthright in eclipse
For the whip of a custom to come or go,
To the fetish of force your head bowed low,
Your payment a coward's existence, come,
Which is the greater martyrdom?

To live your life though the whole world blame,
Taking no thought of fame or shame
Fighting, and failing if you must,
Your face to the foe as you sink in the dust,
Or to sell yourself for a paltry peace,
And get for your sale a longer lease
Of a life that at most can be but a lie,
Bound in shame till it rot and die
All of its potencies palsied, come,
Which is the greater martyrdom?

—W. F Barnard

• • • • •

THE MARRIAGE INSTITUTION.

Are the marriage relations considered by the devotees of that "time honored institution," or is it the marriage CEREMONY to which sacredness is attached? Ah! there 's the rub. We Americans do not worship idols as the ignorant and miserable heathens do, but we are sticklers for ceremonies. The harmonious operating of natural law is of minor consequence when a ceremony is at stake.

Still, when marriage rites are taken into account, the FEES usually contribute their share (and no mean part, either) to the performance, although the legality of the transaction is not endangered in all localities by a failure to foot the bills; but what an unappreciative rascally fellow he is, to be sure, who evades payment for—a wife! Does not the law literally bestow upon him this woman to love and to cherish?—and uphold him in confiscating the proceeds (in property or service) of her labor? He who begrudges the trifling sum required to pacify the law, and insure recognisance by society of his "respectability," is either a dolt or the personification of avarice!

"Once upon a time," when death overtook a poor mortal, his mourning friends placed a coin between his lips to induce the invisible ferryman to becomingly transport him across the "dark river." Unsophisticated souls! How easily we of modern times see that those people were hoaxed out of their wearily earned coppers. Had they lived a hundred years later, prior to giving up the ghost, they would have hired some of the Lord's satellites to "read their titles clear, to mansions in the skies;" or they would, perforce, have divided their scanty stores and have passed it over to a reverend gentleman when a child was born so it could be regularly christened, and not named off hand like a horse or cow. The christening mummeries included an item worth remembering; the child's spirit was safely switched off the track that leads to perdition. The blessing of the "holy fathers" at the nuptial ceremony was, no doubt, spontaneous and fervid in proportion to the size of the prospective requital for the service, etc., etc., at every important turn in life, or one that could be conceived by any stretch of the imagination to be important. You reverend adherents to the institution of marriage, do you see in it any similarity to those institutions of the "good old times?"

Did you ever hear of a county clerk, who issues the marriage license, or the priest, preacher or justice of the peace, who repeats the customary formula that legally binds the couple, did you ever hear of any of these beneficiaries giving the "happy pair" the slightest information about the forces of sex, social purity, prenatal influences or heredity? Is not the "tying of the knot" a purely perfunctory and ritualistic affair, done solely for the FEES? Then why does society look upon it as such a weighty matter? Is it not a case of the exploited worshipping the "letter?"

I shall leave to those who defend legal marriage flummeries the pleasant office of enumerating the reasons for retaining the institution, while I undertake to point out a few of its objectionable phases.

The promise exacted from the contracting parties, that they will live together till "death do part," whether the union prove to be "for better or for worse," is in the last degree revolting to a person whose dislikes are terse. It is simply preposterous to demand a promise of that sort of two individuals who cannot possibly foresee the probable alterations in their temper and temperament, brought about by the inevitable change in their habits, cares, and environment generally. To compel the fulfilment of the promise is monstrous. If, under certain galling conditions AND UPON THE PAYMENT OF A PRICE, the promise may be set aside, what gross absurdity to require it!

The law by causing the wife to be dependent on the husband for even the common necessaries of life, subjects her to his will, just as truly as the day laborer is subject to his master (employer). What can be worse than sex slavery?

Property, not morality, is the bulwark of the marriage institution. All the evils of any age are interdependent.

Sexual intercourse, where love is absent, is prostitution; neither sex escapes the corrupting effects.

Sex subjugation, by direct brute force, or by any indirect means, is prostitution.

Legal enactments or ceremonies do not soften the facts.—Viroqua Daniels.

• • • • •

OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

DEAR COMRADES, FRIENDS, AND SYMPATHIZERS OF FREE SOCIETY,—Little has been heard of me in the columns of Free Society, and this may have led some of you to believe that I am inactive or out of the movement entirely; but I have been neither. True, I cannot boast of having been as active as I was during my tour through America, but I have done some propaganda after all, at the same time not leaving the progress of our American movement out of sight, especially devoting my attention to the health and growth of our brave little rebel, Free Society.

My tour has been reported in a previous number of Free Society, so I will say little about it, only adding that while it did not turn out as successful as the one in the States, I do not think my trip fruitless.

I had occasion to join in a monster protest meeting against the brutal attempt of a few big thieves —Cecil Rhodes, Milner and Chamberlain—to rob the brave and marvelously courageous heroes of the Transvaal and the Free State of their independence and liberty.

Every Briton boasts of his freedom of speech, and in fact I myself with most radicals believed, up to my arrival in England, that freedom of speech was a reality in Britain. During my four months' touring in England and Scotland, however, I had ample opportunity to convince myself that freedom of speech is as much a farce there as elsewhere. The worst of it is that this sacred right is not suppressed by the government, like in our "blessed land," but by the people themselves. By the "people" I do not only mean the ignorant, whisky-saturated, patriotism-maddened workers, but also the mental wage slaves: clerks, bookkeepers, cashiers, typewriters, commercial travelers, and other flunkies to money and titles. We, too, have had to deal with a patriotic craze, but it was at least tinctured with humanitarian sentiments, and I cannot recollect one single instance of having been disturbed in any of my meetings against the Spanish-American war. The only disturbance came from the police and not the people; whereas in England, where patriotism in the present war is based upon nothing but commercialism, the brutality of the people is simply beyond any comprehension and rather discouraging. Yet the pleasure of an instructive association of comrades like Kropotkin, Tschaikoffsky, Tscherkesoff, and others, together with the study of the lights and shadows of the English Anarchistic movement, overbalance the disagreeable features one meets with on a tour *hampered by obstacles of all kinds.*

I cannot close my short review of my tour without mentioning the kind and energetic assistance rendered me by comrades H. M. Kelly and A. Davies, both known to the comrades in America through Solidarity, The Rebel, Free Society and Freedom. These two, themselves "foreigners" in England, like a faithful mate of a shipwrecked crew, are in a quiet and unassuming manner keeping the movement alive in London.

It is a rather singular feature that both in England and America the energetic workers are foreigners, yet such is the case. Not that our ideas have failed to gain ground among the natives of either country, nay, on the contrary: the number of English Anarchists in London, for instance, is very large: but it seems the Anglo-Saxon character lacks that power of devotion and enthusiasm which forces one on and on, almost against oneself, to break the chains and to fearlessly climb over all obstacles; because of that cue cannot but appreciate such workers as Kelly and Davies, and a few others, so much more.

Exceptional conditions produce exceptional characters, so I have not yet lost hopes that some day England and America may furnish us with a Kropotkin, Tschaikoffsky, Tscherkesoff, Perovskaya, Angelillo, Caserio and other such wonderful men and women; indeed the beginning has been made in America by the appearance of a Parsons.

The comrades in Paris and elsewhere are busily engaged in preparing for our congress, but why has so very little been heard from the comrades in America? Is it because the congress, when first proposed, was lightly treated by a few Anarchists, who either for personal reasons or because of lack of knowledge about the movement, have expressed themselves against the congress, and have denounced it as useless? If this be the case, I advise you to read Comrade Kropotkin's article carefully, and I am sure any prejudices you may have hitherto entertained on the subject, will vanish.

Of course, neither the organizers of the congress, Comrade Kropotkin, nor I believe that it will bring about a reconstruction in society, or a revolution in the methods of propaganda; but we do believe that there is not a better opportunity to let the world see that the Anarchists are very much alive, than the congress to be held during the congress to be held during the Exhibition in Paris, at a time when organized thieves, robbers, and legal and illegal prostitutes, will squander the sweat and blood-stained products of millions of workers. Or can you tell me of a more opportune occasion to send out a joint cry of protest against Church-sanctioned and State-legalised murder and exploitation? A protest against all forms of tyranny, not only in the ranks of the enemy, but even in those of so-called reformers, Socialists, nay, even Anarchists? I hardly think you can name one. And here I must not forget to mention the main object of importance of

Continued on page 2.

880708007

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Suggestions / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-3 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. — Vol. 6, no. 23 (April 22, 1900).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Ass'n.

50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 926 Clinton Park, San Francisco, Calif. For visitors off Market St. Castro car.

ANARCHY.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

We cannot all agree as to every point in our doctrines; especially are we likely to disagree as to the best methods of propaganda. Honest differences of opinion should be respected, and when one comrade differs from others in regard to tactics, etc., it is not necessary, nor is it fair, to publicly question his integrity, or to intimate that he is a hypocrite or a coward. As I said before, I do not value newspaper controversy unless it is upon fundamental principles, and I shall not again reply to the personal reflections of Streit and other critics.

* * *

The reports that the pockets of Sipido were filled with Anarchist literature when he was arrested, have given to the capitalist press another excuse to rave about Anarchy and Anarchists. The tenor of all the articles which have come under my notice is that the teachings of Anarchy lead to murder. Not one of these well paid scribblers seems capable of tracing effects to causes, or of crediting the attempt on the life of the prince of Wales to the wholesale murders of the nation of which he is a leading representative. Anarchy teaches that war is murder, and this highly sensitive, emotional, ill-balanced boy, fired with this idea, did exactly what might have been expected he would do. The teachings of Anarchy do not always find lodgment in well balanced brains, but we shall not cease spreading them for that reason. In his ignorance (for which he was not responsible) Sipido probably imagined that the prince was directly to blame for the war in Africa, and knowing no better than to strike, he struck where he thought the blow would tell the surest. Taking all the circumstances into consideration this was the act of a revolutionist, not of a would-be common murderer.

* * *

A flowery, yet strong article by William J. Bryan, written for the San Francisco Examiner, on "The Man With the Hoe" has found its way to my desk. Bryan's condemnation of monopoly, of corruption and abuse of power is powerful; what a pity he cannot see the real source of these evils. But that he does not is evident from these words:

> Give justice to every creature—justice in the methods of government, justice in the distribution of the burdan of government, justice in the making of the laws, justice in the interpretation of the laws, justice in the execution of the laws—justice first and charity afterward.

This is not the language of the demagogue or the self-seeker, but of a man who truly wishes the betterment of his fellows, while but dimly conscious of the remedy for their ills. To have a "good" government, not to abolish government altogether, is Mr. Bryan's ideal. But as Burke declared: "The thing, the thing itself is the evil," and I fear that Bryan's ideal would prove but a will-o'-the-wisp even if it were possible for him to have his way.

* * *

I think I correctly gauge comrade Victor E. Southworth's sentiments and feelings when I say that he is not looking for and has not expected a call to enter the lecture field in behalf of the Anarchist propaganda. Comrade Southworth is independent enough to do his chosen work in the manner which best appeals to his idea of the fitness of things. When he feels that he can do more good by taking the lecture field than he is now doing by addressing his Sunday morning audience in this city, I have no doubt that "the Lord will provide" a way. Meantime those of us who are getting the benefit of his Sunday meetings are selfish enough to want to keep him where he is. As to his fitness to represent the Anarchist movement, those who think "Southworth is too young in the movement and not well enough grounded in the philosophy" would surely be better qualified to give an intelligent opinion if they would take the trouble to come and hear him. Merely reading an occasional lecture published in Free Society or Discontent gives but a very poor idea of Comrade Southworth's ability.

Here is a man who for many reasons is entitled to the respect and the earnest support of all radicals, and especially of those who live where they can hear and know him. He has left the church and voluntarily given up a fat position in the pulpit. He has become an Anarchist and taken an early opportunity of publicly declaring himself. Because he would not be untrue to his awakened convictions, he has suffered, both in himself and in his family, almost every kind of persecution and privation. He accepts with cheerfulness poverty and the ostracism of his former friends. Sunday after Sunday he eloquently pours forth his heartfelt convictions of right and duty. He unsparingly denounces every form of injustice. He holds up liberty as man's highest ideal. Surely for these reasons we should do for this man all that lies in our power. But Comrade Southworth is not only an agitator, a devoted propagandist, a consistent Anarchist. He is an individualist, and not the less so because he upholds free Communism as the ultimate highest form of society. He is an ardent lover (I had almost said worshiper) of Whitman, of Emerson, of Thoreau. He teaches the purest, the most enlightened individualism and egoism. His hatred of the State is only equaled by his confidence in the integrity of mankind. For these additional reasons our comrade is entitled to, and should receive, the highest consideration of every individualist, and especially of the individualists of this city. I am sorry to say that with one or two exceptions they have persistently absented themselves from his meetings. This, of course, they have a right to do, but they are hardly justified in sneering at him behind his back or publicly questioning his ability to represent our movement until they know him. Comrade Southworth may not thank me for this interference in his behalf, and I am sure the Denver "plumblines" will not, but under the circumstances I deemed it necessary.

W. HOLMES.

* * * * *

ACROSS THE CONTINENT.

IV.

PITTSBURG TO CHICAGO.

It is with good reason that Pittsburg is called "the smoky city." A dense pall of thick smoke, from a multitude of immense chimneys, hangs constantly over the city. Much of the time, the sun is completely eclipsed; and the city enveloped in gloom for days at a time. The soot, continually settling on hands and face, requires hourly washings, to secure even partial cleanliness. Whatever may be the effect on the inhabitants, the stranger is subject to a feeling of intense depression, which only disappears as he becomes thoroughly acclimated. It seems impossible to draw a free breath. The result in my case was to stretch me on a sickbed for a day or two, immediately after my arrival.

Nevertheless, Pittsburg contains much that is beautiful and desirable. Its natural scenery is attractive in the extreme, in spite of the monstrous disfigurements of commercialism. There are many splendid buildings in the city. Nowhere, however, is there a more startling and cruel contrast between the extremes of wealth and poverty. The parasites are housed in magnificent palaces; while the wretched hovels, that shelter thousands of the workers, in and near Pittsburg, are miserable and repulsive beyond the power of description. This is one of the cities in which the wrath of an aroused proletariat will some day be a terrible thing to face.

The Anarchist movement has had many ups and downs in Pittsburg. It is one of the storm centres from which much is heard in every time of crisis. The comrades are earnest and aggressive; though there is a general apathy at present among the public at large.

I spoke twice in Pittsburg, and once each in the mining towns of Roscoe and Buena Vista. The attendance was not large at any of the meetings; but I trust some good was done. The Pittsburg Leader, with a fairness unusual among daily newspapers, interviewed me, and printed the result without the slightest misrepresentation. It also gave a column report of my lectures, which was really remarkable in its justice and accuracy.

My headquarters in this city was the home of comrade Harry Gordon, whose address is 707 Wylie Ave. He is extremely enthusiastic for the propaganda. Among the friends I enjoyed meeting in Pittsburg, was Theresa Hughes, the author of "Hilda's Home." She is a true-hearted, whole-souled champion of liberty in every phase of life.

In Allegheny, just across the river from Pittsburg, is the Western Penitentiary, where our comrade, Alexander Berkman, is suffering an unjust and cruel imprisonment. Nothing cheers him so much as letters from comrades. All who can do so, are specially urged to send an occasional word of greeting to Comrade Berkman, addressing him simply as above. This is a real service that any comrade can perform with little trouble. I could not see our comrade, owing to tyrannical prison regulations, which are made to apply to him alone, to shut away from him every friendly face.

After leaving Pittsburg, I made a brief stop in Cincinnati, where I was booked for a lecture before the Ohio Liberal Society. This was well attended, and well received. Considerable lively discussion followed the address, showing that the members were doing some good thinking on social questions. Among the comrades I met in Cincinnati, was H. Wagner, 2283 Loth St., an active and effective worker. This was my second visit to Cincinnati, which does not impress me with an individuality different from that of many other cities.

But I must proceed to Chicago. I reached there December 1, being put down for a visit of four weeks. Comrade N. H. Barmin met me at the train, and welcomed me to the great city. And what a city! As everybody either lives in Chicago, has visited it, or intends to visit it, I shall try to limit my account of the city as much as possible. But I could fill pages with the description, if I expressed all that is in my mind. The first impression is one of immensity. More than any other city, it appears inconceivably gigantic. This impression is never lost, however long one may live in Chicago. Everything here is on a large scale. It is the scene of continual activity, combining all the energies of other cities. Stay in Chicago long enough, and the whole world will come to you. Natural scenery apart, Chicago can reproduce all the characteristics of all parts of the continent. It is the one place to see *everything*. Its supremacy as the unchallenged centre of American commercialism is rapidly becoming established. With equal certainty, it seems marked out as the great centre for radical propaganda, the principal storm centre in the day of revolution, and the foremost centre of reconstructive activities when the triumph of liberty shall have been secured. In all times of crisis, all eyes naturally turn to Chicago. There our martyrs lie; and there their avengers will arise. There labor has fought some of its greatest battles; and there educational propaganda will yet do its greatest work.

My stopping place in Chicago was with Albert H. Verrall, 2203 N. Robey Ave., a cordial friend of all libertarian work. Finding much that was sympathetic in our views and natures, I enjoyed my visit at his hospitable home most intensely. J. F. MORTON, JR.

* * * * *

OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

Concluded from page 1.

the congress, namely, that the last tie of relations between parliamentarian Socialism was broken at the congress in London in 1896, and that from now on we must as much fight the narrowness, discipline and intolerance of parliamentarian Socialists as any other form of invasion and despotism, and show the workers that those who even without blushing rejoice over the success of one of their men as comrade of the murderer of 30,000 Communards,—Galliffet—have no claim to be the representatives of the workers' cause.

It is an undisputable fact that our movement in America and Europe is not what it ought to and could be, but for the lack of co-operation and solidarity, and our enemies, including the leaders of the Socialist parties, have ever made use of this fact in attempting to show that "Anarchy is dead," and those Anarchists who are alive "work in obscurity." While they have wilfully misrepresented us, it remains true that the majority of comrades in England, America and Germany seldom come to the front. I only refer you to a number of German groups, composed of Anarchists, wasting their time in singing and beer drinking, (I have no objection to either, if coupled with serious work), and discussing their next door neighbor; or some of our American parlor meetings, frequented by a number of middle-class people who have not the courage to be known as Anarchists; or some comrades who waste the precious space of our papers with the discussion of spooks and ghosts, Anarchist judges and jurors, or the consistency of prostituting oneself in politics, which only tends to harm the movement instead of helping to lift the veil of ignorance from the eyes of the worker.

You may contend that we can protest against existing evils through our papers and public meetings; so we can, and do, but of what importance is it compared with an opportunity like that offered us in Paris? In

179

880708007

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Suggestions / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-3 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. —Vol. 6, no. 23 (April 22, 1900).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

the first place, our papers are read mostly by the comrades themselves, and our lectures reach only those who happen to attend meetings, the daily press either reporting nothing, or misrepresenting our speakers in the most shameless manner. I do not undervalue such methods of propaganda; yet I claim that by these methods we reach but the few and not the many, whereas bodies of men and women assembled in a congress have always been recognized by the press. It will be so with the coming Anarchist congress. The very fact that this is to be the first Anarchist congress since 1872; that for the first time since then, men and women from different parts of the world bring tidings of international solidarity, deep love of liberty and hatred of tyranny, openly and fearlessly discuss the philosophy of Anarchy, and ways and means of a speedy spread of their ideas, and all this almost next door to the arena where international parasites celebrate one of their last orgies and dance a cancan upon the decayed pillars of a rotten society, would be of such grandeur, such importance that it could not pass unnoticed.

But there is still another reason why the comrades in America should take part in the congress. Since I have been in Europe, and especially in Paris, I have been dismayed to find how little is known of, or how little interest is shown here regarding the movement in America. This is due to the fact that very few French people know any language beside their own, and that very little is written about America in the French papers; unfortunately this is also the case in Italy, Austria, Germany and Holland. Now, in the face of the growth of imperialism, militarism and despotism, can we stand such lack of solidarity and unity? Can we hope to accomplish more in the future than we have in the past, unless we really become international, not only in theory, but also in practice? The congress is to serve as a medium of putting the comrades into communication with each other, and of suggesting ways and means of carrying on propaganda work co-operatively, and last but not least, to acquaint the comrades of all countries with the movements of each respective country.

The comrades in England and elsewhere have already formed groups for the purpose of raising funds to send delegates, and prepare reports and suggestions for the congress. What are the comrades in America about? Surely they are not going be silent and inactive in such a grave and important matter?

Permit me to make a few suggestions; first of all, a subscription should be opened to help make the congress a success, amounts temporarily to be sent to Free Society. I hereby contribute $5 to the same to make a start. With a little effort and the assistance of our Jewish comrades, we can raise enough to send an American delegate. The Bohemian and Italian comrades will also send delegates. We have a few able and competent Americans who could represent our cause, (I say cause and not comrades, because I wish to avoid misunderstanding). There is, for instance, Borland, who has not been heard of much of late, yet who understands the movement and Anarchist-Communism thoroughly. There is Comrade Edelman, known as an able worker for years, who may be well enough to go to Paris. There is Comrade Cooper, certainly one of our most intellectual writers, and there is Voltairine de Cleyre, a fearless and brilliant exponent of Anarchism. . Of course, Addis objects to her as a lecturer, claiming that she opposes Communism, yet that is a mistake; she does not oppose Communism "because she favors Individualism," but rather because she wants to be known as an Anarchist without a tag. That ought not to influence any one. She may not be so well posted on Communism as Addis, but she has the advantage of having a clean past—I mean in regard to her devotion and faithfulness to the cause, and her hatred for politics and politicians. I venture to say that she would rather do scrubbing than make common cause with politicians, a quality which Addis seems to value very little. She may not know as much of economics as some of our other workers, but, as she says herself, she is all right in the philosophy of Anarchy, and certainly perfectly competent to represent the Anarchistic movement of America.

Of course I have suggested these comrades merely because I think them the fittest as delegates. I have done so without their consent, leaving it for you to ascertain whether they would like to accept a delegation or not, or to suggest others, if you know. At any rate, I hope the congress will be discussed and reports prepared. Should it be absolutely impossible to raise enough money to send a delegate, Comrade Kelly and myself will gladly submit any of your suggestions or wishes to the congress, but the groups should send us credentials for that purpose. I should like to recommend Harry Kelly to your attention as he is an American. I shall be there at all events. But I beg you to leave nothing undone to raise the necessary means for a delegate directly to be sent from America, as Harry Kelley has been away for two years.

Paris, France. EMMA GOLDMAN.
140 rue Mouffetard, care of Les Temps Nouveaux.

• • • • •

IMPRESSED BY BOER TACTICS.

I am impressed with the military tactics of the Boers. They have no organization, no drill-masters, no authoritarian officers, and their fighting abilities show conclusively the superiority of Anarchist methods over the commonly accepted governmental ideal of well drilled, disciplined troops who have no will of their own, but depend entirely on the whims and notions of their commanders; if they see fit to sacrifice their men, all the latter can do is to obey and be slaughtered like so many sheep. The Boers spontaneously resolved to defend their country and have thus kept at bay the numerous armies of British hirelings. The Revolutionists of all countries may do well to study these tactics a little for future use.

Here is greeting to you and your valient men, "Oom Paul." The sympathies of the liberty-loving men and women are with you in this fight against the international capitalistic bloodhounds. You have won fame eternal; you and Joubert, Cronje, Bothe and the host of unknown men and women will mark the few shining spots in the history of the mass of servile subjection. Miltiades, who fought on the plains of Marathon the Chersonese horde, Spartacus who headed the slave insurrection in the Roman empire, Arnold von Winkelried who gathered the Austrian spears in his breast to save independent Switzerland, and the numerous men and women who with Patrick Henry had only the choice between liberty and death, are your peers. We sorrow with you in the death of Joubert, in the defeat and surrender of Cronje, and we hope with you that you may drive your oppressors into the sea.

Oom Paul, the rebels salute you! C. DORAIKA.

• • • • •

IN FAVOR OF PURITANISM.

"Authoritarian! Puritanical!" This is the garb in which Henry Addis ventures forth in an attempt to slay the "bogy" of consistency. But the "bogy" is not to be scared out of the way by an apparition so transparent. Because some refuse to accept swindlers, rapists, brutes, brothel-keepers, tiger-mothers, soldiers, politicians, judges (hangmen), juries, lawyers, and other parasites in the movement generally, Addis has stamped them as "Puritans." The most fitting reply would be "You 're another." If it is Puritanism to oppose the vermin inside, surely it is Puritanism to oppose the vermin outside the movement; yet no one has come forward to defend the above named class of those who are not Anarchists. But if it is Puritanical to oppose parasites who label themselves Anarchists, as well as parasites generally, by all means let us have a revival of Puritanism. An odious name will not scare those who have had one so long already.

Henry Addis says: "Every one must decide for himself where one is to toe the mark." Precisely; but when he decides to toe it on my back, I am a party to the business, and have a voice. That he reverently folds his hands and says it is for my benefit, and he is sorry for the necessity, etc., does not lighten the burden, but tends to aggravate it. And William Holmes says: "The radical who follows such 'methods and practice' with a *single* view of strengthening the Anarchist movement is nevertheless consistent along this line, and is worthy of our highest regards." If such a radical exists (which is quite a large "*if*") under certain conditions this might apply, but I would like to see such an Anarchist. Comrade Holmes should remember that we do not enter wage slavery or the professions to strengthen the Anarchist movement, but to make a livelihood, and neither did Cohen claim he was doing more for liberty since he had become a lawyer, simply contenting himself with abusing our good-natured S. D. The question remains: Is a man justified in living on his fellow man, even though he calls himself an Anarchist? And I do not see how a brothel-keeper, a lawyer, a judge or politician can be made to be anything but a parasite by any stretch of logic. Working in itself is not against Anarchist principles, but it be the supporting of judges, juries, lawyers, politicians, brothelkeepers, etc., that makes it un-Anarchistic, because of the degrading condition this entails upon the worker. The worker must foot all the bills, whether Addis puts a "levy" (!) on the enemy or not.

Undoubtedly the gist of the inconsistency argument, as has been said, is that we cannot entirely live up to our ideal. The logic necessary to justify upon these grounds the "Anarchist" brothelkeepers, etc., is that if one is compelled to step ankle-deep into the filth of society he might as well go in up to his waist. If this is good logic, then why stop at the waist? Why not take it all in, just so whoever perpetrated any base deed declared that he was doing it for a noble object? What is the matter with shaking hands with William McKinley, who declares that his wanton course is in the cause of liberty and humanity? And with Judge Gary, who simply wanted "justice" done to the "people" of Illinois? Or with Grinnell and Bonfield, and the rest of the whole gang, who worked for "justice and peace"? If an Anarchist is justified in living on the toil of his fellow creatures, though professedly declaring against the present society, so are those who, being essentially parasites, hypocritically profess they are "working in the interests of humanity" or for the "glory of God"! And what is the use of Anarchism as a philosophy if those who profess to teach it have only words and not deeds with an adjective only to distinguish them from other parasites?

Henry Addis says martyrdom is a relic of the past, and has no part in the Anarchist philosophy. "One who dies or suffers for any object or cause" is a martyr, and to say that men no longer suffer for a cause now is one of the absurdest statements I have ever read. It has not yet passed out of the memory of man when five men died for our cause—the Anarchist cause. They were "religious fanatics," no doubt! "Relics of the *past*!" Does he know that now, while these words are being written, men are dying for liberty, *martyrs* to her cause? No doubt Wm. Holmes and Henry Addis look with disgust on the brave Boers and Filipinos for carrying on a "policy of open, deliberate warfare against the powers that be," because it entails what Addis would call "self-sacrifice." If the Boers had not "antagonized" the English there would have been no martyrdom, no "self-sacrifice," and Chamberlain, Rhodes, et al. would have been allowed to decide for themselves where to "toe the mark." Unfortunately the Boers were not cunning enough to see the advantage of such inconsistency, as it takes a politician to be able to serve two masters. And what about Peter Kropotkin? He also sacrificed his large estates, his position at the Russian court, and prefers to cast his lot with the toilers and to work for his living. Was he one of those "religious fanatics" who in "blind faith" hope to "gain a golden crown"? How much would Kropotkin have accomplished if he had prostituted his intellect and individuality by not antagonizing the Russian government?

The time has not yet come when men are at liberty to act according to their opinions without coming into conflict with the powers that be, nor is it likely to come if men are to uphold the State in deed, and fight it with words only. But I do not wish to impose a "self-sacrifice" on Addis at all; but we will not advance without it—that is all I claim. Do Addis and Holmes think we shall come into Anarchy on a rose-scattered road, meeting no opposition from the powers that be?

Henry Addis would do well to read "Anarchist Morality" again, also his own writings. Says Kropotkin: "To struggle, to look danger in the face, to jump into the water that we may save, not a human being only, but even a cat; to live on dry bread in order to put an end to iniquities that revolt us; to feel ourselves in harmony with such as are worthy of love; to feel ourselves loved by them; this for a weak philosopher perhaps means self-sacrifice. But for the man or woman filled with energy, force, vigor and youth it is the conscious joy of life."

On the jury question I could not do better than to quote Henry Addis: "If you really want Anarchy, refuse to uphold the State. Decline to run for or hold office. Refuse to do jury duty, and in every way practicable weaken the powers of the State." Again: "To support government is to aid tyranny. To become a part of it is to join hands with organized murder. Political action is for the ignorant, the deluded and the knave."

Wm. Holmes can now turn me over to the "tender mercies of Benj. R. Tucker," but I care nothing for the latter's mercies; even if I cared all the world for them, I should not fear the result. Tucker does not mince matters; he calls a spade a spade, and he also called one of his foremost comrades a prostitute.

ABE ISAAK, JR.

180

880708008

The Emma Goldman Papers

Some More Observations / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. — Vol. 6, no. 24 (April 29, 1900).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism. Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. 24. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, APRIL 29, 1900. WHOLE NO. 264.

GERMINAL.

GERMINAL! The Field of Mars is ploughing,
And hard the steel that cots, and hot the breath
Of the great Oxen, straining flanks and bowing
Beneath his goad who guides the share of Death.

GERMINAL! The dragon's teeth are sowing,
And stern and white the sower flings the seed;
He shall not gather tho' fall swift the growing,
Straight in Death's furrow treads and does not heed.

GERMINAL! The helmet heads are springing
For up the Field of Mars is gleaming files;
With wild war notes the bursting earth is ringing!
Within his grave the sowar sleeps and smiles.

—Voltairine de Cleyre.

CHURCHES DEGRADE WOMEN.

"Let your women *keep silence* in the churches; for it is *not permitted* unto them to speak; but they are *commanded* to be *under obedience*, as also saith the law. And *if they will learn anything*, let them ask their husbands at home; for *it is a shame* for women to speak in the church."—1 Corinthians 14: 34. (Italics mine.)

It is a mystery, as mysterious as ghosts—holy or otherwise—that intelligent women should submit to this "keep silence"—"not permitted"—"commanded"—under obedience"—"*if* they will learn *anything*"—"it is a shame," etc., of Paul, the woman hater, the incomplete man, probably not knowing woman, and yet daring to judge the sex. The very idea of a woman wishing to learn anything, was the grossest impudence according to Paul—"Saint Paul."

Freedom cannot possibly be attained so long as women, the mothers of the next generation, attend churches and listen to and accept such teachings as Paul's. Woman is the noblest and most important part of humanity; the most important because, altho' it is claimed that the "holy ghost" can accomplish the male part of propagation, it is not suggested even in the Bible that *it* or *he* can carry out the maternal work of race reproduction. Women must therefore be free before they can bear and rear free children. We are not sufficiently learned to give an opinion as to the freedom or compulsion of *women* who bear children to holy ghosts. The *plural* is used because about twenty similar births to that of Jesus are recorded before A. D. 1.

The illogical Paul, adored by the clergy, is also reported as saying:

"For I would that all men were even as I myself. But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that. I say therefore to the unmarried and widows It is good for them if they abide even as I. But if they cannot contain, let them marry; for it is better to marry than to burn."—I Corinthians 7: 7, 8, 9.

From this the conclusion might be drawn that Paul was impotent, for this God that Paul worshipped and preached is said to have "created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth." This command must have applied to Paul, if it did to any one. Was his impotency "the thorn in the flesh" about which he "besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me"? So this little man—the great saint—like all the parsons since his day, "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men" in direct opposition to the teachings of the ghost they sometimes call "holy," "God," "Father," "Son," "Love," "Jealousy," "the Lamb of God," "the Lion of the tribe of Judah," and some forty other absurd and contradictory aliases, who commanded men and women to be fruitful and multiply, was not content with his own disregard of this law of procreation, but he must take upon himself to instruct others to do anything short of burning rather than carry out this important and almost imperative function of nature.

This same Paul said at another time, "Let us not therefore judge one another," and "who art thou that judged another." (Romans 14 c.) This is rich, indeed, after his judgment of women. This judge and jury, complainant and defendant all in one—who is as great a mystery as the "Trinity"—in giving his command and law to the wives who dared to wish to "learn anything" to ask their husbands at home, failed to inform the virgins and widows how to "learn anything." Probably the priests of his day were to his knowledge ministering unto their wants whether their names were Mary or Ruth.

The best sign of the times is without doubt the ever increasing numbers who are freeing themselves from church domination. The women who cast off this yoke of superstition are powerful factors for freedom, the hope, the "unknown God" of the Athenians.

KINGHORN-JONES.

* * * * *

SOME MORE OBSERVATIONS.

I welcome the readiness of our comrades to raise a fund for the purpose of importing a speaker from England, for it is a sign of revived energy, although I am convinced that naught will come of it. I need not assure the comrades that my whole heart is in the American movement and that I would give much to see it prosper, yet I must take issue with the proposed importation of a speaker from England; and this not because of a *lack* of international feeling, but because of a preponderance of it. For that reason I would not like the movement of one country to grow at the expense of another; and that would certainly be the case should you succeed in getting Comrade Turner over. He is the only able speaker in England at the present time, and even he cannot do much straight Anarchist propaganda, because his whole time is taken up with the Trades-Union movement. Mark you, I do not undervalue the good he is doing in his present position, but I only wish to show that England is even more in need of speakers than America and that to take away John Turner would in my opinion be a very uncomradely act, to say the least. Besides, it is idle to talk about importing Comrade Turner: *he cannot nor will he go to America*, and if he ever does go, it will be in an independent way. This I can say with full authority. Since there are no other comrades in England capable of carrying on effective work in America (for we must not forget that to make a successful tour, one must not only be a good speaker, but also have a reputation as well, otherwise one may be an Antony and yet not draw a crowd in our "blessed land"), why not turn to domestic goods?

Comrade Morton is struggling hard to reach 'Frisco, and were it not for liberal assistance of a few individuals, and James' wonderful ability to feast on the "luxury" of a dish of Boston baked beans and two slices of bread a day, he might never have gotten as far as he did. Were our comrades so eager to have paid speakers in the field, why did they not help him? There is Voltairine de Cleyre who was ready to make a tour last spring, urged by Comrades Nold and Burmin who did there utmost to raise money for the purpose, and being unsuccessful in their efforts, the idea of her tour abandoned. Where were these comrades then? Comrade Southworth, a newly acquired power in our movement, an intellectual, highly cultured and brilliant speaker, who told me he would start out on the rout at once, if he could but have $5 per week. Why not invite him to tour? Are we Anarchists going to adopt the old and foolish notion that "prophets are seldom recognized in their own land," a notion that has driven many able men and women from the cradle of their birth to struggle and starve in the cold of strange lands, until they made a fame for themselves? Let me call your attention to Heine, Boerne, and scores of others who hated their people because of the cruel indifference they met with from their side. Let us Anarchists not be guilty of gross neglect of those in our own midst, because we can only appreciate the talents of comrades in other countries when we have helped to develop the abilities of those in our own ranks. In fact, how can those who are so anxious to import a speaker, expect that one would trust their promises, seeing how little they have done in aid of those who are right at their next door.

As to the idea of employing a speaker and paying him a fixed salary, I think this a thing for each one to decide for himself. I for one would never consent to make a business of lecturing. It seems to me that the work of a true propagandist cannot be paid; that the very thought of being paid for what one says, must rob one of the enthusiasm and devotion for our cause. I claim that one can only give the best of one's self when actuated by love to the thing one gives, out of one's innermost desire to be useful, to oppose that which one considers wrong, and such a product of one's thoughts, nerves, blood, and the whole make-up, is above any remuneration. I am aware that a propagandist cannot live on ideals, yet if the comrades would only extend more of the precious articles, so rarely found, *hospitality* and *solidarity*, and through voluntary contributions pay railway fares, one could easily tour from five to six months in the year, and that is more than any one ought to do, if he really is desirous to serve the cause.

And then, too, no comrade with individuality and sensitiveness would consent to become a wage slave of one's own kind. It is bad enough to have the enemy as a boss, tyrant and dictator, but I shudder when I think of having comrades as such; and I am sorry to say that we have already too many among us who perform the job of bosses and invaders to perfection.

* * *

What has happened to my friend Willie Holmes? He of all the people in the world to advocate Anarchistic judges and lawyers,—he whose whole nature would shrink from the thought of being employed as such himself to go so far as to cite a case of a man remaining an Anarchist, although he had become a proprietor of a house of prostitution! What is up? Has Willie's logic forsaken him? If, as an Anarchist, one may be a judge, juror and lawyer, why not a policeman, sheriff, hangman, spy, prostitute, politician, in fact, anything? And if so, why combat the capitalist regime, why oppose Vanderbilt, Spreckels, Rockefeller, Cecil Rhodes? What an absurd thing to say that if an Anarchist cannot consistently be a judge, he cannot be a wage slave! Holmes seems to forget that in one case no choice is left, in the other one can either remain true to himself or get a comfortable life at the expense of his fellow men and his real self, which is even worse.

I understand Anarchy to mean the negation of all forms of authority, invasion and robbery; an Anarchist, therefore, to be one who abhors all existing wrongs, because under no circumstances would he voluntarily consent to do the same. If I was mistaken, then I never knew the meaning of Anarchism. But I claim to understand Anarchy, and I am sure Holmes does, yet it seems his logic failed him and so leaped from the sublime to the ridiculous, which is but one step. Let us hope he will soon come back to the old heights. Really, I cannot understand the arguments of Holmes, unless he means the so-called Individualists when he speaks of Anarchist judges. If this is the case, I fully agree with him. Since they believe in private property, they must also believe in a force to protect their property; thus they are perfectly justified in becoming judges, lawyers and policemen. And outside of their opposition to compulsion, it must be borne in mind that the Individualists believe in a voluntary police. (Who laughs??) I for one could never see the logic of their claim to the term "Anarchists." I mean from a theoretical standpoint; for their practices differ as much from their theory as a blizzard from a warm summer breeze. Their actions are humane, warm blooded, kind, noble, very sympathetic and considerate, but no sooner do they leave the realm of life and wander into their theory than they become cold, calculating, bloodless, mere automatic machines. Such beings can be "Anarchistic judges," or anything you please, but never one whose heart throbs for mankind, and who is so full of the sentiment of solidarity that the very idea of pain or sorrow reflects upon his whole being.

Paris, France. EMMA GOLDMAN.

890609000

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Letter from Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— p. 4 ; 34 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. —Vol. 6, no. 39 (Aug. 12, 1900).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

270

The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

A LETTER FROM EMMA GOLDMAN.

DEAR COMRADES.—I see that friend H. M. Kelly and A. D. (I have been "forbidden" to write the full name) have refuted my statement, in my report, that they are the leading spirits of the London movement, if one can speak of a movement in London at all, at the present time. Knowing how extremely modest both of our comrades are, I knew that they would object to my statement; although Kelly admits and has repeatedly told me that Miss D. was the worker, while Miss D. has admitted the same about Kelly. Now, I admit that modesty is a virtue; well it were if we had more of it; but there is certainly such a thing as being too virtuous, which is positively unhealthy; and friends D. and Kelly are just in that state, when they will not admit of a fact which is admitted by every one who knows what they are in the propaganda field. When I said that D. and K. are the leading spirits of the movement, I did not mean to undervalue either Comrade Cantwell, Marsh, Tcherkesoff or Legatte (by the way, I only saw the latter once; and while I was in London four months, never heard anything of his activity, by which I do not mean to say that he is necessarily inactive); I only meant by it, that D. and Kelly are pushing, proposing the plans, when anything is to be done, and that they are the ones who carry everything to the finish, from the organising of a social to a Commune demonstration, or the issuing of a manifesto. True, Miss D. is not a speaker; but what of that? I have long come to the conclusion that it is not through speaking we will ever change conditions; and that those who arrange things, who work quietly, who are ever ready to comfort, to cheer, to urge on, to dissuade, have done more for the cause than speeches or speech making. Both D. and K. have done all this toward me and others; and therefore I can only repeat, that if it were not for them, to urge the others on, very little indeed would be heard of Anarchy in London now.

Kelly refers to Comrade Kropotkin's work. Now, what Kropotkin has done is not what D. and K. are doing now; he is one whose work cannot be compared with the work of any one else; he has laid the cornerstone of modern Anarchistic ideas all over the world, and particularly in England; and yet with all his power and great genius, I venture to say that he has made more Anarchists among those who have had the pleasure to meet him, with his kindness and nobleness than with his books. This I do not say because of flattery for the man of letters; but because of admiration for the man with the big, pure heart and the simplicity of a child. In this, and not in talking lies the importance of one's work. (at least I think so) In this, too, lies the importance of the part both D. and K. play in London at the present time. Now, my dear Comrade D., and Harry—old chum, you can go on protesting all you like.

I shall soon be in a position to send in a report of our movement in Paris; but I can already tell you that the date of our Congress has been fixed for the 19th of September. The time is short, comrades; and if you wish to send suggestions or contributions, do it now.

Fraternally,

Paris, July 10. EMMA GOLDMAN.

Government is the cancer of society.

NEW MEXICO AND THE PHILIPPINES.

The Rutland Herald says:

We are not likely to have as much trouble with the native population of the Philippines as with our anti-expansionists, but the latter we certainly can take care of. They start out with a proposition which history does not warrant. They are wrong when they say that the United States did not acquire the Philippines because the people of those islands did not acquiesce in the cession, and that Spain alone could not convey the islands to us. It would be an exceedingly inconvenient theory for any nation to accept, and particularly so for the United States. The people of the great region we acquired from Mexico were not only not consulted, but they offered a strenuous resistance to annexation, particularly in New Mexico. In that territory the people made a determined effort to re-establish Mexican rule. One of the turned-down pages of American history relates to the summary way in which courtsmartial dealt with those who had broken their oath of allegiance to the United States. Logically if we are not in lawful possession of the Philippines through our not obtaining the acquiescence of their people to the cession, we are not in lawful possession of New Mexico, California and their dependencies, and must give them up.

All right, Mr. Herald. Put it on record; and let it be known—that's all we ask from any paper. It would be a good thing if some one could write up that secret history. The turned-down pages of history ought to be turned up again; nobody is suffering from too much light on the facts. What made them turn this one down, anyhow? Was it because those who wrote American history were proud of it? Is America now making a lot of history that future historians will want to turn down, in this Philippine business which you say is so like that turned-down page?

But I wonder whether this Philippine war will really be made more popular, by comparing it to the Mexican war. At the beginning of that war, Abraham Lincoln, then a member of Congress, introduced in Congress a resolution intimating that the war was intentionally provoked by the United States government. I wonder if there was then any Senator Spooner to say:

"Nobody but an 'anti-Imperialist,' who by his words and actions desired the dishonor of his country and the making of campaign material in a presidential year, could have so little of good faith as to make the brutal charge against the president of the United States that he had been responsible for the precipitation of hostilities."

During the Mexican war, James Russell Lowell wrote the original Bigelow Papers to satirise that war as both criminal and ridiculous. And General U. S. Grant, who fought in the Mexican war as a lieutenant, wrote of it in his old age, in his Personal Memoirs, that it was "one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation." So, if the Herald insists that Uncle Sam is acting as honestly now as he did then, there may be anti-Imperialists who will not care to deny it.

All the above facts are commended to the attention of those who hint that no man can be respectable, if he says that the government of his country is playing the part of a bully and a scoundrel, in some international affair.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Sherburne, Vt.

CROWNS.

Ha! Ha! Emperor William III of Germany is an ingenuous humorist. To his troops departing for China: "Go forth! Spare none; take no prisoners; conduct yourselves so that no Chinaman will dare to insult a German for the next thousand years!" There were 4 000 of the German troops. There are 400,000,000 Chinese. It's simply horrible to punish a whole nation in such a bloodthirsty speech. Och! Meinselbst unt Gott!—Advance.

Senator Hoar has written another first class letter—for a *statesman*. But statesmen can't be real genuine men long at a time. They will call the government's action in the Philippines "a crime," and then turn right round and vote for the criminal. Such is life:—mixed with politics.—Rockland Independent.

We presume that if the stars and stripes happens to be carried ashore in China, while the "boys in blue are rescuing the missionaries," and looking after things in general, we will of necessity, claim the "slice" shadowed by the flag. It would be un-McKinley-like to take it away with the missionaries.—The People's Republic.

To insure McKinley's election, Hanna will not have the result declared till after the returns come in from London, Liverpool and other outlying republican precincts.—Pittsburg Kansan.

Mr. Astor, it is said, has taken offense at his exclusion from English society, and will return to the United States and become naturalized over here again. This is all right for Great Britain, but has Mr. Astor thought of what he is imposing on this country?—Freemen's Labor Journal.

In view of various things just now, the resemblance between the American eagle and the dove of peace is less than ever.—National Advance.

Government is man's apology to Nature for his failure to comprehend simple truths.—Farm and Factory.

A man's own conscience is his sole tribunal and he should care no more for that phantom "opinion" than he should fear meeting a ghost if he cross the churchyard at dark.—Lytton.

RECEIPTS.

Please do not use private checks nor bank drafts if you can avoid it.

The safest and most acceptable manner of remitting is by postoffice or express money order.

Rapi, $2 Wessler, $1 Rodelleio Struneaj, Johnson, Kraka, Curth Eastwood, Baltisonas, Urbain, Leathemme, Vangampelaere Wishart, Allen, each 50c. Taylor, 25c. Siegmeister, Thomas, each 25c.

ENLARGEMENT FUND.

Ruegi, $1 Geisler 30 Seattle, Wash $1 30
Clausen, Santa Cruz, Cal 50
M Curth, Los Angeles, Cal 25

PATENTS

30 YEARS' EXPERIENCE.

TRADE MARKS, DESIGNS, COPYRIGHTS &c.

Anyone sending a sketch and description may quickly ascertain, free, whether an invention is probably patentable. Communications strictly confidential. Oldest agency for securing patents in America. We have a Washington office. Patents taken through Munn & Co. receive special notice in the

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN,

beautifully illustrated, largest circulation of any scientific journal, weekly, terms $3.00 a year; four months, $1. Specimen copies and HAND BOOK ON PATENTS sent free. Address

MUNN & CO.,
[illegible] York.

Free Society is sold by:

Chicago, C. Pfleisner, 400 Wabash Ave.
New York, M. Maisel, 254 Madison St.
Paterson, N. J., Jos Playan, 31½ Market St
San Francisco, R. Rigby, 1206 Market St.
Back issues may be obtained at the above addresses.

BOOK LIST.

In lots of ten or more of each, five-cent pamphlets furnished at three cents.

Essays on the Social Problem	H. Addis	05
The New Hedonism	Grant Allen	05
Prejudice	M. B. Cahman	50
God and the State	Michael Bakunin	05
The Same. (London edition).		10
The Proletarian Revolt, a History of the Paris Commune 1871.	G. B. Benham	25
The Worm Turns	Voltairine de Cleyre	10
Evolution of the Family	J. M. Crane	05
The Emancipation of Society from Government.	Dallas Doyle	05
Hilda's Home. Cloth $1	Rosa Gianl	50
Moribund Society and Anarchy Cloth 60c.	Jean Grave	25
Marriage and Morality	Lillian Harman	05
Regeneration of Society	"	05
Motherhood in Freedom	Moses Harman	05
How to Dispose of Surplus Products and Employ Surplus Labor	Kingsborn-Jones	05
An Appeal to the Young	Peter Kropotkin	05
Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal	"	05
Anarchist Morality.	"	05
Expropriation.	"	05
Law and Authority	"	05
Paris Commune	"	05
Revolutionary Studies	"	05
The State: Its Historic Role.	"	10
Wage System. Revolutionary Gov't	"	05
History of the Commune. Cloth	Lissagary	75
Anarchy.	Enrico Malatesta	05
Anarchy. (Is It All a Dream, by James F. Morton, Jr.)	Enrico Malatesta	10
Commune of Paris	William Morris	05
Monopoly.	"	05
The Tables Turned (rare)	"	25
God and Government The Siamese Twins of Superstition	W. H. Nevill	05
An Open Letter to W. J. Bryan	"	10
Mating or Marrying, Which? A Lesson from History The Problem of Criminality.	W. H. Van Ornum	05
Evolution and Revolution	E. Reclus	05
Direct Action vs. Legislation	J. B. Smith	05
Autobiography	August Spies	25
Helen Harlow's Vow	Lois Waisbrooker	25
My Century Plant. Cloth	"	1 00
The Temperance Folly	"	10
Wherefore Investigating Company.	"	25
Our Worship of Primitive Social Processes.	Walker	15
Revival of Puritanism	"	10
What the Young Need to Know	"	10
Life Without a Master A Treatise on the Rights and Wrongs of Men. 56 pages. Cloth $1.5	J. Wilson, Ph. D.	1.00
The Chicago Martyrs. The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court and Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab		25
Responsibility and Solidarity in the Labor Struggle, also the German Social Democracy and Edward Barostein		05

Germinal, an advanced fortnightly Anarchist journal. Published by R. Rocker, 50—a Stepney Green, London, E. Agent L. Malmed 327 E. 8th St., New York. Price $1 50

Freiheit, a German Anarchist Communist weekly. Four large pages. $2 per year. Address, 89 Gold St., New York, N. Y.

Discontent, Mother of Progress. A weekly advocate of Anarchism. Price 50 cents per year. Address Discontent, Homa, Wash.

Frele Arbeiter-Stimme, a Jewish weekly of 16 pages, an advocate of Anarchist Communism, appears regularly at 181 Madison St., New York City. Price, $1 50 per year.

Freedom, monthly journal of Anarchist-Communism. Address 7, Lambs Conduit Street London, W. C. England. Price 60 cents per year, post paid. Order from Free Society.

Progressive Thought, the oldest organ of the Labor Exchange movement. It is full of L. E. news, gives co-operative facts and advocates the way out of hard times. Address Olathe, Kans. Send for sample copies.

Lucifer, the Light-Bearer. Weekly eight pages, $1 per year. This paper gives light on the Sex Question, Humanity's greatest need. For sample copies write to M. Harman, 807 Carroll Ave. Chicago, Ill.

The Free Communist. A magazine of Libertarian Thought. Published Quarterly by The Leeds Free Communist Group. Address, W. MacQueen, 79 Markham Ave., Harehills, Leeds, Eng. and

Vaccination, a journal of health, published monthly for the Anti-Vaccination Society of America. Tells the truth about vaccination. 1328 North 12th St., Terre Haute, Ind. Sample copy free.

Die Freie Gesellschaft, a Jewish monthly, containing 48 pages of original matter, an advocate of Anarchist-Communism, has been revised and will appear regularly. Well known writers, such as Dr. Schlaresk, Dr. Maryson, Leontieff, Kafa, Ginsburg, J. Gordin, and others will be the principal contributors. Price $1 per year. Single copies 10 cents. Address: 12 Jefferson St., New York, N. Y.

182

891218016

The Emma Goldman Papers

Amérique / Emma Goldman.— pp. 189-190 ; 28 cm. *In* Rapports du Congrès Antiparlementaire International de 1900 / Les Temps Nouveaux [Paris]. —Vol. 3, nos. 23 & 31 (Sept. 20, 1900).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archives Nationales de France, Paris. Institutional Location: Records of the Sûreté Générale, F7 12510.

besoin de mettre l'émancipation de la femme en ligne avec celle du prolétaire. Ce sera l'émancipation de l'être humain qu'il faudra dire. Dans ces termes la question est complète, et l'homme et la femme unis par la raison et fortifiés par l'amour, gravitant de révolution en révolution, iront sans cesse en se rapprochant vers l'idéal de l'Avenir.

C'est à cette œuvre d'éducation que syndicats et cercles d'études devraient avoir à cœur de s'attacher. En prenant les devants vis-à-vis des autres syndicats, nous espérons déterminer un mouvement que nous souhaitons voir progresser. Nous ne voudrions pas clore ce rapport sans dire un mot sur la co-éducation des sexes, qui constitue un des points essentiels de nos idées. Tout le monde se souvient de la tentative de M. Robin, il y a quelques années. Ayant compris que la réunion constante des deux sexes et l'équivalence de leurs fonctions sociales est, comme il le disait lui-même l'avenir heureusement inévitable vers lequel nous marchons à grands pas, il essaya d'appliquer ses idées.

Différents symptômes nous annoncent la prochaine réalisation de cette large manière de voir, malgré l'échec momentané dû aux jésuites et aux cléricaux. Et Robin avait raison et c'est précisément pour cela qu'il fut révoqué et dut même quitter la France.

Aujourd'hui le cléricalisme est tout puissant, et même dans les écoles laïques son influence perce. L'enfant grandit élevé loin des êtres et des influences normales qui plus tard se trouveront avec lui dans la vie. Ignorant la plupart des choses, son imagination torturée et hantée par des rêves malsains, font que plus tard, il sera la proie de ses cauchemars. Il vivra avec ses rêves, ignorant tout de la réalité. Les avantages de l'éducation en commun sont tellement incontestables, qu'en 1889, au Congrès de l'enseignement libre était adopté un vœu dans ce sens.

Cette méthode est d'ailleurs appliquée en Angleterre et en Amérique, et les résultats produits sont excellents. Elle prouve pertinemment que ce genre d'éducation n'a pas les inconvénients qu'on avait formulés, et qu'elle est au contraire un puissant stimulant pour le développement des intelligences, des études et de la moralité. C'est le meilleur moyen de mettre l'éducation des femmes en harmonie avec celle des hommes et, par là, constituer l'unité dans la famille.

Et au lieu de se contenter d'un enseignement officiel, propageons l'enseignement intégral et rationnel, ce sera le meilleur moyen de former plus tard des hommes et des femmes qui travailleront à leur émancipation. Et c'est ainsi que nous réaliserons une société composée d'individus conscients dont les rapports en bonne harmonie par le fait que la propriété n'existera plus.

Le problème social tient donc, dans la partie éducative, à ces deux questions primordiales, émancipation de la femme et co-éducation. Il importe à tous ceux qui veulent travailler dans le sens de la régénération sociale, de joindre leurs efforts aux nôtres et par là atteindre le but proposé.

Les Délégués de l'Union du Bronze,
ALBERT HENRY, GAVRY.

AMÉRIQUE

J'ai appris que le concours apporté à notre Congrès par les camarades de l'Amérique et de l'Angleterre n'avait pas donné lieu à des conclusions très encourageantes, mais j'espère que cela ne vous a pas fait perdre foi dans le mouvement anarchiste américain ou anglais, et que vous n'en avez pas conclu à l'inaction ou à l'indifférence des camarades de ces pays. Je viens de terminer une tournée de propagande en Amérique qui a duré huit mois et pendant laquelle j'ai fait 240 conférences, visité 60 villes et parlé à 50, 60.000 personnes; de plus, j'ai fait une tournée de conférences en Angleterre et en Ecosse qui a duré quatre mois, et cette tournée, quoique moins fructueuse que la première, me permet néanmoins de vous assurer que les camarades, du moins les camarades de langue anglaise, d'Amérique et d'Angleterre, sont de tout cœur et de toute âme avec vous, dans votre projet d'organisation du futur Congrès, et qu'ils vont vous apporter leur concours, aussi bien matériel que moral. Le fait que vous avez reçu jusqu'à présent si peu de nouvelles d'eux tient aux différentes difficultés contre lesquelles nous avons à lutter aux Etats-Unis et en Grande-Bretagne.

Je tâcherai de vous donner une idée de notre situation actuelle, pour que vous puissiez mieux comprendre les difficultés de notre lutte. En ce qui concerne d'abord l'Amérique, je suis sûre que beaucoup d'entre vous connaissent plus ou moins le mouvement américain, j'entends le mouvement anarchiste parmi les Américains et non parmi les étrangers (en effet, quoique les anarchistes italiens, français, espagnols, tchèques et israélites soient plus nombreux et plus forts, ils n'ont pas d'intérêt pour nous, car pour pouvoir arriver à établir une société libre en Amérique, nous devons intéresser à nos idées les Américains mêmes). Mais vous ne connaissez ce mouvement que par les journaux, et vous pouvez ignorer ce fait, que le mouvement américain est encore dans son enfance — jeune par le nombre d'années et faible comme force, n'existant que depuis cinq ou six ans. Jusqu'alors le mouve-

891218046

The Emma Goldman Papers

Amérique / Emma Goldman.— pp. 189-190 ; 28 cm. *In* Rapports du Congrès Antiparlementaire International de 1900 / Les Temps Nouveaux [Paris]. —Vol. 3, nos. 23 & 31 (Sept. 20, 1900).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archives Nationales de France, Paris. Institutional Location: Records of the Sûreté Générale, F7 12510.

ment était entre des mains des étrangers qui, eux-mêmes, étaient ou bien des révolutionnaires tout court, ou bien des anarchistes par le nom et social-démocrates par les tendances. C'est depuis la première apparition du *Firebrand* (saisi par les autorités de l'Oregon et qui paraît maintenant sous le nom de *Free Society*) à San Francisco que nous avons commencé à nous frayer le chemin parmi la population américaine. Ce qui vient prouver ce que je dis, c'est le fait que les Trades Unions américains, les clubs sociaux et littéraires, les sociétés éthiques et philosophiques ne nous considèrent plus comme des jeteurs de bombes, des bêtes féroces, des ivrognes, des vagabonds non peignés et non lavés (idée qui a été créée par nos ennemis et leurs bouffons — organes de la presse quotidienne), mais nous invitent amicalement à faire nos conférences et écoutent avec intérêt l'exposé de la philosophie communiste-anarchiste. Cependant, comme les anarchistes américains ne sont pas nombreux et demeurent dans l'ouest, dans des pays comme le Colorado, le Texas et la Californie, il leur sera extrêmement difficile de réunir les 1500 francs nécessaires pour envoyer un délégué au Congrès (cela peut d'ailleurs coûter encore plus cher). Cependant nous n'avons pas abandonné l'espoir d'en envoyer un. Le camarade Pierre Kropotkine a récemment envoyé un article à *Free Society* pour expliquer l'importance du Congrès (ceci était absolument nécessaire parce que plusieurs anarchistes allemands ont entrepris une campagne contre l'envoi d'un délégué, et ont dénoncé le Congrès comme parlementaire) ; de mon côté, je ferai bientôt paraître un article dans le même journal, pour proposer les noms de quelques-uns de nos camarades comme délégués et pour ouvrir une souscription dans le but de recueillir la somme nécessaire. Avec le concours des camarades étrangers, surtout des anarchistes israélistes qui sont les plus forts et les plus actifs, nous espérons pouvoir envoyer un délégué américain au Congrès. Si toutefois nous n'y réussissons pas, nous sommes décidés à envoyer des rapports sur notre propagande et des considérations sur les idées en général. Les camarades W. Holmes. Morton, Nold et moi ont déjà commencé à travailler à nos rapports sur la Californie, Colorado, Texas, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvanie, New-York et autres Etats de l'Amérique.

En Angleterre, les camarades ont formé ce que l'on a appelé le Groupe du Congrès, qui comprend les membres du Groupe de « Freedom », Kropotkine, Tcherkesof et autres. Ce groupe qui a pour secrétaire le camarade Charles, récemment libéré de neuf ans d'emprisonnement dans une prison anglaise, est en communication avec d'autres groupes semblables à Leeds, Glasgow et autres villes, dans le but de réunir les fonds pour le Congrès et de rédiger des rapports. Leeds a déjà réuni 300 fr. et le groupe espère en recueillir encore davantage. En tout, vous pouvez compter sur six délégués d'Angleterre.

En ce moment les camarades anglais doivent employer tous leurs efforts à tenir des meetings, à organiser des manifestations contre la guerre la plus cruelle, la plus brutale, la plus inhumaine, la plus injuste et la plus lâche conduite par une bande de grands voleurs et de boursiers, et sanctionnée par le monstre insatiable qu'est le gouvernement, contre une poignée de courageux fermiers qui luttent comme des lions pour leur indépendance et leur liberté.

Le premier grand meeting a eu lieu le 20 février, et je puis vous assurer que depuis longtemps on n'avait vu à un meeting de Londres autant d'enthousiasme et de juste indignation. Comme anarchistes, notre tâche principale est de lutter contre toutes les formes de l'injustice et de l'oppression. C'est pourquoi j'espère que vous allez vous joindre aux camarades anglais dans la plus vigoureuse protestation contre l'assassinat commis de sang-froid des admirables rebelles que sont les Boers, par l'armée anglaise, derrière laquelle se trouvent les voleurs Chamberlain, Cecil Rhode, Milner et les capitalistes anglais qui aspirent pour arriver aux mines d'or du Transvaal, à passer sur les corps sanglants, palpitants des Boers et de leurs familles.

A bas toutes les formes de l'injustice et vive notre amour pour l'indépendance et l'anarchie!

E. GOLDMAN.

RAPPORT DE PHILADELPHIE

Le peu de temps que j'ai eu à ma disposition ne m'a pas permis de réunir pour ce rapport d'autres renseignements que les suivants :

Recensement des camarades par nationalité :

Juifs russes	75
Américains	40
Allemands	24
Italiens	3
Français	1
Cubains	2
Total	145

De ce nombre, 126 sont des hommes, 19 des femmes ; leur âge varie entre vingt et quarante ans.

Le travail manuel est au travail intellectuel

871118000

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Paris Congress / E[mma] Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 35 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 6, no. 49 (Oct. 21, 1900).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

OCT 23 1900

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist; and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. 49 SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1900. WHOLE NO. 289

ON THE FALL OF BONAPARTE.

I hated thee, fallen Tyrant! I did groan
To think that a most unambitious slave,
Like thou, should dance and revel on the grave
Of Liberty. Thou might'st have built thy throne
Where it had stood even now: thou didst prefer
A frail and bloody pomp, which Time has swept
In fragments toward oblivion. Massacre,
For this I prayed would on thy sleep have crept,
Treason and Slavery, Rapine, Fear, and Lust,
And stifled thee their minister. I know
Too late, since thou and France are in the dust,
That Virtue owns a more eternal foe
Than Force: Fraud, old Custom, Legal Crime,
And bloody Faith the foulest birth of Time.

—Percy Bysshe Shelley

* * * * *

THE PARIS CONGRESS.

Comrades and Friends:—The greatest enemies of improvement and progress will agree with me that the modern means of communication have done the world a lot of good; of course we must also take into the bargain the evil that some improvements carry with them. This is especially true of the cable system, which carries news as quick as lightning from one part of the globe to the other. It was already on the 14th inst. that the comrades of America were startled by the news of the suppression of our Congress; and only weeks later will they find out how and by whom it was done, as well as all other details. However, I hardly think that the suppression was much of a surprise to many people; rather would it have been surprising, if Congress were not interfered with. A German proverb says: "It is unwise to mention rope in the house of one just hanged." So we may well say about all in any way connected with the system of robbery and despotism. Just mention the word Anarchy, and terror seizes everyone, from the throne to the commonest policeman, from the multimillionaire down to the lowest shopkeeper living on the sweat of the people. Is it because they really think that every Anarchist is a bomb-thrower, or necessarily carries a dagger in his belt? Oh, no, they know better, they know too well that the majority of Anarchists by temperament detest bloodshed in every form. The real reason for the dread of all organized tyranny toward Anarchy, lies in the fact that Anarchism undermines the system of power maintained by each and every means, no matter at what cost; and therefore it must not be allowed to spread. "What fools these mortals be!" Here the champions of authority go on suppressing the growth of Anarchy, persecuting Anarchists, and in all their glorious idiocy failing to see that thereby they are doing more to provoke interest in the ideas they are so anxious to kill, than the ablest man in our movement.

That an Anarchist Congress was called at all, is really due to our naivete, to our child-like belief that some governments are better than others; that if our gatherings are suppressed in Germany, Italy, Spain, and Russia, they surely must be permitted in France, the country of which every wall reechoed with the cry "a la Bastille," "a bas le roi," "vive la Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite," "ni Dieu, ni Maitre," etc; that it would be allowed in Paris, the city of revolution, the history of which has been written with the blood of its people, the sons and daughters of which have stood on the barricades, days, nights, weeks, fighting and dying for Liberty; the city which holds out a warning to all crowned heads, in the Place de la Concorde, upon which Louis XVI and the beautiful Marie Antoinette were beheaded; the city which has built a monument on the site of the once hideous Bastille, to the memory of Camille Desmoulins, and the innumerable unknown who threw down the black walls in which France's grandest men lay buried for life; Paris, that can boast of a Montmartre, upon which the sons of the Commune bathed in the light of the setting sun, that is nowhere seen so beautiful as here, in all their grand and noble zeal, fought the last battle for Liberty; Paris, with its Pere la Chaise and the wall of the federals killed there by the whiskey and absinthe brutalized soldiers of Thiers and Galliffet, buried in one hole, and even now after thirty years kept alive by wreaths of flowers, ribbons and inscriptions of all those whose heart throb for Freedom; Paris, whose boys and girls from fifteen to sixteen years up to snowhaired men and women, vibrate with the memory of the past and the hope of the future; Paris, whose children have given the world all that human skill, dignity, and genius can produce, gathered in the Exhibition; and last but not least, Paris, the only city that is ruled by a "radical" government and a Socialistic minister.

Surely in this city, in which thousands of people from all over the world hold counsel with each other, we, the Anarchists, could come together and peacefully discuss. That must have been the thought of the comrades who signed the first call for the Congress, and all those who helped to organize and make it a success. Poor naive Touget, you who know, like no one else, how to reach the common people in their own tongue, and you Pelloutier, young genius that you are, with your success in organizing 300,000 men in a body to hold together and stand up for the principle of human independence, and you Domela Nieuwenhuis, with the Christ-like head, and the temperament of a child, loved and honored by all who know you, you who have raised your children as workingmen, although you have devoted your wealth to our cause, and all of you, who have worked for a year to make the Congress a success, you were wise enough to choose the Paris of the revolutionary spirit; but you were very unwise to forget the Socialistic ministry. Therefore you and I and all of us must stand the consequences.

The fact of the matter is, that no consequences of an unpleasant character have arisen. True, the Congress was prohibited; but what are prohibitions for, if not to be broken? And so the Congress took place, in spite of all and every order; on a smaller scale, that is true, but by no means less important. This will be seen by the results, of which some are already in print, and the others to follow.

The difference between a Socialistic and any other government is the hypocritical liberalism of the former, and the open despotism of the latter. Any other government would have suppressed our Congress in its embryo, or at least given some sign of its intent to suppress it; but the Socialistic ministry with "Comrade" Millerand at its head, who, to order to gain and keep his post, not only showed that he is just like his colleagues, but even worse than they, the same Millerand who has broken his promise as a Socialist by the very acceptance of the ministry, and who has proven a traitor to the cause of "class consciousness," at the shooting of the strikers at Martinique and Chalone sur Saone, and on many other occasions. Millerand and his ministry went the ordinary government one better. They let us go for a whole year; did not even watch over the arrangements carried on for seven months by the committee; waited until reports were sent from all parts of the world, all delegates were in Paris, and the last finishing touch given to the Congress, and the social arranged for the evening previous; and then came down with an order suppressing the Congress, and all meetings protesting against such infamy.

One must be blind not to see that the intention of Galliffet's partner was not so much to hurt Anarchism; for he is really too insignificant a figure to succeed in something in which the united despots have failed; but to prove to the French bourgeois, that they are really safer with a Socialistic ministry, than with one of their own.

As I have already said, no other government would have waited until the last moment, the more so, as it is absolutely against the French law to suppress a peaceful meeting openly held; but Millerand knew how to get over this difficulty. He simply searched out the "*lois scelerates*," issued in 1894, during the number of acts of violence committed; against all Anarchistic meetings and publications, setting them down as criminal. At that time, Jaures was deputy, and he was among the most vigorous opponents of such an infernal law. He since then helped Millerand to the ministry; and Millerand uses the same outrageous law his comrade and bosom friend opposed, as an excuse to suppress our Congress. Such are the ironies of life.

Tuesday morning the 18th inst. our secretary, Comrade Remy, was called to the prefecture de police, police headquarters; and there he was told, that neither the social nor the Congress could take place, by order of the ministry. (By the way, here it is not like in our own "free land," where every captain or policeman can stop a meeting; the police here do not enjoy such power, they only act upon the order of the ministry.)

Comrade Remy immediately notified all those comrades he could reach; and the others, unaware of the ukase, went to the social; and found the doors of the hall locked and the street blocked by police. We called a secret meeting for Wednesday afternoon, at which only a few could be present owing to the danger involved, and more to the lack of space, as we were to meet outside of Paris in a small room. There, than, huddled together in a stuffy room, in danger of being surprised by government hirelings, but with a zeal which knows no fear, were a few men and women, who have given the best years of their life for the cause, some having undergone years of privation, imprisonment, persecution and want, old in years and experience, but young in heart and spirit, ever ready to continue the fight for final human emancipation. Here we decided to hold several secret meetings, in order to discuss a few subjects of the many on the program for the Congress. But one of the first decisions was to protest most vigorously against the suppression of our Congress. In accordance with this, several French comrades arranged two meetings for Thursday afternoon and evening, in a hall called Maison du Peuple; but when we got there, the street was blocked by police, and one comrade, Libertas, arrested and brutally taken to the station. In the evening, the same spectacle of force and brutality, an increased force of police and detectives, with hidden cameras behind the windows of the hall, to photograph all those who came to protest.

Here I cannot help giving you a funny incident. M. Sully Prudhomme, a member of the Academy, the house of the forty immortals, into which a Zola is refused admission, a reactionary and hater of all progress, was driven to the Maison du Peuple by curiosity, and photographed. Now his glorious image hangs in the rogues' gallery at the prefecture de police, along with the pictures of the bravest and noblest men of France. Undoubtedly M. Sully Prudhomme never dreamed of such an honor; and in the future he will surely take care not to give way to curiosity, which is rather out of place for a man, especially a member of the Academy de France.

While we had our secret meeting outside of Paris, one of the trade unions of our Congress, the Bronze Workers, called a meeting of their own to protest against the suppression; but their meeting, too, was stopped, and the crowd dispersed by force. They have since manifested their protest through large posters posted all through Paris, denouncing the government, and declaring their intention of continuing the work of education and enlightenment, until the last vestige of tyranny is gone.

Another manifesto, of which I send you a copy for translation, and signed by the best known comrades of Paris, was issued on Friday, September 21, and spread all over town. As I already said, the public Congress of the International Revolutionary Workers was suppressed. Instead of that, four sessions were held secretly, to the peace of mind of all governmental cowards. However, be it said that no dynamite was fabricated, nor dagger sharpened at those meetings. The Revolutionists gathered from all over the world had really more important work to do, and higher aims to achieve than the removal of the heads of a few rotten kings.

(Continued on Page Three.)

185

871118000

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Paris Congress / E[mma] Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 35 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 6, no. 49 (Oct. 21, 1900).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

to say, he has gone so far in his theory of non-resistance that the people in power do not fear him much, thinking his theories impossible of practice. But they have cause to fear the affect of his influence, because of the power he holds over the peasants of Russia. The poor look to him as their savior; and should he be imprisoned for standing up for justice, he would be more dangerous than now. An imprisoned or dead Tolstoi may exert more influence than a living one! We shall see.

To me Count Tolstoi is a prophet, and shows it by his life and words.

He is unique: born in a despotic government, he has become the most democratic man who ever lived; born where law is considered divine, he has renounced all governmental authority. Bred in the midst of luxury, and living with the nobility, he has disclaimed all titles and denied himself everything but the simplest food and clothing born to be waited upon by servents at every turn, and to tyrannize at will, he has become the brother and fellow laborer with the peasant: born with a great genius for literary labors, and able to win the applause of those in high places, he devotes much of his time to manual labor, and writes simply that "the people" may be helped: born with an eye for beauty, he abandons all ostentation, and shares his wealth—with his peasants.

Today we are living in a new epoch. This is a time when the great social questions are becoming a living power in the thoughtful world. When man's relation to his fellow-man is of paramount importance—when the struggle between capital and labor, exploiter and exploited is becoming better understood; when earnest thinkers on economics have written their message, and have thrown light upon the causes of the evils and abuses of society.

In this age, appear Tolstoi, Kropotkin, Marx, Whitman, Morris, Henry George, Edward Bellamy, and many others of less fame. They all saw the existing evils and inconsistencies of civilized life. No one man can detect all causes or give an infallible remedy but as all work together, the question is becoming simplified and plain.

The complex and inconsistent political economy of the conservative past, with its falsehoods and elaborate system, trying to prove black white, and selfishness the first law of society, is fast breaking away among those who investigate. Our theory of economics teaches that man is inherently a spiritual being, with noble impulses and unselfish propensities, that equity of opportunity is essential, in the name of justice, and private ownership of land or other property fatal to such equity, that men and women are brothers and sisters and not ravening wolves threatening to devour one another, that man can be saved by the hidden light of his God-given nature, if opportunities are such as to give him a chance to grow naturally, that freedom from restraint, other than the restraints of conscience, and labor, is necessary to perfect our individuality; that to have freedom, law becomes a hindrance to our highest expression of life; that education furnishes the means much more effectively, when not forced upon the individual, but when made an example and stimulus through right living and an appeal to the ideals and aspirations, that education is not to leave man or woman in ignorance concerning their natures, by keeping secret the uses and complexity of the sexual life—that education, freedom, and right ideals of love, can best remedy the awful sexual evils of society; and that cooperation, being the most economical way of regulating the material interests of society, does not necessarily mean a giving up our individuality, or trying to make of man a mere machine, forgetting that men are infinite in variety, and must not be moulded to suit the system of economics.

Tolstoi touches upon nearly all of these topics, and treats them in a thoroughly original way. He becomes an ascetic on the sex question; fails to see the train of events toward perfection, when he belittles art; and refuses to see the *good coming out* of some of our stumbling stones, such as machinery, monopoly and trusts, divorces, etc.

Nevertheless, he sees farther than any other man, and is the grandest and most unique character of modern times. He is living an upright and unselfish life, and working out the worst possible tangle of thought, brought about by the abuses of our so called Christian civilization.

He is using all of his mighty power to do away with selfishness, and legal tyranny and murder; and he is doing it by his life, and not alone by fine-spun theories. Every day, by every act, and by every word, he is making a protest against selfishness and injustice, such as will effect the world in a way we can little dream of. The seen forces alone are powerful; what of the vast mass of unseen power that no man can weigh or measure?

Let us learn of him, even though he is not correct in all of his theories. Surely in the essential things he is right; for he teaches that the golden rule is necessary between man and man, nation and nation. Evil begets evil: love begets love, example begets example. This is a law in the spiritual realm.

MARTHA E. ELKINS

* * * * *

THE MISSIONARIES---AND OPIUM.

I shall be better able to appreciate Mr. Byington's criticism about Tien-te, (*not* "on missionaries,") when "specifications are forthcoming." He is at liberty to consider that the "demand" for them exists. But he has given in advance a few, to which I will reply now. I several times cited other authorities than Williams, and therefore can by no possibility have "given the impression that my statements about Chinese matters are all from the same source." I "repeatedly" said, as Byington remarks, that I would cite no other—meaning what? Obviously, each time I said so, that Williams was enough for the topic then in hand. I don't believe I have attributed "expressly" to Williams, any statement, important or unimportant, which Williams did not make, but I wait for "specifications."

The "rather important fact" I denied by saying it was "unstated," is that the Chinese Christians at Thistlemount did not tolerate idolatry. It is unstated in Williams' account of Thistlemount, vol. ii, ch. xxiv, p. 580. If any such statement can be incidentally found somewhere else, I shall still doubt it—not because such conduct would be at all unlike Christians generally; but because these particular Christians notoriously acted with idolatrous patriots, all through their heroic struggle for liberty, toleration, and a higher social state.

"The rather important matter I denied by saying I had looked carefully through Williams and not found it, is a list of Protestant martyrs in China, outside the Taeping movement. I have looked again, and cannot find it yet. But I do not deny it may be there. I found the Catholic martyrs easily enough.

That the early Protestant missionaries to China were not all in the employ of the opium trade, I will be happy to believe, when Mr. Byington, or somebody else, tells me about one who wasn't. Does Mr. Byington mean to deny that Morrison's employers were opium smugglers, or that Gutzlaff, probably the most famous propagandist of the bourgeois gospel in China, was an opium smuggler himself? (See Williams, vol ii, pp. 308 of 578; and see 339.

And why should Mr. Byington say I suppress all the creditable facts on one side, or all the discreditable on the other? Did I suppress the fact that Morrison's Chinese dictionary is a great and useful work? Is the fact that Tien-te was ignorant enough to think he could marry the Virgin Mary's sister? I give the Protestant missionaries full credit for being ashamed of their share in the opium trade, and acknowledged that their pet cannibal, "Chinese" Gordon,—whom I am glad to see Mr. Byington does not attempt defending—was angry with his native colleague about the Suchau massacre. I only added that they could scarcely feel otherwise.

The last paragraph in Mr. Byington's critique implies that I, an Anarchist, inconsistently praised Tien-te, a statesman and warrior. I reply that I praised him only so far as he deserved it. The best title I gave him was "a Christian martyr." If I had said "an Anarchist martyr," the case would have been different. I know he was not that. But statesmen and warriors have been too common among Christians to allow demur because one of the former is classed with the latter and surely the epithet of martyr is justly given to one who died for his religion, after being identified with its cause during many years.

The Trust or Water Lily Society, which Byington accuses me of confounding with the Taoists, is as much a part of Taoism as Anabaptism was a part of the Reformation. To prove this would require a good many words, but it is evident enough to one who knows the characteristics of the larger Chinese religions. See Douglas, "Confucianism and Taoism"; Rhys Davids, "Buddhism"; Williams, ch. xxviii.

C. L. JAMES.

THE PARIS CONGRESS.

Continued from Page One.

At the meetings, we discussed and organized a Bureau of International Correspondance, or International Federation, based upon national federation, for the purpose of better acquainting each other with the economic, political and ethical state of the movement in each country, and the practice of the principle of solidarity. To accomplish the former, each country is to issue a quarterly bulletin, to be sent to all countries, and those to do the same. In this way, it is hoped, the comrades will keep in touch with each other, which has so far not been the case. As to the latter, it certainly has been sadly neglected so far. Comrades come to a strange land, the language of which they did not know, and without means or friends, they often have been near starvation. This is to be done away with through the International Bureau. So when a comrade comes to Paris, London, Madrid, or Constantinople, he will know where to find friends. I cannot dwell upon this matter elaborately in this report, but I can promise the comrades, they will learn more about it soon.

The second matter discussed and decided upon, was the publication of all the reports sent to the Congress in book form; but as we have not enough money to do it right now, the reports will be published in the supplement of Les Temps Nouveaux, the plates set aside and a book made out of all the plates when ready. For this, money is needed, and I herewith appeal to all the comrades in America, to put their hands into their pockets, and send on their mite to the secretary, whose name and address will be given in a week or so.

We have received ninety reports on all possible subjects, and although only twenty or twenty-five are in the form of an essay; yet the others are not less interesting, and will be published in a resume.

The third and last thing decided was to issue a manifesto, together with all the subjects on the program for the Congress, the names of all reports and the nationalities of those who have taken part, to be published in L'Aurore, a radical daily in Paris, Les Temps Nouveaux and Libertaire. These are to be sent to all the trades unions, that were to participate, with a request to send on the papers to the trades unions of the world, asking them to protest with us against the suppression of the Congress of the International Revolutionary Workers of the World.

To give you an idea of the vast amount of work done for the Congress, a list of subjects for discussion and reports sent in will be given next week.

Paris, September 25, 1900. E. GOLDMAN.

* * * * *

CIVILIZATION AND BURGLARY.

The story that comes from Peking from the pen of Edward Wiltman, The Examiner's special commissioner to China, is one to cause the Christian nations to blush with shame. Their troops went into China as the representatives of Western civilization and Western morality to enforce the rights of ambassadors, and to punish the crimes of which the Chinese had been guilty. The troops turned aside from their high mission to become burglars and murderers. The accounts show that they broke into every house that promised to contain anything of value, stole what they wanted, destroyed what they did not want, and killed any of the Chinese who objected.

The justification alleged for this sort of work is the horrid crimes of the Chinese who attacked the legations and butchered Christian converts. But punishment that does not seek to distinguish innocent from guilty, and is inflicted through murder and robbery, does not inspire respect. If it is the best that Western civilization can do in that line, we cannot honestly say that it is far superior to the methods of the Boxers whose ferocity brought about the troubles in the Orient.—San Francisco Examiner.

* * * * *

Literature.

The Wedding Night. By Ida C. Craddock. Denver, Colo., Ida C. Craddock, 1563 California St. Price 50c.

This little book will startle many by its plainness of speech on the details of sex companionship. It is, however, written with an earnest purpose, and from the standpoint of what the author believes to be ideal purity. Not having the fear of Comstock before her eyes, she does not hamper her advice with the prudish reticence which renders many works of similar purport almost worthless. There is much that is admirable and instructive in the treatise, as well as the exposition of certain striking theories which will not be accepted by all readers.

186

871117008

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Paris Congress / E[mma] Goldman.— p. 3 ; 36 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. —Vol. 6, no. 50 (Oct. 28, 1900).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

laying out of a city on a smoydering volcano, and the allurement of victims into it. Human forethought was able to provide against this disaster, by placing the cotton shipping wharves in some spot safe from such storms. If you say no such spot exists on the Texas coast, I say ship the cotton to New Orleans. But commercial and speculative greed must ever find ways for rapid and enormous gains, regardless of the number of victims necessitated thereby.

"The unchained tiger is let loose; and who shall expect him to bear himself otherwise than as the beast society has made of him?" asks Comrade Morton. The ordinary editor says "the beast he is," and adds "unless held in check by the strong arm of the law;" and acting on that a soldier boasted that he only had fifteen cartridges when he went on night patrol; and *each one got a man*, because he like Comrade Morton, looked upon these men who were "pillaging the dead for private gain," as "ghouls" and "beasts," and yet, to me, that soldier was much more of a *beast* than any of his victims.

Let us look the facts in the face, and not be afraid of logical conclusions.

There was no reason for the founding of Galveston, but speculation. There was no reason for continuing it, after its waterfront had repeatedly been damaged by storms, but greed of private gain. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that many of the pillagers were men grown desperate from privation and only saw in it a hope of temporary relief from their sufferings.

HENRY ADDIS.

COMMENT.

Comrade Addis seems to be so anxious to find fault with something, that he must needs pick out a few sentences, apart from their context, and miss the entire trend of the article in question. His screed, therefore, demands little attention. Much of it, although in the form of an attack, is in substance a mere reiteration of the points I had already made. As to the remainder, a few lines will suffice, since I propose to propose to ignore the personalities, which do him little credit.

Anarchy is a well-grounded philosophy, based on social, economic, and historical facts. It does not need to play the part of a scolding old woman, on every conceivable occasion. We are not so deficient in evidence of the criminality of the capitalist system, that we need to hold it accountable for every great convulsion in nature. The people of Galveston might have taken greater precautions; but they could not have foreseen or prevented the tidal wave. It was an unsafe place on which to build, but it is in human nature to take risks, especially when the danger appears somewhat remote. Commercial greed accentuates, but does not create this tendency.

As to the "elemental passions," the misrepresentation is too gross to require refutation, except by quoting a few lines from the original article:

> In a regime which exalts private property as the main object of existence, why should not the dead yield up their treasures to the living, who alone have need of them? Why should we, whose whole civilization is based on the lust for gold, shudder at the ghoul who plunders the dead, to satisfy his greed? It is the law of commercialism that the weak shall give way to the strong, the simple to the clever, the straightforward to the crafty. With such principles instilled into them from childhood, taught to regard their fellowmen as rivals and enemies, what marvel that in such hours of great convulsions, when it is no longer necessary to keep up appearances, men throw the mask aside? The unchained tiger is let loose; and who shall expect him to bear himself otherwise than as the beast society has made of him?

The whole article must, however, be read, in order to perceive how grossly its meaning has been distorted. Let it be well understood that we can fight capitalism, and fight it to the death, without holding it responsible for the Charlestown earthquake, Vesuvius eruptions, or Kansas cyclones.

THE MONEY-MAKING MACHINE.

A superlatively bad man; a robber of labor, a wholesale murderer, a king, exclaimed many centuries ago, "O Lord our Lord, what is man that thou art mindful of him?"

Nineteen centuries of superstition, called for a purpose Christianity, enables us to answer the question without a moment's hesitation. Man is nothing but a money-making machine; and David's Lord does not care a damson" about him. The land-lords, the money-lords, and the profit-lords are mindful of men as so many cogs in the wheel that grinds out dollars, just so much and nothing more. They teach Labor to to be content with the position in which god gold has been pleased to place him; and the fools accept their doctrines; so the "lords" proceed to take away the dollar from him that hath but one and give it to him that hath ten million, in accordance with Biblical ethics. "Take therefore the dollar from him, and give it unto him that hath ten million. For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but from him that hath not much shall be taken away even that which he hath." Thus we see that trusts are the Lord's own appointing

There is but one question before the world today—money, and the sole purpose of Churchianity and superstition is to maintain a governing class, and by chicanery and cajolery compel the only useful class—Labor—to submit to be robbed, so that the worse than useless class may live in idle luxury.

If Debs, Bryan and McKinley are unable to govern themselves, they are certainly not to presume to govern others; the fact of their being church-members proves their inability to govern themselves; for they thus place themselves under the direction or government of some parasite, who makes a pretence of being a guide to heaven or a protector from hell fire. Parsons carry on this business by the combination scheme of credit and cash, but we notice when the cash part falls off, they are apt to leave the spiritual business for that of real estate agent or insurance solicitor, both of which are also parasitical and pharisaical, thus retaining the old association of earth, heaven, and fire, so that the break is not abrupt or sudden, or extreme as at first sight appears; and of course the ultimate aim is the same, the only question of the age—money.

The glorious system of stars for the police and stripes for, and robbery of the workers has made such progress that ninety-seven per cent of the men of the United States, who have reached the age of sixty, are reduced to the grade of paupers, dependent on their families, friends, or the kind public who are taxed for their maintenance. O Devil our Devil, deliver us from such Christian civilisation.

KISMORN-JONES.

San Francisco.

THE PARIS CONGRESS.

The subjects for discussion were as follows: Communism and Anarchism —Communism and Individualism.—Organization Between the Anarchist Communistic Groups of the Same Country, and Foreign Countries, for the Purpose of Organization, an International Bureau of Correspondence, Each Group Retaining its Absolute Autonomy —The General Strike.—The Attitude of Communist-Anarchists towards anti-Semitism, Zionism, Tolstoism, Co-operation and Neo-co-operation.—The Sex Question —Woman Suffrage.—Different Means of Propaganda.—The Position of Anarchist-Communists towards War, Riots, and Insurrections.—Formation of Groups for Mutual Aid and the Practice of Solidarity.—The Publication of an International Magazine.—The Land Question —The Tactics of Social Democrats, Including all Factions of the Parliamentary Parties, towards Anarchists,

All these subjects were discussed among the Anarchists the world over, and opinions and reports sent in by groups and individuals who could not attend the Congress.

The following reports were sent in. The present State of Our Movement in Different Countries.—A Short History of the Movement in America, by Wm. Holmes. —The History of the Jewish Movement in America, by Dr. M. Cohn.—The State of the Movement at Present, by James F. Morton, Jr.—The Movement in Philadelphia, by Voltairine de Cleyre —The Movement in Denver, by Lizzie M. Holmes.—The Movement in Providence, by J. H. Cook —An Essay on the Effects on the Movement of the Judicial Murder of Our Comrades in Chicago, by Lizzie M. Holmes.—A Report from St. Louis, by the International Association of Machinists. —A Report on the Ways and Means to Arrange Successful Propaganda-tours through the States, by E. G. —Report of the Movement in Argentine and Uruguay.—Report on the French Workingmen's Party, by Gustave Lefrancais.—Report of the Group Social, from Epinal, France.—Report on the Movement in Italy.—Report on the Movement in Switzerland, by the Revolutionists of Lausanne.—Reports on the Movement in Norway, Holland, Greece, etc.—Anarchism and the Church, by Elisee Reclus.—The Revenge of Society, So-called Justice.—Essay on Organization, by the Students of the University *De la Nature*.—Evolution of Socialist Parties, by the Group Freedom, London.—Essay on small Industries in England by Peter Kropotkin.—Essays on Communism and Anarchism, by Peter Kropotkin, and others.—Essay on Communism and Individualism.—Different Ways of Propaganda in Trade Unions, by different authors.—The Propaganda through Literature and the Stage.—Propaganda by throwing Protest Ballots, a Report expressing hostile Views towards It, by Italian Comrades.—Report on the Formation of Funds for the Liberation of Imprisoned Comrades, and International Resistance in Case of Lockouts, by E. V.—Essay on the Unemployed and their Part in the Social Movement, and the Means of the Struggle, by the Group Equals of Jura, Switzerland.—Essays on Anarchistic Education, by different authors.—Essay on Responsibility and Solidarity, by M. Nettlau.—The Woman Question and Woman's Co-Education, by the Students E. S. R. I. and the Bronze Worker's Union.—Essays on the Sex Question, by Kate Austin, Viroqua Daniels, S. H., H. Addis, James F. Morton, Jr., E. G., Paul Rohen, and others.—Reports on the Anti-Militarist Propaganda.

Nationalities were present: Bohemia 2, Germany 1, Switzerland 1, Italy 1 (more were to come, but were not permitted to enter France), Russia 1, England 6, Spain 2, Holland 4, Belgium 1, America 5, and a large number of delegates from all parts of France. Letters were received from Sweden, Norway, Bulgaria, Greece, Argentine Republic, and other parts of the world.

"Anarchy is dead," we are continually told; but it does not seem so from the above reports and persons attending the Congress, does it? And when we take into consideration that those who were in favor of the Congress taking place at all, were but a few in comparison with the large number who were against it, then we can say that Anarchism lives indeed, in spite of all persecutions, imprisonments, and laws against us. Yes, the Congress was suppressed; and a few comrades had to suffer on account of it: Libertad, the one I already mentioned, and Nino Samaja expelled, maybe others to follow; but the work for the Congress lives, and will bear fruit.

In conclusion, I must not forget to mention the contemptible part the Socialist papers, *La Petite Republique*, the journal of Millerand, and the *Petit Sou*, the journal of the Marxists, have played. The *Petite Republique* at first ignored the suppression entirely; and when it took notice, it was only to throw slurs upon the organizers, in saying that the Congress was not suppressed at all, but that the story was invented by ourselves; and when the worthy editors were asked how they dared to act like that, they answered: "Do you think we are going to give the Marxists a weapon against us, by defending the Anarchists?" No comment necessary to such detestable behavior, is there? The *Petit Sou* at first also said that the Congress was not suppressed. Some of our comrades telephoned to the ministry to inquire, and were told the order stands. When they were asked why the order was issued, they replied, "It is our pleasure." Enough reason for a Socialistic ministry, think you? The *Petit Sou* has since denounced the suppression, not because its editors are in favor of the Anarchists, but because they are having a fight with the Millerand-Jaures gang, and anything that is likely to serve the purpose of politicians is employed, even defending Anarchists, although only a short time ago, these politicians, timesdes at their head, caused the arrest and sentence to hard labor of comrade G. Morton, who died in prison. Morton having fled from Paris, happened to be at a meeting in which Guesdes denounced him as a police spy; and although he knew that he must not come forward, risked arrest, and defended himself publicly. So you see that our Socialist "friends" are ready to help the police against us one moment, and defend us the next, if it is beneficial to their own petty game. However, I hardly think we need their defence. We shall carry on our work ceaselessly and tirelessly; for we are working in a beautiful cause.

E. GOLDMAN.

Paris, France, September 25.

For St. Louis, Mo

Thirteenth anniversary in honor of the Chicago martyrs, to be held on Saturday, November 10, 1900, at 8 o'clock P. M., at Nenmeyers Hall, Eighth St. and Lafayette Ave. Admission 10 cents, to be paid at the door.

Meetings of comrades are held every Wednesday evening at 1351 South 13th St. All welcome.

187

880708009

The Emma Goldman Papers

From the Paris Congress / [Emma Goldman]. – 35 cm. *In* Free Society [San Francisco]. – Vol. 6, no. 51 (Nov. 4, 1900).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

happen to reconstruct society in a different way? 4

Isn't it ridiculous to express sympathy for the Boers, Filipinos, or Chinese, when we know that the masses are not fighting for liberty, but for Oom Paul Kruger, Aguinaldo or Li Hung Chang on one side and Queen Vic and a host of parasites on the other; and of a kind both stood for the present unjust system? 5

Accordingly the Chicago martyrs were also hypocrites; for they wanted to reform society politically, to reach just economic conditions. 6) I admit that there are inconsistent members in the Socialist ranks; but we Anarchists must not claim to monopolize the virtue of consistency and justice. 7)

The disaster of Galveston would occur only once under Socialism; for there, like in a state claimed by Anarchists, the human abode would be built in safe places, as far as human minds could select; there would be no need for commercial centers, but only for centers of industries; and there would be no need for the workers to crowd their houses around the places where they work as at present, for they would have the time and means to go to and from their work.

Yes, comrades, Anarchy and Socialism are twins, born from the same mother, to bring them to maturity. Toleration must be the nurse. It don't help the cause to split hairs and hunt flaws. Meet the enemies where we can; and when we do, we shall combine our strength to teach them a lesson.

When we unite for action, we command respect, and are sure of an early success.

Practice what you preach—toleration.

Tacoma, Wash. E. E. Boretchek.

COMMENT.

1. Here is where Comrade Boteheck mistakes the Anarchist position. We in no by any means class all political Socialists as hypocrites. In fact we respect and esteem many sincere workers among them. But we surely have a right to criticize methods which we believe to be unsound. Authoritarian acts can never form "the threshhold" of liberty. We oppose political action, because it is based on false principles and ineffective in its results. But we do not denounce as "hypocrites" those honest Socialists who are following their own sincere convictions. We merely point out the fact that Anarchists cannot consistently join hands in methods which are so clearly opposed to the aims of our propaganda.

2. It is this "true Socialism" "without any position in it," for which Anarchism stands, and which political Socialists are going the wrong way to secure.

3. We do not dispute the sincerity of our Socialist friends—we simply question their judgment.

4. We expose certain facts as showing the corrupting influence of politics. We do not condemn the rank and file, but explain how they are misled.

5. It is not "ridiculous" to express sympathy with all who are resisting invasion, whatever may be their own shortcomings.

6. The Chicago martyrs had found the uselessness of political action and neither taught nor practiced it.

7. By no means, but if we are convinced of the correctness of our principles, we should show ourselves "inconsistent" in deserting the plain path to attack they point.

8. "Toleration" by all means, but not compromise. It is not intolerant to defend our principles. Free Society gives more space to opponents, in proportion to its size, than any Socialist paper in the country. We are always ready to "hear the other side." How many Socialist papers can say the same?

• • • • •

FROM THE PARIS CONGRESS.

The secret Conference held in Paris by the revolutionary Socialists and Anarchists of different countries of the world declares itself in favor of federation among the revolutionary groups. The Conference invites the groups of Paris, who have taken the initiative in organizing the Workers' Revolutionary International Congress, to remain united, in the hope that in all centres of population, revolutionary groups, libraries, studying clubs, etc., will come to an understanding on the basis of Communism and the Social Revolution, and on the principles of the liberty and autonomy of the groups. The Conference invites the revolutionary groups of all countries to establish by provincial or national congresses, or by other means, provincial, national and international bureaus of correspondence. These bureaus of correspondence will have for their aim the binding together and the consolidation of the relations between the comrades, to make their understanding more effective, not omitting the necessary precautions.

The English groups are invited by the International Conference to prepare on a date to be fixed later, the convocation of an international revolutionary workingmen's congress to be held in England, as the country where there is more liberty than in France (the same farce I think I do) in spite of the absence of a ministry for the defence of the republic, with Social Democratic or radical Socialist ministers. The Conference regrets greatly not to be able to reach all the foreign delegates, and to have been unable to put itself in communication with all the groups in Paris, and the many delegates from the many French provinces. It has already been very difficult to unite, in spite of the French government, and to blind the Paris police.

• • • • •

DICTIONARY FOR WORKINGMEN.

Ease—A sting in nature or in human civilization.

Exercise—A subject which the laboring men must not talk about.

Thanks—The remorse of robbery.

Commerce—The Robin Hood of respectability, who takes from the poor to give to the rich.

Competition—A struggle in which millions are trampled to death, that a few pounds may mount on their bodies.

Patent Rights—A quack medicine prescribed for the cure of discontent.

Labor—A mouse invented as a plaything to amuse Capital the cat.

——A cornfield where thieves get the harvest, and the owner the gleanings.

Luxury—The rich cream taken off the few from the skim-milk allotted to the many.

Money—The largest available lubricator in the world.

Discussion—An imperative on the part of working men to better their condition.

Pauper—An organization which helps the poor voter, run by wire pullers in the interest of the income men.

Lecture—A skeleton left by the wolves after feeding.

Platform—A platform and a few planks covered with mirrors to catch flies.

Revolution—The Solar Plexus blow wherein slaves regain wealth for their masters.

Prisons—The grave where state lectures bury their murdered patients.

Asylum—Where society puts newly made criminals to harden.

Science—The handmaid of the industrial organ, the value of which is paid better than the artist who executes the composition.

Art—A narrow sandy channel for wealth to pass through, whose mouth and particles detain the rest.

Study—A word to frighten men from studying the problems of human welfare, a term which lectures upon political economy—i.e., how the interest of the employer can be secured in the labor of the employed.

Law—Iron rule invoked to make both parties accept the terms of the few.

Congress—Knocking together their knees for the protection of the upright.

War—Another name for the mockery of liberty, by which to proclaim the independence

——Fund for bows between working classes.

Landlord—Known by capital as the reward of labor.

Wealth—Something which most people want, but of which those who create the most get the least share.

The Labor Record.

• • • • •

CHORDS.

It is often urged, in extenuation of the existence of wealth, that it enables men work harder and longer hours. (Let these also be granted.) But does the character of work have nothing to do with the matter. The most skilful, deep-rooted hate I have ever met lodgers work hard. Is it well that justly they have plenty? They take from others without producing or giving an equivalent. So do all those who possess great fortunes. The working people support the wealthy—the wealthy do not support the working people.—Appeal to Reason.

The workmen spoke the language of slaves. They had got the habit of their enslavement. The workingman perhaps has been, grown old, and died a hopeless grave. The rich lived on the wealth he created.—Social Democratic Herald.

"Is marriage a failure?" "I reckon I say not," remarked an Oregon farmer. "Why there's Hannah gits up in the mornin, milks six cows, gits breakfast, starts four children to skewl, looks after three more, feeds the hens, likewise the hogs, likewise the motherless sheep, skims 20 pans of milk, washes clothes, gits dinner, et cetery, et cetery! I could hire anybody to do it for what she gits much! Marriage, sir, is a success—a great success." Woman's Journal.

The Letter-Box.

J. A., Philadelphia, Pa.—To do as you suggest, would entail a great amount of extra labor each week applied to all subscribers. The numbering system is simple that any subscriber can see where he stands at a glance.

S. F. B., Shelburne, Vt.—Nothing was as intentionally omitted from your article. On looking up the matter I find one unimportant phrase left out by accident.

L. L. L., Cincinnati, O.—Free Communism involves no discrimination against mental workers, and condemns nobody to starvation. It assumes well-being to all, and only asks that each assist in the perpetuation of the common prosperity, by contributing according to his ability. In the absence of parasitism and exportation, the amount of manual labor which each would perform would be merely enough for healthful exercise, leaving abundant time and strength for intellectual exertion. Moreover, the right of secession from the Commune would always be open to the dissatisfied individual. There is no room for tyranny here. Under Anarchism, the Communistic method could only exist, while it secured the liberty and prosperity of all. If any better method could be devised, the individuals would make haste to adopt it.

J. D., Newark, N. Y.—I congratulate you on your keen sense of humor, which enables you to see a "joke" in the exposure of your own inconsistency. Your own book is so keen a refutation of your present attitude, that no other is required. You are not called on to choose either Bryan or McKinley. If others are foolish enough to do so, you need not share the responsibility. If you read your Bible more carefully, you would find that the correct translation of the passage you cite is: "Make to yourselves friends *by means of* the mammon of unrighteousness," which would hardly sustain your deduction. Without admitting any divine authority on the part of the Bible, I submit to your careful if not prayerful consideration the passage, "He that is not for me is against me", in the light of which a re-reading of "Life Without a Master" is to be recommended.

W. F., Los Angeles, Cal.—How can the truth be brought out, except by a free interchange of ideas? No one of us is infallible, and only a searching criticism can bring many a plausible fallacy to light. Free speech for all sides is the surest road to a progressive propaganda. The alternative is a pope, who is incapable of error.

• • • • •

Literature.

[illegible] and Practice of Home Government. By H. Directus. Chicago, Ill.: The Twentieth Research Company. Price, $1.

An interesting book on an interesting subject. As to its accuracy and reliability those who have investigated the subject most thoroughly must judge for themselves. The reasons are at least plausible, although in a few instances certain rather debatable points are asserted with a little too much positiveness.

In Chicago.

A Memorial Meeting in memory of our martyred comrades will be held Sunday, November 11, at 8 P. M., in Central Music Hall. Able speakers will address the meeting. All invited.

In Philadelphia.

Commemoration of the thirteenth anniversary of the death of the Chicago martyrs, on Saturday, November 10, 1900, at 8 o'clock P. M., at 1024 S. Leonhard Street. Speeches by Dora Most, P. Esteve, H. Weinberg, G. Brown and Voltairine de Cleyre. Admission 10 cents.

For St. Louis, Mo.

Fifteenth anniversary in honor of the Chicago martyrs, to be held on Saturday, November 10, 1900, at 8 o'clock P. M., at Soennevers Hall, Eighth St. and Lafayette Ave. Admission 10 cents, to be paid at the door.

Meetings of comrades are held every Wednesday evening at 1 South 14th St. All welcome.

In San Francisco.

Socialists and Anarchists will unite in a Memorial Meeting Sunday, November 11, 8 P. M., at the Turk Street Temple in honor of the Chicago martyrs. Emil Liess will lecture in German, and James F. Morton, Jr. in English. Music will be furnished by the Freie Deutsche Gemeinde and the Socialist Maennerchor. All friends of liberty are urged to be present.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

188

881116010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Rented by Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.– p. 2 ; 28 cm.
In The New York Times. –(Dec. 12, 1900).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1900.

CYCLING RECORDS BEATEN

New Figures for Speed Still Set by the Six-Day Racers.

TRICKY GERMANS GAIN A LAP

Kaser and Ryser Cause the Evening's Sensation—Gougoltz's Broken Tire Drops Him from the Leaders.

The Score at 2 A. M.

	Miles.	Laps.
Elkes and McFarland	1,000	2
Simar and Gougoltz	1,000	1
Pierce and McEachern	1,000	2
Turville and Gimm	1,001	9
Waller and Stimson	1,001	9
Babcock and Aronson	1,001	9
Fisher and Fredericks	1,001	7
Kaser and Ryser	1,001	5
Mutler and Accourtjar	999	9

At 1,000 miles Elkes led; 40 hours and 50 minutes.

Still the bicycles continue their fast, incessant whirl around the sloppy ten-lap track in Madison Square Garden, and still the enthusiasm by day and night continues with unabated ardor.

The galleries contained more persons last night than at any other time since the start of the race, and event the top tier had its fringe of rooters hanging half way over the balcony with eyes glued upon the backs of the whirling racers below. The more expensive seats and most of the boxes presented an unbroken sea of faces, and every spurt of the racers was promptly acknowledged by encouraging cheers from the crowd.

The features yesterday were the loss of first position by one of the former triumvirate of leaders and some sensational spurts in the evening, in which the German team, Kaser and Ryser, picked up a lap and Aronson soon after did the same thing.

Neither of these teams are among the leaders; in fact, the Germans are next to the end but less than a mile separates them from the head men, and the fact that a lap could be picked up, with the others holding to their stiff pace of nearly twenty miles an hour, is significant in showing that possibly the last may be first.

It demonstrates that the riders who have endured forty-eight hours of hard riding are in excellent condition, notwithstanding the appearance of weariness on some faces, and it opens possibilities of future surprises.

Gougoltz, the plucky Frenchman, was dropped from his leading place with Elkes and Pierce, which he, with his partner, Simar, have held since the first hour, shortly after 2 o'clock in the afternoon. He had the misfortune to break his tire, and, as Simar was in his training quarters at the time, several valuable seconds were lost before Gougoltz could be placed on another wheel.

Elkes and McEachern, who were riding for their lives, dashed ahead like mad in

DR. STANTON COIT'S LECTURE.

The Speaker Undertakes to Give Reasons for "the Failure of Democracy."

Dr. Stanton Coit was the principal speaker last evening at the regular meeting of the Social Reform Club, at University Place. The subject of the address was "King Demos—the Failure of Democracy."

Dr. Coit stated at the outset that he had been incorrectly reported as saying in Philadelphia that "our workingmen should have no voice in government," and that "Democracy is a synonyme for corruption." Neither of these statements, he declared, had been made by him.

A better title for the lecture," said Dr. Coit, might be "Is Democracy a Failure?" Great changes had taken place during the last ten years among the Western nations, and the greatest, the speaker considered, was the growing distrust of government by the people. Anarchy was feared if the people should come to power. Even the Liberal Party in England has ceased to believe in the principles of democracy.

Democracy is now a failure because it is based on false principles. The ideal democracy must be an enlightened democracy. It was only the old aristocracies that sought to keep the people in ignorance for selfish motives. The American workingman to-day is the leader in the true democracy of the future, but he is not now in condition to vote. He is not a freeman at the polls; he must vote the way his employer votes. He is illiterate. He has not the leisure nor the education to study economic questions. Present conditions, therefore, are anti-democratic, anti-human, and must be improved before the true democracy can exist.

Dr. Coit believes in expansion and imperialism, if done in the cause of the propaganda of a socialistic democracy and if efforts are made to elevate the Filipino to the equal of American manhood. The only remedy for political evils, he said, is the teaching of a new democracy and the educating and elevating of the workingman.

RENTED BY EMMA GOLDMAN.

Proprietor of Everett Hall Warned Social Science Meeting Against Anarchy.

At the Social Science mass meeting in Everett Hall, 31 East Fourth Street, last night, the proprietor of the hall, Harry Bimberg, threatened to turn out the lights should the meeting develop into one of Anarchistic tendencies. He said that Emma Goldman had rented the hall from him by concealing her identity. The hall was crowded and the announcement of the proprietor was received with a howl of protest.

Emma Goldman said Bimberg was influenced by fear of the police. She stated that this only went to prove her contention that there was no liberty, personal or otherwise, in America, and that under "your Platts, your Crokers, and your Hannas there can be no such thing as liberty, any more than there is in the Republic of France to-day."

"King Humbert," she said, "was justly put to death by a brave man, who dared to act for the good of his fellow-men, among whom he considered himself but a unit in a universe." She said she should hate to be in the shoes of a monarch or of President McKinley, owing to the "fickleness of the masses."

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY.

Annual Meeting of Board of Trustees Held in Washington—Members Call on President McKinley.

THE ANTI-TAMMANY FIGHT

Big Meeting in Cooper Union by the Vigilance League.

LETTER FROM DR. PARKHURST

Efforts Should Be Concentrated Against One Boss This Year—Police Corruption Exposed.

A mass meeting at Cooper Union under the auspices of the City Vigilance League last night was the occasion for a gathering that nearly filled the large hall. There was considerable enthusiasm at times, the demonstration reaching its height at the conclusion of a speech by Dr. Adolph M. Radin of the Society for the Aid of Jewish Prisoners, who maintained that the immigrants had not corrupted New York, but that New York had corrupted the immigrants.

An unusual feature of the meeting was the reading of the platform by several thousand persons. It was Frank Moss who, in the course of his speech, said:

"I'll help you to make a speech and you help me. We will read the platform together." Then the audience read the following:

Our city is our home, and on it we will concentrate our patriotism. We love it and will work for it, fight for it, and live for it.

We will attack as traitors to the Commonwealth those officials who prostitute their offices for partisan or personal gain, and those politicians who manipulate them "for their own pocket's sake."

We will help to deliver it from the selfish and corrupt rule that now oppresses, injures, and disgraces it, and to install a pure, efficient, and non-partisan administration.

We will endeavor to bring all honest citizens into closer relation and deeper sympathy with each other, so that religious, racial, and social differences shall melt away in the warm brotherhood of good citizenship struggling to redeem its home from vicious misrule.

"Are we all brothers on that?" asked Mr. Moss.

"Yes, yes!" was the answer from all parts of the hall.

Charles Stewart Smith, Chairman of the meeting, said in part: "We, as citizens of New York, must look upon our citizenship with some degree of shame. It will be no child's play to redeem the city. The forces of bad government in this city are largely responsible for the falling off of our commerce. This is the most expensive city in the world to do business in. The extravagance in government increases rents and makes the wage-earner pay more for all that he buys. We must change those conditions."

Thomas L. McClintock was made Secretary of the meeting, and read letters from the Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, George Gunton, the Rev. Hutchins C. Bishop, Gen. George Moore Smith, the Rev. Dr. Malthie D. Babcock, John Harsen Rhoades, the Rev. Dr. F. J. Belcher, Henry H. Dreyer, the Rev. Dr. Robert L. Paddock, Constant A. Andrews, the Rev. Dr. W. H. Brooks, and H. W. Donald.

A communication from the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst was then read, in which he said:

First—That every other enemy to our municipal well-being should be forgotten in the concentration of our onset upon Tammany Hall. Croker is the only "boss" to be thought about this year. The experiment was tried three years ago of killing off both

CASPERFELD & CLEVELAND,
781 BROADWAY,
Opposite Wanamaker's.

We announce a special
TWO DAYS' SALE



of Ladies' Watches, same as illustration, at our Broadway Branch establishment. These watches are solid 14-kt gold throughout, handsomely engraved, Waltham, Elgin or Geneva movement. Our price,

$17.50

Regularly sold at $25.00.

An immense assortment of Diamonds, Novelties in Gold and Silver, Opera Glasses, etc., at prices considerably under those of exclusive establishments.

Mail orders filled. Catalogue mailed free.

SEASON'S FIRST SNOWFALL

Thin White Coating Covered Streets and Bothered Horses.

Shipping Decked with Icicles—One Sleigh Turns Out in Central Park and Wins the Champagne Prize.

With the imperceptible rise in the temperature yesterday came the first snow of the year. There have been flurries on one or two occasions; but they were of such brief duration and the snow was so insignificant in quantity that they were hardly noticed. Yesterday, while the fall was not heavy, there was sufficient to cover the housetops and streets with an apparently substantial yet in reality very thin coating.

It was 2 o'clock in the afternoon when the fall began. It lasted for about two hours, and made the thoroughfares, especially those of asphalt, very difficult to travel. Numerous vehicles were put out of gear, owing to the horses, not shod in accordance with the rules of wintry weather, being unable to keep their feet.

Nobody thought the snow would come down hard enough for a sleigh and horse to trot around in, but John J. Quinn, a Harlem liveryman, thought of the bottle of champagne Mr. Case offers to the first man who reaches McGowan's Pass Tavern

New York's
Importer and Manufacturer.
H
OUR GREAT
Sealskin and Persian Coa
Sealskin Coats, $125
Persian Lamb Coats, $75
Broadtail Persians, $175
Electric Seal (Coney), $25
Dark Eastern Mink Capes,
Storm Collars.
Dark Eastern Mink,
Persian Lamb,
Sealskin,
Chinchilla,
Beaver, $50
Black Marten,
Mink,
Alaska Sable (Skunk),
Children's Furs.
Children's Fur Sets,
Misses' Fur Sets, from
Beaver Muffs, $6. Nutria Beaver
Near Seal Muffs,
Krimmer Muffs,
Fur Lined Overcoats,
best melton and kersey cloths, lin
mink, sable or muskrat, trimme
otter, beaver, Persian lamb or sealsk
$65 to $250.
Garments in a complete line of size
W. H. HALL
(BETWE

BEST & C
ULUPUTIAN BAZAAR

*Extensive and attract
a distinctive appearance
at the Children's Store.*

All Wool Blue Chinchil
$3.00 to $8.75.

All Wool Blue Chinchill
4 to 8 years, $3.50 to $12.00.

All Wool Double-Breaste
velvet collar, or with ulster collar, siz

All Wool Double-Breast
lined, velvet collar, sizes 6 to 12 years,

*We call your atte
greatly reduced prices.*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881116007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchists Made Furious / Emma Goldman. – p. 4 ; 25 cm.
In New York Daily Tribune. –(Dec. 12, 1900).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE. WEDNESDAY. DECEMBER 12. 1900.

DURYEA'S CHARACTER ATTACKED.

TESTIMONY INTRODUCED IN EFFORT TO SHOW THAT HE WAS NOT FIT TO MAKE A WILL.

Mineola, Long Island, Dec. 11.—Testimony was taken in Surrogate Seabury's Court to-day in the reopening of the contest of Edgar E. Duryea's will. J. Campbell Thompson, counsel for the three daughters, who are the contestants, said Mr. Duryea, enraged because his wife had bequeathed everything to her children, had led a dissipated life, and had, in making his will, discriminated against his daughters.

Willard S. Klein, of No. 943 Belmont-ave., Brooklyn, testified that as an employe of the Grant Brothers' brokerage firm he had become well acquainted with Mr. Duryea, as the latter had often spent the greater part of the day in the firm's office. The two had often visited saloons together. They used to visit Steve Brodie's and McGurk's. The witness had often taken Mr. Duryea to Long Island City and put him in charge of a brakeman for Glen Cove. Witness had known him to drink about forty glasses of whiskey on such a trip. Klein was cross-examined by Robert A. Honeyman.

Charles Curtis, of No. 322 Eighth-st., Brooklyn, testified that he had been a clerk in the employ of Grant Brothers, and was also a private secretary to Edgar E. Duryea. He had gone out a number of times with Mr. Duryea, and they had visited different saloons in this borough and Brooklyn. Mr. Duryea had drunk freely.

Mr. Thompson explained that his object in presenting this testimony was to prove that Mr. Duryea was an unfit person to make a will.

Julius Weintraugh, of No. 118 East Third-st., Manhattan, testified that he had been a clerk for Grant Brothers, and had in that way become acquainted with Mr. Duryea. He had frequently seen Mr. Duryea under the influence of liquor.

At the request of Mr. Thompson adjournment was taken to Friday. He said it would take two or three days next week for him to get all his evidence in. None of the Duryea family were in the court to-day.

DENIES PURCHASE OF ROSECLIFF.

LOUIS STERN REPORTED TO HAVE BECOME THE OWNER OF MRS. HERMANN OELRICH'S NEWPORT VILLA.

It was reported yesterday that Louis Stern had bought the villa of Mrs. Hermann Oelrichs, at Newport, R. I. This villa is known as Rosecliff, and it built on the site of the home of Bancroft, the historian. It was finished but a year ago, and was occupied for the first time last summer. It resembles in some details the palace of Grand Trianon, and is built of stucco and tiles.

When Mr. Stern was seen last night at his home by a Tribune reporter he denied that he had pur-

PROSPECT HALL BURNED.

FLAMES LEAVE THE WALLS UNSAFE AND THEIR REMOVAL IS BEGUN AT ONCE.

Prospect Hall, in Prospect-ave. between Fifth and Sixth aves., Brooklyn, was destroyed by fire early yesterday morning, at a loss of about $300,000. It was the largest assembly hall in South Brooklyn, and seated about three thousand people. The fire is supposed to have been started by a lighted cigar or cigarette, which may have been thrown on the floor of a dressing room at the "smoker" of the Knights of Columbus, held there on Monday night.

Three thousand members of the order were at the meeting, and it is said that it was after 2:30 o'clock yesterday morning before they had all gone. Soon afterward the fire was discovered by Mr. Quinn, the watchman, who hurried to the house next door and informed William Kolle, the manager of the place. The latter dressed himself hastily, and, running to the hall, tried in vain to stop the blaze with the fire extinguishers. Roundsman McNulty, of the Forty-fourth precinct smelled smoke in Fifth-ave. and turned in an alarm. A second alarm was sent in while the firemen were on the way, and Battalion Chief Murray, on his arrival, sent in a third and fourth alarm. Fire Chief Dale took charge of the two hundred firemen.

The hydrant in front of Prospect Hall was out of order, and engines were sent along Fifth and Sixth aves., and Sixteenth and Seventeenth sts. for water. The entire west side of the building was then burning. Water froze on the rubber coats and helmets of the firemen, and soon the street was covered with a sheeting of ice. In Sixteenth-st., in the rear of Prospect Hall, the inmates of a number of wooden tenement and frame houses were aroused by the police, and hurried into the street, some of them scantily clad. A dozen horses in a stable in Fifth-ave. were blindfolded and led out to a place of safety.

The firemen had hard work on account of the light water pressure, and even when two engines had been put on each line of hose it was difficult to force the water up to the level of the second floor. The fire blazed so fiercely that the building was soon burned out. This is said to have been due to the fact that all the woodwork was of Georgia pine. St. John's German Lutheran Church, in Sixteenth-st., three doors away, was in great danger, but was saved.

Prospect Hall, a four story brick structure, was built in 1891 at a cost, it is said, of $320,000, including the fixtures and all the interior fittings. It was 155 feet in depth, extending back to Sixteenth-st., and had a frontage in Prospect-ave. of 75 feet. Besides four large bowling alleys, there were a shooting gallery, a theatre hall and several lodge rooms. The barroom, on the first floor front, was [illegible] in Brooklyn. There was also

ANARCHISTS MADE FURIOUS.

EMMA GOLDMAN SAYS OTHER BRESCIS MAY ARISE AGAINST CROKER.

Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, was the principal speaker at a Social Science mass meeting in Everett Hall, No 31 East Fourth-st., last evening. Captain Thompson, of the Mercer-st. station, was present to preserve order, with seven detectives in plain clothes.

Harry Bimberg, the proprietor of the hall, aroused the meeting to a high state of excitement by threatening to turn out the lights if any Anarchistic utterances were heard. He said Miss Goldman had rented the place from him by concealing her identity. He could not afford to have the good name of his hall ruined by any untoward proceedings.

Emma Goldman followed Bimberg. Her arraignment of the proprietor of the hall was severe in the extreme. The police system of the city and of the country in general was subjected to scathing sarcasm by the speakers, who openly declared that they were Anarchists, and as such were prepared to suffer any unjust treatment the police might see fit to impose.

"If the police are as foolish as they usually are, let them invade this hall," said she. "They will do it at their peril. The King of Italy was justly sent to his account by a brave man. We have other brave men left for a New-York tyrant. Let the minions of this Czar enforce his threats and a thousand Brescis will arise against him. I personally feel very sorry for a crowned head, whether he be crowned by a monarchy or a city full of asses. King, Czar or Boss is to be pitied rather than hated."

Pietro Esteve addressed the meeting in Spanish, and was followed by William Hasselmann, formerly a representative in the German Reichstag, in German. After listening to an Italian speaker the meeting adjourned.

MIXED CROWD ROBS ITALIAN

KNIVES, RAZORS AND REVOLVERS FRIGHTEN HIM INTO SUBMISSION —LOSES $1,248.

Because Nicolo Liberetta, an Italian bootblack, of No. 238 Fourth-st., Brooklyn, was afraid to risk placing his hard earned money in savings banks, he lost $1,248 early yesterday. The money was taken from the waistband of his trousers, where he had it concealed, by colored people and a white man, who stripped off his clothing and frightened him almost to death by a display of revolvers, knives and razors. The robbery was committed in a fathouse at No. 251 Gold-st., Brooklyn. The po-

CAPITAL STOCK REDUCED.

NATIONAL RICE MILLING COMPANY'S INDEBTEDNESS TO BE LIQUIDATED.

The capital stock of the National Rice Milling Company was reduced from $3,000,000 to $1,500,000 by a two-thirds vote of the stockholders, at a meeting of the company, in Newark, yesterday.

The company was chartered under the laws of New-Jersey in 1892. A plan of reorganization was decided upon several weeks ago, to establish a fund through the creation of salable treasury stock, and so provide for needed capital for betterments, as well as to liquidate the bulk of the indebtedness. There had been accumulated an arrearage of $52,680 of unpaid dividends. Under the plan adopted yesterday the preferred stock is reduced from $2,000,000 to $1,000,000 and the common stock from $3,000,000 to $500,000. The officers are Henry Kahn, president, Ainert Baldwin, jr., vice-president, and P. F. Lynch, secretary and treasurer.

JUSTICE DEPUE ON EMBEZZLEMENT.

THE CRIME OUGHT TO BE REPRESSED WITH A FIRM HAND.

At the opening of the Essex County Court in Newark for the December Term, yesterday, Chief Justice Depue addressed the Grand Jury. He commended the police for their recent activity in suppressing disorderly resorts, and expressed pleasure at the course the Police Board had taken in the matter.

In regard to thirteen charges of embezzlement to come before the Grand Jury, Justice Depue said the crime was one that ought to be repressed with a firm hand in a community where so much property and so much money used in the transaction of business were necessarily intrusted to employes. He thought that the modern method of dealing with cases of this sort has rather fostered, than discouraged, the crime. It was a bad example to young men to indicate to them that they may deal dishonestly with employers' property with safety provided they make some compromise when detected.

POLICE CHARGED WITH EXTORTION.

Roundsmen Michael Lynam, of the Sixty-fifth Precinct, and Patrolman Bigge, of the Sixty-sixth Precinct, on Friday morning will have to meet charges of extortion before Police Commissioner York. The complainant is Frederick Hineman, proprietor of a saloon at East New-York-ave. and Sackman-st., Brooklyn, who says that Lynam entered the place recently and called attention to a slot machine there. Lynam, according to Hineman, said it was a violation of the law even to have the article exposed to view, and some one remarked that the case could be adjusted for $50. Heineman says he produced the money under threat of arrest, placed it on a billiard table and left the two men alone.

NEW SECRETARY FOR WOODRUFF.

John E. Smith, a Brooklyn man, will succeed

SEEM TO BE IN A TIGHT PLACE

THREE OR FOUR STATES MAY WANT MAN AND WOMAN FOR SWINDLING.

Hackensack, Dec. 11 (Special).—Evidence is accumulating against the man and woman arrested at Coytesville last Friday night as Mr. and Mrs. E. S. Richards, of Bridgeport, Conn. They were apprehended on a charge of swindling Peck & Ling, of Bridgeport, Conn., in the purchase of horses, carriages and harness. Some of the property was in their possession at Bramlesen's stable in Coytesville; some has been located at Nyack, N. Y., and a team is at Pearl River. To-day Officer Charles F. Hummel, of Bloomfield, N. J., came to Hackensack with an employe of Dr. Wilhur F. Harrison's livery stable, in that place. Mrs. Richards was identified as the woman who, on October 29, hired a new buggy and a sorrel mare from him to bring her mother from Newark. The rig was subsequently seen with the woman and a man in it, but was lost sight of in Jersey City. It is not among the many rigs now under attachment. There are a black bodied runabout and a large chestnut horse, with white hind feet, which are thought to have been stolen from Long Island.

Mr. Peck and his counsel, of Bridgeport, are here. They say that the woman's maiden name was Emma S. Sturtevant, her home being in Thomaston, Conn. She was a niece, it is said, of Henry Sturtevant, of Bridgeport, who died about four years ago, leaving a large estate. She employed Senator Samuel Fessenden to fight the will and secured a part of the property. Mr. Peck says she lived for a time with John A. Farley, a hotel keeper in Thomaston, whom she left, and afterward married Thomas Mullins, another hotel keeper who died, leaving considerable property. His heirs tried to break the will, but failed. Since then she has lived with Charles T. Richards, who was in the employ of Mullins.

It was learned to-day that the couple tried to rent the old Ranga Hotel, at Lyndhurst, a secluded place, made notorious by "Mike" Ryan and other greengoods men a few years ago.

State Detective Ripley, who lives near Lyndhurst, had his suspicions aroused by the actions of the couple and their outfit, and he kept them in view until they reached Coytesville. They are held under $5,000 bail each, and there may be a race between the authorities of three or four States to secure them.

COLONEL CHARLES W. FULLER ELECTED.

IMPORTANCE OF RAISING THE STANDARD OF THE NEW JERSEY BAR

The annual meeting of the Hudson County Bar Association was held yesterday, and for the first time in years there was a contest for the office of president. The candidates were Colonel Charles W. Fuller and Judge Charles W. Parker. The former was elected by a vote of 13 to 10. William H. Speer was elected vice-president, Howard C. Griffiths, secretary, and Randolph Perkins, treasurer.

Resolutions expressing pleasure at the assignment of Supreme Court Justice Gilbert Collins to

880921009

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Free Speech Strangled / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1-2 ; 43 cm.
In Free Society [Chicago]. – Vol. 7, no. 12 (April 21, 1901).
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI.

FREE SOCIETY

FORMERLY *THE FIREBRAND.*

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty, that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VII. NO. 12. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, SUNDAY, APRIL 21, 1901. WHOLE NO. 310.

Revolt.

I

Hail, spirit of revolt, thou spirit of life,
Child of the ideal, daughter of the far-away truth!
Without thee the nations drag on in a living death;
Without thee is stagnation and arrested growth;
Without thee Europe and America would be sunk in China's lethargy,
Smothered in the past, having no horizon but the actual.

II

Hail, spirit of revolt, thou spirit of life,
Child of eternal love,—
Love rebelling against lovelessness, life rebelling against death!
Rise at last to the full measure of thy birthright;
Spurn the puny weapons of hate and oppression;
Fix rather thy calm, burning, protesting eyes on all the myriad shams of man, and they will fade away in thinnest air;
Gaze upon thy gainsayers until they see and feel the truth and love that begat and bore thee.
Thus and thus only give form and body to thy noblest aspirations,
And we shall see done on earth as it is in heaven
God's ever living, growing, ripening will.

—From "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable," by Ernest Crosby.

—o—

Free Speech Strangled.

On Sunday, April 7, Comrade Emma Goldman was engaged to speak before the Social Science Club, of Philadelphia. On her arrival at the meeting, she found the hall locked by order of the police, and about forty policemen on hand to prevent the meeting at all costs. Again on April 9, she was invited to speak before the Shirtmakers' Union, where the police prevented her from entering the hall. The police declared that she would not be permitted to speak in Philadelphia, but the following report from the Philadelphia *North American*, will show that the police were unable to carry out this boast:

Despite the orders, threats and warnings of Director English, Emma Goldman, Anarchist, made a public address last night, in the very shadow of the City Hall, and the police authorities knew nothing about it until an hour or more after the meeting had ended.

She spoke to the Single Tax Society of Philadelphia, in Mercantile Library Hall, Tenth street, above Chestnut.

"Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen," she said, when a second outburst of applause had subsided, "I thank you for this kind reception. I did not at first intend to come here tonight—not that I doubted that you would receive me as you have, but because I hesitated to take advantage of your hospitality in the face of the action of the law and order people of your city, who say they will not let me speak.

"I can think of no other word than absurd to characterize that action. It is enough to set not only people like yourselves thinking, but every half-intelligent man or woman even the 'dummies,' as we call them, for these two gentlemen, your Mayor Ashbridge and your Director English, are attempting in these free United States such a wilful act as, even if free speech were tolerated in Russia, the czar would be ashamed of.

"These authorities of your government say that I shall not speak. As I do not believe in government, I shall ignore them. I have decided to take up the fight here and to fight it out to the end. I do not want to go to prison. I want to walk under the sky, under the stars—but not the stars and stripes—but prison or no prison, I will not be silenced.

"If you are willing to stand quietly by and permit the freedom of speech to be taken from you, then you might as well go back forty years and restore slavery, for what good can be accomplished for society if expression is denied, and if a man like English is to dictate what you shall say and what not?

"He has gone further than that, though. He has taken to himself the potency of the pope of Rome to decide what is going to be said before it is spoken. This is not, as I first thought, vanity. It is insanity! I certainly shall oppose it on every occasion and find out how far they will go. It is Emma Goldman today, but it may be you tomorrow and somebody else the next day.

"I notice that all America is aroused and indignant over the outrages now being perpetrated in Russia; but when it happens in America, in your free America, you are all quiet. If on last Tuesday night I had dared, not to use a bomb or a dagger, as they do in Russia, but if I had dared to touch with the tip of my finger, a button on the precious person of this Lieutenant Woods, he would have lashed me as the serfs are lashed by the Cossacks, because I could see that he is a brute, although he was drunk beyond his capacity, and perhaps did not know what he was doing.

"The trouble is that these men, Ashbridge, English and Woods, know that we are telling the truth. Nothing is more dangerous than the truth; and that's why they want to silence us. But their action has done more for Anarchism than I and my comrades have done in ten years. I am thankful to them, and I think I'll take up a collection and send them flowers, or cigars, or whisky, which they would rather have, perhaps.

"The authorities have seized upon this as a pretext. I know that your mayor is a man with a past, and he is trying to get the admiration of the so-called respectable people of the community by saying that he and English are always looking after their safety, and that they know better what these people need than they know themselves.

"But what does it mean to be one of the 'respectable' people today? It means to be one who never objects to anything, who pays his taxes, who submits to fraud and oppression, who goes to church on Sunday and during the sermon thinks up a way to beat somebody on Monday. To be a 'respectable' person nowadays is to place men in positions to guard your safety who are least fitted to do so—it is to be an idiot. I am glad to say that I do not belong to that 'respectable' community.

"In these times in America, as soon as a man commits a crime, no matter how black or treacherous, if he is backed by the government, everybody falls on his knees, and they erect arches to him or smother him with kisses. I am sure that English has received hundreds of letters of congratulations from these old maids.

"That is the root of it all. Ashbridge and English are only the tools in the hands of those behind them. It is the community that keeps such men in office that is guilty of the outrage.

"These men have made a mistake, and they have not the courage to admit it. In face of the fact that a paper like the *North American* and all thinking people are opposing their action, they say they will go right on and continue to stop free speech.

"To me it is a settled question that free speech does not exist in America unless it suits the government. If the people of Philadelphia do not take immediate action to oppose the outrages committed in their city this week, they will sacrifice their freedom on the altar of greed, robbery, fraud and all that represents government.

"I repeat that I shall speak in Philadelphia. If I cannot get a hall I will speak nevertheless, if I have to do so from the City Hall tower. If this is to be a fight for my principles, the mayor will find that I am more courageous than he, and that I can die for them if need be."

Miss Goldman having finished, the floor was again "open." An old, grimy workingman took advantage of this. He walked up to the platform, and said: "I am reminded of what one of the poets once said:

He is a fool who tries by force or skill
To stem the torrent of a woman's will;
For when she will, she will, you may depend on't,
And when she won't, she won't, and there's an end on't.

"The mayor said that Miss Goldman wouldn't speak. Miss Goldman said she would, and she has; and we hope to hear her oftener."

Anarchist Brown denounced the police interference as an outrage, and said that if the coming social revolution—he is satisfied that it is inevitable—is to be peaceable, the people must have the right to free speech in its fullest expression. "In European countries," he said, "Anarchism is forced to keep secret until some blood-curdling event shocks the whole world. If we are denied

191

880921009

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Free Speech Strangled / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1-2 ; 43 cm.
In Free Society [Chicago]. — Vol. 7, no. 12 (April 21, 1901).
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI.

free speech here, we, too, may be driven to secret propaganda, and then who will be to blame?"

"It has come to the point where some link-headed policeman on the corner is to be a judge of what we say; but government is a final appeal to the policeman's club, any way."

"The mayor and the director could have done nothing to furnish the Anarchists with a stronger argument than their action in the matter," said Mr. Pleydell. "It is the fundamental position of Anarchy," he continued, "that all government is necessarily tyrannical, no matter how free and beneficent it may have been in its inception. The fact that a few men are given power over all other men makes it essentially tyrannical. So, every time a man in power makes himself a petty tyrant or a despot, he gives the Anarchists one more proof of the truth of their reasoning.

"I could almost believe," he added, "that Ashbridge and English are Anarchists themselves, and are using this method to convince the people of the evils of government. I don't know of a writer or painter who could adequately tell the story of the last two years of fraud, robbery and tyranny prevailing in the City Hall.

"It has been pointed out by the one newspaper of Philadelphia—it is scarcely necessary to say that I mean the *North American*—that the authorities have seized upon this occasion to make capital out of the popular misunderstanding of Anarchism, but we must remember that if Emma Goldman is suppressed as the most radical, they will go on with the second most radical, and so on.

"Do not let us start the fighting, but if they force it let us do it right here and now. There will never be a better chance, and every time we make an organized resistance the next assault on the liberties of the people will be weaker.

"Ashbridge and English will find that it is just as impossible for them to put down Anarchistic ideas by force as it is for the Anarchists to put down governmental ideas by force. The Anarchists have sense enough to see that they can't do that, but the Ashbridges and the Englishes haven't."

Anger and chagrin were expressed by the officials of the police department last night when they learned that Miss Goldman had made good her threat of delivering a lecture in Philadelphia. . . . . .

After Miss Goldman had boarded a car to go to the home of friends, Lazelle was asked:

"Do you know that Emma Goldman has just addressed a meeting in Mercantile Hall?"

"It is impossible," he replied. "I have been on the beat all night." . . . . .

G. Frank Stephens, the Single Tax advocate, visited Director English yesterday and elicited the fact that the ban will not only be kept upon Miss Goldman, but that it will be extended to all other exponents of Anarchistic theories, and that all meetings where the discussion of such subjects might take place will be promptly suppressed. . . . . .

"In my opinion," says Mr. Stephens, "in taking the stand he did in the interview, Director English has constituted himself supreme censor of speech in this city. He has arrogated to himself the right to permit or restrict at will. Consequently the issue becomes one of burning importance. Miss Goldman is now only an incident. It is now a question of whether the head of the police department, frustrated in his attempt to gag the press, can stifle the freedom of the arena of public debate."

Under the heading of "Official Lawlessness," the *North American* says editorially:

The interference of the police of Philadelphia with the rights of peaceable assembly and free speech is wholly without legal warrant, and is a direct incitement to resistance and breaches of the peace.

Let us hope that the Anarchists and workingmen who are being subjected to this indefensible tyranny will continue to exhibit the creditable self-restraint which has marked their conduct under provocation to which American citizens are not accustomed.

The example of lawlessness being given by the police authorities is at once dangerous and disgraceful. Should force be met with force the moral responsibility would rest upon the stupid despots of the City Hall. Under pretense of "suppressing Anarchy" they are behaving like the worst kind of Anarchists—the sort who trample law under foot and rejoice in violence.

Multitudes of citizens who know nothing about the gospel of Anarchy, and care less, are being roused by the brutal folly of Philadelphia's police department. This is especially true of the workingmen, who see in the Ashbridge-English imitation of Russian methods a very serious threat against their own liberty to meet and discuss their grievances in the future at times which may not be so prosperous as at present. Every American who believes in freedom of speech is indignant.

The law should be brought to bear upon the lawless mayor and director of public safety.

—o—

Power Is Degrading.

Great power degrades all men, and almighty power degrades a God. History is crowded with examples of men and women, normally good, changed by power into brutes and fiends. All kings and queens are most degraded, otherwise they would not live in luxurious pomp, which they know is maintained with the life-blood of their overworked and underpaid subjects—the poor who produce all wealth.

The fulsome eulogies on "the most loving and gracious Christian ruler," as the sycophants of royalty say, "ever sat on a throne," with which the papers and magazines have recently been flooded, can only disgust those who think of the millions starving in India, because of the enormous drain on that unfortunate dependency, seized and held in the name of the late Christian empress (what a conjunction!). The Boer war too, too brutal to think of calmly—77,180 Englishmen already sacrificed to the lust of power. There is one consolation, however. The loss of every soldier is the loss of one menace to freedom, and every reasoning man knows that if the two South African republics are stolen from the noble Boers, the British fighting tools will not be one penny the better off, but worse; because after the war the taxes still run on to pay the usury on money borrowed and bonds issued, as well as the original money borrowed. And the volunteers who, unfortunately for them, survive the war, will immediately go to work to pay back the money which they received from the government for their services as human butchers.

The corpse of such a ruler was most appropriately borne to its resting place on a gun-carriage—part of a brutal murder machine, used for blowing starving Indians to heaven or elsewhere, and other such like brutalities. *Ten miles of warships* and detachments of *forty regiments of soldiers* being a naturally fitting accompaniment for the funeral of such a powerful being. The "spirit" of this most beneficent ruler, it is said by the superstitious, winged her way to the "God of Love and Prince of Peace." Superstition makes fools, for no others would serve as soldiers. The chief work of all governments is to prepare to murder.

Four years ago the United States was satisfied with an army of 25,000; but the lust for power is such that 25,000 soldiers were thought necessary in Washington at the late inaugural imperialistic exhibition. Verily, power is degrading, and the power to raise 150,000 soldiers will still more degrade the United States.

There was not a scintilla of humanitarianism in the undertaking to free the Cubans from the Spanish yoke. The sole motive was the greed of the money power, and the whole plan was schemed from beginning to end by the men of greed who placed McKinley in power. Twenty-five thousand soldiers—equal to the whole army at the time of McKinley's first accession to power—to make a display of brute force—was the striking feature of the second inauguration of one who has trodden down love, truth, justice, and—Labor, in his scramble for power.

Such is the power of gold that Hawaii has been—Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines will be—stolen by men who have the almighty gold behind them, and have planned to exploit these islands of their wealth.

Lycurgus divided the land of Sparta into equal parts, abolished gold and silver money, and allowed only money made of iron, so bulky that if any one accumulated twenty or thirty pounds' worth ($100 to $150), a yoke of oxen was required to remove it. This immediately stopped a number of vices; *all lawsuits ceased*, for no one in Lacedæmon would rob another of such cumbrous coin, or unjustly detain, or *accept as a bribe*, a thing which was so difficult to hide, nor of any use for manufacturing purposes, because when the iron was red hot it was quenched in vinegar, thus making it unfit for use as a metal.

In war the Spartans after they had routed the enemy, only pursued them till well assured of victory, and then sounded a retreat, thinking it base and unworthy of a Grecian people to kill men who had given up resistance.

The city of Lacedæmon continued to be the chief city of all Greece for five hundred years, no manner of alteration in the laws of Lycurgus being made during the reign of fourteen kings. There was neither avarice nor poverty, every one's wants being sup-

192

890221000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Defends Acts of Bomb Throwers / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 43 cm. *In* The Cleveland Plain Dealer. –(May 6, 1901).

Obtained from the University of Arizona Library.

...ware and now it begins to look as though something will be done. West Siders have reason to be pleased at the way the mayor has taken hold of the matter."

The committee of citizens is in possession of a drawing of a proposed market house that was submitted to the legislature some years ago, when an issue of $250,000 worth of bonds was authorized for the building. Since then the plans have been gathering dust. With a few alterations, they will probably be carried out.

SCHUMANN-HEINK'S FAD.

The Great Singer Has a Particular Fondness for Children—Many Kind Acts.

The public at large is greatly interested in the fads and fancies of women who are continually before the public eye. The attachment proceedings against Mme. Schumann-Heink in this city, however, was a kind of notoriety which musicians do not relish. Mme. Heink has a number of fads the particular one being children.

She is the mother of eight herself, the eldest of whom is an officer in the German navy, and the youngest has just been presented with his first pair of knickerbockers. These children of Mme. Schumann-Heink have been written about and talked of in every part of this country until they run a close second to the children of Vice President Roosevelt for popularity.

One of Mme. Schumann-Heink's kindly acts toward poor children has just come to light. It was after a rehearsal at the Metropolitan in New York. When she was leaving the theater she was accosted by a small dirty faced boy, with an armful of papers, who asked her to buy. Struck with the pitiful expression of his face and his begging tone, she questioned him, and he told her how he was trying to assist his older sister to keep and support their two younger sisters and keep them at school. She called at the house where the boy said he lived and found that his story was true. In addition she learned that the sister was a clerk in a dry goods store earning barely enough to support herself, but good hearted, motherly feeling got the best of her, after what she saw, and she arranged with the older sister to send the two youngest children to a convent where they would be educated and looked after at her own expense, and then left a nice little present with the two oldest that will take care of them for some time to come.

Another pretty little incident happened to Mme. Schumann-Heink when she was on her way to the Maine festival in October last. She was traveling with some of the other artists when she was suddenly missed from the party. Search was immediately made for her, and she was found by Mme. Lillian Blauvelt, in a rear car, cuddling a little baby at her breast and cooing it to sleep.

NEW PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Builders' Exchange to Discuss City Hall and Court House Project—Other Important Matters.

The new city hall and the new court house will be discussed at the quarterly meeting of the Builders' exchange, which is to be held tomorrow evening. Other important matters will also come up for consideration. Some importance attaches to the consideration of the advisability of forming a state association of builders. This matter will be thoroughly discussed at the meeting tomorrow evening. The question of the renewal of the lease on the present rooms in the Chamber of Commerce building and the refitting and improvement of the present exhibition rooms will also come up for consideration.

After the transaction of business a social session will be held. Entertainment will be furnished and refreshments served.

A great deal of importance attaches to the meeting to consider the forming of a state association of builders. The meeting, which representatives of all the exchanges in the state have been invited to attend, will be held on May 15. In a letter regarding a similar association in New York state, Secretary Carter of Buffalo ...

The New York association is composed of different exchanges or kindred builders' organizations located in New York, Rochester, Syracuse, Little Falls and Buffalo. The special work of the state association is watching legislation. We have a paid attorney who has charge of its interests at Albany during the legislative session scrutinizing all the bills that may affect building interests. These are at once forwarded to the different exchanges, and most of those exchanges have their legislative committees. These committees communicate to the state senators and assemblymen their views in reference to the bills. We keep a list of all such bills on the exchange table.

DEFENDS ACTS OF BOMB THROWERS.

Woman Praises Motives Leading Up to Many Terrible Crimes.

Speaker Arraigns Police Who Attend an Anarchist Meeting.

Emma Goldman, the famous anarchist orator and propagandist, addressed a meeting at Memorial hall yesterday afternoon. While the hall was not crowded, a good sized audience was in attendance and evidenced its approval of the speaker's sentiments by frequent and vigorous applause.

Officers Bernhart and Thorpe of the citizens' squad formed a portion of the audience, while Patrolman Gibbons lingered around on the sidewalk in front of the hall, just to be handy in case of emergency. Nothing at all exciting happened, however, and the plain clothes men upstairs never turned a hair as the orator entered upon a scathing arraignment of policemen, and especially detectives. "Soldiers are bad enough," she said, "but policemen are worse, and a detective is the meanest and most despicable creature in the universe." It is said that Miss Goldman had been informed that the "plain clothes" men were to be among her auditors, and she considerately intended to include them in the class of "detectives."

Miss Goldman is of small stature, but is a woman of wonderful vigor. She has a strong and resonant voice, and her command of English is excellent, although she has a slight German accent. She spoke entirely without reference to notes, and never for a moment hesitated or stumbled in her delivery. She has a fine vocabulary and also shows evidence of careful and systematic reading.

Miss Goldman outlined the principles of anarchism and detailed the methods by which she hoped for their accomplishment. Her talk was full of forceful passages in some cases more notable for their strength than for their elegance.

"Men under the present state of society are mere products of circumstances," she said. "Under the galling yoke of government, ecclesiasticism and the bonds of custom and prejudice it is impossible for the individual to work out his own career as he could wish. Anarchism aims at a new and complete freedom. It strives to bring about a freedom which is not only a freedom from within but also a freedom from without, which will prevent any man having the desire to interfere in any way with the liberty of his neighbor. Vanderbilt says, 'I am a free man within myself, but the others be damned.' This is not the freedom that we are striving for. We merely desire complete individual liberty, and this can never be obtained so long as there is an existing government.

"We do not favor the Socialist idea of converting men and women into mere producing machines under the eye of a paternal government. We go to the opposite extreme, and demand the fullest and most complete liberty for each and every person to work out his own salvation upon any line that he pleases so long as he does not interfere with the happiness of others. The degrading notion of men and women as breeding machines is far from our ideals of life.

"Anarchism has nothing to do with future governments or economic arrangements. We do not favor any particular settlement in this line, but merely seek to do away with the present evils. The future will provide for these arrangements after our work has been done. Anarchism deals merely with social relations and not with economic arrangements."

The speaker deprecated the idea that all Anarchists were in favor of violence and bomb throwing. She declared that nothing was further from the principles which they support. She then went on, however, into a detailed explanation of the different crimes committed by Anarchists lately, declaring that the motive was good in each case, and that these acts were merely a matter of temperament. Some men were so constituted she said, that they were unable to stand idly by and see the wrongs that were being endured by their fellow mortals. She herself did not believe in these methods, but she did not think that they should be too severely condemned in view of the high and noble motives which prompted their perpetration. We must have ...

...than this. Much of the material is now on the ground and more will be shipped at an early date.

CAN'T BUILD A PIANO TRUST.

"Down With" of the Concerns Forms a Stumbling Block.

The recent announcement from Chicago that a trust or combination had been formed among piano manufacturers caused some comment among local dealers.

The report was based on an interview with Mark Blumenberg, the well known editor of one of the musical papers of New York city. He was credited with being the promoter of the combine.

With few exceptions local piano men are frankly incredulous and even scornful of the idea that a trust has been formed or an agreement even reached. They say that every attempt ever made along this line has been a total failure and they base their statements on a rather curious condition of the trade which, if it is as represented makes the piano business unique as the one enterprise in which a trust is impossible.

"The point is this," said one of the leaders yesterday, "every manufacturer believes his instrument is the best in the world and that no other compares with it. He does not believe this merely for advertising purposes either. It is a serious conviction that is necessary to his business. If he isn't making the best piano in the world, why, he has no ambition to make any. The result is that when someone tries to talk combination the actual value of the plant may be easily reached but there can be no agreement on the good will."

CHURCH HOME TOO SMALL.

Fidelity Free Baptist Congregation Will Put Up a New Building—To Cost $7,000.

The members of the Fidelity Free Baptist church are having plans drawn for a new church building to occupy their lot at the corner of Wade Park and Van Ness avenues. The present structure will be moved back to be used for Sunday school purposes and the new church will be built out from it. The plans are for a frame building to cost about $7,000.

The church is at work raising money to meet the cost of building. They have applied to the common pleas court for permission to place a $4,000 mortgage on their lot for money to be used in commencing work as soon as possible. The loan will be furnished by friends of the church at a nominal rate of interest. Three thousand dollars worth of pledges have already been made by the congregation. One member, Mrs. Lucy M. Grim has given $1,000 for the work.

Fidelity church is ten years old and Rev. Thomas C. Lawrence, the first pastor, is still in charge. Under his energetic leadership the church has grown and the new building is a necessity, the increasing needs of the growing Sunday school especially having created a demand for more room.

The plans now drawn up provide for an auditorium seating 400, which can be thrown into the Sunday school auditorium to increase the seating capacity to 700. Three other rooms will provide for a library, pastor's study and primary room. There will be no attempt at institutional work, as the policy of the church does not include it.

FRIENDS GET $6.000.

Money Raised to Build an Addition to the Bible School in Cleveland.

The Salem quarterly conference held its sessions in Cleveland at the First Friends church yesterday with the raising of $6,000 for the building of an addition to the Bible school in connection with the Cleveland church.

Rev. George A. Watson of Pittsburg was to have preached at the morning session, but the time was entirely devoted to the pledging of the money for the addition.

The fund was raised as a twentieth century offering. Those in charge of the Bible school work intended to ask the conference for $5,000 to help the work along, but the leading men of the conference took the entire amount.

The result was a surprise to the committee, for the friends of the school rallied to its support and pledged more than was asked for. Encouraged by the success, the school authorities announced that they would raise more money to make the total $7,000. This money will all be devoted to the betterment of the school which is crowded at the present time.

Dr. Watson preached at the afternoon and evening sessions to large audiences. The convention has broken records in attendance as well as in the raising of money, the leaders having had the ...

SYNDICATE HAS PEOPLE GUESSING

Railway Men at Sea Over Plans of Morris-Garfield Combine.

Work on the Proposed New Road to Commence This Month.

Before the end of the month work will be begun on the new road intended to tap the eastern Ohio coal field which is projected by Calvary Morris, the Garfields and other capitalists of this city.

Bids for doing the work having been submitted, it is announced that very shortly the contract will be let for the construction of the Wheeling Alliance & Lake Erie, which is the name of the new road projected by the Morris-Garfield syndicate in connection with its purchase of the Alliance & Northern.

For the present, it is stated, the line will be built only from Bergholz south into the coal fields of Jefferson county, but later it will go to Fairport, and the road will then have a lake outlet.

The road was incorporated some months ago with a large capitalization. At the same time a coal company bearing the same name, the same capitalization and the same incorporators, was formed. The two concerns were practically one and the object was to develop the immense coal fields in eastern Ohio.

The syndicate has everybody guessing as to the status of this enterprise, and there has been more or less gossip as to its identification secretly with the Baltimore & Ohio. It is argued that this is substantiated by the fact that it was the original intention of the promoters to use the Pittsburg & Western track into Fairport, and it has now been decided that the road shall be built to that point.

Those who thought they were acquainted with the situation have claimed that the object of the building of the new road was the opening of a line from a Lake Erie port through Ohio, and thence to Wheeling, W. Va., in the interest of the Baltimore & Ohio, in order that that road could get the traffic of a large steel industry.

Some Cleveland railroad men, however, say that this is ridiculous on the face of it. The Baltimore & Ohio, in the control of the new road, would have an elephant on its hands. The B. & O. already has three adequate outlets along the lake. It has means of communication from Sandusky to Wheeling by way of Newark and another outlet at Fairport in the P. & W. road. The recent purchase of the C. L. & W. provides the third lake terminus. What the B. & O. would do with a fourth lake terminus, especially at Fairport local railroad men say that they do not know. Consequently they brand the story of B. & O. control of the new road as a fake.

REAPED A HARVEST.

Stock Speculation Has Benefited Many Clevelanders, Among Them Martin Butler.

...

193

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890221000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Defends Acts of Bomb Throwers / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 43 cm. *In* The Cleveland Plain Dealer. –(May 6, 1901).

Obtained from the University of Arizona Library.

...to President Roosevelt for prompt...
...ity.

...ne of Wade Schumann-Heink's kindly ...s toward poor children has just come ...ight. It was after a rehearsal at the ...etropolitan in New York. When she was ...eaving the theater she was accosted by ...small dirty faced boy, with an armful ...papers, who asked her to buy. Struck ...by the pitiful expression of his face and ...breaking tone, she questioned him, and ...told her how he was trying to assist ...older sister to keep and support their ...younger sisters and keep them at ...school. She called at the house where the ...said he lived and found that his story ...was true. In addition she learned that ...sister was a clerk in a dry goods store ...doing barely enough to support herself. ...A good hearted, motherly feeling gave ...hold of her, after what she saw, and ...she arranged with the older sister to send ...the two younger children to a convent, ...where they would be educated and looked ...after at her own expense, and then left ...the little present with the two oldest ...girls. She will take care of them for some time ...to come.

Another pretty little incident happened ...lately to Mme. Schumann-Heink when she was on ...her way to the Maine festival in October ...last. She was traveling with some of the ...other artists, when she was suddenly ...missed from the party. Search was immediately made for her, and she was ...found by Mme. Lillian Blauvelt, in a rear ...car, cuddling a little baby at her breast ...and cooing it to sleep.

NEW PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Builders' Exchange to Discuss City Hall and Court House Project—Other Important Matters.

The new city hall and the new court ...house will be discussed at the quarterly ...meeting of the Builders' exchange, which ...is to be held tomorrow evening. Other ...important matters will also come up for ...consideration. Some importance attaches ...to the consideration of the advisability of ...forming a state association of builders. ...The matter will be thoroughly discussed ...at the meeting tomorrow evening. The ...question of the renewal of the lease on the ...present rooms in the Chamber of Commerce building and the refitting and improvement of the present exhibition rooms ...will also come up for consideration.

After the transaction of business a social ...session will be held. Entertainment will be ...furnished and refreshments served.

A great deal of importance attaches to ...the meeting to consider the forming a ...state association of builders. The meeting, which representatives of all the exchanges in the state have been invited to ...attend, will be held on May 15. In a letter regarding a similar association in New ...York state, Secretary Carter of Buffalo ...says:

"The New York association is composed of different exchanges or kindred builders' organizations located in New ...York, Rochester, Syracuse, Little Falls, ...Troy and Buffalo. The special work of ...the state association is watching legislation. We have a paid attorney who has a ...representative at Albany during the legislative session, scrutinizing all the bills ...being put through, such as affect building interests. These are at once forwarded to the different exchanges, and most of those exchanges have their legislative committees. ...These committees communicate to the ...state senators and assemblymen their views in reference to the bills. We keep a ...record of all such bills on the exchange table, ...but we know exactly what is going on. ...Several times we have sent special committees to Albany to oppose certain measures. From time to time other matters of importance have come up, such as united ...action and assistance in times of labor ...difficulties."

TO STOP PROFANITY.

Meeting in Interest of Holy Name Society at Cathedral.

In response to an appeal by Rev. Dr. ...Farrell, pastor of the cathedral, about 300 ...men assembled in the cathedral chapel ...yesterday afternoon to form a Holy Name ...society in the cathedral parish. This is a ...result of a wish of the missionary priests who conducted the mission here ...weeks ago. They desired that this society be formed as a memorial of their ...work.

The society is not a new one, having ...been in existence several years, but it has never gained a foothold in this city. Its purpose is the suppression of profanity ...and blasphemy. The purpose of the society is to guard against any misuse of the name of God as indicated and to call ...attention to that habit and to ask them to ...refrain from continuing in the practice.

Dr. Farrell was made the spiritual ...head of the new society. He addressed ...the men who had gathered for that purpose ...most plainly and eloquently.

He said that cursing and swearing is ...the most prevalent vice that afflicts ...society. It girds the very white ...house in the street where children ...reside, having the use of vulgar ...epithets and oaths of the sacred ...name of Jesus and God.

Dr. Farrell said the rule is all too ...general. Profanity, he remarked, ...was the rage, but it was a fruit...

...Miss Goldman is of small stature, but ...is a woman of wonderful vigor. She has ...a strong and resonant voice, and her command of English is excellent, although she ...has a slight German accent. She spoke ...entirely without reference to notes, and ...never for a moment hesitated or stumbled ...in her delivery. She has a fine vocabulary ...and also shows evidence of careful and ...systematic reading.

Miss Goldman outlined the principles of ...anarchism and detailed the methods by ...which she hoped for their accomplishment. ...Her talk was full of forceful passages, in ...some cases more notable for their strength ...than for their elegance.

"Men under the present state of society ...are mere products of circumstances," she ...said. "Under the galling yoke of government, ecclesiasticism and the bonds of custom and prejudice it is impossible for the ...individual to work out his own career as ...he could wish. Anarchism aims at a new ...and complete freedom. It strives to bring ...about a freedom which is not only a freedom from within but also a freedom from ...without which will prevent any man having the desire to interfere in any way ...with the liberty of his neighbor. Vanderbilt says, 'I am a free man within myself, ...but the others be damned.' This is ...not the freedom that we are striving for. ...We merely desire complete individual liberty, and this can never be obtained as ...long as there is an existing government.

"We do not favor the Socialist idea of ...converting men and women into mere producing machines under the eye of a paternal government. We go to the opposite ...extreme, and demand the fullest and most ...complete liberty for each and every person ...to work out his own salvation upon any ...line that he pleases so long as he does not ...interfere with the happiness of others. ...The degrading notion of men and women ...as breeding machines is far from our ...ideals of life.

"Anarchism has nothing to do with future governments or economic arrangements. We do not favor any particular ...settlement in this line, but merely seek to ...do away with the present evils. The future will provide for these arrangements ...after our work has been done. Anarchism ...deals merely with social relations and not ...with economic arrangements."

The speaker deprecated the idea that all ...Anarchists were in favor of violence and ...bomb throwing. She declared that nothing was further from the principles which ...they support. She then went on, however, ...into a detailed explanation of the different ...crimes committed by Anarchists lately, ...declaring that the motive was good in ...each case, and that these acts were merely ...a matter of temperament. Some men were ...so constituted, she said, that they were ...unable to stand idly by and see the ...wrongs that were being endured by ...their fellow mortals. She herself did not believe in these methods, but she did not think that they should ...be too severely condemned in view of the ...high and noble motives which prompted ...their perpetration. "We must have education before we can have power," declared Miss Goldman. "Some believe that ...we should first obtain the force and let ...the intelligence and education come afterwards. Nothing could be more fallacious. ...If we get the education and intelligence ...first among the people the power will come ...to us without a struggle."

In the evening Miss Goldman spoke on ..."The Cause and Effect of Vice." She ...dwelt in detail upon the most revolting ...forms of social evil, and assigned to each ...their cause. Some of the vices which are ...most abhorent to the sense of modern ...civilization were upheld by Miss Goldman.

She bitterly attacked the churches and ...the modern system of education as responsible for most of the social evil. She ...did not hesitate to put forward a number ...of sentiments far more radical and sensational than anything ever before publicly advanced in Cleveland.

She was warmly applauded throughout ...her remarks by a crowd fully twice as big ...as that of the afternoon. Patrolmen Willmore, Mariner and Smith of the citizens' ...dress squad were present during the address, but did not deem it necessary to interfere.

A WEB OF ELECTRIC ROADS.

Everett-Moore Syndicate Behind Big Project in Central Part of State.

Cleveland electric railway magnates are ...interested in a project in the Scioto valley in the central part of the state. Lines ...are to be built between Columbus and Chillicothe and, from Columbus to Lancaster. ...The Everett-Moore syndicate is prominently identified with the proposed roads. ...Franchise considerations are also in the deal...

...of the plant may be easily reached ...there can be no agreement on the ...will."

CHURCH HOME TOO SMALL.

Fidelity Free Baptist Congregation Will Put Up a New Building To Cost $7,000.

The members of the Fidelity Free Baptist church are having plans drawn for a new church building to occupy their lot at the corner of Wade Park and Van Rensselaer. The present structure will be moved back to be used for Sunday school purposes and the new church will be built out from it. The plans are for a frame building to cost about $7,000.

The church is at work raising money to meet the cost of building. They have applied to the common pleas court for permission to place a $4,000 mortgage on their lot for money to be used in commencing work as soon as possible. The loan will be furnished by friends of the church at a nominal rate of interest. Three thousand dollars worth of pledges have already been made by the congregation. One member, Mrs. Lucy M. Crum has given $1,000 for the work.

Fidelity church is ten years old and Rev. Thomas C. Lawrence, the first pastor, is still in charge. Under his energetic leadership the church has grown until the new building is a necessity. The increasing needs of the growing Sunday school recently having created a demand for more room.

The plans now drawn up provide for an auditorium seating 400, which can be thrown into the Sunday school audience room to increase the seating capacity to 700. Three other rooms will provide for a library, pastor's study and primary rooms. There will be no attempt at mystic thy work, as the policy of the church does not include it.

FRIENDS GET $6,000.

Money Raised to Build an Addition to the Bible School in Cleveland.

The Salem quarterly conference held its sessions in Cleveland at the First Presbyterian church yesterday with the raising of $6,000 for the building of an addition to the Bible school in connection with the Cleveland church.

Rev. George A. Watson of Pittsburg was to have preached at the morning service, but the time was entirely devoted to the pledging of the money for the addition.

The fund was raised as a twentieth century offering. Those in charge of the Bible school work intended to ask the conference for $5,000 to help the work of the school, but hardly with the expectation of receiving the entire amount.

The result was a surprise to the most confident, for the friends of the school rallied to its support and pledged more than was asked for. Encouraged by this success, the school authorities have announced that they will try to raise enough more money to make the total $7,000. This money will all be devoted to the enlargement of the school which is crowded at the present time.

Dr. Watson preached at the afternoon and evening sessions to large audiences. The convention has broken records for attendance as well as in the raising of money, the leaders saying that the support of the whole three days' conference has been the best that any quarterly meeting has had for a long time.

ONE SUES FOR $200,000.

Suit Grows Out of the Ex-Judge's Bankruptcy Case.

A suit for $200,000 damages was filed in common pleas court by Judge Walter F. Ong Saturday against H. R. Hatch & Co., naming individually H. R. Hatch, George L. Schryer, Arthur E. Hatch, Edward F. Aldrich, James T. Rhatoff and Charles Schwab. The suit grows out of alleged charges made against Judge Ong during his proceedings in bankruptcy. H. R. Hatch & Co. had a claim against Judge Ong for $60.

The petition sets up that the defendants' company, through its lawyers and agents, filed in the United States court and with the referee in bankruptcy before whom Judge Ong's case was pending, specifications and charges to the effect that he had concealed his assets, had transferred and incumbered property, and had purposely failed to keep a set of books before filing a petition in bankruptcy all for the purpose of defrauding his creditors.

TO FIX NEW WAGE SCALE.

International Tin Plate Workers' Association Meet Here Today.

The annual convention of the International Tin Plate Workers' Protective association opens this morning. The sessions of the convention will be held in the Arcade building.

President George Powell and Secretary Charles E. Lawyer arrived in the city yesterday and together with the rest of the...

...been flocking to the exposition on the ...mum of fabulous wages have been offered ...and not a few threw up a good position in the expectation of easily procuring a ...berth for the summer with a handsome ...and generous tips in addition to a ...salary.

The speedy disappearing of the money ...that the "El Dorado" is only a myth will do away with all danger of a famine in this city.

ANOTHER ON THE CARDS.

Weary Pedestrians Receive Severe Scalp Wounds as Result of Fall.

LITTLE DEMAND FOR HELP.

Men Who Go to Pan-American Exposition Seeking Employment Are Disappointed.

A Clevelander who recently left here ...for position and went to Buffalo with a view ...during the exposition has returned to this city with the report that there are four or five applicants for every job in Buffalo ...

194

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

88100801a

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Recently Comrade Emma Goldman Lectured in Lynn, ...] / Emma Goldman. – p. 5 ; 25 cm. *In* Free Society [Chicago]. – Vol. 7, no. 15 (May 12, 1901).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

much larger circle
ble contributions
e most complex
ed the few lines

you, Comrade

ly yours,
M. A. COHN.

are.

rers have joined

discussing the
ike, if the gov-
the eight-hour
The general
will win, and the
ned. The labor
intence energy
idering measures
The workers of
and realize that
of warfare is the
their products—

was some time
for alleged con-
life,

n Paitn, of Pitts-
tired of strug-
life in this un-
mitted suicide.
gives a 4-year-old

have manifested
oldarity which
ent the steamer
from Marseilles,
to unload the
their fellow work-
eilles.

Sultan of Turkey
ciana. The physi-

possibly of dynamite was the climax in a series of sensational experiences. Mr. Devitt, who locked him up for eight hours, confiscated his literature and then gave him "hurry up" orders to quit the country. Buchi, who is a Swiss, said that the primary object of his mission to Canada was to solicit subscriptions for FREE SOCIETY, the organ of the revolutionary labor movement of America, published at 515 Carroll avenue, Chicago. He also carried a stock of books.

"I am an Anarchist," he said, "and I am proud to be a follower of the movement which believes in equality of opportunity. The power of capital is tyrannical and ere long the social revolution, bringing the dawn of better times to the laboring classes, will come with great suddenness, perhaps with violence."—Rossland *Miner*.

Recently Comrade Emma Goldman lectured in Lynn, Mass., where the people had not seen an Anarchist lecturer before. On the same day she also lectured in Boston. The following report is taken from the Boston

she [illegible] to emphasize the power of individuality; to [illegible] traditions are not all; that people can [illegible] their ideals as well as preach [illegible] by examples, which are so much [illegible]

she said, "who rather went [illegible] duties as soldier, did more [illegible] Mr. Simmon and myself [illegible] now in ninety-nine cases [illegible] Anarchist could not only preach but act in compliance with his ideas. And the best thing to do, she thought, was just to ignore the government, to ignore the conventions, customs and traditions, to defy the laws of the laws. Even so she acted at Philadelphia recently. The authorities would not let her speak, but she ignored them. She said that if they would not allow her to speak in a hall she would speak from the steps of City Hall. The result was that she had her own way.

Russia, she argued, had produced greater literary artists than Tolstoy is, but the fact that he lives his ideas, that he resists all oppression, that he is a living impersonation of freedom, has made him such a power and influence.

"The Boston Anarchists are becoming very active," says this same paper. Let this be true of all the cities!

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880921015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Gaetano Bresci / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* Free Society [Chicago]. — Vol. 7, no. 18 (June 2, 1901).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI.

FREE SOCIETY

FORMERLY *THE FIREBRAND.*

Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty, that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VII. NO. 18. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, SUNDAY, JUNE 2, 1901. WHOLE NO. 316.

Why?

Why drink from pools of Bondage
The bitter burning draught?
At Freedom's gushing fountain,
Life's joys may all be quaffed,—
Life's joys may all be quaffed
When we undaunted scale
The Fakir's wall, Tradition;
Its grim old Myths assail.

Why knaw stale crusts that Riches
In Mercy's honor gives?
There 's bread in Bounty's cupboard
For every one who lives,—
Aye, every one who lives;
Then raze the cribs of Greed!
Expose the lying logic
Of wily Profit's screed!

Why garbs of flying tatters,—
With Spongers decked in lace?
The looms of Dame Abundance
Can clothe our ragged race—
Yes, clothe our ragged race
When ancient Creed and Code,
Which bolster stiff old Custom,
Faint 'neath Progression's goad.

Why picturesque our hovels?
Avaunt! ye cruel Art
That Beauty sees in Sadness—
Begone! ye grinding Mart!—
Ye blinding, blasting Mart—
Then huts will disappear,
And Art must mimic Gladness
Not Blight, Decadence, drear.

Why crawl like filthy vermin?
Is lowliness our lot?
Arise to manly stature
And thwart the Master's plot!—
The Master's murd'rous plot
That kills us inch by inch.
Shake from our backs the Monster,
Nor from his fury flinch.

Why think the thoughts of bondmen?
Why meekly bow the head
To Autocrats who bluster?
Why Gods and Demons dread?
Why Gods and Demons dread?
Unbend thy knees, oh! Slaves!
Pitch Worship and Submission
Down deep in Cowards' graves!

VIROQUA DANIELS.

—o—

Gaetano Bresci.

Gaetano Bresci, the Italian rebel and Anarchist, whose overflowing sympathy with human suffering prompted him to strike down one of the world's tyrants, is dead (at least such is the report circulated in the daily press). All tyrants, despots, rulers, parasites, Pharisees, and hypocrites, can now breath freely once more. What does it matter to them that they have added another tear and blood-stained page to the history of crime and misery; that they have tortured a man into insanity; that they have bought their safety through the agony and despair of a man whose only sin consisted in rebelling against wrong? He is dead; and tyranny reigns supreme.

"After all the man was only an Anarchist, an enemy to law and order, an outcast; who care about him?" echoes the thoughtless multitude.

Fortunately the world is not inhabited by tyrants and slaves only; there are a vast number of men and women whose hearts, even as Bresci's, throb with love for those whom power and greed has condemned to everlasting ignorance and despair. Men and women, in all stations of life, who see the injustice and cruelty around them; and who feel that Bresci's awful death is but another indictment against those institutions in society that are being maintained at the cost of human lives.

A society which destroys myriads of its members, must give birth to men like Bresci. It is violence and force upon which the whole system is based, and that begets force. How could it be otherwise?

Bresci is the child of Italy, where the masses of the people toil and sweat, yet never enjoy the beauties that mother nature has so abundantly bestowed upon that country; Italy, whose strong, healthy, and stalwart men must leave their native soil to wander in strange lands in search of bread; Italy, where women are wrecks at the age of twenty, and whose children, dirty, filthy, ragged, and starved, are degraded to beggars. The few have robbed the country to gain their accumulated wealth, and are now suppressing every sound of protest, celebrating orgies to drown the voices of agony coming from the prisons, where the daring spirits are confined to a life of hell. It was here where he first imbibed the spirit of discontent and hatred against a society which endures such awful conditions; it was here where he learned to understand and to love the idea that is to bring the dawn of the day, and establish human happiness.

Since man has dictated terms to his brother, the spirit of righteous indignation has been afloat; and it is well that it should be so. Were it not for the spirit of discontent, of indignation and protest against wrong, the spirit that feels every blow, pain, and sorrow that suffering and starving humanity has to endure, progress would be impossible. It was this spirit that moved man to become helpful, good, and generous; to tear down the old institutions of darkness and ignorance, and build new ones. It was this spirit that has given to past generations the power of endurance, determination, and enthusiasm in their fight for man's highest treasure—liberty.

Each age has had its John Browns, its Perovskayas, its Parsons, Spies, Angiolillos, and its Breseis, who were misunderstood, persecuted, mobbed, tortured, and killed, by those who could not reach the sublime heights attained by these men. Yet they have not lived in vain, for it is to them that we owe all that is good and noble, grand and useful in the world.

It is therefore useless to assert that the science of life, the philosophy of liberty and human independence, are responsible for the acts of violence. This may satisfy sensational minds; but earnest men and women are beginning to understand that the philosophy of Anarchism, which occupies the most intellectual minds of our time, which has given to the world a Tolstoy, a Kropotkin, and many others, which permeates the literature, art, science, and every branch of human knowledge, which aims at the deliverance of mankind from a life of tragedy and despair, which is based upon harmony, and the recognition of the equal rights of every individual to all that his intelligence, skill, and ingenuity can produce, certainly can have nothing to do with violence, nor have the representatives of this idea ever advocated it.

Bresci has paid the penalty of his crime. And a crime indeed it was to have loved one's kind, to have felt the existing wrongs in the world, and to have dared to strike a blow at organized authority. He has lived and died true to himself; and the world will have to learn that while one Bresci is killed, hundreds are born ready to lay down their lives to free mankind from tyranny, power, ignorance, and poverty. EMMA GOLDMAN.

—o—

Torture and Torturers.

The last two works of the writer, "Life Without a Master," and "The New Dispensation," discuss a great number of social problems. Of all these none would seem to be so vital and momentous, when we come to consider the real interests of mankind, as the question of punishment; and yet it is the one particular point in these books that seems to attract no attention on the part of the reading public. If the subject is brought up in private conversation, the listener opens his eyes with a sort of blank stare, as much as to say, "What is this man talking about?" The listener seems to say to himself: "Why, we have always had punishments; the Bible tells us to punish, and it says we must have an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. How could society exist without punishments?" . . .

Why do we punish people? Simply to cause them pain and suffering. But what good does that do? Absolutely none at all, either to the one that suffers or to the one who causes the suffering. Sometimes it is said that we punish to prevent crime. But we know as a matter of fact that punishment does not prevent crime, certainly not the crime that has been committed, and the evidence all goes to show that punishment does not even lessen crime. No, we punish people because they deserve it, because our Bible says so, because we have always done that way, and because we are exasperated and want revenge. That is reason enough the people think.

Notice that we do not punish all people, but only those who have done wrong? Who

196

890622002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Report from Chicago / Emma Goldman.— p. 3 ; 22 cm. *In* Free Society [Chicago]. —Vol. 7, no. 19 (June 9, 1901).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

vivid recollection of the event as far as it concerns myself."

The commandant urged Bresci to give us his version of the murder, but the prisoner refused to go into details.

"That revolver shot, what did it amount to? One man dies, another takes his place, that's the way in monarchies. But the revolution will abolish that like many other dangerous and ridiculous customs."

"No politics. Tell us what you felt after the murder," said the commandant.

"What I felt? Will I ever forget it? The evening that immortalized my name, also gave me most painful proofs of the stupidity of men, and of the political backwardness of the masses. Everybody and everything was against me. Every mother's son, every woman and child present, seemed bound to kill me, or, at least, hurt me as much as was in their power. And the soldiers, instead of protecting me, acted not much better than the ill-halanced rabble. The worst offender was a lieutenant of carabinieri. He tore my good clothes, kicked and cuffed me, and allowed the mob to do the same. It's due to him that my watch got lost in the crowd. It was a good watch, I was very proud of it. (After reflection.) If I regret one thing connected with this affair more than the other, it's that I had no occasion to use my weapon on that rascally lieutenant."

"Confound you," said the commandant, "you proved an excellent shot."

"My aim was unerring, that's one of the reasons why I was selected for the job. Others were just as eager, but lacked a sure hand. It takes an American Anarchist to do such work, for America is the Eldorado of revolver practice. In the United States little boys shoot better than uncommissioned officers in Italy.

"Yes, I'm a good shot, an excellent shot," repeated Bresci, looking from one to the other with a malicious smile.

"Enough," said the commandant, motioning us officers to leave the cell.

The assassin seized another opportunity for playing the actor when we arrived on

The slightest infraction of rules will be severely punished.—Di Venezia. From the Philadelphia *Times*, May 19, 1901.

—— o ——

Report from Chicago.

Comrade Emma Goldman delivered her first lecture before the Scandinavian Painter's Union, 406 Milwaukee Ave., on Tuesday, May 21. The meeting was fairly well attended. She spoke here on "Cooperation an Important Factor in the Industrial Struggle." She dwelt on the importance of the worker as a consumer as well as a producer. Why is it that so many strikes of the workers for better conditions fail? The main cause is that hitherto the trade unionists have entered the industrial arena as producers only; and the resources of the worker being limited, his needs compelled him to yield much more quickly than the capitalist. If the worker recognizes his importance as a consumer, he can greatly benefit himself by largely eliminating the profits of the middleman through cooperative consumption. She then traced the growth of the cooperative movement in England, and especially the Rochdale system. She believed in trade unionism, because they are a standiug protest against the present industrial slavery of the producers; but she placed her hope more on the trade unionism of the future, when it would outgrow its present narrow limits. The lecture was well received. In reply to a question, she stated that the workers had nothing to expect from the ballot; that it was children's stocking placed periodically by the workers to be filled by Santa Claus. The result was that they had received only toys; they must depend upon themselves to improve their conditions.

Wednesday she spoke at the Free Society Club, the subject being changed to "Vice," instead of on Anarchism, as at first announced. The speaker said that at frequent intervals the vice crusaders were heard from, and not

gradually extended, until now it is a philosophy of life, to be applied to our daily lives. Too much importance has been laid on conditions, and not enough on the individuality of each member of society. Although the economic conditions are an important factor in the social struggle, still the power of individuality is the greatest force to be considered. It is to the individual that we must look for the progress of society. An interesting discussion followed the lecture, in which it seemes to me the governmentalists but weakly maintained their position even from their owu standpoint.

On Friday, May 31, the same lecture was delivered to a large and new audience in the Ghetto district, at Ruhl's Hall. The speech was excellent on this occasion, and one of the best that I have ever heard "our Emma" deliver.

Sunday morning she went to Spring Valley, where she makes a stay of a few days, and then she will return to Chicago.

I here wish to reiterate the wish, already expressed in FREE SOCIETY, that Comrade Goldman's lectures be published. I think that the lecture on "Modern Phases of Anarchism," if elaborated and published, would do much good, owing to the new departure in the line of propaganda. We must recognize that the old method of hammering away at economic conditions has proven to a great extent a failure. Although modern thought is running more and more on the lines of Anarchism, the direct Anarchist propaganda has remained almost stationary aud weak, in this country at least. A departure to new methods may bring better results.

ABE ISAAK JR.

—— o ——

Waldheim.

There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today.
—August Spies.

These prophetic words must involuntarily

890622002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Report from Chicago / Emma Goldman.– p. 3 ; 22 cm. *In* Free Society [Chicago]. –Vol. 7, no. 19 (June 9, 1901).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

you plotted an excellent shot.

"My aim was unerring, that's one of the reasons why I was selected for the job. Others were just as eager, but lacked a sure hand. It takes an American Anarchist to do such work, for America is the Eldorado of revolver practice. In the United States little boys shoot better than uncommissioned officers in Italy.

"Yes, I'm a good shot, an excellent shot," repeated Bresci, looking from one to the other with a malicious smile.

"Enough," said the commandant, motioning us officers to leave the cell.

The assassin seized another opportunity for playing the actor when we arrived on the island. A great many people from Genoa had assembled there to see him, and a crowd was at the landing place.

This seemed to please Bresci immensely. Stepping ashore, he stretched his emaciated figure to its full length, threw out his chest, and elevated his head. Then he moved proudly forward, tingling his fetters as he went. That he was the observed of all observers, seemed to give him great satisfaction.

This was probably the last time that Bresci saw free men, for it is extremely improbable that he will leave the island alive. One reason why he was removed from the galleys was the necessity of giving him work. Bresci seemed to enjoy leisure even under the most tantalizing circumstances, reason enough why he should be forced to work. He will undergo the hardest work that ever broke a prisoner's spirit.

The discipline will be the same as formerly: absolute silence. He will never hear a human voice.

His rations will only suffice to keep him alive. He will be loaded with chains day and night. He will never see his fellow prisoners.

would outgrow its present narrow limits. The lecture was well received. In reply to a question, she stated that the workers had nothing to expect from the ballot ; that it was children's stocking placed periodically by the workers to be filled by Santa Claus. The result was that they had received only toys; they must depend upon themselves to improve their conditions.

Wednesday she spoke at the Free Society Club, the subject being changed to "Vice," instead of on Anarchism, as at first announced. The speaker said that at frequent intervals the vice crusaders were heard from, and not only were conservative hypocrites engaged in them, but even many radicals. The ignorance on the subject is dense. She contended that any act entered into by two individuals voluntarily was not vice. What is usually hastily condemned as vice by thoughtless individuals, such as homo-sexuality, masturbation, etc., should be considered from a scientific standpoint, and not in a moralizing way. Indeed, those most active in the moral crusades are often the "black sheep." But I cannot do justice to this lecture in a brief report. Some of the conclusions were extremely interesting, even if not accepted in their entirety ; however, as FREE SOCIETY need not fear the loss of four million subscribers, its readers being more or less tolerant, I hope that space will soon be found for an extended report of this important lecture.

Sunday afternoon she spoke to the Anthropological Society at the Masonic Temple. Here the subject was "Modern Phases of Anarchism." She traced the development in the idea of Anarchism. Formerly Anarchism was considered as an economic arrangement for the future society ; the idea has at economic conditions has proven to a great extent a failure. Although modern thought is running more and more on the lines of Anarchism, the direct Anarchist propaganda has remained almost stationary and weak, in this country at least. A departure to new methods may bring better results.

ABE ISAAK JR.

—— o ——

Waldheim.

There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today. —August Spies.

These prophetic words must involuntarily have come not only to those who on Decoration Day gathered around the monument of our murdered comrades at the Waldheim cemetery, but more menacingly to those passing by in costly carriages.

As their vehicles went slowly through the crowd, their side-glances were not scornful, but their conscience-smitten faces were grim and severe as they looked upon the mass of sympathizers around the monument, and the wreaths with which the statue was decorated. They were vividly reminded of the futility of suppressing humanitarian ideals by murder and brute force—the only arguments that governments have ever been able to bring forth against ideals which aim at the abolition of master and slave, starvation and misery, war and bloodshed.

At 3 o'clock, after the wreath from Comrade Peter Kropotkin arrived, two songs were given, drawing a large crowd, after which Comrade Emma Goldman and Lucy E. Parsons spoke on the occasion, urging those present to carry on the work for freedom and human happiness—the ideal for which our comrades were strangled.

890118002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman, High Priestess of Anarchy, Whose Speeches Inspired Czolgosz to His Crime / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The Chicago Daily Tribune. –(Sept. 8, 1901).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

EMMA GOLDMAN, HIGH PRIESTESS OF ANARCHY, WHOSE SPEECHES INSPIRED CZOLGOSZ TO HIS CRIME.



SPEECH THAT PROMPTED MURDEROUS ASSAULT ON THE PRESIDENT.

Cleveland, O., Sept. 7.—[Special.]—An address delivered in this city on May 6 by Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, is largely responsible for the attempt on the life of President McKinley.

Miss Goldman spoke here twice on that date, and a copy of her address was found in the pocket of Leon Czolgosz when searched by the Buffalo police. At the audience on that occasion was the man who tried to kill the President, and his associates now recall that he was one of the most enthusiastic in his applause of the utterances of Miss Goldman.

The hall in which the lecture was delivered is at 119 Superior street, the same hall in which the Anarchists now meet in this city.

In the course of her address of May 6 Miss Goldman first outlined the principles of anarchy and detailed the methods whereby she hoped to accomplish the ends of anarchy. Her talk was full of forceful passages, and some cases more notable for their strength than for their elegance.

"Men under the present state of society," she said, "are mere products of circumstances. Under the galling yoke of government, ecclesiasticism, and a bond of custom and prejudice, it is impossible for the individual to work out his own career as he could wish. Anarchism aims at a new and complete freedom. It strives to raise [illegible] the freedom which is not only the freedom [illegible] but a freedom to prevent any man from having a desire to interfere in any way with the liberty of his neighbor.

"Vanderbilt says, 'I am a free man within myself, but the others be damned.' This is not the freedom we are striving for. We merely desire complete individual liberty, and this can never be obtained so long as there is an existing government.

"We do not favor the socialistic idea of converting men and women into mere producing machines under the eye of a paternal government. We go to the opposite extreme and demand the fullest and most complete liberty for each and every person to work out his own salvation upon any line that he pleases. The degrading notions of men and women as machines is far from our ideals of life.

"Anarchism has nothing to do with future governments or economic arrangements. We do not favor any particular settlement in this line, but merely ask to do away with the present evils. The future will provide these arrangements after our work has been done. Anarchism deals merely with social relations, and not with economic arrangement."

The speaker then deprecated the idea that Anarchists were in favor of violence or bomb throwing. She declared that nothing was further from the principles they support. She went on, however, into a detailed explanation of the different crimes committed by Anarchists lately, declaring that the motive was good in each case, and that these acts were merely a matter of temperament.

Some men were so constituted, she said, that they were unable to stand idly by and see the wrong that was being endured by their fellow-mortals. She herself did not believe in these methods, but she did not think they should be condemned in view of the high and noble motives which prompted their perpetration. She continued: "Some [illegible] the intelligence and education come afterwards."

Miss Goldman did not hesitate to put forward a number of sentiments far more radical and sensational than any ever publicly advanced here. During Miss Goldman's lecture a strong detail of police was in the hall to keep her from uttering sentiments which were regarded as too radical. This accounts for the fact that the speaker did not give free rein to her thoughts on this occasion. By reason of anarchistic uprisings elsewhere it was thought best by the city officials to curb the utterances of the woman.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890118004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman in Jail Charged with Conspiracy / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. – (Sept. 11, 1901).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The World's Home Boot Knows.
The American News Company's records show that The World's regular paid New York City circulation is tens of thousands a day greater than that of any other paper.

See Auction Sales, page 12.

The World

"Circulation Books Open to All."

VOL. XLII. NO. 14,631. ★ Copyright, 1901, by the Press Publishing Company, New York World. NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1901.

PRESIDENT'S WOUND REOPENED; SLIGHT CHA

EMMA GOLDMAN IN JAIL CHARGED WITH CONSPIRACY.

Caught Hiding in a Chicago Flat and Taken to Police Headquarters—A Warrant Is Served Formally Accusing Her of Plotting to Murder President McKinley.

VEHEMENTLY DENIES THAT SHE INSPIRED CZOLGOSZ.

Anarchist Queen Declares She Met Him Only Once and Then Only for a Moment—Makes a Detailed Statement Covering Her Movements for the Last Two Months.

(Special to The World.)

CHICAGO, Sept. 10.—Emma Goldman was arrested at 11 o'clock this morning in a flat at No. 203 Sheffield avenue. When confronted by the police she denied her identity, but when her name was discovered on a fountain pen she laughed and said, "I was just contemplating giving myself up."

After she had been taken to Police Headquarters Capt. Colleran, Chief of Detectives, served a warrant on Miss Goldman, charging her with conspiracy to murder the President. The warrant was sworn to by Capt. Colleran.

It gives as her co-conspirators Abraham Isaaks, Maurice Isaaks, Clemence Pfeutzer, Hippolite Havel, Henry Travaglio, Alfred Schindler, Julia Mechems, Marie Isaaks and Marie Isaaks jr. All except Miss Goldman were arrested several days ago. The women were allowed to go, but the men were held without bail and are now in jail.

"Whether Emma Goldman is guilty of conspiracy or not is still undetermined," said Chief of Police O'Neill to-night. "She answered all questions voluntarily, and volunteered much information, but disclosed nothing to indicate that she was an accessory before the fact. These arrests show that Anarchists have been active here, much more so than has been suspected. Miss Goldman's baggage, a suit case and a small satchel, contained nothing incriminating. We have broken up a band of Anarchists, and are still working on the conspiracy theory."

At a conference in the office of Chief of Police O'Neill bail was refused to the nine Anarchists who are held by the police in the belief that they have knowledge of a plot. Those present at the meeting besides Chief O'Neill were Dr. H. S. Taylor, City Prosecutor, Assistant City Prosecutor Owens, Capt. Colleran and Attorney Leonard Baltzel, who represented the Anarchists.

Attorney Baltzel represented that he did not believe there was sufficient ground for keeping his clients in custody and asked for their release on bail. Chief O'Neill explained that he had received an imperative request from the authorities at Buffalo to hold the Anarchists in custody, and that he could not agree to a request for bail under any circumstances. Baltzel offered to furnish bonds in almost any sum, but Chief O'Neill was firm.

Attorney Baltzel stated that he would commence proceedings to obtain the release of his clients by writs of habeas corpus.

C. O. Norris, who occupies the flat where Miss Goldmen was caught, also will be indicted for conspiracy, Chief O'Neill declares. The Chief believes the man was aiding Miss Goldman to escape.

Nowak, the Buffalo hotel keeper, whose house sheltered Czolgosz, is now in this city. It is said he was brought here by the police to identify, if possible, Emma Goldman as a woman who stopped at his hotel with Czolgosz a few days before the attempted murder of the President.

STORY OF THE ARREST OF ANARCHIST QUEEN.

(Special to The World.)

CHICAGO, Sept. 10.—Miss Goldmen arrived in Chicago Sunday morning, registered in a downtown hotel under an assumed name, and yesterday engaged a room in the Sheffield avenue flat.

O. O. Norris, who owns the flat, was later taken into custody. An hour before the woman's arrest the Chief of Police received from a source outside the department news regarding her whereabouts. Capt. O'Neill, a former Anarchist-hunter of the Haymarket days, was put on the case, and Detective Herrmann was ordered to go to the flat and locate all persons found there.

The building is situated at the corner of the Sheffield Avenue [illegible] contains three flats. [illegible] ran the information that Anarchy was in hiding.

Denied Her Identity.

"Who are you and what do you want?" she asked.

"We are policemen and we want Miss Goldman," replied [illegible].

"I am not Miss Goldman," replied the woman. "My name is Thorsen and I am Swedish," she said.

Subsequently, when [illegible] had been arrested, she

INDEX TO ADVERTISEMENTS

[illegible]

the department, picked up a fountain pen and began reading "Emma Goldman."

"You are a smart policeman," she laughed. "Yes, I am Emma Goldman, and I was just thinking of going down to police headquarters and give myself up. If you had come an hour later I would have been gone. If you will excuse me while I change my waist I will go with you."

The suspicious policeman balked at Miss Goldmen's desire to close the door of her bedroom during the toilet proceedings. A compromise was reached by leaving the door half open. Finally she emerged carrying a book, "Toward Democracy," and announced herself ready to go.

"While this is all nonsense and I am innocent so far as the charge implies, still the President of the United States is here to visit, she said to Schantz.

To Headquarters in Street Car.

The trip to headquarters was made in a street car. Miss Goldman read her book, and once looked up to the two men sitting beside her and said:

"Do I look like the women they paint me?"

In a jaunty white sailor hat, white waist, blue skirt, belt and necktie she looked anything but bloodthirsty. She was calm and good humored when the City Hall was reached. Ushered into the chief's office she sat down and began reading her book. Chief O'Neill summoned Mayor Harrison and an inquisition began, which lasted an hour. Although she maintained her self control she could not refrain at times from weeping.

[illegible] After her arrest she was taken to the [illegible] Here [illegible] Miss Goldman [illegible] Will be put over [illegible]

Miss Goldman told her story as follows:

"While in Buffalo I stopped with Hattie Lane and left for the home of my sister in Rochester at noon on July 30. I stayed in Rochester until Aug. 17 or 18, and during the time I was there I wrote five letters to Havel, which I suppose are now in the hands of the

(Continued on Third Page.)

DR. CHARLES M'BURNEY DISCUSSING THE PRESIDENT'S CASE IMMEDIATELY AFTER COMING FROM THE MILBURN HOU



(FROM PHOTO TAKEN YESTERDAY.)

PROF. MAZZONI, THE POPE'S SURGEON, THINKS SECOND BULLET WILL HAVE TO BE REMOVE



(Copyright, 1901, by the Press Publishing Company, New York World.)

(Special Cable Despatch to The World.)

ROME, Sept. 10.—Prof. G. Mazzoni, the Pope's surgeon, has replied to The World's hypothetical question supplemented by late bulletins on President McKinley's case, as follows:

"The last bulletin shows two specially favorable symptoms—moderate respiration and gradual diminution of the pulsations, proving that things are progressing well in the abdominal cavity.

"I think the bullet will produce inflammation of the muscular tissues near the spine, which will necessitate surgical intervention.

"President McKinley could not be in better hands.

"American surgeons are the pioneers in internal surgery."

Prof. G. Mazzoni is one of the foremost surgeons of Europe and has for many years, with Dr. Lapponi, been in attendance upon the Pope. About eighteen ago he performed a difficult and dangerous operation upon his distinguished patient, who rallied completely, notwithstanding his great age.

World's Hypothetical Questi... Supplemented by Bulle...

In the case of a strong man, thir... years old, in good health, with a cl... wound penetrating the abdominal ... and passing through the anterior and ... terior walls of stomach, with a ... lodged in the tissues near the ... column, with the wounds of stomach ... up the peritoneal cavity pleasant ... hemorrhage so far as can be perce... and good reaction from the shock, wha... your opinion, is the chance of re... and what are the elements of danger

MRS. McKINLEY KNOWS ABOUT THE SHOOTING NOW; SHOWS SUCH COURAGE THAT PRESIDENT IS CHEERE

(Special from a Staff Correspondent.)

[illegible] has been a semi-invalid since her illness to... Mrs. Milburn her hostess went ... [illegible] ... and when Dr. Rixey came ... [illegible] ... at the indignation of the President ... cause his wife had been so unceremoniously taken away.

"Mrs. Milburn found Mrs. McKinley most cheerful," said Mr. Milburn. "Mrs. Milburn tells me that she talked with Mrs. McKinley a good deal [illegible] condition of mind and body. There is absolutely no danger that she will break down."

At 10:15 A. M. Mrs. McKinley paid her daily visit to the bedside of her husband. The President was in high spirits when he saw his wife coming into the room and talked until Dr. Rixey cut the interview short.

The President protested, but it was no

Street to Exposition Grounds.

Trolley cars from Lakewood and Buffalo [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ...

890118004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman in Jail Charged with Conspiracy / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. –(Sept. 11, 1901).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

DIFFICULT TO REACH ANARCHIST LEADERS.

The deeper the lawyers go into the matter of punishing the Anarchist leaders who, by teaching and urging acts subtle suggestion, bring about such crimes as that of Czolgosz the more puzzled they are and the more regretful at the inadequacy of existing statutes.

In spite of the assaults upon President Jackson and the assassination of President Garfield Lincoln's assassination was covered by the laws against political conspiracies to murder—nothing was done to secure the adequate punishment of assailants of high officials. Neither State nor Federal laws recognize any difference between attacks upon the citizen as a citizen and attacks upon the citizen as a representative of the Government.

NO SPECIAL LAWS AGAINST ANARCHY.

As for anarchy, the Federal and State laws against incitements to violence have been relied upon heretofore. There is no special legislation directed against the special offense. And the problem is how to word a law so that the authorities will be vigilant and at the same time discreet in its enforcement, not only for a few months after such an awakening as the present, but at all times.

Vice-President Roosevelt has definitely declared himself against the abandonment of public receptions by high officials. Nothing could have been more forcible than his remarks to the two laborers who stopped him in the street to shake hands with him yesterday.

MUST RELY ON THE PUBLIC FOR PROTECTION

"The public officials must rely upon you men to guard them. No isolated, unreasonable and unpracticable acts of violence should interfere with the democratic custom of free interviews between the people and public servants."

He takes the position which Augustus Cæsar took when he became Consul that to go about carefully attended to be secluded and full of suspicion, is to make life an intolerable burden. He thinks that any elaborate hedging in would not protect, but would do harm.

One of the letters sent to President McKinley's party told a World reporter to-night that there were many reasons for the belief that no Anarchist society planned the attempt to take the President's life.

"One reason alone," he declared, "is sufficient to show that the crime was not prepared in advance by any considerable number of persons. That is the fact that Czolgosz bought the revolver in Buffalo. If this scheme had been worked out in another city and he had been sent here to commit the deed he would have come armed. He would have been supplied with a true and reliable weapon in advance. On the contrary, he arrived without a weapon and bought a 'bull dog' one here."

BEANS FOR ANARCHIST SOAKED BY THE POLICE.

Package Was at First Thought to Contain a Bomb and Was Given a Thorough Ducking—Now Poison is Being Searched For.

(Special from a Staff Correspondent.)

BUFFALO, Sept. 10. The Buffalo police made little progress to-day in their efforts to unravel the alleged plot to assassinate President McKinley. Alfonso Stutz, who has been detained by the police for several days because he called a room mate Czolgosz in an east side hotel, was set free. The police are convinced that Stutz had nothing to do with the matter and that he knows nothing about Czolgosz.

Supt. Bull and Assistant District Attorney Penney expressed indignant at the arrest of Emma Goldman in Chicago. They declined, however, to give any talking of their plans in regard to her.

"I don't know yet what will be done with her," Supt. Bull said. "Her arrest was made on the Buffalo request we want out that all people known or suspected of having anything to do with Anarchist society be taken into custody."

Supt. Bull said it had not yet been decided to bring Emma Goldman here, but what such a decision was he reached later.

ALL MAY BE TRIED IN BUFFALO.

Local authorities say that all Anarchists who may be exterminated by Czolgosz will be indicted and tried here.

Buffalo police have found practically every clue they had and they do not expect to learn anything more than what they know about Czolgosz's accomplices here.

Secret Service men with the Buffalo police discredit a story that the attempt on President McKinley was a free society plot. They declare that if Czolgosz had accomplices they were probably foolish ones rather than organized conspirators.

Leon Czolgosz was taken from his cell in the basement at Police Headquarters to-day and was in the fresh air once since his arrest he saw no sky or sun.

IMPRISONMENT BEGINS TO WEAR.

Confinement is beginning to tell on the young Anarchist, though his appearance is not abnormal. He ate but little meals to-day with great zest and ate his other days nothing but the bits remaining on his plate when he had finished.

The police are maintaining a strict reserve, and Mrs. Riley, the janitress and guardian of the prisoner's food, will give no information regarding the kind of food Czolgosz has had.

All the newspaper representatives have been warned to give no information as to the President's assailant, and the police are obeying instructions strictly.

A package addressed to Czolgosz was received when a package to Czolgosz was received by the police, and was carefully opened, as it was feared some Anarchist friend had sent a bomb of some kind.

THOROUGHLY SOAKED THE BEANS.

The package was thrown into a pail of water and later was opened. It was found to contain baked beans. The police think the beans may contain poison and are taking steps to that end.

Supt. Bull, when asked for a statement to a New York paper that Mrs. Czolgosz, the mother of the assassin, was in this city, said: "Mrs. Czolgosz is in Detroit. She left here on Saturday and has not returned to see her son. No one has asked to see the prisoner but those authorized to have no knowledge of the fact."

Denounced by Italian Republicans.

The Committee of the Italian Republican party at a meeting at No. 28 Jones street yesterday passed resolutions deploring the attempt on President McKinley's life and protesting against attacks on the Republic by the Anarchist enemies within it.

True Laws Against Anarchy.

At a meeting of the Executive committee of the City Democracy last evening at No. 18 West Forty-second street a resolution was adopted denouncing the attack on the President and urging New York Congressmen to vote for measures to stamp out anarchy.



EMMA GOLDMAN'S OWN SCHEDULE OF HER MOVEMENTS FOR TWO MONTHS.

(Special to The World.)

CHICAGO, Sept. 10—Emma Goldman's schedule of her recent movements is as follows:

I arrived in Buffalo June 12, accompanied by Marie Isaak, and left Buffalo July 13 for Rochester and remained in Rochester over the month.

On Aug. 13 I went to the Buffalo Exposition, accompanied by Marie Isaak, and left for home. Aug. 15 I went to Pittsburg to become travelling saleswoman for a New York house.

I left Pittsburg Sept. 1 and went to Cincinnati, where I remained one day.

I arrived in St. Louis Sept. 2, Labor Day, and remained there until last Saturday, when I came to Chicago. I arrived here Sunday morning.

EMMA GOLDMAN IN JAIL, ACCUSED OF CONSPIRACY.

(Continued from First Page.)

[illegible] the name of which I do not care to mention, as it is private, so I do not like to try to find the place.

Sunday I walked about town and Monday went shopping at Fields. Monday evening I went to No. 38 Sheffield avenue, where I had known Mr. Norris in a business way. I did not know his mother or sister. I called him the above address and asked him to take me in. This he did and said he was glad to have the chance. I do not know even if he is a believer in my faith. I never talked to him about it. I simply met him when he was a travelling salesman, and I have known him about a year. I could think of no place else to go, so went there, quite at a venture.

If the police had been half an hour later I would have given them a surprise. I decided as soon as I saw that the women arrested at Isaak's were after me that I came to give myself up. I knew the police wanted me. It was only a question of a short time when they would get me.

Wanted to Kidnap Her.

I was dressing when Capt. Schaettler and his aide there came. I was dressed in a loose wrapper and it occurred to me to have a tea fight with them. I wanted to see how smart they were. "We are looking for Miss Goldman," said the burly captain.

"I do not know her," I replied in a sweet voice. "I am sure there is no such woman here."

"And who are you?" he asked.

"My name is Thurman," I answered. "I am a domestic here."

Then he began a search in the closets and under the beds, and all over the premises. When nothing had been found except a pamphlet with me the captain said he would have those of the detectives with me until I could make a further search. I kept a look at the detectives and told the captain that he could go, but that I was Miss Goldman. He all-wise me to remain, and I came to the station with them."

Mayor Harrison here said:

"Miss Goldman, are you aware that you have asked for talk plots and assassinations to you?"

I answered that I did not, but the imperious reply was that I heard he talked plots and dinner circles to Mr. Isaak and for that reason was denounced as a spy.

"Did any person write to you about this matter?" asked the Mayor.

Miss Goldman answered in the negative.

"I AM A DISCIPLE OF EMMA GOLDMAN," CZOLGOSZ SAID IN HIS CONFESSION.

"I meant to kill the President. I am a disciple of Emma Goldman.

"I have heard Emma Goldman lecture and have read her writings. I have done my duty."—From statement made by Czolgosz to the Buffalo police.

President's [illegible] Miss Goldman suddenly burst forth: "I would not arrest every Democrat in the land. Why not arrest children in prison as you have done with me?"

When did you come back here?" she was asked.

Sought to Help the Imaaks.

"I came to get the Isaaks out. I was at the house at No. 38 [illegible] since yesterday. I wanted to know if bail would be allowed to get them out of prison."

"Where would you get the money to bail them out?"

"I have seen certain people."

"Who were they?"

"You would not expect me to tell that," she replied with a smile.

"I have nothing to fear from your officers and your law," Miss Goldman continued. "I did not go to the house more than called my own convenience. I went about the neighborhood when I was staying and yesterday I came down town. I also walked around the city hall and I saw your policemen, but they did not see me. It grieves it comes for the freedom of this country to see the way myself and my friends are deprived of liberty simply because we exercise the right of free speech."

Miss Goldman almost burst into tears at this point.

Was Hungry, She Said.

Then she smiled on all about her and said: "Mr. Mayor, if the State can afford it I would like to have something to eat. I am awfully hungry. I have had nothing since 7 o'clock this morning."

"You shall have a good dinner because you are an obliging little woman," said Chief O'Neill.

But first," continued the Chief, "you are such a good-looking woman I really must have a picture of you."

The woman smiled and said: "You shall have it."

Then she burst into tears, but controlled herself in a moment. A carriage was called and Detective Schaettler escorted his prisoner to a restaurant, where she ate a hearty dinner. From there she was taken to the Harrison Street Police Station, where she sat for two hours. Then she was turned over to the matron and given the best room in the cells. Once in the matron's room she again gave way to tears but soon composed herself and received all callers.

Obstacles confront the Federal and State authorities in Chicago in the public prosecution of Emma Goldman. It is the opinion of several lawyers that she cannot be taken for trial in New York unless she and Czolgosz are charged with an offense under the Federal statutes.

Question of Extradition.

The suggestion that the assassin must be tried under the State laws of New York for assault with intent to kill would be a dead pre-under the preamble of Miss Goldman's being extradited on a county indictment and a \$5,000 bail for two or more persons who conspire to injure any citizen in the exercise of any right secured to him by the Constitution and laws of the United States. The enforcement of [illegible] and a progress would. It is said, permit of the former's extradition from any State.

"Tip" Came from a Woman.

The tip that caused the arrest of Emma Goldman came from a woman who came to the Erie flat in Sheffield avenue and asked where Miss Goldman was. She was informed that she was not there. Yesterday, and also to-day, the woman came and asked repeatedly if Miss Goldman had returned. This morning she saw the Goldman woman and [illegible] hastened to Police Headquarters with the information.

Detectives Dilworth Norris, with his mother and sister, Stella Thorne, occupy the flat. They have lived at Adams and have been prominent in their congregation. Norris is an insurance broker, twenty-nine years old, a bachelor and a Democrat.

When Emma Goldman arrived in Chicago she went to the Erie flat in Sheffield avenue and was received with open arms. She saw Emma Goldman entertain her friends, and also took part in the meeting. She remained there until 2 o'clock this morning. She saw Emma Goldman enter a hack, and [illegible] followed

880623019

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman in Law's Grasp / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Chicago Daily Tribune. –(Sept 11, 1901).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The Chicago Daily Tribune. Price 3 cents.

VOLUME LX.—NO. 254. WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1901—SIXTEEN PAGES. PRICE TWO CENTS.

NEWS—Summarized and Indexed.

THE WEATHER— WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 11, 1901.
Threatening Wednesday and Thursday, with occasional rain; increasing easterly winds. Sun rises at 5:35, sets at 6:19. Moon rises at 4:21 a. m.

PRESIDENT M'KINLEY:—

President McKinley was decided to be on the road to complete recovery from the injuries inflicted by the would-be assassin on last Friday, and his condition was so encouraging that Dr. McBurney, Vice President Roosevelt, Senator Hanna, and others close to the President felt they could safely leave Buffalo.

The President asked for the daily papers and expressed a desire to know the current news, but accepted the advice of his doctors, who urged that absolute rest was necessary.

Investigation shows that Detective Gallagher of Chicago, who took pistol from Czolgosz, was severely beaten by artillerymen who saw weapon in his hand.

Records at Rush Medical College show that an operation similar to that performed in President McKinley's case saved the life of James Connorton in 1860.

John M. Leffler, an inmate of the Danville (Ill.) Soldiers' Home, degraded and expelled for saying he was glad McKinley was shot.

Rhode Island day celebrated at Pan-American Exposition and joy shown at announcement of President's favorable condition.

Vice President Roosevelt left for his home last night, satisfied that the President's condition warranted his doing so.

Doctors announced yesterday the President may resume part of his duties as executive within a month.

Secretary Wilson advocates abandonment of public receptions by the President and other national officials.

Andrew Carnegie and Lord Balfour of Burleigh united in praise of McKinley at ceremony in Glasgow.

Fund started in New York for James B. Parker, who knocked down Czolgosz after shot was fired.

Special thanksgiving day for recovery of President suggested to be observed on day named by him.

General expression of pleasure in England at news of President McKinley's favorable condition.

ANARCHISTS:—

Emma Goldman, who is said by Leon Czolgosz to have inspired him to assassinate McKinley, was arrested yesterday morning at 3[illegible] Sheffield avenue by Chicago police.

Czolgosz, the would-be assassin, is still closely guarded in Buffalo jail and kept in ignorance of what is transpiring in the outer world.

Several unknown men said to have asked for directions to 303 Sheffield avenue, the house where Emma Goldman was arrested.

Emma Goldman says she did not become an "active" Anarchist until after the execution of the Chicago Anarchists in 1887.

Anarchist plan to secure release of Emma Goldman and others under arrest by writs of habeas corpus.

Secret Service bureau has name and description of every Anarchist in United States.

Chief of Police O'Neill again refused to release suspected Anarchists on bonds.

War on Anarchists taken up by police of entire nation.

New York police will take Anarchist census.

LOCAL:—

Followers of John Alexander Dowie who [illegible] and Overseer Pyle and Mayor Patterson's personal encounter.

Discovery of contractors had experts be-

PAGES.
1 Emma Goldman Arrested. McKinley's Recovery to Be Rapid.
2 Nelloe's War on Anarchy Begins. Roosevelt Starts for Home.
4 Two Thanksgiving Days. Day of Thanksgiving to Be Set. Plans for Illinois Day. Gage Comes to Aid of Market. Big G. A. R. Parade at Cleveland. Merchants' Club's First Meeting.
5 General News of New York. Beer War May Not End on Sunday. Boers Tried for Aiding Spies.
6 Chicago Golfers Win Matches. Plans for Football Season. Crescens and The Abbot Matched. Call Bets Off at Harlem. Dreamer Beats Advance Guard.
7 White Sox Defeat Milwaukee. Remnants Are Sixth Again. Shaffer Ordered to End Strike. Lake Marine. Record of the Courts.
8 Real Estate Deals.
9 Chief Musham Transfers Horan. Swenie Lectures Before Risk Men. City to Try Cancellatory Plan. Evangelist Pelts Dowie Followers. Wedding Stopped at Altne. New Hoo Is Schley Inquiry. Bad Paving Investigation.
10 In the Commercial Markets.
11 Financial News of the World. Government Crop Report.
12 Editorial Comment.
13 General News of the Railroads. Insurance Affairs.
16 Among the New Books. News of the Theaters. Short Story of the Day. M. E. Conference Next Month. Fontenay Letter. Society.

Wall street financiers declare that attack on President has served to show actual stability of markets.

Insurance agents at Put-in Bay discussed rates and heard papers by leading members.

Insurance adjusters settled loss by Reid, Murdock & Co. fire at $31,536.

Custom-house collections yesterday reached total of $22,103.

FOREIGN:—

King and Queen of England, Czar and Czarina of Russia, King of Denmark, King of Greece, and twenty-eight Princes and Princesses went by same train from Fredensborg to Copenhagen.

William Holabird Jr., Walter Egan, and C. B. Macdonald of Chicago qualify in preliminaries for American golf championship.

London press severely condemns Lyceum Theater audience for its rude reception of William Gillette in "Sherlock Holmes."

Belief in London that Kitchener's proclamation will not bring about general surrender in south Africa on next Sunday.

Sultan of Turkey agrees to pay claims of [illegible] Philadelphia insists on additional settlement in favor of M. Lorando.

Report that Kaiser had asked for interna-

EMMA GOLDMAN IN LAW'S GRASP.

High Priestess of Anarchy, Who, Czolgosz Says, Was His Inspiration, Found in Hiding in Chicago.

FACES OFFICERS CALMLY.

Admits She Met the Would-Be Assassin Here on July 12, but Denies She Has Seen Him Since.

IS TRAPPED BY A TELEGRAM

Reiterates That Violence Is Not Her Creed and Declares "McKinley Is Too Insignificant a Man" to Kill.

SHE WILL FIGHT EXTRADITION.

Emma Goldman, the apostle of aggressive anarchy, whose words are said to have inspired Leon Czolgosz to attack President McKinley, is waiting in the hands of the Chicago police to face the charge of conspiring to kill the Chief Magistrate of the United States.

Having been in Chicago since Sunday morning last, practically in hiding, the woman was arrested yesterday at noon in the third floor flat of the building at 3[illegible] Sheffield avenue, the apartment occupied by Charles G. Norris. With a smile, she met Detective Charles K. Herts, who had clambered in through a window, and Police Captain Herman Schuettler, and to them at first denied her identity. Then she acknowledged that she was anarchy's high priestess and accompanied them to the office of Chief of Police O'Neill in the City Hall.

Again and again during the day she was subjected to a rapid fire of questions. She admitted that she met Czolgosz in Chicago on July 12. An acquaintance of thirty-five minutes, she asserts, is all that she ever had with the assailant now cowering in a cell at Buffalo. She admits that he may have heard her lecture in Cleveland last May. But she contends that she preached against violence, asserting that violence and the principles of her cult had nothing in common.

She struck at President McKinley with stinging words.

"I consider him too insignificant a man for the purpose of assassination," she said, her voice betraying no [illegible]

tion with Sheffield avenue. Where this telegram was sent from is not yet discovered, but it is said to have come from St. Louis or possibly from "a point near Buffalo," perhaps Buffalo itself.

It is known that the woman heard of the arrest in Chicago of Isaak and his comrades in an almost miraculously short time after they were taken. On Saturday night she sent a message to the Oakdale avenue man, asking if it were true that Isaak and [illegible] had been arrested.

The Oakdale avenue man replied that it was true.

further orders as may be made concerning said charge.

"And make due service and return thereof, as the law directs.

"Given under my hand and seal at said office this 10th day of September, 1901.

"JOHN K. PRINDIVILLE,
"Justice of the Peace."

Telegraphs to Her Family.

Immediately after her arrest Miss Goldman sent two telegrams. It was addressed to her brother-in-law, H. Hochstein, at 213 Joseph avenue, Rochester, N. Y. It read as

ANARCHY'S HIGH PRIESTESS, ARRESTED YESTERDAY IN CHICAGO.



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN YESTERDAY

OFFICIAL BULLETINS ON PRESIDENT'S CONDITION.

	Tempera-ture.	Respira-tion.	Pulse.
7:00 a. m. (Tuesday)	100.6	118	[illegible]
9:00 a. m. (Tuesday)	99.8	104	90

M'KINLEY SAFE; FAST RECOVERY NOW EXPECTED

Condition so Satisfactory That Vice President and Other High Officials Leave Buffalo.

DOCTORS REOPEN WOUND.

Slight Operation Required to Take Out Piece of Cloth Carried in by Czolgosz's Bullet.

WHY PLAN TO KILL FAILED.

Nearness of Well Equipped Hospital and Surgeons Saved Life of the Wounded Man—New Laws on Anarchy Probable.

NO MORE PUBLIC RECEPTIONS.

[BY A STAFF CORRESPONDENT.]

Buffalo, N. Y., Sept. 10.—[Special.]—From a surgical standpoint President McKinley's wound from the bullet fired by Leon Czolgosz last Friday is now a closed incident. His recovery is as much assured as anything can be where a man is carrying about a leaden bullet.

All of the President's physicians unite in saying not only that he will recover but that his convalescence will be extremely rapid.

Considerable uneasiness was felt at the length of the night consultation of the President's physicians, who were in conference nearly two hours, but the doctors declared there was no need for anxiety. Dr. McBurney, who was to leave for home this evening, decided to remain over another day, but this was explained by the statement that he had missed the train.

Outer Wound Is Reopened.

The statement in the 10:30 o'clock bulletin that it had been found necessary to open in part the President's outside wound to remove some foreign substance was offset by the announcement that the operation had caused no harm.

It developed that a portion of the President's clothing had been carried into the wound by the bullet and this had not been cleared away at the first operation. As slight

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

202

880623019

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman in Law's Grasp / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Chicago Daily Tribune. —(Sept 11, 1901).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Plans for Illinois Day.
tiago Comes to Aid of Market.
Big G. A. R. Parade at Cleveland.
Merchants' Club's First Meeting.

5 General News of New York.
Beer War May Not End on Sunday.
Boers Tried for Aiding Spies.

6 Chicago Golfers Win Matches.
Plans for Football Season.
Crescents and The Abbot Matched.
Call Meets Off at Harlem.
Dunraster Boats Advance Guard.

7 White Sox Defeat Milwaukee.
Remnants Are Sixth Again.
Shaffer Ordered to End Strike.
Lake Marine.
Records of the Courts.

8 Real Estate Deals.

9 Chief Musham Transfers Horan.
Juvenile Lecturers Before Risk Men.
City to Try Canalitatory Plan.
Evanston Plits Dowie Followers.
Wedding Stopped at Altar.
New Man in Schley Inquiry.
Bad Paving Investigation.

10 In the Commercial Markets.

11 Financial News of the World.
Government Crop Report.

12 Editorial Comment.

13 General News of the Railroads.
Insurance Affairs.

16 Among the New Books.
News of the Theaters.
Short Story of the Day.
M. E. Conference Next Month.
Yesterday Later.
Society.

Wall street financiers declare that attack on President has served to show actual stability of markets.

Insurance agents at Put-in Bay discussed rates and heard papers by leading members.

Insurance adjusters settled loss by Reid, Murdock & Co. fire at $31,536.

Custom-house collections yesterday reached total of $22,103.

FOREIGN:—

King and Queen of England, Czar and Czarina of Russia, King of Denmark, King of Greece, and twenty-eight Princes and Princesses went by same train from Fredensborg to Copenhagen.

William Holabird Jr., Walter Egan, and C. B. Macdonald of Chicago qualify in preliminaries for American golf championship.

London press severely condemns Lyceum Theater audience for its rude reception of William Gillette in "Sherlock Holmes."

Belief in London that Kitchener's proclamation will not bring about general surrender in south Africa on next Sunday.

Sultan of Turkey agreed to pay claims of Americans, but refuses to pay additional settlement in favor of M. Laranda.

Report that Kaiser had asked for international congress to deal with anarchy denied in Berlin.

Burghers charged with violation of oath of neutrality by harboring Boer spies tried in Pretoria.

Universal Peace Conference opens in Glasgow.

DOMESTIC:—

President Shaffer ordered by Executive board of Amalgamated association to settle strike on best terms possible.

G. A. R. encampment at Cleveland, O., marked by big parade of naval and army veterans.

Eight nurses in Ann Arbor Hospital struck because of distasteful orders regarding their attire.

NEW YORK:—

August Liemann, passenger on Koenigin Luise, jumped into ocean to save suicide, made here by fellow-passengers.

J. G. Stows, former Consul General to south Africa, arrived from Bremen.

Rapid Transit company let contracts aggregating $1,500,000.

WASHINGTON:—

Navy department named E. P. Hanna, Solicitor of the department, to assist Judge Advocate Lemley in the Schley inquiry.

Census bureau issued additional figures on population of Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and South Dakota.

Estimated cost of Schley inquiry is $300,000.

SPORTING:—

National league: Chicago 4, Brooklyn 3; Boston 6, Cincinnati 2; New York 3, St. Louis 3 (nine innings), Pittsburg 8, Philadelphia 5.

Miss Carrie B. Neely, the tennis player, led the qualifying tournament of the women championship at the Midlothian Golf club.

American league: Chicago 6, Milwaukee 3; Cleveland 7, Philadelphia 0, Philadelphia 4, Cleveland 1 (eight innings).

Peter B. McNally gave up his attempt to swim from Boston to New York in thirty days.

Football Board of Control met and discussed rules for coming season.

BROWNHEAD	Sulvio	
BOULOGNE	Rotterdam	
NEW YORK	Kensington	Doric.
NEW YORK	Koenigin Luise	K. M. Theresa.
NEW YORK	Perugia	
PLYMOUTH	Patricia	Pretoria.

"GENTLEMAN HORSE THIEF" SENT TO A STATE PRISON.

George R. Downs of Chicago Pleads Guilty at Kenosha, Wis., and Is Given a Three-Year Term at Waupun.

George R. Downs of Chicago, known as the "gentleman horse thief" was tried for horse stealing yesterday in the Circuit Court at Kenosha, Wis., and was sentenced to three years in the State prison at Waupun. It was one boast of Downs that he "affect gentleman—even when stealing horses."

He led one part of his existence on the South Side in Chicago, where he represented himself as a traveling salesman. He left the city to "work" in Northern Illinois and Southern Wisconsin. The case which proved disastrous to him was the taking of a team owned by H. A. Kupfer, a Kenosha liveryman. When taken he protested his innocence and he had prepared an elaborate defense.

When his trial began he saw that the evidence against him was overwhelming and he threw his notes into the waste paper basket, entering a plea of guilty. He declared that he had a number of influential friends, who he expected would get a pardon for him before he could be removed to the prison. The information which led to his conviction is said to have been supplied by men with whom he had worked.

IN HIDING IN CHICAGO

FACES OFFICERS CALMLY.

Admits She Met the Would-Be Assassin Here on July 12, but Denies She Has Seen Him Since.

IS TRAPPED BY A TELEGRAM

Reiterates That Violence Is Not Her Creed and Declares "McKinley Is Too Insignificant a Man" to Kill.

SHE WILL FIGHT EXTRADITION.

Emma Goldman, the apostle of aggressive anarchy, whose words are said to have inspired Leon Czolgosz to attack President McKinley, is waiting in the hands of the Chicago police to face the charge of conspiring to kill the Chief Magistrate of the United States.

Having been in Chicago since Sunday morning last, practically in hiding, the woman was arrested yesterday at noon in the third floor flat of the building at 3 Sheffield avenue, the apartment occupied by Charles G. Norris. With a smile, she met Detective Charles K. Herts, who had clambered in through a window, and Police Captain Hermann Schuettler, and to them at first denied her identity. Then she acknowledged that she was anarchy's high priestess and accompanied them to the office of Chief of Police O'Neill in the City Hall.

Again and again during the day she was subjected to a rapid fire of questions. She admitted that she met Czolgosz in Chicago on July 12. An acquaintance of thirty-five minutes, she asserts, is all that she ever had with the assailant now cowering in a cell at Buffalo. She admits that he may have heard her lecture in Cleveland last May. But she contends that she preached against violence, asserting that violence and the principles of her cult had nothing in common.

She struck at President McKinley with stinging words.

"I consider him too insignificant a man for the purpose of assassination," she said, her voice betraying no malice.

Faces Law's Officers Coolly.

Shortly after the noon hour she faced Chief O'Neill, Mayor Harrison, Chief of Detectives Colleran, and a dozen detectives in the Chief's office. She met every question coolly, without the least display of temper to shake her composure.

She sought to clear herself of the charge that she had met Czolgosz since July 12. She presented her itinerary since that date. It follows:

Left Chicago 8:30 p. m., July 12.
Arrived Buffalo on July 13.
Left Buffalo to visit her sister in Rochester on July 14.
July 15 to Aug. 15 at her sister's home in Rochester.
Left Rochester for Buffalo on Aug. 15.
Left Buffalo for Pittsburg on Aug. 16.
Left Pittsburg for Cincinnati on Aug. 24.
Left Cincinnati for St. Louis on Sept. 1.
Left St. Louis for Chicago on Sept. 7.
Arrived in Chicago on Sept. 8, registering at a hotel under an assumed name.
Went to home of Charles O. Harris, 203 Sheffield avenue, on Sept. 9.

Suspect Recent Buffalo Visit.

In spite of the Goldman "itinerary" the police here hope to be able to prove that the woman was in Buffalo last week. Though they do not openly admit it, they expect to establish this fact through the testimony of John Nowak with whom Czolgosz boarded in Buffalo. Nowak was brought here and was called in to assist in the identification of Miss Goldman when she was arrested.

That Nowak will be used as a witness should an attempt be made to release the woman on a writ of habeas corpus before the arrival of the Buffalo authorities with requisition papers is indicated by the movement of the police. They declare, however, that "he is only on a visit and will return home in a few days."

Nowak who formerly lived in Chicago, arrived direct from Buffalo on Monday morning. On his arrival here he communicated with Chief O'Neill and his presence was made known also to Mayor Harrison, who has personally interested himself in the case. When Captain Schuettler and the detectives surrounded the apartment at 203 Sheffield avenue, Nowak, owing to his knowing Emma Goldman, accompanied the party. After her arrest he accompanied her to the office of Chief O'Neill and was present when she was interviewed by Mayor Harrison and the Chief.

When asked what Nowak's presence in the city had to do with the arrest of the woman, Mayor Harrison said the man was on hand merely to identify her in case of her denial of her real identity, and beyond that he had nothing to do with the arrest.

Seen in Rochester on Thursday.

Another suggestion that Miss Goldman's account of her own movements is incorrect comes from Rochester, where it is said she was seen last Thursday night. According to Rochester advices she was at the New York Central station and was seen by Mrs. Bernard Heiberg whose husband is one of the Supreme Court officers. It is said that Mrs. [illegible] Anarchists. She adds:

"Miss Goldman was accompanied by a man who didn't take much interest in the conversation. He was a wild-eyed looking fellow, with heavy black mustache, shifty eyes, and the look of one who did not care to be seen. Miss Goldman had a ticket for Buffalo in her hand. She said she was going there. The only remark I remember was one about the odors in Rochester."

Mrs. Kraig, who lives in Joseph avenue, Rochester, is said also to have seen Miss Goldman on Thursday prior to her departure for Buffalo.

Arrest Clew from Telegram.

Miss Goldman was located and arrested in Chicago because she sent a telegram on Saturday night last to a certain man who lives in Oakdale avenue, not far from the intersection with Sheffield avenue. Where this telegram was sent from is not yet discovered, but it is said to have come from St. Louis or possibly from "a point near Buffalo," perhaps Buffalo itself.

It is known that the woman heard of the arrest in Chicago of Isaak and his comrades in an almost miraculously short time after they were taken. On Saturday night she sent a message to the Oakdale avenue flat, asking if it were true that Isaak and [illegible] had been arrested.

The Oakdale avenue man replied that it was true.

Then Miss Goldman wired that she would be at his house on Saturday night.

The detectives learned of these telegrams and watched the Oakdale avenue house all Sunday night. The place was dark. Apparently no one was inside. No one approached during the night. However, a continuous watch was kept during Monday.

Long Watch Is Rewarded.

On Monday night the long vigil was rewarded. A lone woman approached the house. She rang the front door bell. No answer. She knocked at the door. No response. Then she walked cautiously around the house and knocked at the back door. No one opened it.

After a few moments' hesitation the woman left the house and walked in Oakdale avenue to Sheffield avenue. She went straight to Norris' home, No. 203. Here she was admitted. One of the detectives who had followed her staid to watch the house. The other—for there were two—reported the discovery to his superiors.

No persons entered or left the Sheffield avenue house from the time the woman was admitted until Captain Schuettler visited the place and arrested Emma Goldman.

Complaint Against Miss Goldman.

The warrant for the woman's arrest was issued by Justice Prindiville on the following complaint:

"The complaint and information of Luke P. Colleran of Chicago, in said county, made before J. K. Prindiville, one justice of the peace in aforesaid county, on this 10th day of September, 1901.

"Said complainant, being duly sworn upon his oath says that on, to-wit, the day and year and in the county aforesaid Emma Goldman, Areham Isaak Sr., Abrahem Isaak Jr., Marie Isaak Sr. Marie Isaak Jr., Clemance Pfuetzer, Julia Mechanic, Hippolyte Havel, and Alfred Schneider did unlawfully conspire and agree together feloniously and willfully, with malice aforethought, to kill and murder William McKinley, contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and this complainant has just and reasonable grounds for believing that the aforesaid Emma Goldman, Abraham Isaak Sr., Abraham Isaak Jr., Marie Isaak Sr., Marie Isaak Jr. ClemencePfuetzer, Julia Mechanic are guilty of the offense aforesaid, and therefore prays that the said Emma Goldman may be arrested and deal with according to the law.

"LUKE P. COLLERAN.

"Subscribed and sworn to before me on this 10th day of September, 1901.

"JOHN K. RINDIVILLE,
"Justice of the Peace."

Text of Conspiracy Warrant.

The warrant itself, on which she is held and on which she will be arraigned this morning before Justice Prindiville, reads as follows:

"The People of the State of Illinois, to all Sheriffs, Coroners, Constables, and Police Officers within said State, Greeting:

"Whereas, complaint in writing under oath has been this day entered before the undersigned, a justice of the peace within and for said county, by Luke P. Colleran that the [illegible] committed in said county and State, and that said complainant has just and reasonable grounds to believe that Emma Goldman, Clemence Pfeutsner, Abraham Isaak Sr., Abraham Isaak Jr., Marie Isaak Sr. Marie Isaak Jr., Julia Mechanic, Hippolyte Havel, Henry Travaglio, and Alfred Schneider committed said offense,

"We, therefore, hereby command you further to arrest said Emma Goldman, Clemence Pfeutsner, Abraham Isaak Sr. Abraham Isaak Jr., Marie Isaak Sr., Marie Isaak Jr., Julia Mechanic, Hippolyte Havel, Henry Travaglio, and Alfred Schneider and bring them before me at my office in the First district police court room in said city, or in case of my absence or inability to act, before any other Judge or justice of the peace of said county, to answer to the people of the State of Illinois on said charge and abide by such further orders as may be made concerning said charge.

"And make due service and return thereof, as the law directs.

"Given under my hand and seal at said office this 10th day of September, 1901.

"JOHN K. PRINDIVILLE,
"Justice of the Peace."

Telegraphs to Her Family.

Immediately after her arrest Miss Goldman sent one telegram. It was addressed to her brother-in-law, H. Hochstein, at 212 Joseph avenue, Rochester, N. Y. It read as follows:

"Arrested. Do not worry. Will be out soon. Comfort mother. EMMA."

The woman will fight the request from the Buffalo authorities received by Chief O'Neill last night, that she go to that city without requisition papers.

"I shall not give the police that pleasure," she said. "I shall make them produce requisition papers. If I go there they will have to fight to get me there!"

Attorney Leopold Saltiel may make a fight this morning for her release on a habeas corpus writ.

"We shall hold this woman," said Captain Colleran, "until this alleged conspiracy is cleared away."

What Chief O'Neill Thinks.

As a result of the day's work Chief O'Neill said last night:

"I have a belief that there was an understanding among the Anarchists regarding the attack on the President. From information in our hands all the persons now under arrest have at one time or another betrayed an undue knowledge of the affair. Further developments are necessary to make a clear case, but we have been warranted in taking the steps we have."

Obstacles to Extraditing Her.

It was suggested by lawyers during the day that obstacles may lie in the way of Miss Goldman's extradition for trial in New York, unless she and Czolgosz are charged with an offense under the federal statutes. The suggestion that the would-be assassin must be tried under the State laws of New York for assault with intent to kill would, it is said, preclude the possibility of Miss Goldman's being extradited as an accessory before the fact, as her alleged incendiary statements were not made in New York and she is not a fugitive from justice from that State. It is stated, however, that she and Czolgosz might be charged with an offense under section 5508 of the federal statutes, which fixes a ten-year term of imprisonment and a $5,000 fine for two or more persons who conspire to injure any citizen in the exercise of any right secured to him by the constitution and laws of the United States. The enforcement of this statute against Miss Goldman and Czolgosz would, it is said, permit of the former's extradition from any State.

Details of Her Statement.

There was little of the accepted marks of the Anarchist about Miss Goldman when she was led into Chief O'Neill's office from the flat at 203 Sheffield avenue. Her short walking skirt of blue cloth had been carefully brushed, her white waist was spotlessly clean, the band of blue silk ribbon knotted about her neck was held in place by a jeweled pin. Her hair, light and parted, was brushed back and gave her the appearance of a student—an appearance further heightened by the heavy, gold bowed eyeglasses which she wore.

Not 5 feet in height, her determination is shown in her chin. It is square though rather retreating. Paleness marked her cheeks at times, but there was never any evidence of fear. Her slight [illegible] accent [illegible] birthplace Russia. It lends however, a fascination to her speech.

"If the police want to keep this up why let them," she asserted. "They are making Anarchists by the dozen. They will save me much work."

How She Met Czolgosz.

"Did you meet Leon Czolgosz in Chicago about July 12?" she was asked.

"I did," came the unhesitating answer. "I saw him for the space of probably thirty five minutes. He walked with me to the station when I left for the East."

"Did you not see Czolgosz in Buffalo two days before the crime was committed?"

"No, sir. I was then in Cincinnati and about to leave there for St. Louis."

(Continued on third page.)



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN YESTERDAY

OFFICIAL BULLETINS ON PRESIDENT'S CONDITION

	Temperature.	Respiration.	Pulse.
7:00 a. m. (Tuesday)	100.4	118	26
9:00 a. m. (Tuesday)	99.8	104	26
3:30 p. m. (Tuesday)	100	110	26
10:30 p. m. (Tuesday)	100.6	114	28

7 a. m.—The President has passed the most comfortable night since the attempt on his life. Pulse, 118; temperature, 100.4; respiration, 28.

P. M. RIXEY,
ROSWELL PARK,
GEORGE B. CORTELYOU,
Secretary to the President.

8 a. m.—The President's condition this morning is eminently satisfactory to his physicians. If no complications arise a rapid convalescence may be expected. Pulse, 104; temperature, 99.8; respiration, 26. This temperature is taken by mouth and should be read about one degree higher by rectum.

P. M. RIXEY,
M. D. MANN,
ROSWELL PARK,
HERMAN MYNTER,
EUGENE WASHN,
CHARLES M'BURNEY,
GEORGE B. CORTELYOU,
Secretary to the President.

5:30 p. m.—There is no change since this morning's favorable bulletin. Pulse, 110; temperature, 100; respiration, 26.

P. M. RIXEY,
M. D. MANN,
ROSWELL PARK,
HERMAN MYNTER,
EUGENE WASHN,
GEORGE B. CORTELYOU,
Secretary to the President.

10:30 p. m.—The condition of the President is unchanged in all important particulars. His temperature is 100.6; pulse, 114; respiration, 28.

When the operation was done on Friday last it was noted that the bullet had carried with it a short distance beneath the skin a fragment of the President's coat. This foreign material was, of course, removed, but a slight irritation of the tissues was produced, the evidences of which has appeared early tonight. It has been necessary on account of this slight disturbance to remove a few stitches and partially open the skin wound.

This incident cannot give rise to other complications, but it is communicated to the public, as the surgeons in attendance wish to make their bulletins entirely frank.

In consequence of this separation of the edges of the serious wound the healing of the same will be somewhat delayed. The President is now well enough to begin to take nourishment by the mouth in the form of pure beef juice.

P. M. RIXEY,
M. D. MANN,
ROSWELL PARK,
HERMAN MYNTER,
CHARLES M'BURNEY,
GEORGE B. CORTELYOU,
Secretary to the President.

KAISER HAS MADE NO APPEAL

German Emperor Takes No Steps Toward International Congress to Suppress Anarchy.

BERLIN Sept. 10.—There is no truth in the report published in New York that Emperor William has ordered an appeal to be sent to the Ambassadors of all the great powers, calling for an international congress to adopt measures for the suppression of anarchy.

203

880623019

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman in Law's Grasp / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Chicago Daily Tribune. –(Sept 11, 1901).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

EMMA GOLDMAN IN LAW'S GRASP.

High Priestess of Anarchy, Who Czolgosz Says Inspired Him, Found in Hiding.

FACES OFFICERS CALMLY.

Admits She Met Would-Be Assassin Here July 12, but Denies Later Meeting.

ENTRAPPED BY A TELEGRAM.

Says Violence Is Not Her Creed and Calls "McKinley Too Insignificant" to Kill.

SHE WILL FIGHT EXTRADITION.

(Continued from first page.)

"But you have seen this man Czolgosz since July 12 last?'

"I have not seen him since that time I know nothing about him."

When Czolgosz Called at Isaak's.

Then she detailed her meeting with the would-be assassin in Chicago.

"I was at the house of Abraham Isaak. Yes, the house at 515 Carroll street. I was preparing to take the Nickel Plate train for the East with Miss Isaak. A ring came at the door. I answered the bell and found a young man there. He asked for Mr. Isaak. The latter had left the house, promising to meet us at the station and say good-by. I so told the young man and I further told him that he might go to the station with us and meet Mr. Isaak there. So you see," she asserted, "he would not even have been with me for thirty-five minutes had I not asked him to go so the train.

"The young man—yes, it was Czolgosz, who shot the President—said that he had met me before. He said he had heard me lecture in Cleveland. I had delivered a lecture there on May 6, but I can't remember all the people who shake hands with me, can I? I had no remembrance of him. We went to the station on the elevated train and this man accompanied us. I asked him where he had heard of Mr. Isaak. He said he had read the latter's paper, Free Society. He did not talk to me about a plot. I never heard of him from that time until McKinley was shot."

"But did you not hear from him in some way?"

"I went from Chicago to Rochester by way of Buffalo," came the answer. "I left Chicago on July 12, reached Buffalo the following day, and left there on the 13th. I did not see anybody in Buffalo—well by anybody, I mean any one who knew Czolgosz."

"You met Hattie Lang?"

Hattie Lang was the Buffalo "agent" of the Free Society which Isaak published.

"Yes, met Hattie Lang."

"But didn't you see Czolgosz in Buffalo?"

"No, I didn't see him."

"Did you talk to anybody who knew him?"

"No."

had been arrested. I didn't believe that the Isaaks could have been arrested, though the paper stated that the Chicago police had done this."

"And you did not meet the police?"

Denies She Was Hiding.

"The fact that I came to Chicago," came the reply, with just a show of impatience, "shows that I had no intention of hiding myself. If I had wanted to hide I would have been able to go from St. Louis right across to Canada and then they would have looked for me for a long time. I came here especially to be on the spot when I saw the necessity of announcing myself to the police. If the police were able to connect me with the attack on the President I was ready to give myself up."

"But you sought to get bail for the Isaaks, didn't you?"

"I saw some people who could get bail," came the tentative reply.

"Did you see Miss Jane Addams in this endeavor?"

"I haven't seen Miss Addams since 1897 when I met her at the trades' carnival."

"Have you been to 515 Carroll avenue to meet any one?"

"I haven't been there since I came to the city. I knew I should walk into the hands of the detectives if I went there. I took a cab when I got off the Wabash train on Sunday morning, had a porter carry my grip for me, and drove at once to a hotel. Which hotel? I won't tell you that. No, I made no attempt to get my mail. There is nothing of importance coming to me, anyhow."

What She Says of the Attack.

"But do you think Czolgosz's act was praiseworthy?" was finally insisted on.

"I am not in a position to say whether it was good or bad," she answered, squaring herself in her chair. "It is for the man who did it to decide. I am not in his boots and know nothing about it. I don't see why they should make any more fuss about the President than over any other man. All men are born equal, I believe," she concluded with an ironical emphasis.

"But some man rise above the equality of birth," was suggested. "We are all interested in the man whom we have made our chief."

"I think money put this man in office, not you," returned anarchy's priestess hotly.

"But Czolgosz asserts that you inspired him to commit this crime?"

"If I see him and he tells me that he said that, then I will believe," she said. "Not before."

Walter Nowak Questions Her.

"Don't you believe you are responsible for Czolgosz's deed?" demanded Walter Nowak, the man who identified the assassin in Buffalo. "Don't you believe that your speeches aroused him so that he had to do it?"

"Certainly not," came the calm answer.

"He said they did. He said it in my presence," insisted the interrogator.

"I don't believe the man said that. It is foolish to think that this man would claim that he did that deed alone and unaided and at the same time to claim that I inspired him. If he had accomplices, but still claims that he was acting alone, do you think he would have singled me out as the only friend he would not protect by assuming entire responsibility?"

"But he heard you lecture?"

That Lecture in Cleveland.

"He may have heard me lecture in Cleveland, for I lectured there twice on May 6. I said absolutely nothing that could inspire anybody to commit murder, however. I advocate education, not violence. The lecture that I delivered could never have stirred him to violence. I talked of the 'Modern Phases of Anarchy.' My lecture was entirely philosophical and scientific. I dealt a great deal with the question of violence, showing that violence and anarchy have nothing to do with each other."

"He says your words inspired him to shoot the President."

"I don't believe it. If he wanted to shield me why would he mention my name? The trouble is that the newspaper men and the police have fixed that up. He never said that. He would never say that I inspired him if he had any one to help him—which probability is to my mind wholly untrue."

Ridiculus Hanna's Plot Story.

Then the woman turned her anger on the President and Senator Hanna.

"It's strange," she asserted, "that Mark Hanna, the real ruler of this country, for McKinley has been only a tool, should at once claim that there was a plot to kill. Why, McKinley has been nothing but this man's tool. He has been the most insignificant and ignorant President this country ever had. He has no ability nor intelligence that I was Emma Goldman; that I was ready to go with him."

She closed this recital with a hearty laugh. She continued to assert that she had never preached the doctrine of violence.

"Violence is the product of governmentalism, not anarchy," she insisted. "Since government is based on force and wholesale murder, there can be no other outcome. Yes, we believe in no government. In each individual governing himself; in equal opportunity for all."

"But your followers have given themselves over to violence in many instances."

Her Explanation of Violence.

"The majority has nothing to do with violence," she challenged. "But violence is dependent not only on the understanding, but on the character of persons. Of two men, one may be calm and opposing any semblence of violence, though despising it. The other may be impatient, observe the misery and inequality about him, be carried away by despair arising from this force, and commit violence. Of such, Czolgosz may have been."

"But during the building trades' strike in Chicago did you not urge the pickets to attack workmen?"

"That's as true as these stories of the present," she replied, quietly. "I was in Paris at that time. I never said anything of the kind. I was not here."

"While there did you see Bresci, the murderer of King Humbert?"

"I did not. I never knew him."

"Did you know any of the men who have sought to take the lives of rulers?"

"I knew one man, Alexander Bergman, the man who tried to kill H. C. Frick during the Homestead strikes. No other."

Then she discussed her arrest again.

"These arrests," said she, "smack a great deal of the Haymarket riot. The police have found themselves discredited in the eyes of the people. Scandals are upon them. They must do something to show that they are really of some value to have around. They are trying to cleanse themselves by making latest. The police must have secured those letters on Saturday.

"Now do you suppose," she continued, "that if there had been anything wrong—plots, conspiracy, anything of that kind—that they would have allowed me to come to Chicago of all places? Why, they would have arrested me. Of course I understand that your police are in the habit of arresting guiltless persons. If you want to make another affair such as that of the Haymarket in 1887 they can do it. But they cannot find a scintilla of evidence against me."

"Do you mean that if the police do not desist there will be more bomb throwing?" she was asked.

"You misunderstand me," came the quick reply. "I mean that the police are intending—if they do not succeed it will not be their fault—to bring about another judicial murder. To get up a plot and to kill out the shadows they stand under."

"Will this attempted murder of the President have the result of stamping out anarchy?"

"My friend," she began, "you will never stamp out anarchy any more than you can keep down the waves of the sea with a broom. You may kill an Anarchist, but you cannot kill an idea. You killed the Haymarket Anarchists. But did you stamp out anarchy? No, it has grown stronger and stronger in Chicago. You cannot kill out this idea. It will grow stronger and stronger everywhere. Anarchism will never be stamped out."

Captain Schuettler Plays the Host.

It was long after 2 o'clock before Miss Goldman had her dinner.

"I'm sorry to keep you waiting so long," said Captain Schuettler.

"O, don't bother yourself," replied the woman. "I shall have a good dinner, though. The State will pay for it. I shall have a splendid dinner today."

As she left the Chief's office with Captain Schuettler the former extended his hand.

"I can't shake hands with you," she said.

of Detectives Smith and Beumer of the Sheffield Avenue Station.

Norris Also Arrested.

Shortly before 2 o'clock Norris turned into Sheffield avenue from Webster avenue and started toward the building on the opposite side of the street. He passed the house and was hurrying out of the vicinity when Detective Smith followed and overtook him.

"Is your name Norris?" Smith asked.

"Yes, it is. What do you want?"

"Well, you're under arrest," said the detective.

Norris made no comment and has since

months he had been ill and had not been associated with any firm.

"I do not place any credence in the assertions of the man," said Chief O'Neill at the termination of the examination. "All arrangements had been made for the escape of the woman this morning and this man must have been aware of it. I shall ask that Norris be indicted with the others for conspiracy and on the specific charge of aiding and abetting the escape of a fugitive from justice."

EMMA GOLDMAN'S OWN STORY.

more, there wouldn't be anything wrong with them. The standard of morals in the student class is phenomenally high, and the average intelligent Russian woman's mind is as pure as it is broad.

"The relation between the sexes in Russia is the most ideal of any I know about. That is why young Russian women learn to think. And because they think they become Anarchists.

Proud of Her Anarchy.

"I was an Anarchist when I left Russia to come to America, but I had hardly formulated my belief. The final influence that crystallized my views was the hanging of the Chicago Anarchists in 1887. I followed that case carefully and it made me an active Anarchist. I was living with my family in Rochester then, and the nearest thing to a radical society the town had was a Social Democratic society, same as a house cat. I came away to New York and went to work in a factory. That showed me a new side of life. My family had been well-to-do, and I hadn't come in actual contact with the want and suffering of the world until I joined the wage-earners.

"Of course the experience strengthened my revolutionary ideas. When the Waist and Shirtmaker Girls' union went out in 1858 I led the strike. That is, in a way I led it. I have never been an Anarchist leader. I cannot afford it. A leader must be a diplomat. I am not a diplomat. A leader of a party makes concessions to his party, for the sake of holding his power. He must give way to his followers in order to be sure they will sustain him. I can't do all that. I am an Anarchist because I love individual freedom and I will not surrender that freedom.

"I soon saw that the safest and wisest way to keep myself free was not to be a leader. That is why I am connected with no party. I am a member of no group. I stand outside. I take no pay. I accept no favors. What I do I do individually, for love of the cause. There is no party to back me, but there is no party to say: 'You must do this and you must not do that. You are paid. You owe it to us. You must bow to the majority.' I bow to nothing except my idea of right. I am free and I will stay free. Individual freedom and responsibility—there is the basis for true anarchy.

Emma Goldman, the Woman.

"You know I am a professional nurse. It has always been the dream of my life to be a doctor, but I never could manage it—could not get means for the study. My factory work undermined my health, so I thought that if I couldn't be a doctor I could at least be a little part of the profession. I went through the training for a nurse, did the hospital work, and now nurse private cases.

"When I came out of prison on Blackwell's Island I was nervous. I decided to try a change and go to Europe for a year. I could lecture for the cause and take a course in massage and in midwifery in Vienna. There is no good training for either here, though we have the best training schools for nurses in the world.

"Well, I went and did my studying and then went to Paris to study and wait for the Anarchists' congress. You know the government prohibited the congress. We had it all the same, but the meetings were secret. I received the honor or dishonor of especially strict surveillance. I was to give a series of lectures, but after the third the authorities warned me that if I gave any more I must leave France, and so I wanted to attend the congress I kept quiet.

"Finally, detectives escorted me to the station and saw my luggage checked to the steamer and then notified the government that the dangerous woman was on her way out of France."

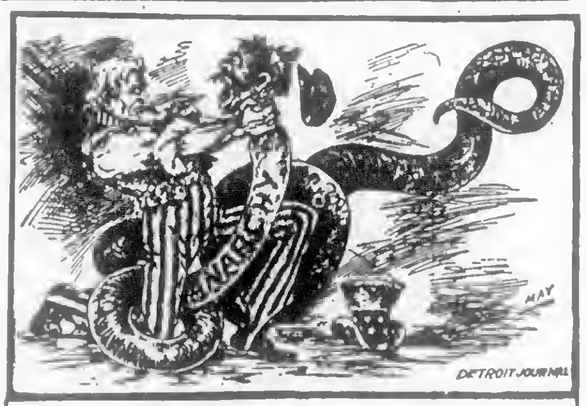
PUBLIC SENTIMENT TOWARD ANARCHY AS EXPRESSED BY CARTOONISTS.



THE SNAKE AT THE FIRESIDE



HIS PLAIN DUTY IS TEMPORARILY CHECKED BY HIS INTEREST IN THE SUFFERER AT BUFFALO.



STRANGLE IT RIGHT NOW.

"REDS" TRY HABEAS CORPUS.

Will Apply for Writ Today Through Attorney Saltiel—Emma Goldman Probably in Case.

An application will be made today for a writ of habeas corpus in behalf of the nine Chicago Anarchists now under arrest, charged with conspiracy to murder President McKinley. The name of Emma Goldman also probably will be included in the petition, and an attempt will be made to [illegible] the "high priestess of anarchy" along with the other defendants.

Should the application for a writ be successful it probably will be made returnable tomorrow morning, at which time all the defendants would be brought into court. It then would devolve on the Prosecuting Attorney to produce the evidence on which the Anarchists are deprived of their liberty. In the evidence which can be produced, it

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

204

880623019

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman in Law's Grasp / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Chicago Daily Tribune. –(Sept 11, 1901).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

"You met Hattie Lang."

Hattie Lang was the Buffalo "agent" of the Free Society which Isaak published.

"Yes, met Hattie Lang."

"But didn't you see Czolgosz in Buffalo?"

"No. I didn't see him."

"Did you talk to anybody who knew him?"

"No."

"Didn't you meet a number of Anarchists in Buffalo?"

"I may have met some friends. Czolgosz was not known. His name was never mentioned. No, I didn't do anything in connection with the 'work' in Rochester."

"I left Buffalo with Marie Isaak on July 15, and went to my sister's home in Rochester—the home of Mrs. Hochstein. I staid there until Aug. 16 or 17—I'm not sure as to the exact time."

"But while in Rochester you sent several letters to Hippolyte Havel, the Chicago Anarchist now under arrest?"

Those Letters to Havel.

"I did," admitted the little woman, whirling her glasses on her finger. "But they were private letters. They had nothing to do with the 'cause.'"

"And from Rochester?"

"I started on a business trip. I travel for a New York firm, you know, to make my expenses. We first went to Buffalo—Marie Isaak, a number of friends, and I. They went to see the exposition. I did not meet any one who knew Czolgosz. His name was never mentioned. Then I went to Pittsburg, then to Cincinnati, and then to St. Louis. I reached St. Louis last Thursday. I remained there until Saturday evening."

"But the police wanted you."

"I know it. I saw the police, but they didn't see me," she smiled with a show of satisfaction.

"But why didn't you let the police know of your whereabouts if you have nothing to fear?"

"For reasons of my own, I guess," she added, laughing. "I like to fool the police whenever I can. They are big fools. They showed it on Saturday."

Reached Chicago Last Sunday.

"And you reached Chicago——?"

"Sunday morning about 8 o'clock," she broke in. "I went to a hotel and registered under an assumed name. The police never bothered me," she added, with a shuw of contempt.

"But why did you come here?"

"I came here to be on the spot when the time should come when I would be needed," she returned with determination in every tone.

"Didn't you come here, too, in the hope of some way helping the Isaak family?"

"Yes, to help them if possible. And, if the police connected me with the thing, to be here to face them."

"O, I intended to come here anyhow," she added with a twinkle of her eyes. "I didn't disarrange my plans. I intended to come here and then go to Detroit, to Cleveland, to Pittsburg, to Washington, to Philadelphia, and back to New York City. The New York firm I travel for? I would not like to mention the name. I am a trained nurse, you know, by profession, but I travel for this house to make my expenses."

As Quiet as a Trained Nurse.

The stamp of the trained nurse is on this woman, too. Her bearing is that of one who has been accustomed to dealing with the sick. Her voice is soft and her every action is marked by gentleness. There is nothing of the Carrie Nation type of "reformer" about her. In the uniform of the hospital and sickroom she would pass muster among any number of nurses.

"Where did you first hear of the assassination of President McKinley?"

"O, I didn't receive any news. I heard the newsboys in St. Louis crying their 'extras.' I was going to my boarding-house at 1350 South Thirteenth street. I didn't buy a paper. I know from experience that there are no reliable papers in this country," she continued with a mocking smile at the newspapermen.

"Well, but you knew that you had been charged with the attempted murder?"

"I didn't know that until Saturday afternoon. I got a paper then and to my amazement found that the man who fired the shot

President and Senator Hanna.

"It's strange," she asserted, "that Mark Hanna, the real ruler of this country, for McKinley has been only a tool, should at once claim that there was a plot to kill. Why McKinley has been nothing but this man's tool. He has been the most insignificant and ignorant President this country ever had. He has no skill nor intelligence. Other Presidents have had wits and intelligence. McKinley has been a tool in the hands of monopolists of the wealthy. It seems remarkable that Mark Hanna should talk of a plot."

Calls President "Too Insignificant."

"Then you did not desire to have the President killed?"

"No," and she threw back her head. "No, I consider him too insignificant a man for that purpose."

"Do you believe the cause might have been better furthered, if violence was to be committed, if some monopolist had been stricken down?"

"Yes, the monopolists are responsible for all this misery about us. Had the conditions on which this country was founded been adhered to and followed there would be no Czolgosz today. But you have sought to pursue the lines of an empire. The monopolists are responsible for the conditions today. Now you are trying to throw the blame on our shoulders—the blame for their own work."

"Well, there are other countries where you may live."

"But European countries," she replied, "do not pretend to be free. Here you pretend to have liberty and you have none."

"To these conditions, then, you ascribe Czolgosz's act?"

"This man was one of the unfortunates who was driven about by the misery which he saw surrounding him. He was driven by this to commit the act. He thought he might be the means of bringing relief to his fellows."

"But the police hold that this crime was the result of a carefully planned plot?"

Knows of No Conspiracy.

The woman laughed, swinging her feet back and forth as she whirled her glasses on either index finger.

"I know of no plot. That man was too intelligent. He evidently could make his own plans. I speak now merely from what I have heard."

"But you sympathize with him and approve his deed?"

"I feel deeply with him as an individual. If I had the means I would help him. I would aid him to get counsel and try to see that he received justice."

"Do you believe he is sane?"

The prisoner changed her tactics.

"I don't know whether he is sane or not," she replied, carelessly. "And since I don't care I don't see why I should give an opinion."

Pours Out Wrath on Police.

She then directed her wrath against the police.

"I couldn't believe that the Isaak family had been arrested," she asserted. "Think of dragging a girl of 16 and a boy to the police station!"

"But there were clews which warranted this step!"

"Yes," she returned, "but if a Democrat had killed McKinley I feel certain that the police would not have raided the homes of all the Democrats in this city. I feel certain that they would not have dragged the children of Democrats to cells. They would have held only the man who committed the act responsible."

"But you yourself did not visit the police to set aside the suspicion resting on you."

"O as to my arrest! I was going to give myself up to the police during the morning. Had Captain Schuettler been a half hour later much trouble would have been saved. I would have given myself up in that time."

Then she exhibited her pleasure as she related her experience of the morning.

Laughs at Captain Schuettler.

"When Captain Schuettler entered the house he found me dressing. I was preparing to go to the station then. I had fun with him for some time. He asked me if I knew Emma Goldman. I said 'No.' I told him there was no Emma Goldman there. I said I was a servant. I gave the name of Thorsen—any that happened to come to my lips. He told me not to be frightened, but that he had to search the house. He found a fountain pen in a box bearing my name. I told him the people of the house might have found it. He then said he would have to leave a detective there. I then told him that I didn't care to be trusted with a detective; Homestead strikes. No other."

Then she discussed her arrest again.

"These arrests," said she, "smack a great deal of the Haymarket riot. The police have found themselves discredited in the eyes of the people. Scandals are upon them. They must do something to show that they are really of some value to have around. They are trying to cleanse themselves by making up a case of Anarchists and plots. If they wish to make up this case they may do it—the police can do almost anything. Especially the Chicago police," she added, looking at Chief O'Neill.

"But were there any scandals at the time of the Haymarket riot?"

She put her hand to her head with a mock-heroic gesture.

"Police scandals? There are so many that it would take a better head than mine to remember. But in the present case, the idea of sweeping down on families during the night! Of dragging a girl of 16 to jail! I say for the police, though, they don't do it of their own account. They are well paid for it in all probability."

"But violence was committed at the Haymarket riot?"

What Made Her an Anarchist.

"I do not admit that violence was committed," she asserted. "I believe that was a judicial murder. So do others who believe in justice. I became an Anarchist through the hanging of the Chicago Anarchists. I sympathized with them. The fact that Governor Altgeld pardoned three of them showed that they were unlawfully and illegally sentenced.

"The police have yet to prove who threw the bomb. I am not sure that they themselves did not do it. Mind, I have too much respect for human life to accuse any one. But the police have not shown that they did not do this.

"The men were no more guilty in throwing the Haymarket bomb that I am in this," she concluded.

"Are you in the habit of visiting friends of anarchy under an assumed name?" she was asked suddenly.

"Indeed not," she answered, seeing the trend of the question. "I suppose you infer that I went to Mr. Norris' home under an assumed name. I did not. I had met Mr. Norris during the course of my work as a saleswoman. I went to his home on Monday afternoon and asked if I might spend the night there. I was kindly received and remained there."

"That reminds me," she continued. "The police! Why, I was shopping on Saturday afternoon. I visited many of the big stores in State street. In fact, I passed the City Hall three times. Yes, I saw the police. They paid no attention to me, however."

Sits for Her Photograph.

Then Miss Goldman was asked to sit for a photograph for THE TRIBUNE. She readily consented. Every opportunity tending to get her name before the public was readily welcomed.

"Your pictures hitherto published do not do you justice," said Chief O'Neill as he arranged a chair for her.

She flushed for an instant. Then she added, turning to Detective Herts:

"Well, if my photographs had been good I presume you would have found me more quickly."

Warrant Is Read to Her.

It was Detective Herts who read the warrant for her arrest to her in Chief O'Neill's office shortly before 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

"Shall I read this, or do you desire it dispensed with?" he asked.

"You might just as well read it," she replied, closing the book, "Toward Democracy," which she had been trying to read at intervals.

The detective came to the sentence: "That the conspiracy to commit murder was committed in this said county and State."

She sneered at the words, then smiled to those who stood about.

"We demand you to make due service and return hereof, as the law directs," continued the detective later.

"I'm sure the law doesn't direct you to arrest persons who commit no offense," she broke in quietly, never losing her composure.

Mayor Questions Miss Goldman.

During the noon hour Mayor Harrison was among those who questioned her in Chief O'Neill's office.

"The police knew that I was coming here," she told him. "I sent letters to the Isaaks from St. Louis. I told them I would be here on Sunday if I could finish my business there on Saturday. If not at that time, I promised to be here on Monday or Tuesday at the

"I'm sorry to keep you waiting so long," said Captain Schuettler.

"O, don't bother yourself," replied the woman. "I shall have a good dinner, though. The State will pay for it. I shall have a splendid dinner today."

As she left the Chief's office with Captain Schuettler the former extended his hand.

"I can't shake hands with you," she said, drawing back. "You represent government and the law. We believe in no government."

She was escorted to a carriage by the Captain and driven at once to the Harrison Street Annex, where she ate a hearty dinner. Then, in the afternoon, she again faced the police authorities and a circle of newspaper men.

"You are to be married soon, are you not?" was asked.

Doesn't Believe in Marriage.

"Me? Not that I know of," came the reply. "I don't believe in marriage. The law has no right to interfere in the private affairs of the people. Marriage is a private matter, to my mind. I don't see, then, why ministers or judges should stick their noses in. No, sir, I do not believe in marriages."

"Will you insist on a trial when you are arraigned in the morning?" she was asked last night.

"Indeed, I shall," she returned. "I shall insist on an immediate hearing. I have asked the Chief to tell Attorney Salthiel to visit me and care for my case. I have heard nothing from him as yet."

"Do you have any hope of getting out on bail?"

"O, they don't want to try me here," she answered quickly. "They want to get me to Buffalo. There's where they want me. They have asked me already if I will go without the formality of requisition papers."

"Will you?"

"Indeed I shall not. I believe I will not give the police that pleasure. They will have to fight if they want to get me there. I shall not go until I have to."

Her Life Story in Brief.

She traced her history briefly during her talks with the newspaper men.

"I was born in Russia thirty-two years ago," she said. "I was a girl of 16 when I came over here with my sister."

"Is that Mrs. Hichstein of Rochester?"

"Yes. I came over with her. I had sympathized with the peasants and the poor in Russia. No, I am not of peasant blood. I came from the middle class. I am not an Anarchist because I had nothing to eat," she concluded. "The Haymarket riot and the judicial murders that followed made an Anarchist of me. I shall never give up anarchism. It is the one idea which will live. You may kill us, you cannot throttle the idea, no matter how courts may decide nor what laws may be enacted."

Capture of Miss Goldman.

Miss Goldman was barricaded behind locked doors in the apartments of C. G. Norris on the third floor of the McNulty Flats at 303 Sheffield avenue, when Captain Herman Schuettler and Detective Herts visited the place at 11 o'clock in the morning to place the Anarchist leader under arrest.

When the policemen arrived the curtains in the Norris flat were drawn and there was no evidence of life about the place. Vigorous pounding on the doors failed to awaken any response. At the top of the stairway leading from the street a window was found from which another opening into the Norris flat is accessible.

Detective Herts was helped through this window and gained entrance to the apartments, where Emma Goldman was arrested. The door was then opened and Captain Schuettler entered.

Denies Her Identity.

Sitting in the parlor, dressed in a light wrapper, with two partly filled valises in front of her, was Emma Goldman. She turned pale when the policemen confronted her and denied her identity, which was established by a fountain pen box, on which her name was written. The woman had said that she was a servant.

"Well, you were lucky," she remarked to Captain Schuettler, when she saw that further denial was useless. "In ten minutes I would have been away from here. I intended to go down to the Chief's office and give myself up."

Captain Schuettler believes, however, that the woman was packing her clothes preparatory to leaving the city.

After her arrest Miss Goldman was taken to Central Police Station. There was no one else in the flat when the arrest was made, but the premises were placed in charge

started toward the building on the opposite side of the street. He passed the house and was hurrying out of the vicinity when Detective Smith followed and overtook him.

"Is your name Norris?" Smith asked.

"Yes, it is. What do you want?"

"Well, you're under arrest," said the detective.

Norris made no comment, and when asked to give the names of the occupants of his flat refused.

"I don't believe I want to talk to you," was all he would say.

He was taken to Chief O'Neill's office. He seemed neither surprised nor chagrined over his arrest.

The building in which Emma Goldman was found is a four-story stone structure, situated within six blocks of the Sheffield Avenue Police Station. The flat from which she was taken is said to be occupied by C. G. Norris, Belle Norris, Stella Thorndale, Rowena Thorndale, her young daughter, and P. C. Verrall. The furnishings of the apartments are substantial and the place is artistically decorated.

Little is known of the occupants of the flat in the neighborhood. Neighbors have observed them almost daily since they moved into the neighborhood on May 1 but never have noticed anything unusual or suspicious about their actions.

Tell of Mysterious Men.

Persons residing in Sheffield avenue near the McNulty Flats report having been approached three times in the evening since Saturday by men who asked for the location of No. 303. They attached no significance to the incidents at the time, but asserted yesterday that they believed the men were looking for some one in the Norris flat.

The "tip" which led to the arrest of Miss Goldman came to Chief O'Neill's office yesterday morning about 10 o'clock, but the Chief and other officers connected with the arrest refused last night to make known the source from which the information came. It is reported, however, that it was furnished by a private citizen.

"Emma Goldman played her part well after she was trapped," said Captain Schuettler last night. "She was indignant at first and declared that she was Miss Armstein and a servant girl. While she was protesting against her arrest I happened to notice a fountain pen box among her effects and on it was written in a scrawling hand, 'Miss Emma Goldman.' When confronted with this evidence she gave up."

Norris a Student of Mankind.

Charles G. Norris, in whose flat Miss Goldman was captured and who was taken into custody shortly after her arrest, has little in his appearance to suggest an Anarchist. Neatly attired and carrying a light cane, Norris appeared to be a successful young business man. He appeared unconcerned about his arrest and declared that his action in offering protection to Miss Goldman could not be construed as abetting the escape of a criminal, as the woman had assured him of her intended surrender to the police during the morning.

Under questioning of Chief O'Neill Norris disclaimed any connection with the alleged conspiracies of the prisoners or any belief in the teachings of Emma Goldman. As a sociological student he asserted that he had been drawn to them by a desire to study at closer range the actions and idiosyncrasies of men and women.

"All men are types, and you are a rather peculiar and interesting one," he said, turning to Chief O'Neill. "It merely was to study the woman that I first sought an introduction to her after one of her speeches in this city. To this end I became acquainted with others while interesting myself but little in their creeds. When Miss Goldman sought me out after her arrival in Chicago she explained that she had come here to surrender herself to the police, and she was given permission to remain until the time that she desired had arrived."

Chief Wants to Know.

"Why did you not notify the police at once?" asked Chief O'Neill. "Here is a woman for whom the federal, State, and city authorities were searching night and day, and every indication points to the fact that she was about to escape from the city. Why did you not perform the duty required of you as a citizen and notify us at once?"

"Miss Goldman had assured me that she was about to surrender herself," returned Norris, "and I had no reason to doubt her veracity."

Norris told the Chief that he was a Canadian, 29 years old, and a naturalized citizen of the United States. For several years, he said, he had been an insurance agent. Prior to that time he was a clerk. For several

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890118005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman's Own Story / Emma Goldman.— p. 3 ; 28 cm. *In* The Chicago Daily Tribune. —(Sept. 11, 1901).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

tha woman this morning and this man must have been aware of it. I shall ask that Norris be indicted with the others for conspiracy and on the specific charge of aiding and abetting the escape of a fugitive from justice."

EMMA GOLDMAN'S OWN STORY.

Woman Admits Her Anarchistic Convictions, but Says She Does Not Advocate Violence.

Emma Goldman, now under arrest in Chicago, and whose anarchistic teachings are said to have prompted Leon Czolgosz to seek the life of President McKinley, has been prominent as an enemy of organized government for more than ten years. She is recognized as a radical among radicals, when it comes to waving the red flag and expounding the principles of her faith.

Miss Goldman's contempt for the present system of law is pronounced, bitter, and unrelenting, yet she never fails to deny that she is an advocate of violence.

"I have never advocated violence," she asserted some time ago, in an interview, "but neither do I condemn the Anarchist who resorts to it. I look behind him for the conditions that made him possible, and my horror is swallowed up in pity. Perhaps under the same conditions I would have done the same."

Miss Goldman says she was born a revolutionist, but that her belief in anarchy was not actually crystallized until after the hanging of the Chicago Anarchists in 1887. Then she became what she describes as an active Anarchist, and her activity has never flagged since then. She has been a prolific writer for all publications in this country that would give space to her articles upon anarchy and has devoted much of her time to lecturing.

The Chicago police have never had occasion before to arrest Miss Goldman, although she frequently has delivered lectures before the Anarchists and Socialists of this city. In these speeches she is said to have made the most inflammatory utterances. Her lectures in Chicago have attracted little attention, however, seldom having been announced in an obtrusive manner. Her reputation was such, however, that the management of Hull House refused to permit her to speak in that establishment.

Once in a Prison.

In 1893 the New York police arrested Miss Goldman on a warrant charging her with "inciting to riot." The arrest was a result of her activity during the famous Debs strike, and it was followed by her imprisonment on Blackwell's Island for a term of one year, which was shortened to seven months on account of good behavior. She formerly had led a strike of the Waist and Shirt Maker Girls' union in New York, but without attracting much attention.

In an extended interview which Miss Goldman gave out a few months ago while in New York she told many things about her life and her views on social and political questions which have a special interest at the present moment. She said:

"I am a Russian through and through, although little of my life was spent there. I was born in Russia, but was brought up in Germany and graduated from a German school. All that didn't make a German of me. I went back to Russia when I was 15 years old, and felt that I was returning to my home. My family was orthodox. None of my revolutionary tendencies was inherited—at least my parents were not responsible for them and were horrified by them.

"While I was in Germany I did not think much about anarchy, but when I went back to St. Petersburg my whole attitude toward life changed, and I went into radicalism with all my heart and soul. You see, things are different in Russia from what they are here or anywhere else. One breathes a revolutionary thought with the air, and without being definitely interested in anarchy one learns its principles. There was discussion and thought and enthusiasm all around me, and something within me responded to it all.

Woman's Equality in Russia.

"There is no other place in the world where woman has what she has in Russia. There the women have not only the same rights in law as the men, they have the same liberties and the same social and intellectual freedom. There man respects woman, looks upon her as his equal, is her good chum—yes, that is the word. Nowhere are men and women chums as they are in Russia.

"A woman student in Russia may receive visitors all day and most of the night, discuss all vital subjects with them, go with men when and where she pleases, and yet she will not be criticised, and no landlady would dream of insinuating that there was anything wrong with her morals. What is

Should the application for a writ be successful it probably will be made returnable tomorrow morning, at which time all the defendants would be brought into court. It then would devolve on the Prosecuting Attorney to produce the evidence on which the Anarchists are deprived of their liberty.

In the evidence which can be produced, it is said the Chicago police have the following telegram from the Buffalo Chief of Police:

"Czolgosz was in Chicago Aug. 18, in company of Emma Goldman and Abraham Isaak at Isaak's office."

The Chicago police do not know on what evidence this statement is based, but take it for granted that it is a part of the confession of Czolgosz.

The decision to resort to habeas corpus was reached after many efforts had been made to induce the authorities to release the prisoners on bail.

The papers are being prepared by Attorney Leopold Saltiel assisted by Raymond Robbins and Charles T. Brown. They will call for the production in court of the following persons, if Emma Goldman is included in the application:

Emma Goldman.	Clemence Pfuetzner.
Abraham Isaak Sr.,	Michael Roa.
Abraham Isaak Jr.,	Martin Rosalck.
Hippolite Havel,	Morris Fox
Henry Travaglio.	Alfred Schaelder.

The conference between the authorities and Attorney Saltiel was held at 11 o'clock in the office of Chief O'Neill. Besides the Chief, the others present were Chief of Detectives Colleran, City Prosecutor Howard S. Taylor, and Assistant Prosecutor John E. Owens.

"In consideration of the public agitation on the question of these arrests," said Mr. Saltiel, "I did not begin these proceedings yesterday. I appreciate the position of the police and know their anxiety to get at the bottom of a conspiracy if there was one. I believe these men are not guilty and that if released on bail they will not attempt to leave the city."

"Under no consideration will I consent to their release on bail," responded Chief O'Neill. "We have advices from Buffalo to hold them at all hazards. In that case we are only acting for the Buffalo police. We will hold them until advised to release them."

That ended the conference and the attorney hastened to his office and began the preparation of his application for a writ of habeas corpus.

WOULD DRIVE OUT ANARCHISTS.

Harrison Gray Otis Declares That Laws to Control the Reds Must Be Created.

General Harrison Gray Otis of Los Angeles, Cal., for many years an intimate friend of President McKinley, stopped in Chicago yesterday while on his way to Buffalo.

"The anarchistic elements back of the attempted assassination must be crushed," he said. "I think the immediate effect will be legislation against them. An attack against the Chief Executive should, I think, be classed as treason. If the will of the few Anarchists and assassins is allowed to triumph over the will and rights of the majority, it is a poor democracy and government that we have.

"I think that a classification of Anarchists should be made and the most dangerous expelled from the country. Those who are professed believers in anarchy should, I think, be driven out.

"Coming across the continent, the great anxiety of the people over President McKinley was to be observed in every town. In some towns late telegraphic reports had not been received and the people awaited the trains, hoping to hear something. The passengers, as eager as the people at the stations, left the trains hoping to hear late telegraphic reports."

MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY SENT.

Veterans of Battery A and Immaculate Conception Parishioners Adopt Resolutions.

At the annual reunion of the veterans of Battery A, First Illinois Artillery, resolutions of sympathy were passed and telegraphed to Mrs. McKinley.

The pastor and parishioners of the Church of the Immaculate Conception have adopted resolutions eulogizing President McKinley and offering "sympathy and profound sorrow to Mrs. McKinley, the devoted wife, whose great grief is shared by the whole nation and the peoples of all Christian lands."

890118005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman's Own Story / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 28 cm. *In*-The Chicago Daily Tribune. –(Sept. 11, 1901).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

more, there wouldn't be anything wrong with them. The standard of morals in the student class is phenomenally high, and the average intelligent Russian woman's mind is as pure as it is broad.

"The relation between the sexes in Russia is the most ideal of any I know about. That is why young Russian women learn to think. And because they think they become Anarchists.

Proud of Her Anarchy.

"I was an Anarchist when I left Russia to come to America, but I had hardly formulated my belief. The final influence that crystallized my views was the hanging of the Chicago Anarchists in 1887. I followed that case carefully and it made me an active Anarchist. I was living with my family in Rochester then, and the nearest thing to a radical society the town had was a Social Democratic society, tame as a house cat. I came away to New York and went to work in a factory. That showed me a new side of life. My family had been well-to-do, and I hadn't come in actual contact with the want and suffering of the world until I joined the wage-earners.

"Of course the experience strengthened my revolutionary ideas. When the Waist and Shirtmaker Girls' union went out in 1888 I led the strike. That is, in a way I led it. I have never been an Anarchist leader. I cannot afford it. A leader must be a diplomat. I am not a diplomat. A leader of a party makes concessions to his party, for the sake of holding his power. He must give way to his followers in order to be sure they will sustain him. I can't do all that. I am an Anarchist because I love individual freedom and I will not surrender that freedom.

"I soon saw that the safest and wisest way to keep myself free was not to be a leader. That is why I am connected with no party. I am a member of no group. I stand outside. I take no pay. I accept no favors. What I do I do individually, for love of the cause. There is no party to back me, but there is no party to say: 'You must do this and you must not do that. You are paid. You owe it to us. You must bow to the majority.' I bow to nothing except my idea of right. I am free and I will stay free. Individual freedom and responsibility—there is the basis for true anarchy.

Emma Goldman, the Woman.

"You know I am a professional nurse. It has always been the dream of my life to be a doctor, but I never could manage it—could not get means for the study. My factory work undermined my health, so I thought that if I couldn't be a doctor I could at least be a little part of the profession. I went through the training for a nurse, did the hospital work, and now nurse private cases.

"When I came out of prison on Blackwell's Island I was nervous. I decided to try a change and go to Europe for a year. I could lecture for the cause and take a course in massage and in midwifery in Vienna. There is no good training for either here, though we have the best training schools for nurses in the world.

"Well, I went and did my studying and then went to Paris to study and wait for the Anarchists' congress. You know the government prohibited the congress. We had it all the same, but the meetings were secret. I received the honor or dishonor of especially strict surveillance. I was to give a series of lectures, but after the third the authorities warned me that if I gave any more I must leave France, and as I wanted to attend the congress I kept quiet.

"Finally, detectives escorted me to the station and saw my luggage checked to the steamer and then notified the government that the dangerous woman was on her way out of France."

"REDS" TRY HABEAS CORPUS.

Will Apply for Writ Today Through Attorney Saltiel—Emma Goldman Probably in Case.

An application will be made today for a writ of habeas corpus in behalf of the nine Chicago Anarchists now under arrest, charged with conspiracy to murder President McKinley. The name of Emma Goldman also probably will be included in the petition, and an attempt will be made to free the "high priestess of anarchy" along with the other defendants.

Should the application for a writ be successful it probably will be made returnable tomorrow morning, at which time all the defendants would be brought into court. It then would devolve on the Prosecuting Attorney to produce the evidence on which the Anarchists are deprived of their liberty.

In the evidence which can be produced, it

890118003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Speaks / Emma Goldman.— 26 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(Dec. 10, 1901).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

were the members of this Peo-
l Union and the music teachers
lic schools of this city. Now, it
that Mr. Frank Damrosch le
tor of the Oratorio Society and
ple's Choral Union, and that he
Superintendent of Music in the
ools. What was more natural,
that Mr. and Mrs. Carnegie,
entertain the People's Choral
the teachers, should engage the
ociety and Mr. Damrosch and
ntertainment in the temple of
h was built by Mr. Carnegie?
singers who appeared were
ther Palliser and Edith Thap-
nas; Mme. Clara Poola-King and
Newport, contraltos; Mr. Greg-
tener, and Mr. Gwyllm Miles.
With these soloists, the chorus
torio Society, an orchestra, and
ie Hall organ, Mr. Damrosch
a performance of Mendelssohn's
which, in some of its most ex-
tures, was really inspiring. These
ere the admirable singing of
and Mr. Miles's vigorous and
elivery of the music of the title

ore the last chorus was begun
osch turned and addressed the
He said that if after the per-
the chorus and audience should
ging a grand hymn, it might be
n expression of gratitude to the
and hostess who had made the
feast of music possible. The
is was sung. Then, at a signal
Damrosch, the whole audience
with Mr. Damrosch conducting,
ether with the Oratorio Society,
el's imposing inspiration the
h" chorus from "The Messiah"
was almost overwhelming, for
f the house was filled with sing-
People's Choral Union, and prob-
voices united in singing that
which Handel said that when he
t he thought the heavens opened
the choir of the eternals chant-
ises of the Omnipotent.
pectacle as chorus and audience
s music was unique and moving.
was over thunders of applause
r. and Mrs. Carnegie, who occu-
centre box in the first tier. The
anthropist blushed and smiled
l, and Mrs. Carnegie waved her
h of roses; but there was no
t should be recorded that Mr.
said the entire expense of the en-
t, and the audience was present
invitation. It was a lovely and
ct by Mr. Carnegie, and gave a
evening to many worthy mas
n.

S AND 'CELLO PLAYING.

lelssohn Hall yesterday afternoon
lch Meyn, baritone, and Mr. Jean
'cellist, appeared in a joint con-
erhaps it would be more correct
t it was Mr. Meyn's concert and
Gerardy assisted, and did so by
the most succulent part of the
. Meyn's songs were Rubinstein's
ht" and "Der Asra," Von Koss's
ied," Von Fielitz's "Am ersten
Maien," Jensen's "Alt Heidel-

years a civil engineer engaged on the city's water supply, which has given him great experience in work akin to tunnel construction, was next called. He favored a four-track road from the City Hall to the Battery, which other engineers have declared to be impracticable because an excavation of such magnitude would dangerously undermine the great Broadway office buildings. He admitted this difficulty, but said it could be obviated by making the upper part of the excavation first, and bracing it with the heavy permanent steel work of the upper railroad, and then proceeding with the excavation for the undermost tracks. He presented sketches of his plan. He said that the cost of the four tracks according to his plan would be about 30 per cent. more than that of the two-track plan proposed by the commission. To add tracks at a later date to a two-track road, he said, would greatly increase the cost over building a four-track road at once. He said that in the two-story plan connections and grades would be much simpler and that the noise in the trains would be much less than if they were running side by side.

There will be another hearing to-morrow.

EMMA GOLDMAN SPEAKS.

Presides at a Meeting of Anarchists—President Roosevelt Denounced.

Emma Goldman last night made her first public appearance in this city since she returned from Chicago, at a meeting of Anarchists in Civic Hall, 128 East Twenty-eighth Street, held last night under the auspices of the Social Science Club, of which she is the leading member. The hall was well filled with men and women, a number of the latter being young girls.

Emma Goldman presided, while a young man, R. Grossman, gave a lecture on "Anarchism and Communism." He spoke in broken English and denounced President Roosevelt and his recent message. He said that Czolgosz, the assassin of President McKinley, was responsible only to himself for the crime, and then proceeded to give his ideas on anarchism and communism.

His lecture did not please the audience, and was criticised very harshly by several people in it. One of them, who spoke in broken English himself, said that Grossman might have done better if he had learned the English language better.

Emma Goldman then pulled the lecture to pieces. She declared that the speaker knew nothing about Anarchy, but as he was only a recent convert from Socialism to Anarchy he could not be expected to know much about it. Then she said, with much bitterness:

"I object to the speaker's use of the word 'we' in talking about Anarchists. Anarchy, like other things, is changing. We have been dragged by the nose long enough. Anarchy means 'I.' It is dangerous to say 'we,' for if any irresponsible person commits what society calls a crime others are then held responsible. In Anarchy now every one must be responsible to himself or herself for his or her acts. We don't want to force people to be Anarchists, for anarchy is absolute liberty. What Anarchists object to is invasion of the rights of the individual."

Emma Goldman, as well as all the other speakers, denounced President Roosevelt.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SO

THE KAISER RETURNS THANKS.

Telegram to British Schools and Universities Club's President.

Sympathetic notice of the death of the German Emperor's mother at the annual dinner of the British Schools and Universities Club, at Delmonico's recently, brought the following telegram, received by Dr. John A. Irwin, the President of the organization, yesterday:

Kaiserlich deutsche Botschaft,
Washington, D. C., Dec. 2.

Kaiserlich Deutsche Botschaft.

Sir: Your telegram of the 9th ultimo addressed to his Majesty the German Emperor, my august sovereign, at the annual dinner of the British Schools and Universities Club, has been laid before his Majesty. Acting under instructions from my Government I have the honor to transmit to you, as President of the club, His Imperial Majesty's sincerest thanks for your kind attention. I am, Sir, very truly yours,

HOLLEBEN,
Imperial German Ambassador.

THE UNITED SERVICE.

Army.

First Lieut. Paul C. Hutton, Assistant Surgeon, will proceed to Fort Keogh and report to the commanding officer for duty, and to the Commanding General, Department of Dakota, to relieve Contract Surgeon Dower B. Himes, who will proceed to Fort Thomas and report to the commanding officer for duty, and to the Commanding General, Department of the Lakes.

Capt. Charles E. Tayman, First Infantry, is detailed for service and to fill a vacancy in the Pay Department.

Capt. Charles E. Tayman, Paymaster, will report to the Commanding General, Division of the Philippines, for assignment to duty.

Navy.

Naval Cadet E. A. Long is detached from the Iowa and ordered to the Concord as watch and division officer.

Naval Cadets W. Norris, M. H. Simons, and J. M. Enochs are transferred from the Iowa to the Columbia.

Surgeon N. H. Drake is ordered to the Philadelphia.

Pay Director J. Foster is ordered to duty as general storekeeper at the Portsmouth yard, Dec. 12.

Pay Director E. Bellows is detached from the Portsmouth yard, Dec. 12, and ordered to duty as purchasing pay officer at the Portsmouth yard, Dec. 16.

Pay Inspector J. R. Cann is detached from duty as purchasing pay officer at the Portsmouth yard, Dec. 16, and will continue other duties.

Movements of Naval Vessels.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9.—The Ranger sailed Dec. 7 from San Diego for La Paz.

The Alabama and Massachusetts sailed Dec. 6 from Charleston for Matanzas.

CIRCUMSTANCE

The Emma Goldman Papers

84J106000

To the Strikers of Paterson / Emma Goldman. – 43 cm. *In* La Questione Sociale [Paterson, NJ]. –(July 5, 1902).

Obtained from from the private collection of Sal Salerno. Institutional Location: Department of Labor Studies, Metropolitan State University, Minneapolis, MN.

La Questione Sociale. 5 Luglio 1902

To the strikers of Paterson

Since Wednesday June 18, when the police caused a riot by opening fire on a body of strikers whose offence only consisted of the attempt to induce those working in the mills to make common cause with them, the monthpieces of the Weidmann, Auger and Simon and the other upstarts in the silk trade, "the Paterson Guardian" has exerted all its "Literary Genius", to spread fallacious and vindicative reports about the Wednesday outbreak and the strikers in general. Since that [illegible] has employed every device to [illegible] the public against the workers by [illegible] holding up the strikers and the [illegible] as the cause of the whole trouble.

As long as this worthy member of Capitalistic hirelings indulged in vile denunciations of Anarchists and Anarchism, we deemed it below our dignity to rectify any of its statements. We know too well that it requires intelligence to discuss anarchism and to do justice to its adherents, and to credit a yellow sensational and viscious journal like the Guardian with such cultured qualities, would even make the Gods laugh; but since it persists in holding us responsible for the general strike, we consider it highest time to speak.

We speak because we wish to have a heart to heart talk with you, strikers. You men and women of the large masses whose life is an endless chain of drudgery, of darkness and despair, to you we speak. In times gone by when the workers dared to assert their rights, when driven to strike through years of suffering and abuse they have ever been misrepresented by the Capitalistic press. Their demands were stamped as unjust, and their brothers denounced as mobs and violaters of Law and Order. In those days a whole machinery was employed to show, that the workers had no cause for discontent that the conditions were good, and that each man could earn a comfortable living if he so desired. But those days are gone, and none but the intellect of the "Guardian Angel" can have the impudence to blow life, into the shadows of a past prejudice. Today every intelligent man from the Professor's chair down to the pulpit, from the literary genius down to the poorest scribbler, from the wealthy drawing room to the poorest hut, all have recognised this one great truth: that the condition of the workers is far from being good. That they are getting poorer, that 70,000,000 people in the U. S. not merely foreigners, but Americans also, are at the mercy of a small number of men, who have accumulated all the wealth of the Country, thereby widening the gulf between the rich and the poor.

Every one recognises, that these conditions render it impossible for the producer to rise out of a life of drudgery and dependence, a life of hopless submission, while giving to the non-producer all opportunity for culture developement and affluence. That strike and conflicts between those who toil and those who live without work, are the most natural results of such conditions.

Every one knows that, and many there are who try their utmost to bring about a change for the better. To educate and elevate the laborer, to raise his self respect, and to awaken in him self consciousness. But the majority who could do much for the oppressed dare not speak, for they have sold their manhood for a mass of porridge, and their degraded occupation consists of [illegible] laws as a protection for a privileged few in their greedy rush for wealth. Or to shoot peaceful men and women, who dare, occasionely to ask for more than a mere crust. They are engaged in spinning cobwebs over the eyes of the public and inventing new excuses, new apologies and new lies as cause of all labor trouble.

Now, it is the Anarchist, he, the outlaw is responsible for it. He, who believes in no master save his own intelligence, he, who insists, that no man, has a right to live at the expence of his fellow man, or to invade his freedom and to coerce him into submission. The anarchist who proves, that all government is based on force and violence and can only thrive on force and violence. He, who knows that the whole machinery of government breeds corruption, fraud and crime. Yes, the Anarchist is responsible for it. "Stamp him out! Imprison him! Hang him! until dead and a little longer".

Now, could the Guardian or any other yellow journal have raised a better cry as an excuse for strikes, than popular prejudice against Anarchists and Anarchism! Certainly not nothing excites the bull more, than the waving of a red cloth. However the thinking people among the strikers know better than to heed such sensational talk. They know that Anarchism means anything but crime and violence. That it is a philosophy dealing with all human life, based upon a deep longing for independence and a strong sympathy with the human family. Of course the "Guardian" cannot be expected to know anything of philosophies. Again we hear, it is the foreigner who is to blame, the Italian, the French, the German, etc. They are responsible. They, the strangers who come to our shores and have the audacity to speak a language we do not understand, because we hardly understand our own language. They, who came to America because they could not resist the treacherous charms of dame liberty, yet will not submit to the policeman's club. They, who will not starve silently while our own patriotic boys swallowed embalmed beef or died of fever without a murmur. Yes, the foreigner is responsible for the labor trouble. Another popular prejudice which may satisfy an ignorant populace but never those, who are united in a common cause, those, who have worked side by side in the time of peace and who, now strongly hold together, in the time of war.

How ridiculous, how illogical it is to hold any given idea or any set of men responsible for an evil that is deeply rooted in the very system of economic relations between millions of people, who produce all the wealth, yet are forced to live on a mere pittance, and a small minority, that not only owns all the products, but that can dictate terms according to a moment's caprice. A system that has given birth to a labor trouble because it has given birth to its enemy, capitalism. These two enemies can never under any circumstances be united, because the rise of one, means the fall of the other, the independence of one, the submission of the other, and when the submission has reached its limit, what then! Ah yes, what then! Then it breaks forth with all its pent up energies, all hopes, all dreams and aspirations and spreads like thunder and lightning all over the country in the form of strikes conflicts and riots. And the militia, and the Mayor with the vigilance league might as well attempt to sweep back the rushing waves of the ocean with a broom, as to stop the current of discontent and long suffering.

Just such a strike is on in Paterson to-day and if the "Guardian Angel" together with the Weidmann, Auger & Simon, Geering etc. will continue, like the ostrich, to hide their heads beneath their feathers, you strikers of Paterson cannot and must not follow their example. You know yourselves that the cause of your strike is neither anarchists nor foreigners. You know as well, as one of your brothers who states in a N. Y. German evening paper, that the strike was brought about through your mager earnings, which made it impossible for you to exist. The writer, who, as the paper assures us, is a very conservative man and is opposed to both Anarchism and Socialism, explains the strikes as follows: The Mill owners who are mostly upstarts, that is to say, have recently risen to wealth, treat their workingmen in the roughest and rudest possible way. They have accumulated large fortunes and built magnificent mansions out of the sweat and blood of their employees. They live in luxury and abundance, while men with big families can hardly earn eight dollars per week, and this not all year around.

You see strikers that even the most conservative among you realize, that the men who have become rich through you, and who will, with the greatest ease squander thousands yet not grant your small demands, that they, who in their cowardice called for the militia to shoot you, and to protect their ill gotten wealth, that they and the system, that breeds them are responsible for the strike and no one else.

Mr. Weidmann and his companions claim, that they cannot pay the price demanded by the strikers. Perhaps they will change their minds when the whole industry of Paterson will be tied up. When all the textile workers, machinists and car drivers will join you in the general strike (the strike which is not composed merely of foreigners as the Guardian will have it but which has involved a large majority of American Workingmen) which to all appearance is but a question of a few days.

Commercialism has tried hard to crush human sympathy, but nature, in her all abounding love has come out victorious. She knows not of Italian, German, French or other nationalities; she knows, that all blood is red, and all tears are salt. She sees but her children with pale faces and bleeding limbs, and she faithfully leads them on to victory a victory, which they can only gain through a strong deep tie of sympathy and devotion in the battle for their rights.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

New York June 1902.

Pel [illegible] risto!

All'amico Mc Grath

Dopo la burrasca del 18 Giugno che raccolse in una fosca nube di terrore e di ferocia gli umanemi concordi di tutti i timorati dell'ordine e della pagnotta sui *sobillatori* ribelli dell'anarchia, l'amico Mc Grath brandita la croce giurò pel *Cristo* non avere egli, cristiano e cattolico fedele, nulla di comune cogli eretici nemici dell'autorità e del capitale.

I diarii enormi e rumorosi gli dedicarono subito il cliche elegante che riproduce a centinaia di migliaia di esemplari il buon Mc Grath in cravatta bianca, il Cristo nel pugno, banditore d'una crocinta ermafrodita di rassegnazione rivoluzionaria.

Poichè la QUESTIONE SOCIALE e' povera ed esangue e non può permettersi il lusso dei clichès civettuoli dedichiamo al Cristo dell'amico Mc Grath le poche righe che uno dei più brillanti pubblicisti parigini, Victor Meunier, pare abbia scritto proprio per lui su *Le Rappel* della scorsa settimana.

" Il Cristo! il Cristo segnito dai discepoli vagabondi in assidno rapporto cogli umili, i diseredati, i poveri, il Cristo che soica della sua parola il cuore e l'anima delle moltitudini, ... Sia!

" Ma quali parole ripeteva agli umili il Cristo! Gettava egli nelle anime loro la semente delle rivolte da cui debbono germogliare le messi dorate dell'avvenire!"

"No, no!

"Egli predicava la rassegnazione, egli curvava la fronte degli umili dinnanzi a Cesare, a cui bisogna dare quel che a Cesare è dovuto, egli esortava coloro che erano stati percossi nella guancia destra ad offrire rassegnati la sinistra, e le ingiurie doversi obliare, [illegible] i dolori subire dolcemente, promettendo, al di là della vita "la felicità eterna...

"Buona religione, senza dubbio, pei re, per gli imperatori, pei preti, per quanti, beati dei beni della terra, hanno bisogno che il popolo spogliato, miserabile, nudo, rimandi all'indomani della morte il compimento delle sue speranze e delle sue aspirazioni..,

"Io respingo con isdegno coloro che promettono agli uomini, riscatto della loro rassegnazione e della loro viltà, i favori postumi d'iddio, e saluto con entusiasmo e convinzione coloro che afferrando delle loro mani robuste la realtà sanguinosa cercano di strapparle più umana, più equa, più dolce la Vita. ,,

"Tristi seminatori d'impostura coloro che promettono ai miseri il regno dei cieli; operai forti e buoni quelli che ai poveri gridano: Unitevi, operate concordi perchè i regni della terra che voi toccate colle vostre mani, che sono opera vostra vi appartengono alfine e contro le iniquità di cui soffrono generazioni e generazioni levano alto, sacro, il vessillo della rivolta.,,

. . . . . .

La dedica non vuol essere an'ironia.

L'unico Mc Grath ci teneva alla separazione della responsabilità, ad allontanare dal suo capo quelle che dardeggiano fermentate da odii selvaggi in quest'ora, e noi l'aintiamo, noi che le rassegnazioni del Cristo siamo per tutte le rivolte legittime e gagliarde che zampilliano dalla schiavitù che dilegua.

Sapevamo che assumendo le redini dello sciopero Mc Grath non avrebbe portato i tintori alle barricate, non supponevamo tuttavia che egli volesse portarli a messa ed a completa.

DIOGENE

L'ANARCHIA E' ORDINE

III

Che il dogma individualista e' il solo veramente Materno

Non mi si parli punto di rivelazione, di tradizione, delle filosofie chinese, fenicia, egiziana, ebraica, greca o romana, tedesca o francese. All'infuori della mia fede, della mia religione, di cui non debbo dar conto a chicchessia, io non so che farmi delle divagazioni degli avi; io non ho avi! Per me la creazione del mondo data dal giorno in cui sono nato (1): per me la fine del mondo si compirà il giorno in cui restituirò alla massa elementare l'apparecchio ed il soffio che costituiscono la mia individualità. Io sono il primo uomo, io sarò l'ultimo. La mia storia è il risultato completo della storia dell'umanità, non ne conosco nè voglio conoscerne altra. Quando io soffro che conforto mi viene dagli altrui godimenti? quando io godo che cosa traggono dai miei piaceri coloro che soffrono? Che cosa mi importa quel che fu fatto prima di me o come mi toccherà quello che dopo di me sarà fatto? Io non debbo servire di olocausto al rispetto di generazioni spente come non debbo essere l'esempio a generazioni che verranno. Io mi racchiudo nella cerchia della mia esistenza ed ho un solo problema a risolvere, quello del mio benessere, non ho che una dottrina e questa dottrina non ha che una formola. Godere! Giusto chi l'ammette, impostore chi lo neghi!

E' individualismo crudo, egoismo nato, non lo contesto, lo confesso, lo constato e me ne vanto. Indicatemi chi potrebbe lagnarsene e biasimarmi ed io l'interrogherò. Il mio individualismo vi reca danno? Se mi dite di no, non avete nulla ad obbiettarmi poichè io sono libero in tutto ciò che non vi può nuocere; se dite di sì non potete essere che un hriccone poichè il mio individualismo, il mio egoismo non sono che un'appropriazione di me a me stesso, un appello alla mia identità, una pro-

(1) È bene far della logica ma nelle proprie cognizioni e' bene tener conto delle contingenze. Se [illegible] corrispose non avesse avuto degli avi non sarebbe che un protoplasma cerebrale e non avrebbe conosciuto la mia esistenza. degli tutto ammirevole, dell'operabile,

209

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

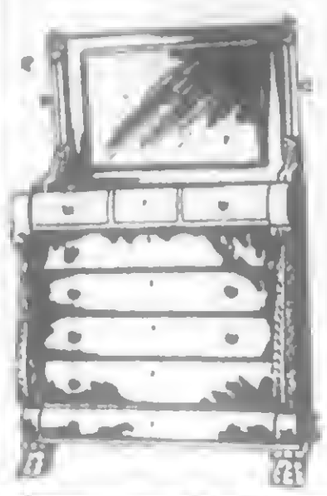
890117024

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Police Eyes on Anarchy / Emma Goldman.— p. 5 ; 43 cm. *In* The Chicago Tribune. —(Nov. 17, 1902).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

rockers at $1.98, which should have read ***$2.98.*** The articles are herewith reproduced in their correct form.



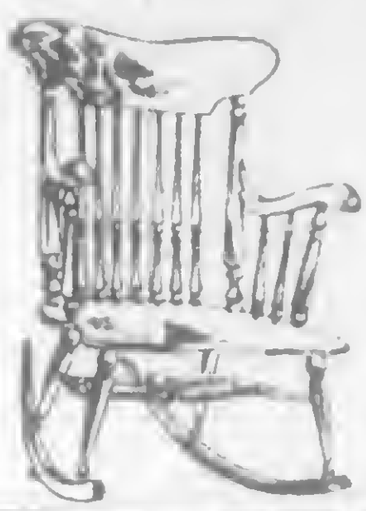
This exquis- ite solid mahogany Colonial Chiffonier (a full chamber suit to match), glass knobs, was $200, now

$165



These substan- tial solid oak Cane Seat Dining Chairs, stoutly braced, were $1.50—now,

85c



This Rocker

2.98

ANK DANIELS
TOMS IN "MISS SIMPLICITY"

POLICE EYES ON ANARCHY.

CAREFUL WATCH KEPT ON EMMA GOLDMAN MEETING.

Two Hundred Patrolmen Within Call, Detectives in the Hall, and a Justice Ready to Issue Warrants—Precautions Unnecessary, for the Woman's Language Is Mild Beyond Calling Americans Cowards—Speaker Greeted by Small Audience.

With 300 policemen and two patrol wagons held in reserve at the East Chicago avenue station, with Inspector Campbell, Lieut. Smith, and six detectives in the hall and Justice Hamburger in his court ready to issue warrants Emma Goldman spoke before 400 anarchists at Clark and Erie streets yesterday afternoon.

Police precautions proved unnecessary, for the carnation in her hair was more fiery than scathing Miss Goldman said She did [illegible] that the police were [illegible] that the police [illegible] were [illegible] warm.

[illegible] meeting were [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

890117026

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Close Doors to Anarchy / Emma Goldman.— p. 15 ; 44 cm.
In The Chicago Tribune. —(Nov. 24, 1902).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.



The condition of the streets at Twenty-second street and Wentworth avenue handicaps the Twenty-second street station firemen greatly in the performance of their duties. Twenty-second street is being paved west of State street and is impassable for the fire apparatus. That the apparatus may not be tied up altogether it is left in the street half a block from the engine house and the horses are kept with it. When an alarm rings the firemen must first run the half block to the apparatus and then hitch the horses to it, causing several minutes delay. It is expected that at least five days longer will be required to finish the pavement. In the right of the picture is a gang of pavers at work.

band of small boys armed
ds and strike petitions de-
day school close fifteen min-
ey were as successful as the
Chicago public school who
encouraged by their teacher
parents and let them enjoy
of the strike. They tell
d the afternoon was profita-
nking.
reaping the harvest of a
nwing. The spirit of discon-
ntered among some who have
ce, while efforts have been
the difficulties of those who
rongs. These things have
before the children and in-
ces made in their presence.
rising that 'bunches' and
been formed in the schools
of intimidating other chil-
ng outbreak in school."

ND POETRY COGNATE

Have the Former Ele-
hout the Latter, Says
r. Gunsaulus.

e to be deeply religious with-
ce of the poetic element in
strongest element in poetry
is imagination. This is not
ed with fancy, but it is the
aging—the apprehension of
forms. Faith is imagina-
ward the unseen and holy,
tion that all that is good is
rn out well.
e of the religious character
try of faith. This faith has
power in the loftiest souls;
w material of experience and
so treats the ore that it is
into poetic life. It may take
autiful interior character or
thedral or that of a poem.
ed the Greek scriptures to-
Iliad, and David, who was
n his nature, wrote the epic
his Psalms. He stands be-
and Burns in his genius and
his life. Such men recreate
world and its events into an
richer by the language they

ous life ought to be a series
is an awful risk God takes
Burns or a David. But they
they give a double signifi-
re and life. They make gi-
s and they are often, over-
ssion, but if the heart is at
tune with the all harmonious
noble successes are theirs.

VING A PULPIT TOPIC

Urges Spiritual Ideals as
ly Hope of the Na-
tion.

sermons were preached in
pulpits yesterday. The Rev.
took for his subject in Lincoln
ational church "A Nation's
awing frum history the lesson
is great and strung, juts as
practices spiritual ideals and
es," and he continued:
England, and America may
selves what are their national
ls it wealth, with its attendant
power, either commercial or
the intellectual acuteness of
Or are they intent on main-
great principles of political
herty which England set forth
entary rights of the people;
y vindicated in the reforma-
ight of individual souls; and
combined and established in
hat righteousness is the foun-
wn of n nation's life, and that
only air for a redeemed soul
in church nnd state?
ly is our ideal? Would we
than virtuous? Would we
luxury off the labor of others
ny work of beauty or useful-
? If we would, we are lost

leals and practical virtues are
destructible assets, they make
an individual soul, immortal.
selves if this love of righteous-
e of beauty, this passion for
dominant force of our life."

A NEW CHIVALRY..

Irving Rasmus Addresses
of Pythias in South
k Avenue Church.

Pythias lodges attended South
Methodist church informally
nd listened to Dr. Henry Irving
on on "The Chivalry of Every-

that all the past had com-
lauding deeds of daring and
asmus continued:
paratively easy to charge up
the roar of battle when you
eyes of the world are upon
scharge duty in the common-
of life where no one sees and
is the reward is ofttimes the
of tasks.
that the best and sweetest
rest to us. The world is apt to
the splendor of the chivalry of
shop, the factory, and street.
nism of the kitchen as well as
That working girl who toils
stence for years that she

hy the Christian world at large. It is doing for the people what Luther and Knox did for Germnny nnd Scotland, and what Methodism did fur the church in England, and what Ballon, Channing, and Parker did in their day to throw off the yoke of puritanism in New England.

"I wonder if the time will ever come when the fierce sectarian rivalries that now disgrace our common Christianity will come to an end, and Cathnlics will bless God for the gond done by Protestants, and Protestants will thank God for the good done by Catholics; surely, it will be a triumph for the gospel of love such as the world has never seen."

DIVINE AND HUMAN ARE KIN.

Dr. Camden M. Cobern Preaches in St. James' Church on the Vision of Ezekiel.

Dr. Camden M. Cobern spoke in the St. James Methodist Episcopal church yesterday on "The Humanity of God." He said in part:

"It almost seemed to Ezekiel a blasphemous thing to say that he had even in a vision seen a man upon Jehovah's throne. He would only say that he had seen the appearance of the likeness of a man there—a human God. All that the vision taught Ezekiel I cannot tell, but it ought to teach us that God is human; that he is not a being of a nature alien to humanity, but that he has human feeling, human tenderness, and human compassion.

"This vision proves that the incarnation was nut an extraordinary or arbitrary manifestation; rather it was God's natural manifestation. God always had a human heart. The incarnation was the manifestation of what God had always been. God and man always were kin, but never till God displayed himself in Jesus, showing what he really was in his deepest eternal nature, never till then did man believe it—and too many fail to do that now. Like Ezekiel, they are afraid tu accept the happy fact that God is as good as Jesus, and always has been and always will be."

TRUSTS DATE FROM ADAM'S DAY

First One in the Garden of Eden, and It Ended in a Dismal Failure.

"Trusts" was the subject of Mrs. Gestefeld's address before the Church of the Science of Being yesterday. She said:

"The first trust was formed when Adam took tn himself a wife and, by her coöperation, made himself lord over the garden of Eden and its inhabitants. This trust came to grief when privileges ceased to be wisely used and maindministration brought oppression.

"The consequence of the failure of this trust to meet universal needs, through self-seeking, are felt today. Coöperation is indicative of enlightenment and progress. It is associatinn for mutual betterment. But when it is used to divert the mutual benefit and universal good into private channels it has overleaped its appointed boundaries and becomo a monster that threatens national life."

NOISE AND ENTHUSIASM DIFFER

L. A. Crandall Says It Is Not Necessary to Shout and Jump in Church.

"Noise is not enthusiasm, neither is activity," said the Rev. L. A. Crandall in the Memorial Baptist church yesterday. "Some Christian people imagine that the louder they shout and the higher they jump the stronger is the testimony they give to the possession of religious enthusiasm. These physical contortions may or may not be expressions of [illegible] In most cases they are due simply to physical excitement, and have no more to do with religinn than has the war dance of the American Indian. Enthusiasm is primarily a condition and not a manifestation. If we ask ourselves how we can increase enthusiasm, the answer must be found by giving God a larger place in our lives. He is all the time loving, longing, seeking. When his life floods our lives, we shall love, and long, and seek."

FOOLS AND WISE MEN DIVIDED.

Four Classes of People, Says M. M. Mangasarian, Quoting an Arabian Poet.

CLOSE DOORS TO ANARCHY

MANAGERS OF HANDEL HALL SHUT OUT EMMA GOLDMAN.

Philosophical Society Announces an Address by the Foe of Government and Finds Itself Deprived of Its Regular Meeting Place—Assembly Adjourns to Another Building, Where the Lecturer Criticises Women and Censures Parents.

Handel hall was closed to the voice of anarchy yesterday, and Emma Goldman was required to seek another place in which to make her address.

She had been advertised to speak before the Philosophical society, which meets in Handel hall, and her subject was announced as "Modern Anarchism." When the managers of the hall heard of the contemplated program they decided they did not wish their building used for that purpose and closed the doors to the society and its speaker.

"If the women of this city would only be ready to stand equally with the men we should not have been put out of Handel hall," was the comment of Miss Goldman when the society finally assembled in Trades Union hall, 55 North Clark street.

No Favors for Women.

This criticism was brought out when the women were invited to come forward and take seats, instead of standing in the rear of the hall with men.

"I do not know of what sort of people the Philosophical society is composed," said Miss Goldman, by way of introduction, "but I thought they were free thinking people, who believed in the equality of men and women. It was a surprise to me, therefore, to hear the announcement made at the beginning of the meeting that all the women were requested to come forward and take seats.

"That sounds as if the women were not capable nf standing up with the men in the back of the hall, and unless a woman can at all times stand up with the men she is not entitled to her freedom." Then followed the references to Handel hall.

Censure for Parents.

Miss Goldman then gave her attention to the training of children, finding occasion to censure parents. She announced as a fact that had come to her attention that the children of radicals do not follow in their parents' footsteps, but are almost without exception conservative and narrow minded.

"I account for this in one way," she continued, "because the radical parents drag their children to radical meetings, talk radicalism to them, and make them listen to speeches at a time of night when they ought to be in bed."

Miss Goldman said parents would do better to wait until the child was old enough to understand and then let them see all sides. She said the child who was only shown one side of life often thought the parents were prejudiced and were not telling the truth.

SEEKS ANOTHER PASTOR HERE.

This Time a New York Church Extends a Call to the Rev. Pleasant Hunter.

The Fourth Presbyterian church of New York city has extended a call to the Rev. Pleasant Hunter of the Second Presbyterian church, Chicago. Dr. Hunter is now in New York and will return home next Wednesday. [illegible] drawn on Chicago for a number of pastors, among them being the Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis, the Rev. Ernest M. Stires, and the Rev. P. S. Henson.

The Fourth Presbyterian church of New York is located in the newer residence district of that city and has a membership of over [illegible]. It one time was the church of the Rev. Howard Crosby, and its most recent pastor was the Rev. Dr. Chapman, who has been assigned to the missionary department of the Presbyterian denomination.

Dr. Hunter came to Chicago eighteen months ago from the West Presbyterian church of Minneapolis, Minn., where he filled the pulpit for a number of years. Since he became a Chicago pastor he has had a number of calls to other churches, but has re-

EXPECT 400,000 VISITORS AT THE LIVE STOCK SHOW.

Exposition Which Opens Next Saturday Promises to Make a Record as to Attendance—Roosevelt May Come.

The third annual exhibit of the international live stock exposition opens next Saturday, and preparations have been made to handle 400,000 visitors during the show. That number is more than duuble the attendance of last year.

When the gates are thrown open the best products not only of the United States, but also of Canada and Mexico and some of the South American countries, will be shown side by side in competition for prizes. All the improvements in the way of caring for and raising stock and the preparation for the market will be shown in detail and explained by experts.

An effort has been made to secure a promise from President Roosevelt to attend the exposition, and he is expected to give his answer today. In any event, Secretary of Agriculture Wilson will be present and will deliver an address. It prnbably will be made in connection with the dedication of the new building, which has been erected since last year.

The new structure is known as the Pure Bred Live Stock Record Building of America, and will be maintained as a headquarters the year around. The ground floor will be occupied by the various agricultural exhibits of the railroads. The second floor will furnish room for the different live stock record associations. The third floor will be devoted to well arranged club and lounging rooms. The fourth floor will be given over to an exact reproduction of the work in miniature of the department of agriculture, prominence being given to the live stock interests of the country.

GAGE PARK ASSOCIATION WANTS A SEWER BUILT.

Meets at Oakley Avenue Railway Station to Arrange for Campaign in Favor of Western Avenue Tunnel.

The Gage Park Improvement association held a meeting yesterday afternoon at 3 o'clock in the railway station at Oakley avenue and Fifty-fifth street tu urge the construction of a sewer under Western avenue from Thirty-ninth street to Fifty-fifth.

C. H. Claussen, president of the association, appointed the following men to work on the problem in conjunction with the West End Improvemont club: D. C. McLean, C. S. Claussen, George Schwing, Capt. Morton Hayes, and L. B. Bezine. A. R. Tearney of the Minnehaha Improvement club, D. C. McLean, Capt. Morton Hayes, and John Condon, president of the West End Improvement club, all spoke on the need of a sewer and the frequent floods on both sides of Western avenue.

Ald. Thomas Carey, who intended to address the meeting, was unable to be present. He sent a letter which advised the building of the Western avenue sewer as far south as is possible without too strong opposition. Lateral sewers, he said, could be built afterwards.

PHILANTHROPY A CHURCH DUTY

Dr. Edward Judson Preaches to Students of the University of Chicago.

The duty of the churches today, according to Dr. Edward Judson, the University of Chi[illegible] in their work and do for others rather than confine their religion to worship among themselves. Dr. Judson could speak with authority upon such a subject, for he has left the wealthy Memorial Baptist church in New York to conduct institutional work in the poorer districts.

"I should be glad to see that wherever a church lifts its spire there should be around it a girdle, as it were, of philanthropic institutions for the poor, the aged, and the friendless," he said.

"We should make the church such a center of real philanthropy that the workman passing by should feel his heart soften, as it does when he passes some great hospital for the sick and the maimed."

211

880922002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Free Speech in Chicago / Emma Goldman.– p. 377 ; 36 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Light Bearer [Chicago]. –no. 947 (Dec. 11, 1902).

Obtained from the Stanford University Libraries, Stanford University.

pel illusions. Nevertheless, knowledge is fortified, good inclinations strengthened, and the imagination cooled by sober, scientific reading; and I should judge that the circulation of the work would lessen the number of marriages that prove to be the funerals of bright anticipations. Certainly, if there is as much blindness among young people as some of us fondly believe, it is time that a little consciousness was introduced. Pions souls find no fault with St. Paul for substituting intelligence for the ignorant devotions of the Athenians.

I have not seen any remarks about the wickedness of suicide in connection with the death of Mrs. Craddock. She had served a term of imprisonment, and saw a longer one in prospect, which she was convinced would be fatal. Under these conditions life, not death, became the king of terrors. She preferred illuminating gas to the atmosphere of a cell because it spared her suffering, and there is no bodily pain in the grave. Whatever doubts shemay have had about another world—of that she seems to have had none—she knew it could not be worse than this while the Vice Society exists here. As to her sanity, I cannot deem a person insane who chooses the devil before Anthony Comstock.

I had a little conversation with Mrs. Craddock just after her Blackwell's Island experience, and asked her if she did not think she had better join the veteran corps. I spoke cheerfully, and said I regretted to see youth and beauty sacrificed to the vice-hunting ogre. She replied that, although she enjoyed living, she would that her life might be turned to water and poured out for cleansing the lives of others. I saw that she was every inch a martyr, and devoted in the old sacrificial sense. For one, I am grateful to her. It is good for us that such people live nobly and die bravely to inspire us with a little more earnestness and seriousness. When I think of her calmly and without agitation sitting at the typewriter, with all her thoughts in order, thumping out her last words on the machine, correcting the sheets with a pen, and then lying down in the belief that she died as she had lived, that the cause nearest her heart might gain new sympathizers, I see how to her there was truth in the lines of Halleck's apostrophe to death:

Thy voice sounds like a prophet's word,
And in its hollow tones are heard
The thanks of millions yet to be.
—"*Truth Seeker*," *N. Y., 11–15, '02.*

Free Speech in Chicago.

EDITOR LUCIFER:—For the benefit of those of your readers who still believe that freedom of speech is a reality, and that America is the freest country on earth, permit me to give you a few details of my experience with the Chicago police.

I came to this city to acquaint the American public with the conditions in Russia, and to raise funds for the unfortunate victims of the Russian knout, many of whom have been flogged to death, while others have been sent to long terms of imprisonment, simply because they dared to ask for bread for the suffering Russian peasants.

To my amazement I found two hundred policemen—some of them high officials, at my first meeting; men who came not out of sympathy with the starving Russian people but who were there to take me to the nearest police station should I not meet their own conception of what liberty means.

O Liberty! poor outraged, degraded Liberty. Fallen indeed art thou from thy once lofty height when every petty policeman can soil thy pure form with his foul hands, and trample in the mire of Chicago's streets thy beauteous lineaments.

Since that first meeting the police have followed me from hall to hall, threatening me with arrest if I dared to say anything against the American government. "Say what you please about Russia, but you must not attack OUR institutions," said Captain Campbell to me at a meeting on the West side.

Another little Tzar, Captain Wheeler, went his colleague one better: "I will not have Miss Goldman speak in my district," and prohibited the meeting that was to take place at Aurora Turn Hall, corner of Ashland Ave. and Division street.

Surely there must be something wrong with the American Institutions of today; something terribly black and corrupt, if they cannot stand the light of criticism; if they can thrive only when physical force is used to defend them against the light of free discussion.

This is not the first time that meetings for free discussion have been prohibited here; not the first time speakers have been shadowed from place to place. On previous occasions the Chicago authorities have had to give some excuse for such interference. They have had to plead either public excitement, too radical utterance on the part of the speaker, or some similar excuse as justification of their acts.

What excuse will they give now?

What excuse will the self-styled Jeffersonian-Democratic mayor of Chicago give for the acts of his subordinates?

There is now no public excitement; no radical utterances made—at least not in reference to "our own sacred government."

What other conclusion can be reached, or inference drawn, than that America is fast being Russianized, and that unless the American people awake from the pleasant dream into which they have been lulled by the strains of "My Country 'tis of Thee," etc., we shall soon be obliged to meet in cellars, or in darkened back rooms with closed doors, and speak in whispers lest our next door neighbors should hear that free-born American citizens dare not speak in the open; that they have sold their birthright to the Russian Tzar disguised by the coat of an American policeman?

Is it not time that SOMETHING BE DONE?

Is it not time that all advanced people unite in protesting against such brutal invasion? all, at least, who have enough Americanism left in them to maintain the right of freedom o speech, of press and of assembly?

Or, are they going to wait until the number of victims of suppression increase to legions—as in Russia today?

Chicago, Nov. 30, 1902. EMMA GOLDMAN.

What Is "Free Secession?"

From Comrades Lloyd and Morton we learn of two sorts of Socialists, "Free Socialists" and another sort not named, but "Tyranny Socialists" might be inferred. I note the benevolence of these comrades in allowing that the latter sort mean well enough but their logic is faulty; they advocate tyranny unknowingly. They will not permit of "free secession" and the necessary land.

In 1880 the Socialists in the Greenback Convention offered but one resolution, which was approximately as follows: "Resolved, that land, light, air and water are free gifts of Nature to all mankind; any law or custom that permits any one to monopolize these gifts, we earnestly condemn and seek to abolish." Mr. Lloyd should not object to this, and it has never been repudiated. Within a year or two a faction left the Socialist party of that time because not enough freedom was taught, and this faction became known as Anarchists. Some of them advocated absolute liberty of action, unlimited by any sort of rules, laws or codes, even to taking of life. "Murder is Righteous" at least one of them was fond of saying.

There may be Socialists who would not permit an individual to secede and hie away to the woods, but I never met one. Those I have met are occupied in seeking the law of relations where association is accepted as natural and right. They may debate at times with those mental giants who state the abstract law of liberty but never apply it to human affairs.

With many individualists "free secession" means the right to secede but remain in a collectivity, refusing to bear the burdens but continuing to enjoy collective benefits in the way of pavements, light, fire protection, etc. They may contribute but must not be taxed, basing their position on the idea that the rights of the individual are greater than the rights of the majority; that is the rights of one are greater than the rights of many, for if he use a pavement built by many he is consuming their product just as any other form of privilege would permit him to do.

890622000

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Card / Emma Goldman.— p. 4 ; 28 cm. *In* Free Society [Chicago]. — Vol. 9, no. 50 (Dec. 14, 1902).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

SOCIETY

Reading Room, 180
and free discussions
.

r will visit the deli-
we hope the readers
time and carfare in

---

ayside.

ber 9, Comrade Peter
is sixtieth birthday.
nds of the poor, the
brated this day in
ilers of all countries
otkin, the scientist,
reedom, the friend of
lutionist, who cheer-
ndor and luxury be-
in the ranks of the
and freedom. Prison
rebellious spirit and
corrupted his mind.
read he inspires en-
d the sentiment of
May he live to see the
life—rising on the
mrade!

*

dailies nor the "rev-
ocratic press of this
ay when the police
e right of free speech
refreshing to see that
rgan of the Chicago
l the courage to pro-
utrage. It says:

l humanitarian instincts,
rsonally acquainted and
to believe there dwells
he doors of the Aurora
the police last Sunday
d to lecture. And this in
reemen rule! The apathy,
layed by the toiling, slav-
orkingmen of this city in
ged were enough to cause
mutiny.

outrages, the editor
rule—the initiative
at Switzerland, Bro.
enjoy the blessings
d what do we see?
Anarchists expelled
litors sent to prison
ral strike.

*

l Association of New
he Anarchists, and
in order. In its re-
is stated that jails

Thru the intervention of the Social Democratic deputies, the strike of the miners in France has been lost; but fortunately not without a lesson to the miners. The Socialist deputies persuaded the miners to submit their grievances to the government for arbitration. They succeeded and loudly rejoiced over the "moral and parliamentary victory of Social Democracy." Yes, victory for the bosses! The arbitration commission concluded that the mine owners were almost on the point of starvation, and could not afford to pay higher wages. The disappointment of the miners is great, and they will hardly be fooled again by Social Democratic politicians.

INTEROPPER.

— o —

A Card.

To all those who have expressed surprise that I had nothing to write about our dead friend Kate, I would like to say that human language is inadequate to express my sorrow over the loss of one who to me was, of all the women I have met in my public career, the most beloved friend. It is easy to speak of the activity of a public man or woman; of the force of logic and depth of intellect he or she may have had; but who can do justice to a great personality, to a beautiful soul?

Kate to me was not the Anarchist, the rebel, the thinker, the writer; she was a mother, a friend, one to whom I could go for rest and peace when tired and weary of life and hard battles. She was all to me—how, then, can I sit down to write about her? No, no, Kate is dead; a noble soul has ceased to be; and those who have known and loved her, can mourn but not talk.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

— o —

Meetings.

Last Sunday afternoon, Comrade Grossmann spoke on "The Labor Press: Its Purpose and Aim," at Wosta's Hall, before an attentive audience. The police were present, of course, to see whether or not the utterances would shake the foundations of the American government. The speaker pointed out that the capitalistic dailies worked more harmoniously in upholding prevailing institutions than the workers' press in its aim to overthrow capitalism and despotism. While the dailies, no matter of what political opinion, were all united in upholding exploitation and wage slavery, the workers often tried to ruin their press simply on account of difference regarding the remedy proposed. But in spite of these evils, the labor

claims to possess an exclusive r
demns itself. The press which
liberate mankind cannot belong
nor adhere to a program. Pe
tend to save the workers by pol
ods enter into the footsteps of
ties—a step which leads to com
ends in corruption. The task o
tionary press is to reveal all t
and censure everything that is l
aim must be freedom for all. A
a program must necessarily bec
and despotic: "our party, right
applies to all parties alike.

It is to be regretted that this
ture cannot be given or publish
phlet form, for it would surely
eye-opener to many of our Soci
His arguments seemed to be too
for the Social Democrats, who
gested that the ballot was sim
determine the strength of the
ary" workers. But the speaker
the "connting of noses" had
the "revolutionary Socialists"
reformers, with so many nonent
ters. In Germany the Social
party is numerically the strong
influence is nowhere felt. When
recently were asked why the pa
nothing for the five strikers who
justly and arbitrarily condemn
and twenty years' imprisonmen
plied: "True, we have two and a
voters, but there are only abo
Socialists." Political action, co
speaker, has made it possible tha
minister could work in unison wi
—the wholesale murderer of the
Paris—and the Bavarian Social
even compromised with the Cat

* *

Emma Goldman finally delive
ture on "Modern Phases of
in Uhlich's Hall last Sunday.
police did not interfere this tim
pect of again being sent away o
a closed hall deterred many fro
so the audience was rather smal
of this lecture has been report
vious occasion in these columns,
subject is of too great importanc
summary, I can but again expre
that we will soon see it in printe

R

— o —

Spelling.

The *Him* has fired a broad
spelling reformers. First it cond
Webster for having induced mos

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881108020

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Restrainment Versus Government / Emma Goldman.— pp. 387-388 ; 36 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Lightbearer [Chicago]. —(Dec. 18, 1902).
Obtained from the Stanford University Libraries, Stanford University.

Lucifer, the Lightbearer

M. HARMAN, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

PUBLISHED EVERY WEEK AT 500 FULTON STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

Terms: One year, $1; six months, 50 cents; three months, 25 cents.

Entered at the Chicago Postoffice as Second-Class Mail Matter.

Eastern Representative, E. C. Walker, 244 W. 143d street, New York.

Lucifer—Its Meaning and Purpose.

LUCIFER—The planet Venus; so called from its brightness.—*Webster's Dictionary.*

LUCIFEROUS—Giving Light; affording light or the means of discovery.—*Same.*

LUCIFIC—Producing Light.—*Same.*

LUCIFORM—Having the form of Light.—*Same.*

The name Lucifer means Light-Bringing or Light-Bearing, and the paper that has adopted this name stands for Light against Darkness—for Reason against Superstition—for Science against Tradition—for Investigation and Enlightenment against Credulity and Ignorance—for Liberty against Slavery—for Justice against Privilege.

Some Social Problems.

William Shakspeare puts into the mouth of one of his characters words like these:

"Who steals my purse steals trash. Who steals my good name takes that which not enriches him but leaves me poor indeed."

Many good and wise sayings are credited to the "bard of Avon," but how is it with the one just quoted?

Money, as representing the product of time and labor; money as a means of exchange between producers and consumers, is not "trash," but a very useful and desirable thing.

Money of some kind is one of the prime social necessities.

It is only when used as a means of oppression, of exploitation, of robbery—only when used as an agent whereby the products of labor, the labor of all, may be monopolized by the few, that money becomes something much worse than trash. Of itself money is neither good nor bad.

* * *

Much the same may be said of reputation. As commonly understood, a man's good name is part of his capital; part of his available wealth. It means that if he has no money, no exchangeable property of any kind, he can still get what he needs because of his reputation as a man of veracity, a man of honor, of integrity, of diligence, frugality, etc.

On the other hand a good man's reputation may suffer eclipse from no fault of his own, but simply because he is not understood. The people with whom he associates may not be able to catch, seize or sense the occult vibrations that emanate from his personality; from the invisible, intangible substance we call his ego. Whatever this man may do, or may not do, he is the victim of misrepresentation, of calumny, of persecution and prosecution, sometimes even unto death.

Yes, reputation, like money, may be a friend or it may prove a foe. It may be used to help or to crush, and that without real merit or demerit on the part of the object of such help or persecution.

But when a man—or woman—is misunderstood, misrepresented, persecuted; when his or her good name is cast out as evil, it does not necessarily follow that the person thus misunderstood and maligned is "left poor indeed"—as Shakspeare puts it. Poor he or she may be in this world's goods and yet rich in the best sense of that word; rich in CHARACTER!—something wholly different from and incomparably better and more enduring than reputation, or good name.

Often it happens, as I think, that the person maligned, persecuted, robbed of good name and material wealth, is made richer by such robbery, such persecution. The fires of persecution, of calumny and detraction serving as the best possible school or training to develop the inner qualities, the mental and spiritual fiber, that constitute real manhood or womanhood.

* * *

AS TO GLASS HOUSES.

Elbert Hubbard says:

"I used to live in a glass house, but now there is nothing left but the sash."

I would amend by saying that in my case the SASH ALSO is gone!

There is not left even the iron framework of what was once my glass house.

That house was not built for my own comfort, health or convenience, but rather to please my Grundyite neighbors who lived in glass houses and wanted me to do likewise.

One by one the panes, stained with various colors—some pretty and attractive enough, but all ARTIFICIAL, all more or less grotesque and fanciful—have been broken, and not only have I refused to go to the expense and trouble of replacing them but have deliberately removed even the sash, so that now I am beginning to feel that there is nothing to keep out the light, the pure and health-giving sunlight and starlight of Truth; of truth as it is in Nature.

* * *

RESTRAINMENT VERSUS GOVERNMENT.

Last Sunday eve—Dec. 7—I listened to an interesting address by Emma Goldman of New York, sometimes called the "High priestess of Anarchy." Her subject on this occasion was "Modern Phases of Anarchism." As stated last week in these columns, it was this address, first delivered in Cleveland, Ohio, that was reported far and wide as having prompted Leon Czolgosz to assassinate President McKinley.

In this historic address, as I heard it, there was certainly no language used that could be construed as counseling deeds of violence or murder. As I now recall it the address was mainly devoted to showing the difference between the methods of reform advocated and used by Anarchists of a generation or two ago, and those advocated and used now, by Anarchists such as Leo Tolstoi, Benjamin R. Tucker, and other distinguished teachers of that cult.

At the close of the lecture, in response to invitation by the chairman, several short addresses were made by persons in the audience. Among the rest I took occasion to briefly state my own views in regard to Anarchy and Anarchists, in language something like this:

With the speaker of the evening I recognize that there are more kinds of Anarchists than one—almost as many kinds as of Socialists. For twenty years I have been called an Anarchist. In reply to those who thus catalogue me I sometimes say: Give me my own definition of the word and I have no objection to the name Anarchist, but emphatically protest against being reckoned such in the common and popular meaning of that much abused term. With Miss Goldman I agree that "propaganda by deed"—that is, by violence, by assassination, is not Anarchy—in the modern, the evolved and more philosophic meaning of the word. The assassination of McKinley, in my opinion, was not the act of an Anarchist, but rather of a revolutionist who scarcely knew what he wanted, or what the natural effect of his act would be.

With the facts before me, bearing upon the question, I incline to the belief that Leon Czolgosz was a tool, a victim, in the hands of others. In obedience to his instructions—as I now think it probable—he called himself an Anarchist, said Miss Goldman's speech incited him to kill McKinley, said, "I have done my duty," and refused to say more. His managers pretty evidently feared he would talk too much, and hence took special and unheard-of precautions to prevent him from talking to the public.

Personally I accept the definition of liberty given by Herbert Spencer: "Each has the right to do as he pleases so long as he invades not the equal right of others," and this is what I under-

881108020

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Restrainment Versus Government / Emma Goldman.— pp. 387-388 ; 36 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Lightbearer [Chicago]. —(Dec. 18, 1902).
Obtained from the Stanford University Libraries, Stanford University.

stand by Anarchy. A legitimate inference from this definition is that invaders should be restrained; that those who cannot or will not limit their acts to their own proper sphere of action should be compelled to do so—compelled by physical force if necessary. This restraint, this resistance to invasion is demanded by the law, or principle, of self-preservation, and should be exercised by the person invaded, in his own behalf, and also co-operatively, by all who do not wish to be invaded—assaulted, robbed or murdered.

In accord with this view I have advocated the term "restrainment" to take the place of what is now called "government," government of man by his fellow man. I have also favored the use of the word "Antarchy," or "Anto-archy," meaning self-government, to take the place of Anarchy, which means denial of government, or opposition to government.

This in brief is a synopsis of my five minute talk in comment upon the subject of the lecture. In her reply to criticisms Miss Goldman spent most of her closing fifteen minutes in an effort to refute the views presented by me. She said, in substance, that restrainment is the same as government, and that my arguments were simply those in common use by the defenders of our present system of government, namely, that evil doers must be restrained and that for this purpose we have courts, sheriffs, taxes, jails, penitentiaries, etc., etc., all the machinery of government.

"Who is wise enough to decide", asked Miss Goldman, "where one man's right ends and another man's begins? who will have the right, under freedom, to say who shall be restrained and who shall not? There are many who think Mr. Harman should be restrained from printing and mailing the doctrines he has been teaching many years past. Who shall decide in cases like this?"

Proceeding Miss Goldman said she did not condemn violence; did not sit in judgment upon the man Czolgosz and condemn him for his act. On the contrary she felt unbounded sympathy for one who was not allowed the citizen right to say a word in his own behalf—kept in a dungeon and treated more like a wild beast than a human being.

When deeds of violence are committed the rational method of procedure would be to study the causes that led to such acts, then by removing the causes prevent a like occurrence in future.

This, if I heard correctly, is a brief but substantially correct synopsis of Miss Goldman's concluding remarks, at her last appearance before the public in Chicago. Expecting to meet her again before her departure for New York I hoped to have, from her own hand, a synopsis of her speech at Uhlich's Hall, for publication in Lucifer. but of this I was disappointed.

* * *

Under the peremptory ruling of the chair, which ruling was sustained by the custom of giving the last word to the first speaker, I was denied the privilege of even a very brief rejoinder to Miss Goldman's reply to my remarks. I wished merely to say, at that time, that I certainly had not the slightest desire or intention to misrepresent the speaker's attitude on the question of the right to use violence, force, as a means of righting unendurable wrongs. I wanted to say that I, too, take the ground,—as I have often done in public as well as in private—that there is nothing man or woman CAN do that, under conceivable circumstances, it may not be perfectly right and proper for him or her to do. I also wanted to add that I did not, and do not, sit upon and condemn the MAN, Czolgosz, nor the MOTIVES that prompted him to fire the fatal shot. Of persons and their motives I know—judicially know—nothing, but of their ACTS I must form a judgment, and decide for or against them. The conditions of human existence upon earth demand this much of me, and of every other rational human mind.

Elaborating a little upon this point I would now say that, from a rational standpoint the act of Czolgosz was most unwise, because furnishing the enemies of freedom with a most unanswerable argument in favor of drastic measures against human liberty.

Second. The act of Czolgosz was a plain violation of the Spencerian formula in regard to human liberty, since it was an invasion of McKinley's right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, without any attempt to show how or when he—McKinley, had forfeited such right by first invading Czolgosz. It was also an invasion of the right of all those who wanted McKinley to live and to be their chief ruler,

In answer to Miss Goldman's question, will say that I would have all disputes settled by arbitration—by arbiters selected by the disputants themselves. For instance, when the wolf charged the lamb with the offense of defiling the water that he must drink, if disinterested arbitrators should decide that the charge was sustained by the facts, even though the water ran from the wolf towards the lamb, then the wolf would gain his suit and the lamb be restrained from repeating the offense in future.

For another illustration, take the case of Anthony Comstock against Ida C. Craddock. If the plaintiff could have shown to the satisfaction of the board of arbitrators that Miss Craddock had really corrupted his own morals, or the morals of children of which he was parent or guardian, then a verdict of "guilty" would have been rendered and Miss Craddock would have been enjoined not to repeat the offense of selling or giving her literature to Anthony Comstock, his minor children or minor wards. If, on the contrary, the board of arbitration should decide in favor of defendant then the plaintiff would be liable to indictment for unwarrantably meddling with Miss Craddock's affairs.

Likewise in my own case—reference to which was made by Miss Goldman. When certain citizens of Kansas complained that I had sent to them an immoral document, namely, Lucifer, containing a plainly worded account of and protest against marital outrage, if the properly selected arbiters had decided that the complaint was valid, and that I had no legal nor moral right to harrow up the feelings of my subscribers and patrons by such recitals, then it would have been competent for such arbitration board to assess damages in dollars and cents, much as judges now assess damages in slander suits, and in "breach of marriage promise" cases, and I would have been enjoined not to send any more such literature to the plaintiffs in the case.

Failure to obey the injunctions, the awards, of boards of arbitration would, I presume, be punished, under freedom, by the boycott, by loss of social standing and by loss of financial patronage on the part of all who subscribe to, or support the principle of arbitration as against government by authority of officials backed by professional butchers and cutthroats—the standing armies and navies of the world.

A FEW DEFINITIONS.

While it may be true that Miss Goldman is a much better linguist or philologist than I, as her criticism would seem to assume, I will, with all due diffidence, venture to suggest that she study the origin, the true meaning, of the words "restrainment" and "government." This latter word is derived from the Latin *gubernare*, and is defined thus:

"To steer a ship; to order, to manage, to conduct."

"Restrainment" is derived from the Latin *restringere*, and is defined: "To bind; to stop; to stay."

Thus it is seen that the two words are radically different in meaning. Government means DIRECTING or GUIDING power, as a pilot directs or guides a ship; while restrainment means simply to PREVENT further advance; to STAY or limit the power that directs or guides.

Many apt illustrations of this radical difference in meaning will doubtless occur to many of our readers, but the great length of this article prohibits further elaboration of social and governmental problems for this issue.

* * *

The proof sheet of this editorial utterance was made the text and outline for an hour's talk by the writer, before the Workmen's Club, at their Reading Room, 278 Blue Island Ave, Saturday eve, Dec. 13. M. HARMAN

890223005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Emma Goldman to the "Cronaca Sovversiva". In Italian] Emma Goldman alla "Cronaca Sovversiva" / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. – Vol. 1, no. 1 (June 6, 1903).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

un pò rude del leone popolare, geremiadi e contrizioni sull'immaturità dei volghi, sulla precocità, sull'inopportunità, sul danno degli atti di ribellione, sul carattere quasi esclusivamente meccanico della rivolta, la CRONACA SOVVERSIVA che non è organo di conventicole o di sinedrii ritiene miglior partito e piú onesta sincerità convenire e confessare che se gli atti di rivolta sono infrequenti, che se molti di essi hanno carattere di reazione puramente meccanica agli urti ed alle compressioni dell'ambiente tutta la colpa è in noi che alle preoccupazioni della società futura abbiamo recato a piene mani i più fantastici contibuti dell'ipotesi e dell'utopia, in noi che alle turbe abbiamo troppo spesso presentato l'ideale come una mistica eucarestia librata a mezz'aria all'infuori e al disopra della realtà quotidiana e di ogni pratica aspirazione.

***

Riaccostiamo alla vita cotesto ideale nostro che nacque in terra dal sangue nostro e tra le nostre miserie vagí e delle nostre lacrime s'abbeverò e per noi, pei nostri dolori, per la nostra passione tentò le vie dell'uguaglianza, della libertà e dell'amore; rituffiamolo col fremito immenso delle sue speranze nell'onda affannosa dei dolori umani sì che ogni forma della vita ne sia agitata, ogni muscolo scosso, urtato ogni pregiudizio, ogni idolatria infranta, ogni energia tesa e nelle coscienze risvegliate il contrasto tra l'aspirazione legittima e la realtà tracotante sarà così acuto così doloroso che la ribellione scintillerà inevitabile, illuminata, esemplare.

Tanto più illuminata ed esemplare se in luogo di abusati feticismi superstiti troverà eco di energie coscienti, se invece di essere condannata in nome di meno sinceri vantaggi immediati sarà nei suoi intenti e nelle sue forme, ri-

EMMA GOLDMAN
ALLA
"CRONACA SOVVERSIVA"

Ai compagni e lettori della *Cronaca Sovversiva* del nostro nuovo ribelle giornale italiano saluti ed augurii di buona battaglia!

CARISSIMI COMPAGNI,

Era mio fermo proposito di testimoniare al nostro nuovo giornale i miei sentimenti di solidarietà col contributo affettuoso d'un articolo mio, vi avevo anzi promesso uno studio sul movimento anarchico degli Stati Uniti. Le non liete condizioni della mia salute, quelle più gravi del mio penoso ufficio d'infermiera mi hanno impedito di assolvere al mio voto di collaborare al primo numero del nostro giornale.

Non aggiungo inutili scuse. Voi assapororaste come me tutte le amarezze della lotta per l'esistenza e se voi anelate di dare alla causa della giustizia della verità e della libertà eternamente soffocata dalla miseria, dal lavoro penoso, dalla disperazione tutte le vostre energie saprete comprendere e compatire se pur essendo con voi anima e cuore non posso darvi per ora che una fraterna parola di simpatia.

Parole d'incoraggiamento non vi abbisognano: di tutti i compagni che lo tano in questo paese voi, figli della ridente Italia, siete stati sempre i più tenaci, i più ardenti, voi tra tutti quelli che i pericoli della propaganda affrontano su questo suolo sacro al dollaro onnipotente, alla ignobile lotta che ha spento ogni scintilla d'entusiasmi, ogni fremito d'indignazione su questa terra in cui un pugno solido vale più che un cervello fosforescente, in cui Teddy il terribile vuole in ogni uomo uno schiavo sommesso, in ogni donna una femmina fecouda.

E tutti quelli che conoscono i pericoli tremendi della propaganda in questo paese apprezzeranno i vostri assidui sforzi e l'abnegazione tenace che votate al trionfo del nostro ideale.

Avanti! Avanti! ed all'opera vostra arrida luminoso il trionfo.

Io intanto per non mancare alla mia promessa vi compiego due articoli. Il pri-

LEGALITARII ED ANARCHICI
nelle agitazioni operaie.

(Dal nostro corrispondente speciale in Svizzera.)

Ginevra 25 Maggio.

I nostri socialisti, come ben sapete, sono riusciti a far eleggere molti dei loro alle assemblee parlanti, sono riusciti anzi ad issarne qualcuno fino al potere esecutivo in cui il Millerand ginevrino S. E. Thiebaut si segnala pel suo zelo d'obbedienza agli ordini dei capitalisti onnipotenti fino a firmare decreti d'espulsione contro i socialisti stranieri, fino a chiamar sotto le armi e lanciare contro pacifici lavoratori le truppe del governo.

Il che non deve meravigliare alcuno poichè rientra nell'ordine naturale delle cose e della storia; non appena un socialista giunge ad arraffare un mandato di governo egli fa esattamente quello che han fatto sempre tutti i governi passati e faranno ....quelli futuri, coll'ipocrisia per giunta.

Vi ha qualchecosa di più caratteristico nella condotta dei nostri parlamentari socialisti di Ginevra ed è il silenzio ostinato, il mutismo assoluto in cui si suggellano ogni qual volta scoppia tra lavoratori e dirigenti una crisi acuta; nè soltanto ammutoliscono ma scompaiono per così dire dalla circolazione cosichè invano li cerchereste là dove in tempi normali li incontravate ogni giorno; sono dileguati, squagliati.

***

L'eclissi del deputato socialista dura e si ostina in ragione diretta della gravità del conflitto. Dopo la crisi mau mano che la situazione turbata dagli urti e dalle agitazioni vibrauti tende ad assidersi ed a schiarirsi e che nel dominio della lotta tra il salariato e l'attuale organizzazione emerge qualche fatto nuovo od anche soltanto un unovo argomento di ciarla alla facondia *deputassier*, il deputato socialista, che pareva colto da paralisi, riappare, non invade ancora le riunioni pubbliche — in cui gli toccherebbe rifare i conti colle corporazioni operaie organizzate all'infuori d'ogni azione politica — ma s'è orientato ormai alla meglio dei suoi interessi e spia ora in agnato il momento propizio di sfruttare gli avvenimenti e la situazione.

couto e, sotto l'influenza dei compagni libertarii, la *Federazione operaia* di Ginevra — la quale comprende quasi tutti i corpi di mestiere — si è inderdetta ogni azione politica ritornando all'antico concetto dell'Internazionale che "l'Emancipazione dei lavoratori dei lavoratori deve essere opera dei lavoratori stessi."

Durante i cromi di lotta in cui nella strada il proletariato cosciente si urtava contro le truppe che loro opponeva il governo radicale-socialista, nessuu deputato socialista — all'infuori del maestro Sigg, che pel suo coraggioso rifiuto a prestar servizio nell'esercito ebbe quattro mesi di prigione — s'è fatto vedere: non soltanto, ma uessnna protesta fu promossa o pubblicata contro la chiamata delle truppe sotto le armi.

Le cariche di cavalleria, le violazioni reiterate, e flagranti delle garanzie (!!) costituzionali, le espulsioni arbitrarie in massa perpetrate con inaudito raffinamento di barbarie sulle indicazioni d'una polizia politica i cui agenti ufficiali stanno alla greppia di tutte le ambasciate, tutte queste infamie governative hanno trovato i deputati socialisti sordi e muti.

Soltanto quando una fortissima corrente volle, nel pubblico, la liberazione di tutti i condannati per delitto di sciopero, i deputati socialisti felici del pretesto di tornare in scena appoggiarono la petizione con cui 5 000 cittadini d'ogni partito reclamavano la liberazione del compagno Bertoni.

Troppo tardi! i socialisti del governo possono ormai fare il lutto dell'antica influenza che essi avevano fin qui esercitato sulle masse lavoratrici.

Essi possono con pazza incoscienza e con impudenza ineccepibile delegare a loro rappresentante al corteo del 1.° Maggio il proscrittore Thiebaut, (1) il valletto, l'esecutore delle basse persecuzioni della Compagnia dei Tramways. Thiebaut che fece espellere tutti gli stranieri sospetti non solo di aver rapporti con anarchici, ma di aver simpatie per gli scioperanti, Thiebaut che scagliò le truppe contro gli operai in sciopero, suoi elettori, e che ora in vista delle prossime elezioni e dei molti scudi che la carica gli assicura, torna al suo gregge in attesa di lasciarlo in asso alla prima occasione: l'esperienza rimarrà.

Pochi giorni di crisi acuta tra dirigenti e produttori, di lotta diretta ed accesa tra

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890223005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Emma Goldman to the "Cronaca Sovversiva". In Italian] Emma Goldman alla "Cronaca Sovversiva" / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. – Vol. 1, no. 1 (June 6, 1903).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

ogni pregiudizio, ogni idolatria inutile, ogni energia tesa e nelle coscienze risvegliate il contrasto tra l'aspirazione legittima e la realtà tracotante sarà così acuto così doloroso che la ribellione scintillerà, inevitabile, illuminata, esemplare.

Tanto più illuminata ed esemplare se in luogo di abusati feticismi superstiti troverà eco di energie coscienti, se invece di essere condannata in nome di meno sinceri vantaggi immediati sara' nei suoi intenti e nelle sue forme, rivendicata dalla simpatia e dalla solidarieta' di tutti gli animi liberi, di tutti i cuori generosi.

* * *

In questi propositi d'educazione rivoluzionaria la CRONACA SOVVERSIVA — anarchica senza alcuno dei tanti agettivi in cui si rifugiano, di solito, innocue vanita' o premeditate restrizioni mentali — si augura d'aver solidali tutti i compagni degli Stati Uniti che invita ad un'attiva, regolare collaborazione.

La CRONACA SOVVERSIVA non é organo particolare d'individui, di gruppi, di chiese o d'accademie, essa anela ad essere la voce fedele della verita', la fiera voce del proletariato che lavora e soffre, e, nel dolore senza lacrime e senza rassegnazione, tempra alla grande riscossa le braccia, gli animi e l'armi

A voi per l'Anarchia e la Rivoluzione Sociale, fraternamente:

Il Circolo di Studi Sociali di Barre, Vt.

L'era del progresso pacifico non si aprirà che sulle rovine del cosidetto mondo civile quando il monopolio avrà reso l'ultimo sospiro ed i prodotti del lavoro saranno divenuti di pubblico dominio.

Dejacques

COMPAGNI DIFFONDETE

IL NOSTRO GIORNALE

---

su questa terra in cui un pugno solido val più che un cervello fosforescente, in cui Teddy il torribile vuole in ogni uomo uno schiavo sommesso, in ogni donna una femmina feconda.

E tutti quelli che conoscono i pericoli frementi della propaganda in questo paese apprezzeranno i vostri assidui sforzi l'abnegazione tenace che volete al trionfo del nostro ideale.

Avanti! Avanti! ed all'opera vostra arrida luminoso il trionfo.

Io intanto per non mancare alla mia promessa vi compiego due articoli. Il primo è di uno dei più sinceri e coraggiosi compagni nostri, John H. Cook, l'altro di W. Tharston Brown già ministro ed ora socialista rivoluzionario. (1)

Egli ha abbandonato la sua posizione e la sua carica a quel mondo che tollera soltanto schiavi e padroni non mai una anima fiera ed è venuto, senza rimpianti, tra noi a cercarvi ambiente più puro e più nobile di libertà, d'indipendenza di solidarietà.

E' uno dei nostri anche se non ha incondizionatamente aderito a tutte le nostre idee.

Che importa?

La libertà, madre, accarezza d'affetti generosi tutti i figli che armati d'integra onestà combattono contro l'oppressione e la tirannia per un avvenire in cui non saranno nè padroni nè servi, nè ricchi nè poveri nè oppressori nè oppressi; per l'avvenire che irradierà le fiamme delle sue aurore vermiglie sulle fanciulle felici, sui figli liberi perchè avranno compreso che la libertà di ciascuno ha le sue radici nella libertà di tutti e che in questa libertà di tutti è la guarentigia della libertà, dello sviluppo, dell'autonomia, delle libere affermazioni di ciascuno.

Per questo ideale radioso il nostro collaboratore William Thurston Brown ha lasciato della vita le mollezze e gli agi tra cui la gente vana chiude i confini e le aspirazioni della felicità.

Per questo io lo tengo dei nostri e sono certa che egli sarà contento di ridarvi all'occasione la sua collaborazione e tutto il suo appoggio per la *Cronaca Sovversiva*.

Vostra

EMMA GOLDMAN

New York, 1 Giugno '903.

---

(1) Questi articoli vedranno la luce in uno dei prossimi numeri mentre ci valenti collaboratori mandiamo fin d'ora sinceri e cordiali i ringraziamenti vivissimi della *Cronaca Sovversiva*.

---

lazioni vibranti tende ad assidersi ed a schiarirsi e che nel dominio della lotta tra il salariato e l'attuale organizzazione emerge qualche fatto nuovo od anche soltanto un nuovo argomento di ciarla alla facondia *deputassier* il deputato socialista che pareva colto da paralisi, riappare non invade ancora le riunioni pubbliche — in cui gli toccherebbe rifare i conti colle corporazioni operaie organizzate all'infuori d'ogni azione politica — ma s'è orientato ormai alla meglio dai suoi interessi e spia ora in agguato il momento propizio di sfruttare gli avvenimenti e la situazione.

Comincia così a muovere un'interpellanza al "Gran Consiglio" sa che la sua interpellanza è vana, inutile, inconcludente ma sa che essa *posa* il deputato e che i citrulli del gregge elettorale glie ne terranno buon conto.

I deputati socialisti di qui, vecchi e nuovi, eccezion fatta per un antico maestro di scuola, sono gente sprovvista d'ogni dono naturale, ignoranti, gretti, stitacati come ostriche ai impieghi salariati dallo Stato o dal Comune, paurosi di perdere l'offa e la sinecura che essi o i membri delle loro famiglie detengono soltanto in grazia al brevetto socialista legalitario e che sanno appetito da pericolosi avversarii di indiscutibile competenza.

* * *

Durante le giornate dallo scorso Ottobre mentre più agitato ferveva lo sciopero ai sarebbe potuto credere che il Gran Consiglio non contava deputati socialisti. All'inizio dell'agitazione i deputati socialisti avevano cercato di rendersene padroni e devesi appunto alla loro intromissione il pronto componimento dello sciopero dei tramvieri sulla base di promesse officiali che non furono mantenute nè, dalla Compagnia dei Tramways, nè dal governo dando così luogo al secondo sciopero seguito poi dallo sciopero generale.

Alle assemblee che precedettero questo movimento nessun deputato socialista mostrò la faccia, gli anarchici soli si prodigarono ovunque c'era propaganda da fare, interessi operai a difendere, colpi da ricevere... o da dare, sì essi, i compagni nostri, fecero questo lavoro con un'abnegazione, con un disinteresse, con una sincerità di cui i socialisti non hanno neppure l'intuizione, ma che hanno penetrato il cuore delle masse profondamente.

E queste — per quanto è almeno degli operosi organizzati — hanno abbandonato i cinici madori socialisti i quali non cercano nelle agitazioni operaie che il loro tornaro rappresentato al tempo del Mayor il proscrittore Thiebaut, (1) il vallotto, l'esecutore delle basse persecuzioni della Compagnia dei Tramways. Thiebaut che fece espellere tutti gli stranieri sospetti non solo di aver rapporti con anarchici, ma di aver simpatie per gli scioperanti. Thiebaut che scaglio le truppe contro gli operai in isciopero, suoi elettori, e che ora in vista delle prossime elezioni e dei molti scudi che la carica gli assicura, torna al suo gregge in attesa di lasciarlo in asso alla prima occasione: l'esperienza rimarrà.

Pochi giorni di crisi acuta tra dirigenti e produttori, di lotta diretta ed accesa tra sfruttati e sfruttatori istruiscono sulla funzione di questi personaggi equivoci il popolo mille volte più che non anni ed anni sciupati nelle vane e vuote schermaglie parlamentari.

* * * * *

---

[1] Il *Proletario* – quando era ancora socialista — nel suo numero del 24 Gennaio mi accusava di slealtà perchè denunziando sulla Q. S. il Thiebaut *onorevole socialista è spia* facevo che era stato espulso dal partito.

S. E. Thiebaut di cui il nostro corrispondente offre ai lettori della "Cronaca Sovversiva" lo stato di servizio socialista è *dunque sempre nel partito* e dal momento che i socialisti lo delegano al corteo del 1.o Maggio bisogna credere che ne sia sempre un pò il beniamino. Il che non meraviglierà alcuno ma dimostrerà apertamente che alle regole più elementari di lealtà mancava — anche quando era socialista — il *Proletario* non il vostro sempre

DIOGENE.

LE FRODI DELL'ARBITRATO

I panegiristi dell'arbitrato, gli apologisti delle agitazioni legali e pacifiche dovrebbero fare un'escursione in questi distretti minerarii per toccare con mano in quanto turpe inganno ci abbia, dopo sei mesi di resistenza e di digiuni, affogato la famosa sentenza arbitrale della Commissione Rooseveltiana per lo sciopero dell'antracite.

Cessati i canti di trionfo, svanite le ebbrezze o gli entusiasmi, la realtà si erge con tutto l'orrore delle sue delusioni e delle sue miserie.

E' vero che non abbiamo mai, come oggi, estratto il minerale a 90 cents la tonnellata ed è altrettanto vero che effettivamente il nostro salario si è elevato del 12 per cento; ma fin dal 1 Aprile la carne e con essa i generi di prima necessità — quasi tutti controllati dai *trusts* — sono

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890109009
The Emma Goldman Papers
[For freedom. In Italian] Per la Liberta / Emma Goldman.– p. 1 ; 28 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. –no. 27 (Dec. 5, 1903).
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

ANNO I. NUMERO 27

CRONACA SOVVERSIVA

Ebdomadario anarchico di propaganda rivoluzionaria.

Ut redeat miseris abeat fortuna superbis!

Abbonamento annuo per l' interno e per l' estero, $1.00
semestre " " " " .50

I manoscritti non si restituiscono
Redazione ed Amministrazione, P. O. Box I, Barre, Vt.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 5 1903. BARRE, VERMONT. SABATO, 5 DICEMBRE 1903.

"CRONACA SOVVERSIVA"
December 5 1903. N. 27
Entered as second-class matter July 3rd, 1903 at the posteffice at Barre, Vermont under Act of Congress of March 3rd, 1879.
Published every Saturday, Barre Vt. Subscription One year $ 1; Six months 0,50; Three months 0,25 Cents. Single copy 2 Cents. C. Abate Publisher.

Per la Liberta'

Avrei voluto prima d'ora intrattenervi del caso Turner, ma m'impedirono fin qui l'incertezza della situazione, l'aver io dovuto dare a questa nuova battaglia per la libertà tutto il mio tempo, tutta l'opera mia.

Se ve ne scrivo oggi gli è che io posso dirvi quanto si è fatto, quanto si farà per lui, pel trionfo del nostro buon diritto.

Voi conoscete già la sentenza del giudice Lacombe in forza della quale Turner dovrebbe, *perché anarchico*, essere deportato in Inghilterra, voi sapete la vanità dei nostri tentativi ad ottenergli la libertà sulla parola o sotto cauzione: non ci rimaneva quindi che una via, quella di ricorrere alla Suprema Corte federale e non avremmo indugiato ad esperire anche quest'unico mezzo se il compagno John Turner non avesse dovuto attendere manente alla *Lega della libera parola* la quale si propone di portare in ogni libero animo il convincimento che la legge antianarchica é inapplicabile ed assurda.

Al comitato che ha con tanta energica efficacia iniziato i suoi lavori aderirono i signori E. N. Chamberlain, Dott. E. B. Foot junior, A. Pleydel (segretario, 175 Broanway), Benjamin Tuker, George Mac Donal, David Rousseau; N. F. Doll, Moise Oppenenheimer; E. C. Nallen, Dr. J. B. Maryson, Herman Schluter, Alexander Jonas del "Volkszeitung", Algernon Lee, P. Borowsky, Joseph Barondes, Bolton Hall, oltre a moltissimi altri che vi mandarono pure la loro adesione.

Clarence S. Darrou sarà il consulente di Turner, Hugh. O. Pentecost ne sarà l'avvocato. E' stato intanto deciso un grande meeting pubblico di protesta che avrà luogo al Cooper Union Hall la sera del 3 Dicembre p. v. col concorso e coll'assistenza di notissimi personaggi tra cui mi basterà ricordarvi De Witt Warner, Ernest Crosby, Henry Frank ed altri moltissimi di ogni gradazione e partito. E' di capitale importanza associare alla nostra protesta quanti, fuori delle file libertarie, hanno sentimenti di giustizia e di umanità e mostrare contendere alla Russia il primato della violenza, della brutalità e della tirannia.

Per questo ed anche perché dobbiamo al compagno Turner ogni nostra più affettuosa e fraterna assistenza noi facciamo appello ai lettori della *Cronacaca Sovversiva*, ai compagni di di ogni lingua e d'ogni nazione perché con ogni mezzo vogliano confortare l'opera nostra indirizzando adesioni e contributi il piú sollecitamente possibile al *Dr. E. B. Foot junior*, oppure a *E. G. Smith, 180 Madison Ave, New York.*

In quest'attesa v'abbraccia la vostra sempre

EMMA GOLDMAN.

New York, 29 novemers 1903.

IL PASSATO

La vita è un incessante *divenire*. Vive tutto ciò che si modifica e si rinnova. Tutto ciò che s'arresta, si stanca, si cristallizza, muore.

Si é detto che la natura non consente mai neppure ad una molecola il riposo ed é verità: la materia stessa dei cadaveri inerti é soggetta ad assidua trasformazione da cui zampilla- fu convertita in statua di sale per essersi voltata indietro è un simbolo che si può applicare a tutti coloro i quali dimenticano l'istante attuale della loro esistenza per volgersi ad ammirare il passato.

Ma che cosa può darci il passato? Ammaestramenti? E sta bene: noi ci stimeremo felici di farne tesoro. Ma gli ammaestramenti che il passato ci dà sono esperienza di vita non di morte. Noi ammiriamo Dante, Platone e Cristo ma se attingeremo da loro qualche cosa non sarà mai la forma che uccide, sarà lo spirito che vivifica.

Platone, Cristo, Dante, hanno precorso i loro tempi insorsero contro di essi, non guardarono al passato, guardarono all'avvenire, non imitarono servilmente i loro predecessori, da questi trassero semplicemente la materia ispiratrice dell'opera loro.

Noi facciamo lo stesso, noi, nemici del passato, siamo dunque verso di esso più conseguenti che non lo siano i suo piú devoti e servili adoratori,

***

Pretendere di paralizzare la vita e' pretendere d'ucciderla e la vita non si puòs pegnere. Pretendere di soggiogare il presente al passato o l'avvenire al presente e' delirio di menti inferme.

890109009
The Emma Goldman Papers
[For freedom. In Italian] Per la Liberta / Emma Goldman.– p. 1 ; 28 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. –no. 27 (Dec. 5, 1903).
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

buon diritto.

Voi conoscete già la sentenza del giudice Lacombe in forza della quale Turner dovrebbe, *perché anarchico*, essere deportato in Inghilterra, voi sapete la vanità dei nostri tentativi ad ottenergli la libertà sulla parola o sotto cauzione: non ci rimaneva quindi che una via, quella di ricorrere alla Suprema Corte federale e non avremmo indugiato ad esperire anche quest'unico mezzo se il compagno John Turner non avesse dovuto attendere nelle carceri di Ellis Island durante tre o quattro mesi — che tanti ne occorono alla Suprema Corte per decidere l'esito del ricorso. Abbiamo ritenuto miglior proposito rimetterci al compagno Turner stesso, al quale chiedemmo se preferiva starsene alla sentenza del giurlice Lacombe o ricorrere alla Suprema Corte Federale. Dobbiamo aggiungere subito che la condotta del compagno nostro si é in questa circostanza, come sempre, ispirata unicamente al maggior vantaggio della nostra propaganda, lontana da ogni preoccupazione di vantaggi o di disagi personali. Egli ha eletto senza un indugio, quattro lunghi mesi di prigionia nelle fetide sentine di Ellis Island sempre quando della nuova sopraffazione di cui è vittima sappiano i compagni trarre la ragione e la forza di una generosa battaglia contro la violenza reazionaria dei poteri costituiti, non perché egli speri di veder rivocata dalla Suprema Corte la deportazione a cui è stato condannato ma perchè sente, come noi sentiamo, che un'energica ed intensa agitazione popolare potrebbe ammonire i pubblici poteri intorno ai pericoli che un replicato abuso delle leggi scellerate trarrebbe seco inevitabilmente.

Si é adunque interposto appello e si è dato vita ad un comitato *Pro Turner* il quale nel suo meeting del 4 novembre corrente ha non solo avvisato ai mezzi piú efficaci per impedire la deportazione del nostro compagno carissimo ma col proposito di combattere ogni sopraffazione alla libertà di pensiero, di riunione e di stampa ha dato vita con carattere per- deciso un grande meeting pubblico di protesta che avrà luogo al Cooper Union Hall la sera del 3 Dicembre p. v. col concorso e coll'assistenza di notissimi personaggi tra cui mi basterà ricordarvi De Witt Warner, Ernest Crosby, Henry Frank ed altri moltissimi di ogni gradazione e partito. E' di capitale importanza associare alla nostra protesta quanti, fuori delle file libertarie, hanno sentimenti di giustizia e di umanità e mostrare loro che le leggi scellerate per cui Turner è arrestato, imprigionato e minacciato della deportazione sono un oltraggio alla tradizione liberale americana. Il meeting del 3 Dicembre provvederà a quest'urgenza mentre più tardi, quando l'eco delle generali proteste avrà scosso anche la massa che vive lontana dalle nostre lotte, si penserà ad una serie di comizii libertari, si penserà, sopratutto, con una circolare in cui il caso di Turner sarà studiato dal punto di vista etico e legale, intetessare i giornali operai e liberali deil'intiera nazione.

Deve però intendersi bene che Clarence S. Darrow non é in caso di poter dare gratuitamente la sua assistenza, che meeting, manifesti e circolari importano spese continue e gravi al cui sopperimento occorrono denari e che ciascuno quindi deve nel limite delle proprie forze sostenerci ed aiutarci. Dobbiamo intenderci sopra un altro punto: né Turner nè quelli che con lui hanno ingaggiato questa battaglia sfanno illusioni soverchiamente ottimiste intorno all'esito della causa ed alla decisione della Suprema Corte. Puó essere benissimo che il magistrato confermi la deportazione comminata dal giudice Lacombe contro il compagno Turner ma i principii agitati durante questo febbrile periodo di battaglia riusciranno se non a vincere l'ostinatezza reazionaria dei mercanti di giustizia a convincere la parte sana del popolo che la libertà é quì uno storico lontano patrimonio del passato, che rinnegando la sua liberale tradizione repubblicana l'America non ha piú che un'ambizione, quella di

IL PASSATO

La vita è un incessante *divenire*. Vive tutto ciò che si modifica e si rinnova. Tutto ciò che s'arresta, si stanca, si cristallizza, muore.

Si é detto che la natura non consente mai neppure ad una molecola il riposo ed é verità: la materia stessa dei cadaveri inerti é soggetta ad assidua trasformazione da cui zampillano vivaci organismi nuovi.

Il pensiero, come ogni cosa, é soggetto a questa legge dell'evoluzione, l'arte pure. Si pensa e si scrive oggi in una forma che non é piú quella di ieri, si penserà domani in una forma diversa da quella di oggi.

Così eternamente.

Tuttavia....

***

C'è della buona gente la quale s'attacca disperatamente all'idea che le cose siano state sempre come oggi sono, che come oggi esse debbano essere in eterno. Altri, senza dirlo, lo pensano, vi credono ed invocano ad ogni istante epoche antiche, opere antiche, nomi antichi.

Così se ci parlano d'arte ricordano, ad esempio, Dante.... se ci parlano di filosofia esclamano: Platone.... parlandoci di ideali susurrano: Cristo... E vorrebbero farci scrivere alla maniera di Dante, farci pensare alla maniera di Platone, eccitarci a combattere alla maniera di Cristo; questo vogliono, cristallizzare in Cristo la vita del sentimento, in Dante quella del pensiero, in Platone quella della scienza.

Sappiamo che la cristallizzazione della vita implica la morte. La morte, la morte della scienza, del pensiero e del sentimento é tutto quello a cui cotesta buona gente anela.

***

Questo culto del passato é una caratteristica delle intelligenze senili a cui manca la feconda energia che si chiama potenza generativa. La leggenda biblica della moglie di Lot che questi trasse semplicemente la materia ispiratrice dell'opera loro.

Noi facciamo lo stesso, noi, nemici del passato, siamo dunque verso di esso più conseguenti che non lo siano i suo piú devoti e servili adoratori,

***

Pretendere di paralizzare la vita e' pretendere d'ucciderla e la vita non si puòs pegnere. Pretendere di soggiogare il presente al passato o l'avvenire al presente e' delirio di menti inferme. Tutto cambia, tutto, tutto quello che e', vita che e' passione, che e' forza.

Noi che ci opponiamo con tutte le nostre forze alla cristallizzazione del presente, che lottiamo per orientarlo verso l'avvenire, noi siumo gli eletti per l'ultimo trionfo.

E come potrebbe esser diverso se noi siamo la vita?

GIULIO CAMBA.

Rigenerazione

L'atmosfera è satura di elettricità: un urto potrebbe determinare l'uragano. La miseria delle classi lavoratrici, lo spettacolo delle ladrerie delle classi privilegiate e del loro parassitismo a detrimento della grande maggioranza, la gesuitica alterigia dei governanti e la crescente brutalità dei loro stipendiati, tutto contribuisce a render fosco l'aere, a condensare i nembi che momentaneamente hanno tutta la parvenza della quiete ma che sono pronti a sconvolgersi, a premersi, a cozzare in una terribile conflagrazione. Le sommosse pullulanti quà e là ad intervalli, audaci, minacciose, temerarie, assomigliano troppo alle parziali scaramuccie che precedettero in Francia il 1789 perchè si possa negare che siamo ai prodomi della rivoluzione.

Tutto è corrotto, tutto è fradicio e barcollante. I governi, che rappresentano non il popolo, ma le classsi abbienti e sfruttatrici, hanno dimostrato e dimostrano continuamente in ogni loro atto di fare i proprii interessi senza curarsi che in modo illusorio e menzognero di quelli del popolo lavoratore. I parlamenti non potrebbero dar prove più luminose di essere accozzaglie di imbecilli, di ambiziosi e di ladri. Le magistrature e le polizie, che ormai si possono accoppiare, offrono ogni

890109008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Anarchy. In Italian] Anarchia / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 29 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. –no. 5 (Jan. 30, 1904).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

ANNO II. NUMERO 5

CRONACA SOVVERSIVA

Ebdomadario anarchico di propaganda rivoluzionaria.

Ut redeat miseris abeat fortuna superbis!

Abbonamento annuo per l' interno e per l' estero, $1.00
semestre " " " " .50

I manoscritti non si restituiscono
Redazione ed Amministrazione, P. O. Box I, Barre, Vt.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 30 1904. BARRE, VERMONT. SABATO, GENNAIO 30 1904.

"CRONACA SOVVERSIVA"

January 30 1904. N. 5

Entered as second-class matter July 3rd, 1903 at the postoffice at Barre, Vermont under Act of Congress of March 3rd, 1879.

Published every Saturday, Barre Vt. Subscription One year $ 1; Six months 0,50; Three months 0,25 Cents. Single copy 2 Cents. C. Abate Publisher.

ANARCHIA

E' parola che torna ostica a molta gente la quale non sa comprenderla che come sinonimo di malvagità, di disordine e di caos, come non sa ritenere gli anarchici che quali malfattori facinorosi sempre in agguato per accoppare un ricco e ripartirsene le spoglie.

Pei suoi adepti ha ben diverso significato, essa é dottrina sociale che intende realizzare l'ordine nell'assenza di ogni governo, di ogni sfruttamento dell'uomo sull'uomo: non significa quindi chè completa libertà individuale.

Le ragioni per cui alla parola *anarchia* si è dato fin quì significato di illimitato disordine sono ovvie essendosi fin quì inculcato agli uomini che essi devono essere governati, che sono governati saggiamente, che il governo è una necessità di cui non si pretendere farne a meno ci pare assurdo.

Il male é questo: che un buon governo è un'illusione; la sua esistenza é fondata nella tirannia di una classe sopra l'altra.

— Ma gli uomini debbono essere pur governati! osservano, essi vogliono esser guidati dalle leggi! Può anche essere ma ammesso pure che gli uomini sieno bambini i quali debbano essere ad ogni modo guidati chi sarà sufficientemente perfetto, sufficientemente savio, sufficientemente puro da governare e guidare i suoi compagni?

Noi sosteniamo che gli uomini debbono governarsi individualmente da sé e se per questo essi non sono maturi, ancor meno maturi essi sono per governare gli altri. E' dunque possibile che un solo uomo, che pochi uomini possono guidare i milioni di ciechi di cui si costituisce una nazione?

— Non possiamo tuttavia far a meno di qualche autorità, osserva un ostinato e con ragione. Ma noi questa autorità l'abbiamo pure; l'abbiamo nel potere irresistibile delle leggi naturali che si manifesta nel mondo sociale come nel mondo fisico.

Che noi comprendiamo o meno queste leggi, noi dobbiamo subirle perchè in esse si integra la nostra esistenza, ne siamo gli schiavi assoluti senza che tuttavia la schiavitú sia [illegible] né consacrata dai codici.

Sono promesse che in cospetto dell'ineffabile miseria della moltitudine hanno carattere di amare, atroci ironie.

Ho trovato pochi uomini, pochissime donne, intelligenti, che osino difendere l'onore e la coscienza dei governi esistenti: tutti erano con me, ed in più d'un punto, d'accordo: ma nel momento decisivo dell'azione mancava loro il coraggio morale di affermare francamente, apertamente, la loro simpatia, la loro solidarietà coi rivoluzionari dell'anarchismo.

Noi che abbiamo scelto la nostra via, la via segnataci dalle nostre convinzioni in nome dei principii della scienza e delle leggi naturali, combattiamo con ogni forza nostra l'organizzazione che si chiama Stato proclamando per tutti un egual diritto alla produzione ed alle gioie della vita.

Rotti i vincoli d'un'autorità straniera nelle libere associazioni sorte spontanee a consacrare l'indipendenza e l'autonomia dell'individuo, ognuno recherà al benessere comune ed al proprio il suo contributo lavorando secondo le sue forze, consumando a seconda dei suoi bisogni. Le scoperte della scienza, le applicazioni sempre crescenti sempre più umane delle invenzioni tecniche all'industria renderanno il lavoro facile e gradito: la scienza, l'istruzione, l'arte, accessibili pubblico sempre disposto ad accettare per poltroneria intellettuale e morale anche le scempiaggini piú fantastiche.

Noi, anarchici, pensiamo che l'anarchia cioé la liberta' individuale non si conquistera' senza violenza, come senza violenza non avrebbe potuto la liberta' difendersi alle Termopili ed a Moratona.

Le plebi reclamano sempre piú energicamente, sempre più apertamente la liberta' e le condizioni ad attingerla si fanno giorno per giorno più favorevoli.

E' evidente che attraverso la storia un'evoluzione si elabora a cui schiavitú e violenza di ogni forma dovranno cedere il passo e da quella evoluzione zampillera' piena, intera, insommergibile la liberta', la liberta' per tutti, la liberta' per ciascuno.

L'anarchismo non é dunque, come insinuano i microcefali dell'ordine costituito e.... di quello costituendo, un movimento retrogado ma movimento rivoluzionario fecondo d'avanguardia. Gli anarchici ricordano alle masse lavoratrici una imperiosa necessita' che esse non debbono dimenticare mai: la lotta gigantesca da cui deve essere fatalmente preceduta la realizzazione delle nostre idee; mentre d'altro canto la soluzione rivoluzionaria affrettano con tutti i mezzi che sono a loro disposizione: la parola, la stampa, l'a-

220

890109008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Anarchy. In Italian] Anarchia / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 29 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. –no. 5 (Jan. 30, 1904).

Pennission to reproduce or quote in any fonn must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

gnificato, essa é dottrina sociale che intende realizzare l'ordine nell'assenza di ogni governo, di ogni sfruttamento dell'uomo sull'uomo: non significa quindi che completa libertà individuale.

Le ragioni per cui alla parola *anarchia* si è dato fin quì significato di illimitato disordine sono ovvie essendosi fin quì inculcato agli uomini che essi devono essere governati, che sono governati saggiamente, che il governo è una necessità di cui non si può assolutamente far a meno.

Nei secoli scorsi ogni temerario che osasse affermare poter l'umanità proseguire, senza la protezione d'un'autorità terrena e spirituale, il suo cammino, era considerato come un pazzo e la sua temeraria pazzia scontava al manicomio o sul rogo: oggi si contano a milioni gli empii, uomini e donne, che all'idea di un ente soprannaturale sorridono.

Con tutto questo i liberi pensatori di oggi continuano nella loro maggior parte a credere nella necessità di uno Stato che protegga i cittadini, senza ricordare, senza riflettere che il governo non é esistito, non esisterà mai che coll'oppressione per l'oppressione; che all'autorità si debbono imputare i piú scellerati delitti che abbiano mai funestato la società umana; che se l'autorità evolvendosi progressivamente fu dispotismo, oligarchia, democrazia, non cessó però mai d'essere coercizione ed oppressione.

La falange dei buoni che riconoscono il malessere presente e vogliono rimediarvi ed all'onesto proposito votano intelligenza e volontà, s'é di molto accresciuta, ma essa non sa ancora emanciparsi dai pregiudizii, dalle supestizioni di che l'inquinarono secoli e secoli di barbarie, non sa ancora vedere con chiarezza che cosa realmente si nasconda sotto l'istituzione che essa chiama governo.

— Come potremo vivere senza governo? si chiedono gli uni; se il nostro governo non é buono cerchiamo di cambiarlo, di sostituirgliene uno migliore, ma prescindere da esso, chi di cui si costituisce una nazione.

— Non possiamo tuttavia far a meno di qualche autorità, osserva un ostinato e con ragione. Ma noi questa autorità l'abbiamo pure; l'abbiamo nel potere irresistibile delle leggi naturali che si manifesta nel mondo sociale come nel mondo fisico.

Che noi comprendiamo o meno queste leggi, noi dobbiamo subirle perchè in esse si integra la nostra esistenza, ne siamo gli schiavi assoluti senza che tuttavia la schiavitú sia umiliante né consacrata dai codici.

La schiavitù cosí come oggi esiste tollera un padrone esterno, un legislatore straniero a coloro che gli obbediscono, mentre le leggi naturali non sono fuori di noi, sono in noi stessi e soltanto in conformità di queste leggi viviamo, respiriamo, ci muoviamo; non sono nemiche nostre, sono nostre benefatirici.

Le leggi stabilite dall'uomo e raccolte nei codici sono in conformità ed in corrispondenza colle leggi naturali? Nessuno oserebbe affermarlo. Ed è appunto perché le leggi umane non sono conformi alle leggi naturali l'umanità geme piagata da tutti i dolori. E' assurdo parlare di benessere umano finché non avremo realizzata la libertà.

Non meravigliamoci dunque che l'anarchia ed i suoi apostoli raccolgano tanta messe di maledizioni e di persecuzioni feroci: essa é dottrina che urta troppo violentemente le regole generalmente convenute: l'attiva, ardente energia dei suoi propagandisti deve necessariamente ferire un soverchio numero di coscienze.

Al povero si predicano la rassegnazione e la pazienza a riscatto di gioie ultra terrene, ma che cosa deve importare al povero, al paria miserabile, nudo, mendicante per tutta la vita un boccon di pane, se le porte del paradiso si spalancheranno piú largamente..... dopo morte, a lui che non al ricco?

vita.

Rotti i vincoli d'un'autorità straniera nelle libere associazioni sorte spontanee a consacrare l'indipendenza e l'autonomia dell'individuo, ognuno recherà al benessere comune ed al proprio il suo contributo lavorando secondo le sue forze, consumando a seconda dei suoi bisogni. Le scoperte della scienza, le applicazioni sempre crescenti sempre più umane delle invenzioni tecniche all'industria renderanno il lavoro facile e gradito: la scienza, l'istruzione, l'arte, accessibili ad ogni mente, perfezioneranno, nobiliteranno la razza e la donna sarà, allora, l'uguale dell'uomo.

Bel sogno! bel sogno certo se gli uomini fossero angeli e non egoisti: replica un ultimo contradditore.

Angioli? ma l'egoismo non è un delitto né un ostacolo, lo è soltanto, per meglio dire, laddove le condizioni d'ambiente permettano ad un individuo di soddisfare al proprio egoismo a detrimento di quello dei suoi simili.

In una società anarchica ciascuno cercherà naturalmente di soddisfare alle esigenze del proprio *io*, ma come nella natura sopravvivono soltanto le specie i cui individui facciano del mutuo appoggio la base del loro sviluppo così nella società l'uomo ad assicurare al proprio *io* le soddisfazioni agognate stendera' amica la mano a tutti coloro che solidali gli stenderanno fraternamente la propria e germogliera' dall'egoismo invitta, invincibile la fratellanza.

Questo il nostro ideale.

Un pugnale nella destra, una fiaccola nella sinistra tra il fumo e lo schianto delle esplosioni dinamitarde dipingono i nemici del nostro l'ideale l'anarchico, l'anarchico pazzoide e delinquente, fanatico del cataclisma universale, pronto a raggiungerlo assassinando il primo che passa. Ma è una sconcia caricatura convenzionale, agitata ostinatamente dinnanzi ad un

insinuano i microcefali dell'ordine costituito e.... di quello costituendo, un movimento retrogado ma movimento rivoluzionario fecondo d'avanguardia. Gli anarchici ricordano alle masse lavoratrici una imperiosa necessita' che esse non debbono dimenticare mai: la lotta gigantesca da cui deve essere fatalmente preceduta la realizzazione delle nostre idee; mentre d'altro canto la soluzione rivoluzionaria affrettano con tutti i mezzi che sono a loro disposizione: la parola, la stampa, l'azione.

Conchiudendo: il benessere dell'umanita' non è possibile senza comunismo e senza anarchia, senza uguaglianza nei rapporti economici, senza liberta' nel diritto. Il sistema comunista escludendo ogni rapporto da padrone a servo significa gia' in se' anarchismo: certo e' che a raggiungere meta cosí alta la rivoluzione sociale e' fatalita' ineluttabile.

Quanto alla violenza che dovrebbe secondo i benpensanti essere caratteristica dell'anarchismo noi non la ripudiamo, non la ripudieremo mai: confessiamo soltanto che non arriviamo a comprendere come possa condannarsi in un individuo e glorificarsi in un popolo quando entrambi vi fanno ricorso per conquistare o difendere la liberta'.

Questo solo in conclusione e' vero: che tutti gli oppressori hanno condannato sempre la ribellione degli oppressi; le colonie greche indocili provocano le ire della Persia, le forche caudine schiaffeggiano la maesta' di Roma onnipotente e Bunkershill e' per l'Inghilterra vaticinio di sciagura.

Può l'anarchia realizzarsi senza ricorrere alla forza che regge e governa al mondo ogni cosa?

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Il miglior modo di sostenere il giornale e' quello di procurargli abbonamenti.

890117017

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchists' Big Rally / Emma Goldman.— p. 6 ; 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(Sept. 12, 1904).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

which direction the carriage faced. The answer came that it was not Mr. Sheehan.

The carriage proceeded on up the hill. When inquiry was made at the residence as to who had arrived there was a fine array of evasive answers and a clever display of sidestepping.

"Why, some local politicians have been here," was the answer. "Then Mr. Rodie and Mr. Meyer were here also, you know."

Only after several minutes was it admitted that Mr. Belmont was at Rosemount. He was then conferring with Judge Parker and Mr. Sheehan.

The condition of the campaign machinery was again declared to be excellent here today. It was reiterated that the most valiant and valuable work was being done by all the Democratic forces, and not one complaint could be lodged against anybody for laxness or failure to take advantage of opportunities.

There have been reports that Messrs. Rodie and Meyer made their all-night stay at Rosemount in order to point out that relations were not altogether cordial between the State and National Committees. It was impossible to find any responsible leader who would concede that such reports had an iota of truth in them.

There is every expectation here that ex-Senator Henry G. Davis will visit his running mate before the end of the week.

The Eighth Massachusetts, en route for Albany from the bloodless battle of Bull Run, passed through Esopus shortly after 9 o'clock this morning. Their train of a half dozen cars was at the station when Judge Parker drove up to take the train for Kingston.

The candidate was caught sight of in his carriage with Mrs. Parker before he had come under the large campaign banner in front of the Valley House. Desultory cheering began. As the occupants of the vehicle came alongside the platform the boys recently engaged in the struggles of the Blue and Brown tumbled out of the cars and at company front saluted the nominee.

Judge Parker was surrounded by a half dozen officers, and then discipline was thrown to the winds and the Bay State soldiers crowded about for a handshake. They were gratified in the main, only the arrival of the train which was to bear the candidate to church breaking up the demonstration.

COCKRAN CHIEF ORATOR.

Wigwam Plans Its Big Parker Rally at Tammany Hall.

Tammany has arranged for its big Parker and Davis ratification meeting to be held at the Wigwam on Wednesday evening of this week. James W. Gerard, Chairman of the Tammany Campaign Committee, will preside at the meeting in the hall, while elaborate arrangements have been completed for the overflow meetings.

The plans provide for a meeting with only Tammany men for orators. Tickets of admission will not be required, and all will be welcome. Congressman W. Bourke Cockran is announced as the orator of the evening, the other speakers to include Senator Thomas F. Grady, Justice George F. Roesch, M. Warley Platzek, Congressmen Sulzer, Harrison, and Goldfogle, John J. Delany, James Lindsay Gordon, Alfred J. Talley, Wauhope Lynn, Thomas C. T. Crain, ex-Senator T. C. O'Sullivan, Charles L. Guy, John M. Quinn, Water Register Savage, Dr. William J. O'Sullivan, Maurice R. Blumenthal, F. O. Duttmann, Carl P. Hangi, Henry W. Wolf, William M. Klein, Justice Zeller, Gotthardt A. Litthauer, and Maurice Ellinger.

There will be four outdoor meetings, including a German meeting at Fourteenth Street and Irving Place and an Italian meeting at Irving Place and Fifteenth Street. Antonio Zucca will preside at the Italian meeting, and Charles G. F. Wahle at the German meeting. Stands will be erected on each side of the entrance to Tammany Hall, where Daniel F. Cohalan and Ferdinand Levy will speak. The Sixty-ninth Regiment Band will furnish the music for the indoor meeting, and each outdoor meeting also will have a band. There will be

ment now on foot in Utah to purify the politics of the State from apostolic domination and to secure to the people of Utah the political freedom which of right should be theirs."

If a Republican Legislature is elected Senator Kearns will probably be succeeded by ex-Congressman George Sutherland, who was born a Mormon, but left the Church. He was for a time an uncompromising opponent of Smoot, but became his supporter coincidently with his own candidacy for the Senate.

ANARCHISTS' BIG RALLY.

Most and Emma Goldman Speak for Movement in Russia.

The Anarchists held a rally last night at the Grand Irving Hall in Broome Street, in support of the Anarchistic movement in Russia. The hall was packed. Emma Goldman, Herr Most, and others made speeches. About a hundred policemen and detectives were scattered throughout the hall. It was the biggest Anarchistic meeting, it is said, that was ever held in this city.

It was strenuously denied that it had any reference to the assassination of President McKinley, although it was held at a time marking the anniversary of the days the stricken President hovered between life and death as the result of the assassin's bullet.

The meeting was opened by Isaac Isaacs, editor of "Free Society." The first speaker introduced was "Comrade" Kelly of London, an "International anarchist" who, in slipping into this country, escaped the fate of Turner, the other London "Red," who was arrested while at a meeting at the Murray Hill Lyceum, and later deported.

"Comrade" Kelly said that the time was ripe for an extension of the Anarchistic propaganda in Russia.

Emma Goldman spoke next.

"We will not be much better off in America," she said, "than the people are in Russia, as long as a spark of Government remains. Freedom has been dead in America for a hundred years, and capitalism swings the knout here as bravely as that weapon ever was wielded in Darkest Russia. I tell you we will need more heroes and greater heroes than in Russia to make this country free."

Herr Most was the last speaker.

"It is not probable," he said, "that there will be a social revolution in Russia for a long time, because the army is too big and they have too many policemen; but as a matter of revenge it is highly satisfactory to know that we can chuck a bomb at a Romanoff or a de Plehve. If we cannot do the army, we can strike at the personification of the whole rotten system—the Czar."

DEFIED CROWD WITH AN AXE.

He Had Attacked His Father's Housekeeper—Now He May Die.

Special to The New York Times.

VINELAND, N. J., Sept. 11.—Five hundred persons were called to Boulevard and Pear Street this afternoon to dislodge Charles Dawson, so that he could receive medical aid. He and his brother Edward went to the home of their father, William Dawson, and, tearing the clothing from the housekeeper's back, threw the garments out of the window, together with the crockery and furniture.

The housekeeper's son ran screaming from the house, and broke thirteen window lights before he succeeded in felling Charles Dawson with a brickbat. Dawson rushed across the street to his own residence, barricaded the door and threatened all comers with an axe. He refused to surrender, and when the police arrived they found him in a corner of the room, with the axe in his hand. He struck at the officers, and they were compelled to shoot him in the arm before they could overpower him. He will probably die.

National Headquarters during the day today, and would receive party men there for several days, as well as going over the campaign work in general. He was not sure last night whether Judge Parker would be down this week or not, but if the Judge does not appear in New York before it comes time for Senator Davis to return to West Virginia, the Vice Presidential candidate will probably make a second pilgrimage to Esopus.

TEXAS GAMBLERS DEFY POLICE.

Withstand Siege Behind Barred Doors and Dictate Terms of Surrender.

Special to The New York Times.

DALLAS, Texas, Sept. 11.—Police Commissioner Blaylock and Chief of Police Knight declared war on public gambling houses months ago, and the gambling house managers defied them. Knight says there are seventeen big gambling houses and scores of minor "joints" in operation in Dallas.

Lastnight some of his secret service men, after months of effort, succeeded in gaining entrance into several rooms, among the number the Coney Island, Dan Stuart's old place. Thirty-four men were arrested there.

At midnight Lilly Strong's place, "The Branch," was attacked, but the doors were barred against the police. Chief Knight and twenty of his men surrounded the place and held it in siege until 5 o'clock this morning, when the chief threatened to break in, and eighty-three beleaguered men agreed to surrender if permitted to plead guilty, deposit money to pay fines, and promise to obey the law.

The offer of compromise was accepted rather than continue the siege scene throughout the Sabbath.

WOMEN SAW PISTOL DUEL.

Men Blazed Away at Each Other Near Crowded Brooklyn Park.

An impromptu pistol duel between two men caused intense excitement in a crowd of women and children in City Park, Brooklyn, late yesterday afternoon. The shooting ended after four shots, when one of the men received a bullet in the left arm.

The men were Leonard Infranz, twenty-three years old, who lives in Leonard Street, and Peter Adams, thirty-two years old of 105 Navy Street. Infranz is a baker and Adams a mechanic. The two met yesterday afternoon at Park Avenue and Navy Street and stood talking together for some time. A quarrel arose between them and in an instant the pair started to blaze away at each other.

The park, which is in a tenement district, was filled with women and children enjoying a Sunday airing. Some one telephoned to the police, and several men were sent around from the Adams Street Station in the patrol wagon. They arrested Infranz and had Adams removed to the Brooklyn Hospital.

KILLED IN BOXING BOUT.

Death Ends Friendly Match in Atlantic City Boardwalk Cafe.

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., Sept. 11.—In a friendly boxing bout in a Boardwalk café to-day Alexander Tilghman, a waiter, was killed by a body blow. His opponent was Robert Glenn, a fellow waiter, who had

south-bound Ninth Avenue surface car about 12:15 o'clock this morning at Thirty-first Street. His left leg was cut off just above the knee.

While Policeman Goldman of the West Thirty-seventh Street Station made a tourniquet with the leather thong of his night stick and lessened the flow of blood, the Rev. Father Gleason of St. Michael's Roman Catholic Church, in front of which the accident happened, administered the last rites. The man was taken to Roosevelt Hospital, where it was said he probably will die.

Policeman Goldman said that Motorman Donohue, after running over the man, did not bring his car to a stop for some distance. Goldman pulled Donohue off the platform, and then sent in a hurry call to Roosevelt Hospital. Five minutes after a second hurry call was sent in, but the police say that it was nearly half an hour before the ambulance came.

In the man's clothing was found an envelope, soiled and frayed, on which was the address "John Dineen, 523 East One Hundred and Thirty-fourth Street."

JAILED FOR KILLING NEGRO.

Mississippi Whitecaps Tell of Plans to Murder and Run Out Black Men.

Special to The New York Times.

BROOKHAVEN, Miss., Sept. 11.—Will Franklin, Oscar Franklin, and Will Porter, charged with having murdered Henry List, a negro, were remanded to jail without bail by Justice Daughtry. This was the first of the Whitecap cases, and there was much suppressed excitement.

Gov. Vardaman placed the local militia company under the orders of the Executive Committee of citizens in order to prevent any attempt at rescue. The militia remained under arms at the Court House until after the trial, when prisoners were returned to their quarters in the jail.

Luella List, wife of the murdered negro, told how her husband was killed. Several members of the Whitecap organization turned State's evidence. Jeff Wills, a special detective, said he was a member of the Whitecap organization.

"Before I attended any meetings this year," he said, "Gov. Vardaman appointed me special detective to work up evidence against Whitecaps. I had conversations with Oscar Franklin, who said he was at the last killing. Will Franklin said he held the horses. The first meeting I attended was in John Lard's field. Will Franklin was there. It was resolved that night to kill Pink Adams and Tom Brady and to run off all the negroes west of the Illinois Central Railroad this Fall and burn the negroes' houses."

GAVE A DOLLAR FOR 75 CENTS.

Then Young Farmer Was Arrested and Locked Up for Counterfeiting.

Special to The New York Times.

ITHACA, N. Y., Sept. 11.—Because he was willing to give four quarters for three, Herman Knapp, a young farmer residing near here, was arrested to-day by Secret Service men from Buffalo and charged with counterfeiting. The Federal officials have been after Knapp for some time, but it was only his boldness in passing the spurious quarters that gave him away.

Knapp's residence is at Etna, a village seven miles from here, and the detectives believe that his counterfeiting plant may be located there. It is thought that evidence is withheld in the hope of discover-

made to the Pueblo House and the Old Inn on the Mountain. Other runs to intervale and other places will be made.

Regarding the coming automobile events in the South, Mr. Morgan said:

"A record-breaking trial will be held on Ormond Beach during the second week of November, during which many prominent autoists will attempt to lower the records which have already been established there.

"The Cuban people want an automobile tournament. Last week I had an interview in New York with the President of the Havana Automobile Club, Enrique J. Conill. The Cuban Government has donated to the club the free and exclusive use of the famous sixty-mile palm tree lined road running from Havana to the village of San Cristobel for a Cuban road race. I am to go to Cuba to look over the ground for the three days' carnival, and we may include in the programme motor boats for fast races in Havana Harbor. We are now looking about with a view to chartering a special steamer to carry our automobile party to Cuba and Florida."

BEGINNING THIS MORNING

A Sale of

Men's Waistcoats

Special at $2.00.

Formerly $3.00, $4.00, $4.50 and 5.00.

It hurts our pride a bit to do this sort of thing, but what would you? The eternal demand for something new (and we're wise enough to heed it) places the "clearance sale" ban upon these waistcoats. There are six hundred and thirty single and double breasted models of silk mixtures, flannels, worsteds, linens, washable and mercerized materials in all manner of designs and colors which good taste sanctions.

To-Measure Suits

FOR MEN

At Revised Prices.

For the tailoring of to-measure garments for men—critical and discerning men—we maintain an organization of master tailors.

In a Do
Sixth—Prices lower
houses.
We s

4.7x10.9 ft., Green Center, Re
7.3x9.10 ft., T. Cotta Center,
6.9x10.9 ft., Pink Center, Blue
11.1x14.5 ft., Green Center, T
11.6x17.6 ft., Cream Center,

6.3x14.9 ft., worth $95.....
5.10x12.7 ft. worth $125....
7x15.2 ft., worth $150.....
7.2x12.10 ft., worth $150.
7x18.8 ft., worth $175.....

100 Daghestan
average si
150 Fine Shirva
average si
50 Shiraz and
average si
100 Large Kazal
average si
100 Persian Ha
average si
Largest stock in the country o
ft.

A. A. V
Broadw

Lea

THE ORI

Seasoning:—To re
easy if you have
two tablespoonful

Families

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880922000

The Emma Goldman Papers

Voltairine de Cle[y]re / E[mma] G[oldman].– p. 213 ; 35 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Lightbearer [Chicago]. –(Dec. 8, 1904).

Obtained from the Stanford University Libraries, Stanford University.

h a journal; so too in Australasia and all the English colonies, ay nothing of the great centers of Europe—for which it ld later on perhaps be printed in Esperanto. Then would ir treasury become as plethoric as it is now constantly de- ted

"Think of the useful work, too, that might be done merely hy tablishing a means of communication between women who want to marry and women who are too much or unhappily mar- ied and thus giving both the opportunity of talking their cases ver together. When we consider that fully fifty per cent of tho women, who constitute the clientele of palmists and fortune tell- rs, are wrongly mated or unhappily married, it will at once be en what useful work could be done on these lines alone.

"A. WASTALL, Ex-Editor
"'Natural Food,' London."

That the question of methods of work is a vital one to suc- ss will be readily conceded, and that upon no point is it more ecessary to have substantial agreement than upon the ques- tion of concentration, on the one hand, or of diversity on the ther, will also he conceded. For this reason I now ask brief eplies to, or comments upon the suggestions of Brother Wastall.

Once more, in regard to the first four questions named in his article, I would suggest that if changes are to be made in ny of these particulars, the nearer these changes can be made to or after, the beginning of the new year the better. M. H.

THE LAST OF THE JOHN TURNER CASE.

To the Editor of The Truth Seeker:

As treasurer of the Free Speech League and the Turner Fund Committee, I am now able to report that all matters relat- ing to the John Turner case are at last settled, and in accord with the action of the last meeting of the committee I now offer a report of what use was made of the Fund collected.

The contributions were acknowledged, as they came in, in various Liberal papers that aided in encouraging them, and it would be asking too much of your space to print them in detail again. So, also, of the numerous items of disbursement; but the following summary gives a sufficient idea of the cost of de- fense, as audited by the committee:

For John Turner and family	$425.50
For halls and meetings	180.00
For secretary's postage, etc	174.54
For collector's expenses	185.90
For printing	355.60
For attorneys' fees and court charges	1,644.31
	$2,965.85

The total of expense account also represents the total income, and for this expenditure, together with much personal effort, we report as results: some publicity, considerable opposition aroused to such restrictive immigration laws, and the adverse Supreme Court decision which practically says of the law that excludes John Turner, "that's all right."

It is generally well to know the worst, which now amounts to this, that foreigners have no rights here that Congress may choose to deny to them.

The only remaining assets of the Turner Committee are about fifty copies of the pamphlet of Darrow's brief for the Su- preme Court, which contains much of use to all who have occa- sion to defend the rights of opinion, free speech, etc. These are now offered at 25 cents per copy (of which it takes 10 cents to mail them), and any little income thereby will be turned in to the small fund of the Free Speech League.

E. B. FOOTE, JR., Treasurer.

New York, November 2, 1904.

[The above report was overlooked else it would have been given to LUCIFER'S readers much sooner. First and last we have given considerable space and time to the "Turner case," regard- ing it as one of the most important ever brought to the atten- tion of liberty lovers in the United States. In San Francisco last winter, and at the congress of the "National Liberty Party" (now the American Free Thought Association) in St. Louis, I did what I could to secure public protest against the unAmer- ican and reactionary methods adopted by the Federal govern- ment at Washington, in its treatment of John Turner, an Eng- lishman, whose only crime was that, when asked for his political belief, he acknowledged himself an "Anarchist."—M. H.]

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

Voltairine de Cleyre, the well-known radical poet, free thought and anarchist lecturer, is lying dangerously ill in Phila- delphia, and in very straitened circumstances. Her life and works are known to a great many readers of the LUCIFER, and to them we believe it unnecessary to do more than to mention this fact. To those to whom they are not, however, we would say that she has given seventeen years of her life with pen, voice and whatever way she could, to the cause of freedom and human progress. Possessed of ability, honesty and high moral courage, she never swerved from the hard and stony path which all ideal- ists are compelled to travel. Devoting herself unceasingly to the uplifting and enlightening of the human family without hope or thought of reward, except that feeling of exhilaration that comes to the soldier of progress, it was inevitable that now in the hour of physical disability, she should find herself penniless and help- less. Her frinds in Philadelphia have rallied to her assistance to the best of their ability and have placed her in a hospital where she is receiving medical attendance and the best of care. The expenses are considerable and as their means are limited, this appeal is issued in the hope that many friends till now not aware of her condition, may know it and render that assistance which is necessary and which we believe they will gladly give. Miss de Cleyre is too ill to be consulted in the matter, so the appeal is issued without her knowledge. The situation is so critical, however, that we have no alternative. She would be the last to say or imply that any obligation, moral or otherwise, rests upon anyone to assist her because of her devotion to the cause of freedom. We feel, however, that most of us have done far less than she and we must rally in the hour of need round a fighter who has fought so strenuously in that cause. Contributions can be sent to either E. G. Smith, 210 E. 13th St., New York City, or to N. Notkin, 1332 S. 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

FRIENDS OF VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

ANOTHER WOMAN'S "DECLARATION."

Three cheers for you "(Mrs.) W. M!"

Is the *handle* a badge of servitude?

I have but one fault to find with you, and that is *you did not sign your full name.*

Sing it out, sister! You have nothing to be ashamed of.

Like some of the sisters I think most men have a good deal to learn. Minding their own business is the *biggest.* Even our most radical do and say some very odd things.

One said his love for his sweetheart gave him the right to go into her presence any time he wished.

Bah! And his love for her might give him the right to knock her down any time he wished.

Another said, "Oh, I don't care if my wife associates sexually with other men, but I don't want to know it." The same man would not take a lady out, although she asked him to do so, because another man was living in the same house with her and was her lover. Another man's *property*, you bet!

It is these would-be free people that hurt the cause of free- dom.

Elsie Colo Wilcox makes me smile when she says she is afraid "to speak out in meetin'." She says "Liberty is the one thing needful." Yes, dear sister, but liberty is an idea that has no place in the mind of the average Socialist. All the "prosperity" in the world will never root out of the minds of governmentalis- ists the idea of ownership of the body. I know a good many Socialists but none that are free, or even who know the meaning of that word.

The only demand that any woman can make, or has the right to make, is freedom for herself. This she *takes*, if she wants it; if not she remains a slave—a slave to public opinion, religion, authority, or man-made laws of any kind or of all kinds.

Freedom cannot be given; you must *take* it. The laws that now hold women in a grasp of iron will never recede. The mind must break them.

As for myself I take freedom. If I wish a sex mate I ask him—no other. He has the right to comply or refuse.

I make no love contracts. That I love a man to-day is no sign I will love him forever, or even to-morrow.

In this I believe I am right, and say as much at any time or place, and am not afraid to sign my name,

LYDIA R. TOOP.

705 Utah street, San Francisco, Cal.

860522012

The Emma Goldman Papers

Mother Earth / Emma Goldman.– New York : Emma Goldman, [1906, advertisement].– 3 p. ; 12 × 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.



860522012

The Emma Goldman Papers

Mother Earth / Emma Goldman. — New York : Emma Goldman, [1906, advertisement]. — 3 p. ; 12 × 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

IN March next there will be issued the first number of a magazine which will be called "MOTHER EARTH." It will be published at 10 cents a copy or one dollar the year.

The aim of "MOTHER EARTH" will be to present to its readers every phase of LIBERAL thought and activity throughout the world, whether in the realm of pure literature, in the whirlpool of revolutionary struggle, or in the sombre depths of silent preparation.

Recognition is given, however, to the newly awakened desire on the part of vast numbers of those, on the outside of the liberal movement, to know the meaning of the universal unrest in which the whole world shares, but which is directed by scattered groups of workers.

"MOTHER EARTH", therefore, will be at once informing and educative, and to these ends will enlist the services of the leaders of both thought and action in the various parts of the world.

"MOTHER EARTH" will be edited by Emma Goldman and Max Baginski, with the co-operation of John R. Coryell.

Among the contributors to the first number are Hutchins Hapgood, Emma Goldman, Bolton Hall, Peter Kropotkin, John R. Coryell, Max Baginski.

EMMA GOLDMAN.
Publisher.

860522012

The Emma Goldman Papers

Mother Earth / Emma Goldman.— New York : Emma Goldman, [1906, advertisement].— 3 p. ; 12 × 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.



890217018

The Emma Goldman Papers

"Mother Earth" / Max Baginski and Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 40 cm. *In* Freiheit [New York]. – (Feb. 3, 1906).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division

[illegible] Thier Tigen [illegible]
Die Dächer des Denkens sprechen [illegible]
ohne Berufung zuzulassen. Aus dem schreckhaften Mechanismus, dessen unbarmherzige Arbeit auf seinen stillen Blättern in Zeilen verzeichnet ist, kommen Menschen und Nationen zu Pulver gemahlen hervor. Wenn das Capital Sieger bleibt, dann können wir uns unser goldenes Zeitalter weisen; in jener Stunde, wo wir unterliegen, mögen wir zurückschauen und sehen, wie Licht, Freude und Hoffnung — alles, was die Welt an Schönem und Gutem innehatte, wie ein absterbendes Licht vergeht. Die Menschheit wird aufgehört haben zu leben.

Was das Anarchisten anbelangt, die wir „die modernen Barbaren" genannt werden, so ist unsere Forderung: Gerechtigkeit für Alle. Bösewichte, die wir sind, verlangen wir für alle die das Licht der Welt erblicken, Brot, Freiheit und Fortschritt.

N. B. — Diese prächtige Abhandlung ist neuerdings in *Brochürenform* erschienen und kann bezogen werden durch die Expedition des „*Anarchist*", Langestrasse 106 — vorne IV., Berlin O. Preis in Deutschland, 10 Pfennige pro Exemplar.

— *"Mother Earth"* — „Mutter Erde". Unter diesem Titel soll vom fünfzehnten März ab, ein anarchistisches Monats-Magazin in englischer Sprache erscheinen. Durch nachstehendes Circular, das keiner Uebersetzung bedarf, da es doch nur Solche interessiren kann, welche der englischen Sprache mächtig sind, geben die Herausgeber ihre An- und Absichten kund — :

"Comrades,—On March 15th will appear the first number of an anarchistic monthly, "Mother Earth". This magazine will try to represent the center of all truly radical elements in the United States, who, tired of the loud dissonances of the present, and awakened in opposition thereto, see the only hope for struggling humanity in the reorganization of our social and economic life upon a basis of freedom and justice. Here and there are solitary individuals or groups of idealists who battle against external and internal tyrannies, against 'Virtue,' perched on her throne, self-satisfied, and against dull indifference. What is badly wanted is an intellectual link that will bring these scattered elements together. "Mother Earth" will attempt to be that link. The contents will consist of articles, essays, and notes, treating of the development and growth of anarchistic ideas, in various phases of human life; then too, it will bring international reports of the struggle of new ideas against the old, of the various movements of the oppressed against their oppressors, and the methods employed by them, such as the general strike, trade unionism, and the co-operative movement. Every endeavor at a higher, broader, and deeper life, literary, artistic, social, or economic, will be brought before the readers of "Mother Earth". „Mother Earth" proposes not only to deal with the serious side of life, but with its humorous, satirical and ironical phases as well. In the certainty that many will agree with us, that in this country, where public opinion and sentiments are more successfully fabricated than abroad, such a publication is an absolute necessity, we ask for your co-operation and assistance. The magazine will be published monthly, and will be $1.00 a year, or 10 cents a copy. Subscriptions and communications may be sent to the undersigned. *Max Baginski,*
Emma Goldmann."

P. O. Box 217 Madison Square Station, New York.

— Ein grosser *Bauhandwerker-Streik* in New York, durch welchen die allgemeine Einführung des „offenen Shop" verhindert werden soll, wirft seinen Schatten vor sich her. Bei der totalen Zerfahrenheit der einschlägigen Unions und dem stupid-conservativen Charakter der meisten Anhänger derselben, kann Unsereiner nichts Gutes ahnen. Indessen — wer weiss!? — vielleicht folgt auf den muthmasslichen Zusammenbruch ein Aufbau auf radicaler Basis. In diesem Falle wären keine Opfer zu gross, die gebracht werden müssten, dann das Resultat würde bald zu einer Auferlegung derselben führen.

Als um die Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts das vorgeschobene Jahrhundert ein Proletariat von Frankreich nach Deutschland herüberwehte und den politischen Zündstoff, der noch von Julius 1848 übrig geblieben war, allmählig zum Glimmen brachte, da brüteten die reactionären deutschen [illegible] Spiessbürger. Auf den Gesichtern der [illegible] fürstlichen Staatsretter und auf den Visagen der Stellvertreter Seiner himmlischen Ohnmächtigkeit spiegelte sich die Furcht wieder, es könnte das erwachende Proletariat mit höchst deren Köpfen ein ergötzliches Fangballspiel in Scene setzen.

Gehobenen Herzens und voll Vertrauen blickten die Sclaven der Arbeit und des Hungers zu den meist aus ihrer Mitte hervorgegangenen Führern, die damals noch nicht Schiffhut und Degen trugen. Das gegenseitige Vertrauen und die gleiche Kampfeslust schweisste das denkende Proletariat bald zu einer gefürchtetsten Macht zusammen, dor die Bourgeisie sich nicht mehr gewachsen sah und die sich auf Kosten der Bauern und Arbeiter aus Frankreich die Milliarden holte und sich die benöthigten „Reichsländer" durch ihre Soldateska „annectiren" liess, damit ihre Söhne als Beamte und Pfaffen unterkamen.

Leider war auch das damalige Proletariat von dem Wahne befangen, es könne seine elende Lage auf dem Wege des Parlamentarismus „gesetzlich" verbessern. Bis zum Jahre 1878 duldete die Regierung, dass auch Arbeiter ihre Vertrauensleute ins Parlament schicken und dort gleich den Junkern ihre Menschenrechte fordern lassen durften. Das Parlamentiren gestattete die Reichsregierung den Arbeitervertretern jedoch nur solange, als sie, die Regierung, gleich einer fürsorglichen Mutter, immer noch hoffte, ihre Pflegebefohlenen würden die „Angelassenheiten der tollen Jugend und deren Uebermuth" bald anstecken. Als aber der ungerathene Sohn Socialismus immer derber und frecher wurde und zuweilen gar den kindlichen Gehorsam verweigerte, da beschlossen die beiden Curatoren, Reichstag und Bundesrath, den ungezogenen Jungen aus dem Vaterhause zu jagen und seine Verführer ins Arbeitshaus zu stecken. Nach zwölf langen Jahren durften diejenigen, die während dieser Zeit den Beweis dauernder Besserung erbrachten, wieder in die deutsche Kinderstube zurückkehren, während die Unverbesserlichen dem Genusse des deutschen Paradieses ferngehalten wurden.

Auf die Führer der socialdemokratischen Partei wirkte diese Züchtigung durch das Ausnahmegesetz vortrefflich. Ihre geheimen Jugendsünden, als da waren: Geheimbündelei, Schmuggel verbotener Broschüren, Kampf gegen die Gottes- und Staatspest etc., hat man ihnen längst verziehen und man erlaubte den rothen Generalstäblern sogar, dass sie nunmehr 60 Mann hoch im Deutschen-Reichspossen-Ensemble — einer nach dem anderen — debutiren und sich von drei Millionen zur politischen Harmlosigkeit degenerirten Zuhörern applaudiren lassen. Ja, man bildet sich sogar innerhalb der rothen Priesterschaft ein, dass 60,000,000 Deutsche auf die Evangelisten und Hohenpriester, auf die Kirchenväter und Parteipäpste hören. Oder sollte ich mich am Ende geirrt haben. Sollte die deutsche Staatsregierung nicht doch vor den „Unthaten" der Socialdemokratie erzittern? Das ist kaum anzunehmen, denn in vielen Beziehungen ist diese „Socialdemokratie" unter das politische Niveau der bürgerlichen Demokratie gesunken, was viel sagt.

Keine Phrasen will ich schreiben, sondern einfach Thatsachen registriren, Keinem meine Meinung suggeriren, sondern den Leser selbst ein Urtheil sich bilden lassen.

In Stuttgart streikten vor einigen Jahren die Trambahner um Erzielung eines höheren Lohnes. Der socialdemokratische Reichs- und Landtags-Abgeordnete, Vorstand des Holzarbeiterverbandes und Gemeinderathsmitglied Keil, stimmte am im Magistrat, dafür, dass man den Schutzleuten, die man gegen die Demonstranten losliess, eine Gratification von M. 3000 gewähre, weil sie

Gemeinderathes angehörte, [illegible]
Arbeiter rebellisch werden, und der [illegible]
Köpfen bei schleunigster Arbeitszeit [illegible]
bewogen hatte, dann werden sie die [illegible]
kaum Ueberstunden bezahlen!!

Die Abenteurer Gesinnung — natürlich [illegible]
ist ersterwähnt — hat bei der Gehart seines [illegible]
Soldaten, sondern fandalisirten am Ueberfalltage
der Pfahlstrasse. Der Letztere war [illegible]
tuveller als der Proles; er überwegerte [illegible]
Ruhe, doch gewährte er dem socialdemokratischen
Soldatenzähler wegen dieses [illegible]
dienstes um den Heeresetat ein Geldgeschenk —
eine Prämie!

Der socialdemokratische württembergische Landtags-Abgeordnete Blumhardt stiftete der katholischen Kirche ein Messgewand, Hausaltar und Weihwasserbecken, da ja bekanntlich „Religion Privatsache ist".

Bei der Einweihung des Berliner Domes brachten socialdemokratische, organisirte Massen auf Wilhelm II. ein donnerndes Hoch aus. Das war der Dank der „Elenden", die nöthigenfalls auf ihre Väter und Brüder nach Commando schiessen werden!

Der Führer des deutschen Proletariats, Bebel, erklärte kürzlich officiell im Reichstage, allenfalls nehme er noch selbst die Büchse auf seinen Buckel, um sein Vaterland gegen feindliche Angriffe zu vertheidigen! Einfach pöbelhaft! August! Denkst du noch an die Zeit deiner Verfolgung, an die Gefängnisse?

Der verstorbene socialdemokratische Reichstagsabgeordnete Emil Rosenow gab ein aufklärendes Werk — *„Wider die Pfaffenherrschaft"* — heraus. Das Blatt des Herrn Georg Ritter von Vollmar, die sociald. *„Münchener Post"*, warnte vor Ankauf dieses Werkes und schrieb unter anderem: „Der Socialismus bekämpft die Dummheit, aber nimmermehr den *Glauben!* Christenthum und Socialismus schliessen sich nicht aus." Ferner: Rosenow hätte keine Spur von der Bedeutung der Kirche im Mittelalter gehabt. Jeder katholische Arbeiter wisse mehr von den Culthandlungen und von dem Geiste seiner Kirche, als er, Rosenow, der socialdemokratische Reichstagsabgeordnete!! Die Kirche habe ihre grosse Zeit gehabt und immerhin der Menschheit ihre grossen Dienste geleistet! Nun wird man ja auch begreifen, dass die verpfaffte königl. bayer. Socialdemokratie in den Jahren 1899 und 1905 bei den Landtagswahlen Bündnisse mit den grössten Volksbetrügern, den römischen Pfaffen, vulgo Centrum, abschloss.

Beim Parteifeste der Münchener Socialdemokratie konnte man sich für zehn Pfennige die Bildnisse .... Wilhelm II. nebst Gattin und des des bayerischen Prinzregenten als Preis herausschiessen!

In ihrem Wahlenfruf sagte die *„Münchener Post"*, die Arbeiter sollten sich das Wahlrecht nicht entgehen lassen; sie sollten lieber Hunger leiden, um es kaufen zu können! Damit nämlich die Herren Abgeordneten für ihr Gewäsche pro Tag auf Staatsunkosten 10 Mark Diäten bekommen; das allerdings verschweigen sie ehrlich. In Sachsen haben die Arbeiter erst auch gehungert, und dann liessen sie sich das Wahl-„recht"! mit Gewehr bei Fuss, ohne auch nur im geringsten aufzumucken, ruhig nehmen! Was man aber in Sachsen, dem rothen Königreich, kann, das konnte man auch seinerseit im Reiche und wird man, wenn man es für nöthig erachtet, auch anderwärts können. In Bayern scheint das ja noch nicht geplant zu sein, denn vorerst fühlen sich die k.-b. Genossen bei den von Ministern gegebenen Weingelagen noch recht wohl und munter und auch dankbar, dass [illegible]
Landtage sind die unentwegten Rothen für die *Gehaltserhöhung der Criminalschutzleute* eingetreten, und diese Sorte Polizisten jagte kurze Zeit hernach Arbeiter auf der Strasse gewaltsam auseinander. Dass die Schutzleute gegen Arrestanten zum Theil recht brutal sein können, hat vielleicht schon mancher brave Genosse am eigenen Leib erfahren. Und als der spanische Königsengel vor einigen Monaten in München war, wurden sogar eingesperrte Parteigenossen polizeilich überwacht und belästigt! (Schluss folgt.)

890419001

The Emma Goldman Papers

Mother Earth / Emma Goldman and Max Baginski.— pp. 1-4 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no.1 (March 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

CONTENTS.

		PAGE
Mother Earth	E. GOLDMAN and M. BAGINSKI	1
The Song of the Storm-Finch	MAXIM GORKY	4
Observations and Comments		5
The Tragedy of Women's Emancipation	E. GOLDMAN	9
Try Love	GRACE POTTER	18
Without Government	MAX BAGINSKI	20
Vive Le Roi	FRANCES WAULS BJORKMAN	27
Reflections of a Rich Man		28
Comstockery	JOHN R. CORYELL	30
Don Quixote and Hamlet	TURGENIEFF	40
On the Banks of Acheron	EDWIN BJORKMAN	42
The British Elections and the Labor Parties	H. KELLY	44
And You?	BOLTON HALL	48
National Atavism	INTERNATIONALIST	49
Mine Owners' Revenge	M. B.	56
International Review		58
Literary Notes		61
Advertisements		63

10c. A COPY $1.00 PER YEAR

Mother Earth

EMMA GOLDMAN, PUBLISHER
P. O. BOX MADISON SQ. STATION, N. Y. CITY

Vol. I MARCH, 1906 No. 1

MOTHER EARTH

THERE was a time when men imagined the Earth as the center of the universe. The stars, large and small, they believed were created merely for their delectation. It was their vain conception that a supreme being, weary of solitude, had manufactured a giant toy and put them into possession of it.

When, however, the human mind was illumined by the torch-light of science, it came to understand that the Earth was but one of a myriad of stars floating in infinite space, a mere speck of dust.

Man issued from the womb of Mother Earth, but he knew it not, nor recognized her, to whom he owed his life. In his egotism he sought an explanation of himself in the infinite, and out of his efforts there arose the dreary doctrine that he was not related to the Earth, that she was but a temporary resting place for his scornful feet and that she held nothing for him but temptation to degrade himself. Interpreters and prophets of the infinite sprang into being, creating the "Great Beyond" and proclaiming Heaven and Hell, between which stood the poor, trembling human being, tormented by that priest-born monster, Conscience.

228

890419001

The Emma Goldman Papers

Mother Earth / Emma Goldman and Max Baginski.— pp. 1-4 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no.1 (March 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

In this frightful scheme, gods and devils waged eternal war against each other with wretched man as the prize of victory; and the priest, self-constituted interpreter of the will of the gods, stood in front of the only refuge from harm and demanded as the price of entrance that ignorance, that asceticism, that self-abnegation which could but end in the complete subjugation of man to superstition. He was taught that Heaven, the refuge, was the very antithesis of Earth, which was the source of sin. To gain for himself a seat in Heaven, man devastated the Earth. Yet she renewed herself, the good mother, and came again each Spring, radiant with youthful beauty, beckoning her children to come to her bosom and partake of her bounty. But ever the air grew thick with mephitic darkness, ever a hollow voice was heard calling: "Touch not the beautiful form of the sorceress; she leads to sin!"

But if the priests decried the Earth, there were others who found in it a source of power and who took possession of it. Then it happened that the autocrats at the gates of Heaven joined forces with the powers that had taken possession of the Earth; and humanity began its aimless, monotonous march. But the good mother sees the bleeding feet of her children, she hears their moans, and she is ever calling to them that she is theirs.

To the contemporaries of George Washington, Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson, America appeared vast, boundless, full of promise. Mother Earth, with the sources of vast wealth hidden within the folds of her ample bosom, extended her inviting and hospitable arms to all those who came to her from arbitrary and despotic lands—Mother Earth ready to

give herself alike to all her children. But soon she was seized by the few, stripped of her freedom, fenced in, a prey to those who were endowed with cunning and unscrupulous shrewdness. They, who had fought for independence from the British yoke, soon became dependent among themselves; dependent on possessions, on wealth, on power. Liberty escaped into the wilderness, and the old battle between the patrician and the plebeian broke out in the new world, with greater bitterness and vehemence. A period of but a hundred years had sufficed to turn a great republic, once gloriously established, into an arbitrary state which subdued a vast number of its people into material and intellectual slavery, while enabling the privileged few to monopolize every material and mental resource.

During the last few years, American journalists have had much to say about the terrible conditions in Russia and the supremacy of the Russian censor. Have they forgotten the censor here? a censor far more powerful than him of Russia. Have they forgotten that every line they write is dictated by the political color of the paper they write for; by the advertising firms; by the money power; by the power of respectability; by Comstock? Have they forgotten that the literary taste and critical judgment of the mass of the people have been successfully moulded to suit the will of these dictators, and to serve as a good business basis for shrewd literary speculators? The number of Rip Van Winkles in life, science, morality, art, and literature is very large. Innumerable ghosts, such as Ibsen saw when he analyzed the moral and social conditions of our life, still keep the majority of the human race in awe.

229

890419001

The Emma Goldman Papers

Mother Earth / Emma Goldman and Max Baginski.— pp. 1-4 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no.1 (March 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

MOTHER EARTH will endeavor to attract and appeal to all those who oppose encroachment on public and individual life. It will appeal to those who strive for something higher, weary of the commonplace; to those who feel that stagnation is a deadweight on the firm and elastic step of progress; to those who breathe freely only in limitless space; to those who long for the tender shade of a new dawn for a humanity free from the dread of want, the dread of starvation in the face of mountains of riches. The Earth free for the free individual!

EMMA GOLDMAN,
MAX BAGINSKI.

The Song of the Storm-Finch*

By MAXIM GORKY

THE strong wind is gathering the storm-clouds together
Above the gray plain of the ocean so wide.
The storm-finch, the bird that resembles dark lightning,
Between clouds and ocean is soaring in pride.

Now skimming the waves with his wings, and now shooting
Up, arrow-like, into the dark clouds on high,
The storm-finch is clamoring loudly and shrilly;
The clouds can hear joy in the bird's fearless cry.

In that cry is the yearning, the thirst for the tempest,
And anger's hot might in its wild notes is heard;
The keen fire of passion, the faith in sure triumph—
All these the clouds hear in the voice of the bird. . . . .

* From "Songs of Russia," rendered into English by ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

The storm-wind is howling, the thunder is roaring;
With flame blue and lambent the cloud-masses glow
O'er the fathomless ocean; it catches the lightnings,
And quenches them deep in its whirlpool below.

Like serpents of fire in the dark ocean writhing,
The lightnings reflected there quiver and shake
As into the blackness they vanish forever.
The tempest! Now quickly the tempest will break!

The storm-finch soars fearless and proud 'mid the lightnings,
Above the wild waves that the roaring winds fret;
And what is the prophet of victory saying?
"Oh, let the storm burst! Fiercer yet—fiercer yet!"

To the Readers

The name "Open Road" had to be abandoned, owing to the existence of a magazine by that name.

Observations and Comments

The importance of written history for the people can easily be compared with the importance of a diary for the individual. It furnishes data for recollections, points of comparison between the Past and Present. But as most diaries and auto-biographies show a lack of straight-forward, big, simple, sincere self-analyses, so does history seldom prove a representation of facts, of the truth, of reality.

The way history is written will depend altogether on whatever purpose the writers have in view, and what they hope to achieve thereby. It will altogether depend upon the sincerity or lack thereof, upon the broad or narrow horizon of the historian. That which

890419002

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman.— pp. 9-18 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 1 (March 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

power, they would break her proud neck with one stroke, but they cannot put the heads of a hundred million people on the block, they cannot deport eighty millions of Peasants to Siberia, nor can they order all the workingmen in the industrial districts shot. Were the working bees to be killed, the drones would perish of starvation—that is why the Czar of the Peace Treaty still suffers some of his people to live? — —

In Mayville, Wis., a transvaluation society has been formed, the purpose of which is, to bring about the transvaluation of all values in matters of love and the relations of the sexes. The members of this society are to contribute by word and deed towards the breaking of all barriers that prevent an ideal and healthy conception of love.

The president of this society, Emil Ruedebusch, known in this country through his work, "The Old and New Ideal," which, by the way, was confiscated upon the grounds of obscenity and the author put on trial. It is an undisputed fact that robust, graft-greedy Columbia abhors every free expression on love or marriage. Emil Ruedebusch, like many others who have dared to lift the veil of hypocrisy, was condemned to a heavy fine. A second work of the author, "Die Eigenen," was published in Germany.

His idea, that the relation of the sexes must be freed from the oppressing fetters of a lame morality that degrades every human emotion to the plane of utility and purpose, I heartily endorse. His method of achieving the ideal seems to me too full of red tape. However, I welcome every effort against the conspiracy of ignorance, hypocrisy and stupid prudery, against the simplest manifestation of nature.

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation

By Emma Goldman

I BEGIN my article with an admission: Regardless of all political and economic theories, treating of the fundamental differences between the various groups within the human race, regardless of class and race distinctions, regardless of all artificial boundary lines between woman's rights and man's rights, I hold that there is a point where these differentiations may meet and grow into one perfect whole.

With this I do not mean to propose a peace treaty. The general social antagonism which has taken hold of our entire public life to-day, brought about through the force of opposing and contradictory interests, will crumble to pieces when the reorganization of our social life, based upon the principles of economic justice, shall have become a reality.

Peace and harmony between the sexes and individuals does not necessarily depend on a superficial equalization of human beings; nor does it call for the elimination of individual traits or peculiarities. The problem that confronts us to-day, and which the nearest future is to solve, is how to be oneself, and yet in oneness with others, to feel deeply with all human beings and still retain one's own innate qualities. This seems to me the basis upon which the mass and the individual, the true democrat and the true individuality, man and woman can meet without antagonism and opposition. The motto should not be forgive one another; it should be, understand one another. The oft-quoted sentence of Mme. de Stael: "To understand everything means to forgive everything," has never particularly appealed to me; it has the odor of the confessional; to forgive one's fellow being conveys the idea of pharisaical superiority. To understand one's fellow being suffices. This admission partly represents the fundamental aspect of my views on the emancipation of woman and its effect upon the entire sex.

231

890419002

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman.— pp. 9-18 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 1 (March 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Emancipation should make it possible for her to be human in the truest sense. Everything within her that craves assertion and activity should reach its fullest expression; and all artificial barriers should be broken and the road towards greater freedom cleared of every trace of centuries of submission and slavery.

This was the original aim of the movement for woman's emancipation. But the results so far achieved have isolated woman and have robbed her of the fountain springs of that happiness which is so essential to her. Merely external emancipation has made of the modern woman an artificial being who reminds one of the products of French arboriculture with its arabesque trees and shrubs—pyramids, wheels and wreaths; anything except the forms which would be reached by the expression of their own inner qualities. Such artificially grown plants of the female sex are to be found in large numbers, especially in the so-called intellectual sphere of our life.

Liberty and equality for woman! What hopes and aspirations these words awakened when they were first uttered by some of the noblest and bravest souls of those days. The sun in all its light and glory was to rise upon a new world; in this world woman was to be free to direct her own destiny, an aim certainly worthy of the great enthusiasm, courage, perseverance and ceaseless effort of the tremendous host of pioneer men and women, who staked everything against a world of prejudice and ignorance.

My hopes also move towards that goal, but I insist that the emancipation of woman, as interpreted and practically applied to-day, has failed to reach that great end. Now, woman is confronted with the necessity of emancipating herself from emancipation, if she really desires to be free. This may sound paradoxical, but is, nevertheless, only too true.

What has she achieved through her emancipation? Equal suffrage in a few states. Has that purified our political life, as many well-meaning advocates have predicted? Certainly not. Incidentally it is really time that persons with plain, sound judgment should

cease to talk about corruption in politics in a boarding-school tone. Corruption of politics has nothing to do with the morals or the laxity of morals of various political personalities. Its cause is altogether a material one. Politics is the reflex of the business and industrial world, the mottoes of which are: "to take is more blessed than to give"; "buy cheap and sell dear"; "one soiled hand washes the other." There is no hope that even woman, with her right to vote, will ever purify politics.

Emancipation has brought woman economic equality with man; that is, she can choose her own profession and trade, but as her past and present physical training have not equipped her with the necessary strength to compete with man, she is often compelled to exhaust all her energy, use up her vitality and strain every nerve in order to reach the market value. Very few ever succeed, for it is a fact that women doctors, lawyers, architects and engineers are neither met with the same confidence, nor do they receive the same remuneration. And those that do reach that enticing equality generally do so at the expense of their physical and psychical well-being. As to the great mass of working girls and women, how much independence is gained if the narrowness and lack of freedom of the home is exchanged for the narrowness and lack of freedom of the factory, sweat-shop, department store, or office? In addition is the burden which is laid on many women of looking after a "home, sweet home"—cold, dreary, disorderly, uninviting—after a day's hard work. Glorious independence! No wonder that hundreds of girls are so willing to accept the first offer of marriage, sick and tired of their independence behind the counter, or at the sewing or typewriting machine. They are just as ready to marry as girls of middle class people who long to throw off the yoke of parental dependence. A so-called independence which leads only to earning the merest subsistence is not so enticing, not so ideal that one can expect woman to sacrifice everything for it. Our highly praised independence is, after all, but a slow process of dulling and stifling

890419002

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman.— pp. 9-18 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 1 (March 1906).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

woman's nature, her love instinct and her mother instinct.

Nevertheless, the position of the working girl is far more natural and human than that of her seemingly more fortunate sister in the more cultured professional walk of life. Teachers, physicians, lawyers, engineers, etc., who have to make a dignified, straightened and proper appearance, while the inner life is growing empty and dead.

The narrowness of the existing conception of woman's independence and emancipation; the dread of love for a man who is not her social equal; the fear that love will rob her of her freedom and independence; the horror that love or the joy of motherhood will only hinder her in the full exercise of her profession—all these together make of the emancipated modern woman a compulsory vestal, before whom life, with its great clarifying sorrows and its deep, entrancing joys, rolls on without touching or gripping her soul.

Emancipation as understood by the majority of its adherents and exponents, is of too narrow a scope to permit the boundless joy and ecstasy contained in the deep emotion of the true woman, sweetheart, mother, in freedom.

The tragic fate of the self-supporting or economically free woman does not consist of too many, but of too few experiences. True, she surpasses her sister of past generations in knowledge of the world and human nature; and it is because of that that she feels deeply the lack of life's essence, which alone can enrich the human soul and without which the majority of women have become mere professional automatons.

That such a state of affairs was bound to come was foreseen by those who realized that in the domain of ethics, there still remained many decaying ruins of the time of the undisputed superiority of man; ruins that are still considered useful. And, which is more important, a goodly number of the emancipated are unable to get along without them. Every movement that aims at the destruction of existing institutions and

the replacement thereof with such as are more advanced, more perfect, has followers, who in theory stand for the most extreme radical ideas, and who, nevertheless, in their every-day practice, are like the next best Philistine, feigning respectability and clamoring for the good opinion of their opponents. There are, for example, Socialists, and even Anarchists, who stand for the idea that property is robbery, yet who will grow indignant if anyone owe them the value of a half-dozen pins.

The same Philistine can be found in the movement for woman's emancipation. Yellow journalists and milk and water literateurs have painted pictures of the emancipated woman that make the hair of the good citizen and his dull companion stand up on end. Every member of the women's rights movement was pictured as a George Sand in her absolute disregard of morality. Nothing was sacred to her. She had no respect for the ideal relation between man and woman. In short, emancipation stood only for a reckless life of lust and sin; regardless of society, religion and morality. The exponents of woman's rights were highly indignant at such a misrepresentation, and, lacking in humor, they exerted all their energy to prove that they were not at all as bad as they were painted, but the very reverse. Of course, as long as woman was the slave of man, she could not be good and pure, but now that she was free and independent she would prove how good she could be and how her influence would have a purifying effect on all institutions in society. True, the movement for woman's rights has broken many old fetters, but it has also established new ones. The great movement of true emancipation has not met with a great race of women, who could look liberty in the face. Their narrow puritanical vision banished man as a disturber and doubtful character out of their emotional life. Man was not to be tolerated at any price, except perhaps as the father of a child, since a child could not very well come to life without a father. Fortunately, the most rigid puritanism never will be strong enough to kill the innate craving for motherhood. But woman's free-

233

890419002

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman.— pp. 9-18 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 1 (March 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

dom is closely allied to man's freedom, and many of my so-called emancipated sisters seem to overlook the fact that a child born in freedom needs the love and devotion of each human being about him, man as well as woman. Unfortunately, it is this narrow conception of human relations that has brought about a great tragedy in the lives of the modern man and woman.

About fifteen years ago appeared a work from the pen of the brilliant Norwegian writer, Laura Marholm, called "Woman, a Character Study." She was one of the first to call attention to the emptiness and narrowness of the existing conception of woman's emancipation and its tragic effect upon the inner life of woman. In her work she speaks of the fate of several gifted women of international fame: The genius, Eleanora Duse; the great mathematician and writer, Sanja Kovalevskaja; the artist and poet nature, Marie Bashkirzeff, who died so young. Through each description of the lives of these women of such extraordinary mentality, runs a marked trail of unsatisfied craving for a full, rounded, complete and beautiful life, and the unrest and loneliness resulting from the lack of it. Through these masterly psychological sketches, one cannot help but see that the higher the mental development of woman, the less possible it is for her to meet a congenial mate, who will see in her, not only sex, but also the human being, the friend, comrade and strong individuality, who cannot and ought not lose a single trait of her character.

The average man with his self-sufficiency, his ridiculously superior airs of patronage towards the female sex, is an impossibility for woman, as depicted in the "Character Study" by Laura Marholm. Equally impossible for her is the man who can see in her nothing more than her mentality and genius, and who fails to awaken her woman nature.

A rich intellect and a fine soul are usually considered necessary attributes of a deep and beautiful personality. In the case of the modern woman, these attributes serve as a hindrance to the complete assertion

of her being. For over a hundred years, the old form of marriage, based on the Bible, "till death us do part" has been denounced as an institution that stands for the sovereignty of the man over the woman, of her complete submission to his whims and commands and the absolute dependence upon his name and support. Time and again it has been conclusively proven that the old matrimonial relation restricted woman to the function of man's servant and the bearer of his children. And yet we find many emancipated women who prefer marriage with all its deficiencies to the narrowness of an unmarried life; narrow and unendurable because of the chains of moral and social prejudice that cramp and bind her nature.

The cause for such inconsistency on the part of many advanced women is to be found in the fact that they never truly understood the meaning of emancipation. They thought that all that was needed was independence from external tyrannies; the internal tyrants, far more harmful to life and growth, such as ethical and social conventions, were left to take care of themselves; and they have taken care of themselves. They seem to get along beautifully in the heads and hearts of the most active exponents of woman's emancipation, as in the heads and hearts of our grandmothers.

These internal tyrants, whether they be in the form of public opinion or what will mother say, or brother, father, aunt or relative of any sort; what will Mrs. Grundy, Mr. Comstock, the employer, the Board of Education say? All these busybodies, moral detectives, jailers of the human spirit, what will they say? Until woman has learned to defy them all, to stand firmly on her own ground and to insist upon her own unrestricted freedom, to listen to the voice of her nature, whether it call for life's greatest treasure, love for a man, or her most glorious privilege, the right to give birth to a child, she cannot call herself emancipated. How many emancipated women are brave enough to acknowledge that the voice of love is calling, wildly beating against their breasts demanding to be heard, to be satisfied.

234

890419002

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman.— pp. 9-18 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 1 (March 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The French novelist, Jean Reibrach, in one of his novels, "New Beauty," attempts to picture the ideal, beautiful, emancipated woman. This ideal is embodied in a young girl, a physician. She talks very clearly and wisely of how to feed infants, she is kind and administers medicines free to poor mothers. She converses with a young man of her acquaintance about the sanitary conditions of the future and how various bacilli and germs shall be exterminated by the use of stone walls and floors, and the doing away of rugs and hangings. She is, of course, very plainly and practically dressed, mostly in black. The young man, who, at their first meeting was overawed by the wisdom of his emancipated friend, gradually learns to understand her, and recognizes one fine day that he loves her. They are young and she is kind and beautiful, and though always in rigid attire, her appearance is softened by spotlessly clean white collar and cuffs. One would expect that he would tell her of his love, but he is not one to commit romantic absurdities. Poetry and the enthusiasm of love cover their blushing faces before the pure beauty of the lady. He silences the voice of his nature and remains correct. She, too, is always exact, always rational, always well behaved. I fear if they had formed a union, the young man would have risked freezing to death. I must confess that I can see nothing beautiful in this new beauty, who is as cold as the stone walls and floors she dreams of. Rather would I have the love songs of romantic ages, rather Don Juan and Madame Venus, rather an elopement by ladder and rope on a moonlight night, followed by a father's curse, mother's moans, and the moral comments of neighbors, than correctness and propriety measured by yardsticks. If love does not know how to give and take without restriction it is not love, but a transaction that never fails to lay stress on a plus and a minus.

The greatest shortcoming of the emancipation of the present day lies in its artificial stiffness and its narrow respectabilities which produce an emptiness in woman's soul that will not let her drink from the

fountain of life. I once remarked that there seemed to be a deeper relationship between the old-fashioned mother and hostess, ever on the alert for the happiness of her little ones and the comfort of those she loved and the truly new woman, than between the latter and her average emancipated sister. The disciples of emancipation pure and simple declared me heathen, merely fit for the stake. Their blind zeal did not let them see that my comparison between the old and the new was merely to prove that a goodly number of our grandmothers had more blood in their veins, far more humor and wit, and certainly a greater amount of naturalness, kind-heartedness and simplicity than the majority of our emancipated professional women who fill our colleges, halls of learning, and various offices. This does not mean a wish to return to the past, nor does it condemn woman to her old sphere, the kitchen and the nursery.

Salvation lies in an energetic march onward towards a brighter and clearer future. We are in need of unhampered growth out of old traditions and habits. The movement for woman's emancipation has so far made but the first step in that direction. It is to be hoped that it will gather strength to make another. The right to vote, equal civil rights, are all very good demands, but true emancipation begins neither at the polls nor in courts. It begins in woman's soul. History tells us that every oppressed class gained its true liberation from its masters through its own efforts. It is necessary that woman learn that lesson, that she realize that her freedom will reach as far as her power to achieve her freedom reaches. It is therefore far more important for her to begin with her inner regeneration, to cut loose from the weight of prejudices, traditions, and customs. The demand for various equal rights in every vocation in life is just and fair, but, after all, the most vital right is the right to love and be loved. Indeed if the partial emancipation is to become a complete and true emancipation of woman, it will have to do away with the ridiculous notion that to be loved, to be sweetheart and mother, is synono-

235

890419002

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman.— pp. 9-18 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 1 (March 1906).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

mous with being slave or subordinate. It will have to do away with the absurd notion of the dualism of the sexes, or that man and woman represent two antagonistic worlds.

Pettiness separates, breadth unites. Let us be broad and big. Let us not overlook vital things, because of the bulk of trifles confronting us. A true conception of the relation of the sexes will not admit of conqueror and conquered; it knows of but one great thing: to give of one's self boundlessly in order to find oneself richer, deeper, better. That alone can fill the emptiness and replace the tragedy of woman's emancipation with joy, limitless joy.

TRY LOVE

By Grace Potter

IN the human heart it lies. The key to happiness. Men call the key love. In the sweet time of youth, every man and every maid knows where lies the key that will unlock happiness. Sometimes, they, laughing, hold the key in eager, willing hands and will not put it in the door for very bliss and waiting. Just outside they laugh and play and blow wild kisses to the world. The whole world of men and women, who in their youth found happiness in just that way, is gathered round to see it found again.

When at last the man and maid unlock the door and go in joy to find their happiness, the men and women who have been watching them bury their faces in their hands and weep. Why do they weep? Because they are thinking that soon other doors in life will be met by this man and maid and that there will be no keys to unlock them. They, themselves, could find no key.

They never thought of trying the key of love in all the doors of life. Long and wearily, eyes searching

wide, hands eagerly groping, they have spent their time trying to find other keys. They have looked for and found knowledge. And tried that. Looked for and found fame. And tried that. Looked for and found wealth. And tried that. Looked for and found many, many other keys. And tried them all. And when at last they have lain down on their deathbeds, they have turned gray hopeless faces to the world and died saying, "We could not find the right key."

Some few, some very few, there are, who try the key of love in all life's doors. Radiant, they turn to the men and women about and cry, "Try love! It unlocks all other doors as surely as it does the first in life. Try love!"

And though their fellow beings see that these are the only ones in all the world who find happiness, they turn doubting from them. "It cannot be," they say, "that the key we used in youth should be used again in all the other doors of life." And so they keep on trying the keys that every disappointed, dying man calls out in warning voice will fail.

Only a few there are who learn—a very few—that love unlocks all other doors in life as surely as it does the first. Try love!

Japan.—A new civilization. The land of a new culture! was the cry of every penny-a-liner at the time when she began to display her battleships, cannon, and her accomplished method of drilling her soldiers. They were mocking themselves and did not know how. They talk of culture and civilization and their criterion thereof is the development of the technique of murder. Again, Japan a modern state. She can take her place in the ranks of other civilized countries. Rejoice! and then learn that victorious Japan is on the threshold of a famine. Nearly a million people, it is laconically reported, are in danger of dying of starvation. Surely, no one will possibly doubt now that Japan is a civilized country.

236

890419003

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Child and Its Enemies / Emma Goldman.— pp. 7-14 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 2 (April 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

law, will be put on trial, but the crime they have perpetrated is a weighty argument in favor of those who maintain that the State is not an independent institution, but a tool of the possessing class.

* *

Many radicals entertain the queer notion that they cannot arrange their own lives, according to their own ideas, but that they have to adapt themselves to the conditions they hate, and which they fight in theory with fire and sword.

Anything rather than arouse too much public condemnation! The lives they lead are dependent upon the opinion of the Philistines. They are revolutionists in theory, reactionists in practice.

* *

The words of Louis XIV, "I am the State," have been taken up as a motto by the American policeman. One of the New York papers contains the following account:

"In discharging some seventy prisoners in the Jefferson Market Police Court yesterday morning, the Magistrate said to the police in charge of the cases: 'I am amazed that you men should bring these prisoners before me without a shred of evidence on which they can be held.'"

Such is the blessing of this republic. We are not confronted by one czar of the size of an elephant, but by a hundred thousand czars, as small as mosquitoes, but equally disagreeable and annoying.

* *

Friends of MOTHER EARTH in various Western cities have proposed a lecture tour in behalf of the magazine. So far I have heard from Cleveland, Detroit, St. Louis and Chicago. Those of other cities who wish to have me lecture there, will please communicate with me as to dates at once. The tour is to begin May 12th and last for a month or six weeks.

EMMA GOLDMAN,

Box 217, Madison Square Station.

THE CHILD AND ITS ENEMIES.

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

Is the child to be considered as an individuality, or as an object to be moulded according to the whims and fancies of those about it? This seems to me to be the most important question to be answered by parents and educators. And whether the child is to grow from within, whether all that craves expression will be permitted to come forth toward the light of day; or whether it is to be kneaded like dough through external forces, depends upon the proper answer to this vital question.

The longing of the best and noblest of our times makes for the strongest individualities. Every sensitive being abhors the idea of being treated as a mere machine or as a mere parrot of conventionality and respectability, the human being craves recognition of his kind.

It must be borne in mind that it is through the channel of the child that the development of the mature man must go, and that the present ideas of the educating or training of the latter in the school and the family—even the family of the liberal or radical—are such as to stifle the natural growth of the child.

Every institution of our day, the family, the State, our moral codes, sees in every strong, beautiful, uncompromising personality a deadly enemy; therefore every effort is being made to cramp human emotion and originality of thought in the individual into a straight-jacket from its earliest infancy; or to shape every human being according to one pattern; not into a well-rounded individuality, but into a patient work slave, professional automatin, tax-paying citizen, or righteous moralist. If one, nevertheless, meets with real spontaneity (which, by the way, is a rare treat,) it is not due to our method of rearing or educating the child: the personality often asserts itself, regardless of official and family barriers. Such a discovery should be celebrated as an unusual event, since the obstacles placed in the way of growth and development of character are so numerous that it must be considered a miracle if it retains its strength and beauty and survives the various attempts at crippling that which is most essential to it.

237

890419003

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Child and Its Enemies / Emma Goldman.— pp. 7-14 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 2 (April 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Indeed, he who has freed himself from the fetters of the thoughtlessness and stupidity of the commonplace; he who can stand without moral crutches, without the approval of public opinion—private laziness, Friedrich Nietzsche called it—may well intone a high and voluminous song of independence and freedom; he has gained the right to it through fierce and fiery battles. These battles already begin at the most delicate age.

The child shows its individual tendencies in its plays, in its questions, in its association with people and things. But it has to struggle with everlasting external interference in its world of thought and emotion. It must not express itself in harmony with its nature, with its growing personality. It must become a thing, an object. Its questions are met with narrow, conventional, ridiculous replies, mostly based on falsehoods; and, when, with large, wondering, innocent eyes, it wishes to behold the wonders of the world, those about it quickly lock the windows and doors, and keep the delicate human plant in a hothouse atmosphere, where it can neither breathe nor grow freely.

Zola, in his novel "Fecundity," maintains that large sections of people have declared death to the child, have conspired against the birth of the child,—a very horrible picture indeed, yet the conspiracy entered into by civilization against the growth and making of character seems to me far more terrible and disastrous, because of the slow and gradual destruction of its latent qualities and traits and the stupefying and crippling effect thereof upon its social well-being.

Since every effort in our educational life seems to be directed toward making of the child a being foreign to itself, it must of necessity produce individuals foreign to one another, and in everlasting antagonism with each other.

The ideal of the average pedagogist is not a complete, well-rounded, original being; rather does he seek that the result of his art of pedagogy shall be automatons of flesh and blood, to best fit into the treadmill of society and the emptiness and dulness of our lives. Every home, school, college and university stands for dry, cold utilitarianism, overflooding the brain of the pupil with a tremendous amount of ideas, handed down from generations past. "Facts and data," as they are called, constitute a lot of information, well enough perhaps to maintain every form of authority and to create much awe for the importance of possession, but only a great handicap to a true understanding of the human soul and its place in the world.

Truths dead and forgotten long ago, conceptions of the world and its people, covered with mould, even during the times of our grandmothers, are being hammered into the heads of our young generation. Eternal change, thousandfold variations, continual innovation are the essence of life. Professional pedagogy knows nothing of it, the systems of education are being arranged into files, classified and numbered. They lack the strong fertile seed which, falling on rich soil, enables them to grow to great heights, they are worn and incapable of awakening spontaneity of character. Instructors and teachers, with dead souls, operate with dead values. Quantity is forced to take the place of quality. The consequences thereof are inevitable.

In whatever direction one turns, eagerly searching for human beings who do not measure ideas and emotions with the yardstick of expediency, one is confronted with the products, the herdlike drilling instead of the result of spontaneous and innate characteristics working themselves out in freedom.

> "No traces now I see
> Whatever of a spirit's agency.
> 'Tis drilling, nothing more."

These words of Faust fit our methods of pedagogy perfectly. Take, for instance, the way history is being taught in our schools. See how the events of the world become like a cheap puppet show, where a few wire-pullers are supposed to have directed the course of development of the entire human race.

And the history of *our own* nation! Was it not chosen by Providence to become the leading nation on earth? And does it not tower mountain high over other nations? Is it not the gem of the ocean? Is it not incomparably virtuous, ideal and brave? The result of such ridiculous teaching is a dull, shallow patriotism, blind to its own

238

890419003

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Child and Its Enemies / Emma Goldman.— pp. 7-14 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 2 (April 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

limitations, with bull-like stubbornness, utterly incapable of judging of the capacities of other nations. This is the way the spirit of youth is emasculated, deadened through an over-estimation of one's own value. No wonder public opinion can be so easily manufactured.

"Predigested food" should be inscribed over every hall of learning as a warning to all who do not wish to lose their own personalities and their original sense of judgment, who, instead, would be content with a large amount of empty and shallow shells. This may suffice as a recognition of the manifold hindrances placed in the way of an independent mental development of the child.

Equally numerous, and not less important, are the difficulties that confront the emotional life of the young. Must not one suppose that parents should be united to children by the most tender and delicate chords? One should suppose it; yet, sad as it may be, it is, nevertheless, true, that parents are the first to destroy the inner riches of their children.

The Scriptures tell us that God created Man in His own image, which has by no means proven a success. Parents follow the bad example of their heavenly master; they use every effort to shape and mould the child according to their image. They tenaciously cling to the idea that the child is merely part of themselves—an idea as false as it is injurious, and which only increases the misunderstanding of the soul of the child, of the necessary consequences of enslavement and subordination thereof.

As soon as the first rays of consciousness illuminate the mind and heart of the child, it instinctively begins to compare its own personality with the personality of those about it. How many hard and cold stone cliffs meet its large wondering gaze? Soon enough it is confronted with the painful reality that it is here only to serve as inanimate matter for parents and guardians, whose authority alone gives it shape and form.

The terrible struggle of the thinking man and woman against political, social and moral conventions owes its origin to the family, where the child is ever compelled to battle against the internal and external use of force. The categorical imperatives: You shall! you must! this

is right! that is wrong! this is true! that is false! shower like a violent rain upon the unsophisticated head of the young being and impress upon its sensibilities that it has to bow before the long established and hard notions of thoughts and emotions. Yet the latent qualities and instincts seek to assert their own peculiar methods of seeking the foundation of things, of distinguishing between what is commonly called wrong, true or false. It is bent upon going its own way, since it is composed of the same nerves, muscles and blood, even as those who assume to direct its destiny. I fail to understand how parents hope that their children will ever grow up into independent, self-reliant spirits, when they strain every effort to abridge and curtail the various activities of their children, the plus in quality and character, which differentiates their offspring from themselves, and by the virtue of which they are eminently equipped carriers of new, invigorating ideas. A young delicate tree, that is being clipped and cut by the gardener in order to give it an artificial form, will never reach the majestic height and the beauty as when allowed to grow in nature and freedom.

When the child reaches adolescence, it meets, added to the home and school restrictions, with a vast amount of hard traditions of social morality. The cravings of love and sex are met with absolute ignorance by the majority of parents, who consider it as something indecent and improper, something disgraceful, almost criminal, to be suppressed and fought like some terrible disease. The love and tender feelings in the young plant are turned into vulgarity and coarseness through the stupidity of those surrounding it, so that everything fine and beautiful is either crushed altogether or hidden in the innermost depths, as a great sin, that dares not face the light.

What is more astonishing is the fact that parents will strip themselves of everything, will sacrifice everything for the physical well-being of their child, will wake nights and stand in fear and agony before some physical ailment of their beloved one; but will remain cold and indifferent, without the slightest understanding before the soul cravings and the yearnings of their child, neither hearing nor wishing to hear the loud knocking of the young spirit that demands recognition. On the

239

890419003

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Child and Its Enemies / Emma Goldman.– pp. 7-14 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 2 (April 1906).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

contrary, they will stifle the beautiful voice of spring, of a new life of beauty and splendor of love; they will put the long lean finger of authority upon the tender throat and not allow vent to the silvery song of the individual growth, of the beauty of character, of the strength of love and human relation, which alone make life worth living.

And yet these parents imagine that they mean best for the child, and for aught I know, some really do; but their best means absolute death and decay to the bud in the making. After all, they are but imitating their own masters in State, commercial, social and moral affairs, by forcibly suppressing every independent attempt to analyze the ills of society and every sincere effort toward the abolition of these ills; never able to grasp the eternal truth that every method they employ serves as the greatest impetus to bring forth a greater longing for freedom and a deeper zeal to fight for it.

That compulsion is bound to awaken resistance, every parent and teacher ought to know. Great surprise is being expressed over the fact that the majority of children of radical parents are either altogether opposed to the ideas of the latter, many of them moving along the old antiquated paths, or that they are indifferent to the new thoughts and teachings of social regeneration. And yet there is nothing unusual in that. Radical parents, though emancipated from the belief of ownership in the human soul, still cling tenaciously to the notion that they own the child, and that they have the right to exercise their authority over it. So they set out to mould and form the child according to their own conception of what is right and wrong, forcing their ideas upon it with the same vehemence that the average Catholic parent uses. And, with the latter, they hold out the necessity before the young "to do as I tell you and not as I do." But the impressionable mind of the child realizes early enough that the lives of their parents are in contradiction to the ideas they represent; that, like the good Christian who fervently prays on Sunday, yet continues to break the Lord's commands the rest of the week, the radical parent arraigns God, priesthood, church, government, domestic authority, yet continues to adjust himself to the condition he abhors. Just so, the Freethought parent

can proudly boast that his son of four will recognize the picture of Thomas Paine or Ingersoll, or that he knows that the idea of God is stupid. Or that the Social Democratic father can point to his little girl of six and say, "Who wrote the Capital, dearie?" "Karl Marx, pal" Or that the Anarchistic mother can make it known that her daughter's name is Louise Michel, Sophia Perovskaya, or that she can recite the revolutionary poems of Herwegh, Freiligrath, or Shelley, and that she will point out the faces of Spencer, Bakunin or Moses Harmon almost anywhere.

These are by no means exaggerations; they are sad facts that I have met with in my experience with radical parents. What are the results of such methods of biasing the mind? The following is the consequence, and not very infrequent, either. The child, being fed on one-sided, set and fixed ideas, soon grows weary of rehashing the beliefs of its parents, and it sets out in quest of new sensations, no matter how inferior and shallow the new experience may be, the human mind cannot endure sameness and monotony. So it happens that that boy or girl, over-fed on Thomas Paine, will land in the arms of the Church, or they will vote for imperialism only to escape the drag of economic determinism and scientific socialism, or that they open a shirt-waist factory and cling to their right of accumulating property, only to find relief from the old-fashioned communism of their father. Or that the girl will marry the next best man, provided he can make a living, only to run away from the everlasting talk on variety.

Such a condition of affairs may be very painful to the parents who wish their children to follow in their path, yet I look upon them as very refreshing and encouraging psychological forces. They are the greatest guarantee that the independent mind, at least, will always resist every external and foreign force exercised over the human heart and head.

Some will ask, what about weak natures, must they not be protected? Yes, but to be able to do that, it will be necessary to realize that education of children is not synonymous with herdlike drilling and training. If education should really mean anything at all, it must insist upon the free growth and development of the innate

240

890419003

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Child and Its Enemies / Emma Goldman.– pp. 7-14 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 2 (April 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

forces and tendencies of the child. In this way alone can we hope for the free individual and eventually also for a free community, which shall make interference and coercion of human growth impossible.

* * *

HOPE AND FEAR.*

(Translated from the Jewish of L. I. PERETZ.)

... My heart is with you.

My eye does not get weary looking at your flaming banner; my ear does not get tired listening to your powerful song ...

My heart is with you; man's hunger must be appeased, and he must have light; he must be free, and he must be his own master, master over himself and his work.

And when you snap at the fist which is trying to strangle you, your voice, and your ardent protest, preventing you from being heard—I rejoice, praying that your teeth may be sharpened. And when you are marching against Sodom and Gomorrah, to tear down the old, my soul is with you, and the certainty that you must triumph fills and warms my heart and intoxicates me like old wine ...

And yet....

And yet you frighten me.

I am afraid of the bridled who conquer, for they are apt to become the oppressors, and every oppressor transgresses against the human soul ....

Do you not talk among yourselves of how humanity is to march, like an army in line, and you are going to sound for it the march on the road?

And yet humanity is not an army.

The strong are going forward, the magnanimous feel more deeply, the proud rise higher, and yet will you not lay down the cedar in order that it may not outgrow the grass?

Or will you not spread your wings over mediocrity,

* This sketch the writer had addressed to Jewish Social Democrats.

or will you not shield indifference, and protect the gray and uniformly fleeced herd?

* * *

You frighten me.

As conquerors you might become the bureaucracy: to dole out to everybody his morsel, as is the usage in the poor-house; to arrange work for everybody as it is done in the galleys. And you will thus crush the creator of new worlds—the free human will, and fill up with earth the purest spring of human happiness—human initiative, the power which braves one against thousands, against peoples, and against generations? And you will systematize life and bid it to remain on the level of the crowd.

And will you not be occupied with regulations: registrating, recording, estimating—or will you not prescribe how fast and how often the human pulse must beat, how far the human eye may look ahead, how much the ear may perceive, and what kinds of dreams the languishing heart may entertain?

* * *

With joy in my heart I look at you when you tear down the gates of Sodom, but my heart trembles at the same time, fearing that you might erect on its ruins new ones—more chilling and darker ones.

There will be no houses without windows; but fog will envelop the souls ....

There will be no empty stomachs, but souls will starve. No ear will hear cries of woe, but the eagle—the human intellect—will stand at the trough with clipped wings together with the cow and the ox.

And justice, which has accompanied you on the thorny and bloody path to victory, will forsake you, and you will not be aware of it, for conquerors and tyrants are always blind. You will conquer and dominate. And you will plunge into injustice, and you will not feel the quagmire under your feet.... Every tyrant thinks he stands on firm ground so long as he has not been vanquished.

And you will build prisons for those who dare to stretch out their hands, pointing to the abyss into which

241

890419004

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Sentimental Journey. —Police Protection / E[mma] G[oldman] and M[ax] B[aginski]. — pp. 43-45 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 2 (April 1906).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

artist's creation is to have any effect, it must contain elements of real life, and must turn its gaze toward the dawn of the morn of a more beautiful and joyous world, with a new and healthy generation, that feels deeply its relationship with all human beings over the universe.

* * *

In a report of the Russian government, it is stated that the conduct of the soldiers in the struggles of the streets was such, that in no instance did they transgress the limit which is prescribed to them in their oath as soldiers. This is true. The soldier's oath prescribes murder and cruelty as their patriotic duty.

* *

If government, were it even an ideal Revolutionary government, creates no new force and is of no use whatever in the work of demolition which we have to accomplish, still less can we count on it for the work of reorganization which must follow that of demolition. The economic change which will result from the Social Revolution will be so immense and so profound, it must so change all the relations based to-day on property and exchange, that it is impossible for one or any individual to elaborate the different social forms, which must spring up in the society of the future. This elaboration of new social forms can only be made by the collective work of the masses. To satisfy the immense variety of conditions and needs which will spring up as soon as private property shall be abolished, it is necessary to have the collective suppleness of mind of the whole people. Any authority external to it will only be an obstacle, only a trammel on the organic labor which must be accomplished, and beside that a source of discord and hatred.

Kropotkine.

A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY. — POLICE PROTECTION.

CHICAGO'S pride are the stockyards, the Standard Oil University, and Miss Jane Addams. It is, therefore, perfectly natural that the sensibility of such a city would suffer as soon as it became known that an obscure person, by the common name of E. G. Smith, was none other than the awful Emma Goldman, and that she had not even presented herself to Mayor Dunne, the platonic lover of Municipal Ownership. However, not much harm came of it.

The Chicago newspapers, who cherish the truth like a costly jewel, made the discovery that the shrewd Miss Smith compromised a number of Chicago's aristocracy and excellencies, among others also Baron von Schlippenbach, consul of the Russian Empire. We consider it our duty to defend this gentleman against such an awful accusation. Miss Smith never visited the house of the Baron, nor did she attend any of his banquets. We know her well and feel confident that she never would put her foot on the threshold of a representative of a government that crushes every free breath, every free word; that sends her very best and noblest sons and daughters to prison or the gallows; that has the children of the soil, the peasants, publicly flogged; and that is responsible for the barbarous slaughter of thousands of Jews.

Miss Jane Addams, too, is quite safe from Miss Smith. True, she invited her to be present at a reception, but, knowing the weak knees of the soup kitchen philanthropy from past experience, Miss Smith called her up on the 'phone and told her that E. G. S. was the dreaded Emma Goldman. It must have been quite a shock to the lady; after all, one cannot afford to hurt the sensibilities of society, so long as one has political and public aspirations. Miss E. G. Smith, being a strong believer in the prevention of cruelty, preferred to leave the purity of the Hull House untouched. After her return to New York, E. G. Smith sent Smith about its business, and started on a lecture tour in her own right, as Emma Goldman.

CLEVELAND. Dear old friends and co-workers: The work you accomplished was splendid, also the comradely spirit of the young. But why spoil it by bad example of

890419004

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Sentimental Journey. —Police Protection / E[mma] G[oldman] and M[ax] B[aginski].— pp. 43-45 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 2 (April 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

applying for protection from the city authorities? It does not behoove us, who neither believe in their right to prohibit free assembly, nor to permit it, to appeal to them. If the authorities choose to do either, they merely prove their autocracy. Those who love freedom must understand that it is even more distasteful to speak under police protection than it is to suffer under their persecution. However, the meetings were very encouraging and the feeling of solidarity sweet and refreshing.

Buffalo. The shadow of September 6 still haunts the police of that city. Their only vision of an Anarchist is one who is forever lying in wait for human life, which is, of course, very stupid; but stupidity and authority always join forces. Capt. Ward, who, with a squad of police, came to save the innocent citizens of Buffalo, asked if we knew the law, and was quite surprised that that was not our trade; that we had not been employed to disentangle the chaos of the law,—that it was his affair to know the law. However, the Captain showed himself absolutely ignorant of the provisions of the American Constitution. Of course, his superiors knew what they were about when they set the Constitution aside, as old and antiquated, and, instead, enacted a law which gives the average officer a right to invade the head and heart of a man, as to what he thinks and feels. Capt. Ward added an amendment to the anti-Anarchist law. He declared any other language than English a felony, and, since Max Baginski could only avail himself of the German language, he was not permitted to speak. How is that for our law-abiding citizens? A man is brutally prevented from speaking, because he does not know the refined English language of the police force.

Emma Goldman delivered her address in English. It is not likely that Capt. Ward understood enough of that language. However, the audience did, and if the police of this country were not so barefaced, the saviour of Buffalo would have wished himself anywhere rather than to stand exposed as a clown before a large gathering of men and women.

The meeting the following evening was forcibly dispersed before the speakers had arrived. Ignorance is always brutal when it is backed by power.

Toronto. King Edward Hotel, Queen Victoria Manicuring Parlor. It was only when we read these signs that we realized that we were on the soil of the British Empire.

However, the monarchical authorities of Canada were more hospitable and much freer than those of our free Republic. Not a sign of an officer at any of the meetings.

The city? A gray sky, rain, storms. Altogether one was reminded of one of Heine's witty, drastic criticisms in reference to a well-known German university town. "Dogs on the street," Heine writes, "implore strangers to kick them, so that they may have some change from the awful monotony and dulness."

Rochester. The neighborly influence of the Buffalo police seems to have had a bad effect upon the mental development of the Rochester authorities. The hall was packed with officers at both meetings. The government of Rochester, however, was not saved—the police kept themselves in good order. Some of them seem to have benefited by the lectures. That accounts for the familiarity of one of Rochester's "finest," who wanted to shake Emma Goldman's hand. E. G. had to decline. Baron von Schlippenbach or an American representative of law and disorder,—where is the difference?

Syracuse. The city where the trains run through the streets. With Tolstoy, one feels that civilization is a crime and a mistake, when one sees nerve-wrecking machines running through the streets, poisoning the atmosphere with soft coal smoke.

What! Anarchists within the walls of Syracuse? O horror! The newspapers reported of special session at City Hall, how to meet the terrible calamity.

Well, Syracuse still stands on its old site. The second meeting, attended largely by "genuine" Americans, brought by curiosity perhaps, was very successful. We were assured that the lecture made a splendid impression. which led us to think that we probably were guilty of some foolishness, as the Greek philosopher, when his lectures were applauded, would turn to his hearers and ask, "Gentlemen, have I committed some folly?"

Au revoir.

E. G. and M. B.

243

890210014

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Woman Anarchist Calls Our Flag a Sham / Emma Goldman.— p. 18 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(April 4, 1906).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

HUMAN AIRSHIP A FAILURE.

But He Made a Kilhoare Trial—He's at Bellevue Now.

Policeman Abraham Frankin of the Old Slip Station was standing under the elevated structure at the Battery early yesterday afternoon when he was approached by a short, swarthy man, who said:

"I'm an airship. Stand here a few minutes and see me fly." Frankin was aware that yesterday was the 1st of April. So he told the speaker to go ahead and fly.

Five minutes later he was astonished to see a man gayly skipping along the ties overhead in his direction. When he arrived directly overhead of the policeman, the man flapped his arms and jumped off.

He landed on the pavement at the policeman's feet, bruised, not much hurt and apparently astonished at his failure. Frankin called Dr. Merrill of the Hudson Street Hospital. After a short examination the man was pronounced insane, and was removed to the psychopathic ward of Bellevue Hospital.

From papers found in his possession the police believe his name is Emanuel Grulna of 504 West Twenty-fourth Street.

BENEFITS JEWISH CHILDREN.

Bill Provides for Commitments to Homes of Their Own Religionists.

A delegation of Jews will go to Albany this week to attend a hearing on the bill introduced by Assemblyman Max Eckmann providing that the Commissioner of Charities, in indenturing, placing out, or committing any child in New York City shall, when possible, send it to a family or institution of the same religion as the child's parents.

The primary intent of the bill is to provide that Jewish children shall be placed in Jewish families or Jewish institutions. A special clause has for some time provided that Catholic children committed should be sent only to Catholic institutions. In Greater New York there are four institutions for committed children and there is soon to be built a large orphanage for them in Hawthorne, near Yonkers.

Mr Eckmann asked the State Board of Charities about the number of Jewish children in non-Jewish institutions last year. Acting Secretary Robert W. Hill answered that in the year ended Sept. 30, 1905, 655 Jewish children were admitted to institutions managed by Hebrews in Greater New York, while 704 Jewish children were received in non-Jewish institutions.

Non-Jewish institutions which cared for Jewish children and the number of such children in the year ended last September are:

Convent of Mercy, Brooklyn, 9; Industrial School Association, Brooklyn 18; Nursery and Child's Hospital, New York City, 24; Society for Aid of Friendless Women and Children, Brooklyn, 5; New York Catholic Protectory, 261; New York Foundling Hospital, 12; Missionary Hospital, 1; New York Juvenile Asylum, 101; Institution of Mercy, 2; St Agatha's Home, 1; St. Joseph's Home, 1; St. Mary's Maternity and Infant Home, Brooklyn, 2; Brooklyn Children's Aid Society, 11; Brooklyn Nursery and Infant's Hospital, 15; Dominican Convent of Our Lady of the Rosary, 5; Five Points House of Industry, 47; Missionary Sisters Third Order of St Francis, 3; Nursery and Child's Hospital (Castleton), 13; Orphan Asylum Brooklyn 3; Sheltering Arms Nursery, 2; New York Infant Asylum, 150.

The Eckmann bill has a clause specifying that it shall take effect immediately. It has been read once and referred to the Committee on Cities.

THE SKIPPER'S MODEL LOG.

Capt. Burnett's Deep-Sea Pen Tells of Storm That Hit the Hudson.

The British steamship Hudson, in yesterday from China, Japan, and East Indian ports, ran into a terrific hurricane on March 19. The vessel sustained much damage to her gangs, decks, and lifeboats. The skipper of the Hudson is Capt. Burnett, and he has been known as the writer of the most entertaining log to be found on the ocean seas. Here is the story of the hurricane in his own words:

Tuesday, March 11, latitude 32.37, longitude 11.07: The wind developed a force gale from the S. E. with a very high sea running with squalls of hurricane force. At 10 o'clock struck a heavy sea on the port bow which swept over the vessel from end to end, the lifeboats on the starboard side were stove in, and the starboard rail was carried away for a length of 40 feet. The vessel lay over to the starboard side and the water poured in through the open ports and the hatchways. The vessel righted herself, but remained in a very dangerous position. The crew were ordered to the boats, but the captain decided to remain by the ship. The crew worked hard all night, and by morning had the water under control.

FEAR HEARST AS A FOE

Pressing the Recount Bill as a Means of Balking Him.

IT IS LIKELY TO BE PASSED

Republicans Would Be Satisfied Whatever the Result of the Recount—Hearst Men Worried.

Special to The New York Times.

ALBANY, April 3. Roosevelt wants it; Odell wants it—Higgins wants it; that, in brief, is the situation relative to the Hinkes-Murphy Recount bill. The Republican leaders are unanimous in holding that William R. Hearst is likely to be too dangerous a factor for the Governorship for the Republicans to leave anything undone to weaken him. The enactment of the Recount bill and seating of Hearst in the Mayor's chair is believed at present to be the most available weapon. It is not that the Republican leaders have no use for McClellan, but that they have less for Hearst.

There is an opinion among many Republican leaders that Hearst is making such headway that he may capture the regular Democratic organization. They are fearful that with him as the Independence League Democratic candidate nothing could prevail against him. While they know that thousands of Democrats would bolt Hip and either vote for the Republican candidate or not at all, they also realize that thousands of Republicans would support him.

The Republican leaders figure that to enact the Recount bill is most desirable, as the opponents have everything to gain and absolutely nothing to lose. They hold that if the recount shows Hearst defeated he will, in their opinion, be unable to pose as a martyr—a sacrifice to Tammany ingenuity and trickery. If he succeeds McClellan, they declare, he will not attempt to run for Governor; will feel bound to serve out his term, as he promised during the campaign.

None of the Hearst leaders have said that their chief would serve out the four-year term if he should be declared elected. It is known that Hearst is doing nothing toward obtaining McClellan's seat and, in fact, his emissaries here are disposed to view any move in that direction as a blow at their plans.

New York has had three-cornered fights for Governor before. In 1848 Hamilton Fish, as candidate of the Whigs, was indebted to a split among the Democrats for his election. In 1854 Horatio Seymour was defeated by Myron H. Clark because thousands of Democrats favored the temperance and "free soil" platform upon which Clark, the Whig candidate, was running. In 1870 Lucius Robinson was defeated by Alonzo B. Cornell as the price of having offended John Kelly, who nominated himself as the Tammany Hall candidate and polled just enough votes to beat the regular candidate.

The Recount bill is due to come up in the Assembly this week. A long fight is expected, but that it will pass is not doubted. Palmer, the Democratic leader, and La Fetra, Charles F. Murphy's personal representative, have served notice that they are opposed to it. That the Senate will also act favorably there can be little doubt. And that the measure will receive the signature of Governor Higgins there is less doubt.

Certain corporations are very desirous that the bill fail of enactment, for they view with dismay the possibility of Hearst becoming Mayor. Also many conservatives of both parties are sincerely desirous of having the bill defeated. But the Republicans, who think first of victory, and who also happen to be possessed of all the power, do not care about the manner thereof.

ARREST FOR PRUNING TREES.

Ruf Planted Them Himself, but He Had No Permit.

Herman Ruf of 1,005 Clinton Avenue planted one or two trees in front of his house a few years ago, and since then he has taken great pride in them.

Saturday afternoon he thought the time of year had come when a little pruning would improve their appearance. While he was trimming them he was arrested, and yesterday was arraigned before Magistrate Hogan in the Westchester Police Court on a charge of pruning trees without a permit.

After listening to a lecture from the Court, he was discharged but was told that in future he must not prune trees, even if he planted them himself, when the trees are on the public sidewalk.

Gov. Winthrop Here on a Hurricane.

Gov. Brockholst Winthrop of Porto Rico was among the arrivals from San Juan on the steamship Ponce yesterday. Governor Winthrop said that he had been upon the island when the hurricane struck it, and that the damage done to property was very great.

BROADWAY STATION AT OUR DOOR
ASTOR PLACE AND FOURTH AVE.

BROKAW BROTHERS

WOMAN ANARCHIST CALLS OUR FLAG A SHAM

Violent Speeches Made to Reds in Memory of Johann Most.

DIATRIBES IN FIVE TONGUES

Orators Denounce The Times, Modern Civilization, and the Police—Emma Goldman Among the Speakers.

The Grand Central Palace was crowded yesterday afternoon with Anarchists and sympathizers gathered to commemorate the life of the late Johann Most.

Lucy Parsons, widow of Albert Parsons, one of the executed Chicago Anarchists, was present, having journeyed from Illinois to be at the meeting and speak in tribute to the dead Anarchist. The speakers were many and of many languages. Each of them aimed a part of his oratory at THE TIMES in respect to a recent editorial on Most and his life. THE TIMES was berated in Hebrew, Yiddish, German, Italian, and English.

Red banners, red feathers in red hats of many women, red neckties and red badges for the men and the blue coats of more than a hundred policemen under Inspector Walsh gave color to the assemblage. The reporters were denounced as the hirelings of the capitalistic element.

Abraham Isaacs presided, and in his opening address made the first attack on THE TIMES, declaring that it was the only paper that dared insinuate against the sincerity and honesty of Most's motives and that it had "insinuated that Most should have been shot down in the streets."

"Most loved justice and truth," he declared, "and for no other reason he was hounded and persecuted. Had he lived 2,000 years ago he would have been crucified. As it was he got only ten years in prison."

Emma Goldman There, Too.

Emma Goldman, wearing a black gown, bare-headed, and bare-throated, followed Max Hoginsky, who spoke in German. She too denounced the press.

"Never a man was so shamefully hounded by the representatives of the robbers and thieves as was Most," she declared. "Their work knows no limit when it comes to misrepresenting an idea. They have done all they could to misrepresent Most's ideas, but they still live. They also misrepresented the man when they failed to kill his ideas. They represented him as the wildest of beasts, in pictures and articles, using lies, infamous lies.

"The ruling powers may think they can now rest in peace because he is dead, but although he is dead this great meeting shows that his ideas live. A time will come when we will gather to celebrate our freedom and there will be no officers in blue coats and brass buttons around us."

After a speech in Yiddish, Comrade Kelley spoke. He denounced THE TIMES and informed the audience of the birth of a new Anarchistic magazine called "Mother Earth," published by Emma Goldman and edited by Max Hoglisky. Lucy Parsons referred to the bomb throwing in Chicago as "an explosion which rent this capitalistic country."

"In 1883 it required more courage to say 'I am an Anarchist' than it does in 1906," she declared. "But Most had the courage to say it then, and to declare that he was a friend of those men who were being hounded to the gallows in America, the land of the free and the home of the slave, the flag which invites the immigrant fleeing from tyranny and oppression to a place of refuge tells a brazen lie, because here they imprison men for telling the truth. If the founders of this republic had been made of such contemptible stuff as Anarchists are made of they would have been no republic."

Compliments for Policemen, Too.

She referred to the policemen as the "vile hirelings of the capitalistic spirit personified in a club and a few brass buttons."

"They hated Most," she said, "because he tore the veil of hypocrisy from Society with ruthless hand and said to the proletariat 'look behind the veil and see the devils tied up in hell with hearts of steel.' If he had put our Mayors and Governors and the Supreme Court judges in small addresses he would have been called an elegant gentleman, but that

$35
The above in Jack
Valu
HANSEN &
Fifth Ave. and 42



They wear—
That's why our Derbies a
such stars.
For no matter how good
hat may look at first, wha
counts most is the way it look
when it's old at last.
And though we're proud
the new looks of our Derbie
it's their old looks that kee
the business growing.
True of our $3 Derby as we
as of the $4 hat and the Knapp
Felt De Luxe at $6.

ROGERS, PEET & COMPAN
Three Broadway Stores.
258 | 842 | 1260
41 | at | at
Warren St. | 13th St. | 32nd

BEDROOM
FURNITUR
Among the many attractive values offer
this week from our carefully selected sto
we mention a few striking ones in Chamb
Furnishing only:
ODD DRESSERS AND CHIFFONIERS } In Mahogany, Bird's Eye Maple, & Golden Oak, at } $27.
OUR REGULAR $37.50 & $40.00 PATTERNS
BRASS BEDS
1¼ IN. & 2 IN. POSTS, EXTRA HEAVY FILLINGS AND MOUNTS. REGULAR VALUE $30.00 TO $37.50 AT ..... } $20. to $30.
White Enamel Beds
BRASS TRIMMED, IVORY ENAMEL FINISH
REGULAR $40.50 BEDSTEADS AT $5.0
REGULAR $49.00 " AT $7.5
REGULAR $75.00 " AT $11.0
401 B. SO. AM. HAIR MATTRESSES WORTH $21.00 AT $16.00
BEDDING, SPRINGS, &c., AT PROPO TIONATELY REDUCED PRICES.
Sheppard Knapp & Co
SIXTH AVE., 18th and 19th STS.

HER SAVINGS GONE IN A FIR

Hard Plight of a Polish Girl Who H Deprived Herself for Her Parents.

Dorothea Theofy, a young Polish w man, spent most of yesterday searchi the ruins of the fire which on Saturd destroyed several tenements in Avo D, Bayonne. She had lived in one of the houses. In a small wicker basket

244

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890210014

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Woman Anarchist Calls Our Flag a Sham / Emma Goldman.— p. 18 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(April 4, 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

BENEFITS JEWISH CHILDREN.

Bill Provides for Committments to Homes of Their Own Religionists.

A delegation of Jews will go to Albany this week to attend a hearing on the bill introduced by Assemblyman Max Enkmann providing that the Commissioners of Charities in determining placing out or committing any child in New York City shall, when possible, send it to a family or institution of the same religion as the child's parents.

The primary intent of the bill is to provide that Jewish children shall be placed in Jewish families or Jewish institutions. A special clause has for some time provided that Catholic children committed should be sent only to Catholic institutions. In Greater New York there are four institutions for committed children, and there is soon to be built a large orphanage for them in Hawthorne, near Yonkers.

Mr. Eckmann asked the State Board of Charities about the number of Jewish children in non-Jewish institutions last year. Acting Secretary Robert W. Hill answered that in the year ended Sept. 30, 1905, 696 Jewish children were committed to institutions managed by Hebrews in Greater New York, while 704 Jewish children were received in non-Jewish institutions.

Non-Jewish institutions which cared for Jewish children and the number of such children in the year ended last September are:

Convent of Mercy, Brooklyn, 9; Industrial School Association, Brooklyn 18; Nursery and Child's Hospital, New York City, 24; Society for Aid of Friendless Women and Children, Brooklyn, 5; New York Catholic Protectory, 504; New York Foundling Hospital, 12; Misericordia Hospital, 1; New York Juvenile Asylum, 100; Institution of Mercy, 2; St. Agatha's Home 1; St. Joseph's Home, 1; St. Mary's Maternity and Infant Home, Brooklyn, 2; Brooklyn Children's Aid Society, 11; Brooklyn Nursery and Infant's Hospital, 15; Dominican Convent of Our Lady of the Rosary, 5; Five Points House of Industry, 47; Missionary Sisters Third Order of St. Francis, 3; Nursery and Child's Hospital (Castleton), 13; Orphan Asylum, Brooklyn 3; Sheltering Arms Nursery, 2; New York Infant Asylum; 180.

The Eckmann bill has a clause specifying that it shall take effect immediately. It has been read once and referred to the Committee on Cities.

THE SKIPPER'S MODEL LOG.

Capt. Burnett's Deep-Sea Pen Tells of Storm That Hit the Hudson.

The British steamship Hudson, in yesterday from China, Japan, and East Indian ports, ran into a terrific hurricane on March 10. The vessel sustained much damage to her plates, decks, and lifeboats. The skipper of the Hudson is Capt. Burnett, and he has been known as the writer of the most entertaining log to be found on the seven seas. Here is the story of the hurricane in his own words:

"Tuesday, March 11, latitude 32.37, longitude 80.40, the wind developed a fierce gale from the N. N.W., with a very high sea running with squalls of hurricane force. At 10 o'clock shipped a heavy sea amidships, which swept over the saloon chart room and the lifeboats at the after-end of the bridge. The starboard lifeboat was torn from its lashings, smashing it against an iron ventilator. All the doors on the starboard side were stove, and the bridge deck started.

"The lifeboat was secured with great difficulty, owing to the high force of the wind. Oil was used through the starboard wash pipes, and thereafter no heavy seas came aboard abaft the bridge on the weather side. At 11 o'clock a wall of sea water struck the steamer on her starboard bow, bending in the two upper plates for a length of twenty feet, stove all the forecastle ports, and started the forecastle deck. The steam pipe coverings were torn away, and considerable damage was caused to deck fittings.

"The impact of the giant sea was terrific. It fell, and looked as if the fore part of the vessel was torn away, and nothing could be seen forward for spray and rushing water.

"The sea continued to be very heavy, and blew with hurricane force at midnight. Then the gale gradually moderated, and finally turned into rain on the 11th and 12th."

No Money for Topographers.

The Topographical Bureau of the Borough of Queens is likely to go to pieces this week. The 175 attaches did not receive their salary [illegible] and inquiries at the office of Controller Metz brought forth the statement that there was no money to the credit of the bureau, so salaries could not be paid. The bureau is in Long Island City, and is engaged in officially mapping the boroughs.

ARREST FOR PRUNING TREES.

Ruf Planted Them Himself, but He Had No Permit.

Herman Ruf of 1,065 Clinton Avenue planted one or two trees in front of his house a few years ago, and since then he has taken great pride in them.

Saturday afternoon he thought the time of year had come when a little pruning would improve their appearance. While he was trimming them he was arrested, and yesterday was arraigned before Magistrate Breen in the Westchester Police Court on a charge of pruning trees without a permit.

After listening to a lecture from the Court, he was discharged, but was told that in future he must not prune trees, even if he planted them himself, when the trees are on the public sidewalk.

Gov. Winthrop Here on a Summons.

Gov. Beekman Winthrop of Porto Rico was among the arrivals from San Juan on the steamship Coamo yesterday. Gov. Winthrop said that he had been summoned to Washington to appear before the House Committee on Insular Affairs in relation to Porto Rican questions. Beyond this the Governor had nothing to say at present.

Suicide's Bullet Failed.

A thin, shabbily dressed man, who said he was Joseph Schwartz, a homeless laborer, attempted suicide by shooting himself on a bench in Central Park, at Sixth Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street, early yesterday morning. He aimed badly, and the bullet was deflected by his skull, after making a severe scalp wound. In Flower Hospital the surgeon revived Schwartz. He wouldn't say why he wanted to kill himself.

Women Teachers Want Equal Pay.

The women teachers of the city have organized and are about to present to the Board of Education a petition to have the salary schedules arranged without regard to the sex of teachers. As they regard their services as quite as satisfactory as those given by the men, they feel that in justice to them the compensation should be the same.

VICHY CELESTINS

[illegible] Woman Anarchist Calls Our Flag a Sham

[illegible] Goldman, wearing a black gown, bare-headed, and bare-throated, followed Max Bodinsky, who spoke in German. She too denounced the press.

"Never a man was so shamefully hounded by the representatives of the robbers and thieves as was Most," she declared. "Their work knows no limit when it comes to misrepresenting an idea. They have done all they could to misrepresent Most's ideas, but they still live. They also misrepresented the man when they failed to kill his ideas. They represented him as the wildest of beasts, in pictures and articles, using lies, infamous lies.

"The ruling powers may think they can now rest in peace because he is dead, but although he is dead this great meeting shows that his ideas live. A time will come when we will gather to celebrate our freedom and there will be no officers in blue coats and brass buttons around us."

After a speech in Yiddish, Comrade Kelley spoke. He denounced THE TIMES and informed the audience of the birth of a new Anarchistic magazine called "Mother Earth," published by Emma Goldman and edited by Max Bodinsky. Lucy Parsons referred to the bomb throwing in Chicago as "an explosion which rent this capitalistic country."

"In 1887 it required more courage to say 'I am an Anarchist' than it does in 1906," she declared. "But Most had the courage to say it then, and to declare that he was a friend of those men who were being hounded to the gallows in America, the land of the free and the home of the slave, the flag which invites the immigrant fleeing from tyranny and oppression to a place of refuge tells a brazen lie, because here they imprison men for telling the truth. If the founders of this republic had been made of such contemptible stuff as Americans are made of to-day there would have been no republic."

Compliments for Policemen, Too.

She referred to the policemen as the "vile hirelings of the capitalistic spirit personified in a club and a few brass buttons."

"They hated Most," she said, "because he tore the veil of hypocrisy from Society with ruthless hand and said to the proletariat 'look behind the veil and see the devils bred in hell with hearts of stone.' If he had said our McCurdys, and Perkinses, and the Standard Oil push were elegant gentlemen he would have been called an elegant gentleman himself. But he called them thieves and liars. That was his crime, and that is our crime.

"We have burned our bridges behind us. I despise the civilization which sends 1,750,000 children to work in the factories. But the spirit of liberty is abroad. There never has been a time when there was so much unrest in the world, and from this unrest will be born the sturdy child of liberty."

Editor S. Yanovsky of the Free Workmen's Voice reviewed Most's life and the principles of Anarchy. He spoke in Yiddish. Pietro de Estavi spoke in Italian. For all of the speeches there was abundant cheering.

The collection baskets had to be passed several times to cover the expenses of the meeting. The Chairman announced that $347.93 and three gold rings were collected on the first tour. After paying $150 expenses it was hoped to get a sum of money to add to a fund for the education of Most's children.

The audience sang "Die Arbeitsmänner," written by Most, demanding it over and over again. The playing of the "Marseillaise" stirred the crowd, while the funeral-march by Chopin made many woman weep.

Inspector Walsh had not trouble handling the Anarchists.

Prof. Beckwith to Rest.

The Trustees of the General Seminary, Chelsea Square, the official theological [illegible] accepted the resignation of the Rev. Ibson Thaddeus Beckwith, Professor of the Literature and Interpretation of the New Testament. An official of the seminary said yesterday that Prof. Beckwith's health is not of the best. He is to take a long rest, it is said, and will devote some time to literary work.

But no matter how good that may look at first, what counts most is the way it looks when it's old at last.

And though we're proud of the new looks of our Derbies it's their old looks that keep the business growing.

True of our $3 Derby as well as of the $4 hat and the Knapp Felt De Luxe at $6.

ROGERS, PEET & COMPANY

Three Broadway Stores.

258 at Warren st. | 842 at 13th st. | 1260 at 32nd st

BEDROOM FURNITURE

Among the many attractive values offered this week from our carefully selected stock we mention a few striking ones in Chamber Furnishing only:

ODD DRESSERS AND CHIFFONIERS — In Mahogany, Bird's Eye Maple, & Golden Oak, at $27.50

OUR REGULAR $37.50 & $40.00 PATTERNS

BRASS BEDS

1¼ IN. & 2 IN. POSTS, EXTRA HEAVY FILLINGS AND MOUNTS REGULAR VALUE $30.00 TO $47.50 AT ..... $20.00 to $30.00

White Enamel Beds

BRASS TRIMMED, BEST ENGLISH LACQUER

REGULAR $6.50 BEDSTEADS AT $5.00
REGULAR $10.00 " AT $7.50
REGULAR $15.00 " AT $11.00

40 LB. SOFT A.M. HAIR MATTRESSES, WORTH $21.00 AT $16.00

BEDDING, SPRINGS, &c., AT PROPORTIONATELY REDUCED PRICES.

Sheppard Knapp & Co

SIXTH AVE., 18th and 19th STS.

HER SAVINGS GONE IN A FIR

Hard Plight of a Polish Girl Who Ha Deprived Herself for Her Parents.

Bertha Lipschy, a young Polish woman, spent most of yesterday searching the ruins of the fire which on Saturday destroyed several tenements in Avenue D, Bayonne. The girl had lived in one of the houses. By hard work and by depriving herself of all but the necessities of life she had managed to save $8[illegible] which she kept in a trunk in her room. She had planned to return to Poland when her fortune reached $1,000, and provide a home for her aged parents.

When the police and firemen hustled the tenants out of the blazing building the girl was compelled to flee. She thought of her money when she reached the street, and only force prevented her from rushing back into the building.

No trace of the trunk has been found.

Jail for Hitting Police Captain.

A sentence of six months in the Kings County Penitentiary was imposed by Magistrate Furlong, in the Lee Avenue Court, Williamsburg, yesterday, on the prizefighter, John J. Head, who attacked Police Captain Finkerton of the Bedford Avenue Station in the latter's home, 25 Fillmore Place, on Saturday morning because the Captain refused to give him money. None of the wealthy friends whom Head said he once worked side by side with were present in court to help him.

CASTORIA

For Infants and Children.

The Kind You Have Always Bought

Bears the Signature of Chas. H. Fletcher

245

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890419005

The Emma Goldman Papers

Alexander Berkman / E[mma] G[oldman].– pp. 22-24 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 3 (May, 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

had given it flesh and blood and the appeal to union; one felt that the strength they so generously poured into this living word was indestructible, inexhaustible.

Here and there blind troops of armed men, dressed in gray, gathered and formed ranks in silence; it was the fury of the oppressors preparing to repulse the wave of justice.

And in the narrow streets of the immense city, between the cold and silent walls raised by the hands of ignored creators, the noble belief in Man and in Fraternity grew and ripened.

"Comrade."—Sometimes in one corner, sometimes in another, the fire burst out. Soon this fire would become the conflagration destined to enkindle the earth with the ardent sentiment of kinship, uniting all its peoples; destined to consume and reduce to ashes the rage, hate and cruelty by which we are mutilated; the conflagration which will embrace all hearts, melt them into one,—the heart of the world, the heart of beings noble and just;—into one united family of workers.

In the streets of the dead city, created by slaves, in the streets of the city where cruelty reigned, faith in humanity and in victory over self and over the evil of the world grew and ripened. And in the vague chaos of a dull and troubled existence, a simple word, profound as the heart, shone like a star, like a light guiding toward the future: COMRADE.

* * *

ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

By E. G.

ON the 18th of this month the workhouse at Hoboken, Pa., will open its iron gates for Alexander Berkman. One buried alive for fourteen years will emerge from his tomb. That was not the intention of those who indicted Berkman. In the kindness of their Christian hearts they saw to it that he be sentenced to twenty-one years in the penitentiary and one year in the workhouse, hoping that that would equal a death penalty, only with a slow, refined execution. To achieve the feat of sending a man to a gradual death, the authorities of Pittsburg at the command of Mammon trampled upon their much-beloved laws and the legality of court proceedings. These laws in Pennsylvania called for seven

years imprisonment for the attempt to kill, but that did not satisfy the law-abiding citizen H. C. Frick. He saw to it that one indictment was multiplied into six. He knew full well that he would meet with no opposition from petrified injustice and the servile stupidity of the judge and jury before whom Alexander Berkman was tried.

In looking over the events of 1892 and the causes that led up to the act of Alexander Berkman, one beholds Mammon seated upon a throne built of human bodies, without a trace of sympathy on its Gorgon brow for the creatures it controls. These victims, bent and worn, with the reflex of the glow of the steel and iron furnaces in their haggard faces, carry their sacrificial offerings to the ever-insatiable monster, capitalism. In its greed, however, it reaches out for more; it neither sees the gleam of hate in the sunken eyes of its slaves, nor can it hear the murmurs of discontent and rebellion coming forth from their heaving breasts. Yet, discontent continues until one day it raises its mighty voice and demands to be heard:

Human conditions! higher pay! fewer hours in the inferno at Homestead, the stronghold of the "philanthropist" Carnegie!

He was far away, however, enjoying a much needed rest from hard labor, in Scotland, his native country. Besides he knew he had left a worthy representative in H. C. Frick, who could take care that the voice of discontent was strangled in a fitting manner,—and Mr. Carnegie had judged rightly.

Frick, who was quite experienced in the art of disposing of rebellious spirits (he had had a number of them shot in the coke regions in 1890), immediately issued an order for Pinkerton men, the vilest creatures in the human family, who are engaged in the trade of murder for $2 per day.

The strikers declared that they would not permit these men to land, but money and power walk shrewd and cunning paths. The Pinkerton blood-hounds were packed into a boat and were to be smuggled into Homestead by way of water in the stillness of night. The amalgamated steel workers learned of this contemptible trick and prepared to meet the foe. They gathered by the shores of the Monongahela River armed with sticks

246

890419005

The Emma Goldman Papers

Alexander Berkman / E[mma] G[oldman].– pp. 22-24 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 3 (May, 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

and stones, but ere they had time for an attack a violent fire was opened from the boat that neared the shore, and within an hour eleven strikers lay dead from the bullets of Frick's hirelings.

Every beast is satisfied when it has devoured its prey,—not so the human beast. After the killing of the strikers H. C. Frick had the families of the dead evicted from their homes, which had been sold to the workingmen on the instalment plan and at the exorbitant prices usual in such cases.

Out of these homes the wives and children of the men struggling for a living wage were thrown into the street and left without shelter. There was one exception only. A woman who had given birth to a baby two days previous and who, regardless of her delicate condition, defended her home and succeeded in driving the sheriff from the house with a poker.

Everyone stood aghast at such brutality, at such inhumanity to man, in this great free republic of ours. It seemed as if the cup of human endurance had been filled to the brim, as if out of the ranks of the outraged masses some one would rise to call those to account who had caused it all.

And some one rose in mighty indignation against the horrors of wealth and power. It was Alexander Berkman!

A youth with a vision of a grand and beautiful world based upon freedom and harmony, and with boundless sympathy for the suffering of the masses. One whose deep, sensitive nature could not endure the barbarisms of our times. Such was the personality of the man who staked his life as a protest against tyranny and iniquity; and such has Alexander Berkman remained all these long, dreary fourteen years.

Nothing was left undone to crush the body and spirit of this man; but sorrow and suffering make for sacred force, and those who have never felt it will fail to realize how it is that Alexander Berkman will return to those who loved and esteemed him, to those whom he loved so well, and still loves so well,—the oppressed and downtrodden millions—with the same intense, sweet spirit and with a clearer and grander vision of a world of human justice and equality.

UT SEMENTEM FECERIS, ITA METES.

By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

(To the Czar, on a woman, a political prisoner, being flogged to death in Siberia.)

How many draps must gather to the skies
Befare the claud-burst cames, we may nat know;
Haw hat the fires in under hells must glaw
Ere the volcana's scalding lavas rise,
Can none say; but all wot the hour is sure!
Who dreams af vengeance has but to endure!
He may not say how many blaws must fall,
Haw many lives be broken on the wheel,
Haw many carpses stiffen 'neath the pall,
How many martyrs fix the blood-red seal;
But certain is the harvest time af Hate!
And when weak moans, by an indignant warld
Re-echaed, ta a thrane are backward hurled,
Wha listens hears the mutterings of Fate!

* * *

THE WHITE TERROR.

I.—The Flogging af a Student.

(BY AN EYE-WITNESS—M. KIRILOV, OF THE "RUSS.")

December 18th. Near the Gorbaty Bridge, Moscow. A group of soldiers of various arms and an officer. Great animation, jokes, cries, gesticulation, contented faces. A student has fallen into their hands.

"Well, boys, make room," says the officer. "The performance begins!"

"Take off your trousers," says the officer, turning to the student. The latter is pale, silent, and does not move.

"Trousers off!" cries the officer, in rage; but the student, without a drop of blood in his face, whiter than the snow, does not move, but only looks around in silence with horrified eyes and meets everywhere the triumphant faces of his tormentors. He drops his head and remains silent as before.

"Well, then, boys, we must assist our dear student; his hands, poor thing, are frost bitten and do not obey."

The voice of the officer changes; it becomes sweet and smooth. He looks at the student with pleasure.

247

890222011

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] An Anarchist Honeymoon / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(May 26, 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

HURRIES HOME EUROPEAN TRIP

at Pennsylvania quiry the Reason.

CUSATIONS MADE

Investigating Committee Said to Hold Coal ock Himself.

The New York Times.

HIA, May 25.—William A- nt to President Cassatt of a Railroad, announced this Mr. Cassatt had sailed for orning from Cherbourg. Cassatt has been abroad and returns because of the rthed by the Inter-State mission in its investigation nf the Pennsylvania Rail- in coal companies.

retirement is being shown of the Pennsylvania Rail- ating committee as to its mmittee intends, it is an- into the scandals relating nce of gifts by its employes panies. A secret meeting afternoon and the following ed:

ttee will perform its duty of and report as speedily as ently with the making of a mination, of the administra- mpany and with the accom- just and wise result."

session to-day of the Inter- ce Commission, which ad- t at a time and place to be Joseph D. Crawford, agent lines of the Pennsylvania ified that he held stock in Development Company, and nsylvania Railroad men in- company were Effingham Samuel Rea, Fourth Vice . Morris is one of the Di- road appointed on the spe- to investigate the connec- any officials with various s.

e, Assistant Coal Freight Pennsylvania Railroad, was oncerning coal tariffs from s regions to Harsimus Pier, y. Counsel for the commis- clause in the tariff schedule that the railroad has no he pier, and asked Mr. Large t that the pier had been Berwind White Coal Com-

said he understood the land ased to the Berwind-White that the pier had been built ompany. He admitted that ed only by the Berwind- any and that any other com- to discharge coal at Harsi- be compelled to obtain the e Berwind-White Company. nowledge of any other com- ving used the pier.

s then questioned concerning made by the Pennsylvania coal companies which oper- or branch lines from their main line of the railroad.

allowance of 10 cents a ton o the Millwood Coal Com- s service, the Latrobe Con- al and Coke Company re- lowance of 12 cents, and the an allowance of 15 cents a lar service.

w asked the witness if the Coal and Coke Company op- Greenville pier, in New York is company is a hard coal ed by the Pennsylvania Rail- Large said the pier was he railroad to the coal com- was used for loading supply s. The Susquehanna Com- ld, contracted for soft coal both anthracite and bitu- ous pier. An allowance was company for discharging the her coal companies made use

ons of coal were made up in Lewis Hollywood territory for d White Company they went Coal Company of Altoona. Mr they Mr. Glasgow

and weighed them?"

y."

DECIDES TO EXPEL BURTON.

Senate Committee Informal Agreement—No Action on Smoot.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 25.—In secret session the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections to-day informally decided that Senator Burton of Kansas should be expelled from the Senate before this Congress had expired.

No definite action looking to this end was taken, but the matter was referred to the Chairman, Mr. Burrows, with instructions to submit a plan of action to the full committee. There were eight members of the committee present, and there was no dissent from the proposition that the Senate owed it to itself to act before Congress convened for the short session.

The meeting of the committee was called for the purpose of taking action on the Smoot case, but the two important propositions pending before the committee, both involving the expulsion of Senators, became hopelessly tangled and resulted in no action.

Senator Knox, who as Attorney General at the time of the first Burton trial, was thoroughly familiar with the case, was just as insistent upon quick action in the Burton matter as were Senators Dubois and Burrows in the Smoot case. Senator Knox holds views which are identical with those entertained by Senator Bailey in regard to Burton. The Texas Senator was absent from the meeting, but it was known that upon his return to the city he would cooperate with Senator Knox and Senator Hale, and that the influences which can be brought to bear will be too strong to be resisted.

Senator Dubois to-day was indignant because nothing was done in the Smoot matter, and told the committee that the country would not accept action in the Burton case as satisfying the public demand in regard to the moral question involved in the two cases. He agreed that Senator Burton should be expelled, but insisted that there was a greater public demand for the exclusion of Smoot.

$32,000,000 IN CONTRACTS.

Fuller Company Will Build the New Pennsylvania and McAdoo Terminals.

The contract for the construction of the Pennsylvania terminal has been awarded to the George A. Fuller Company. No announcement of the amount of the Fuller Company's successful bid was made yesterday, but it is said that the project will involve about $25,000,000.

The terminal building will cover the two blocks bounded by Seventh and Eighth Avenues, Thirty-first and Thirty-third Streets. All the plans for the work have been prepared and the erection of the building will be begun as soon as the excavation has been completed.

It was also announced yesterday that the Fuller Company had secured the contract for putting up the immense office and terminal buildings for the downtown McAdoo tunnels from Jersey City. These two buildings will cover the two block fronts on the west side of Church Street, from Cortlandt to Fulton Street. Their estimated cost is about $7,000,000. Both blocks have already been cleared of old buildings.

The George A. Fuller Company is owned by the United States Realty and Improvement Company, of which it is virtually the construction department.

LEOPARDS FIGHT AT LUNA.

Third Training Session Results in Damage to Both.

There was a ten-minute fight yesterday in the Monday animal arena at Luna Park between two leopards while they were being introduced to their trainer for the third time. They were captured only a few months ago.

Mme. Morelli was instructing the leopards in jumping. They were in bad temper and rebelled. An attendant holding the chain attached to one of them gave it too much slack, and it sprang at its companion. The historic fight between the Kilkenny cats was but a mockery to that which followed. Over and over the leopards rolled, snarling, biting, and clawing each other.

Mme. Morelli whipped the whip and fired her revolver loaded with blank cartridges into the mass of animated fur. Quite ten minutes elapsed before the animals were separated. Hoarse and disgusted they were returned to their cages to meditate in solitude and recuperate without the aid of salve or bandages.

ALI NOT THOUGHLY KILLED.

NEW YORK AUTO DEALER FIRES ON 3 DEPUTIES

R. J. Leavitt, in York Harbor, Me., Defeats Efforts to Arrest Him.

INTRENCHED ON A LAUNCH

He Is Charged with Jumping His Bail Here—Martin Engel One of His Bondsmen.

YORK HARBOR, Me., May 25.—Ralph J. Leavitt, formerly of New York, and President of the Leavitt Motor Car Exchange, of that city, for whom Deputy Sheriffs of New York County have a warrant charging him with being a fugitive from justice, has succeeded in eluding the officers since Wednesday. To-night Leavitt was aboard his launch in the harbor here.

According to Sheriff A. Thorne of York County, Me., who went out to consult Leavitt, the fugitive announced that he would shoot at sight any man who attempted to arrest him.

The New York deputies arrived here Wednesday with warrants charging Leavitt with jumping bail which had been furnished by a bonding company and by a friend, Martin Engel, of New York. Leavitt was arrested in that city, it is said, charged with several fraudulent transactions in connection with the purchase of automobiles. Herbert Beardsley, an officer of the bonding company, and a Deputy Sheriff of New York County, visited Leavitt's country home here and were entertained at dinner. At the close of the dinner, Leavitt excused himself and disappeared.

Leavitt went to the waterfront, boarded his swift launch. The two men temporarily abandoned the attempt to arrest the fugitive and returned to New York. They came here again to-day, however, accompanied by two additional deputies. Leavitt learned of their arrival, and he once more fled to his launch to escape the deputies. The latter, determined to capture the man if possible, put out in a rowboat and gave chase.

According to the deputies their progress was stopped by Leavitt, who drew a revolver and fired a shot which struck the side of the rowboat. Leavitt has a reputation of being a crack shot with a revolver, and his pursuers decided to return to shore.

In the meantime Leavitt sent a message to Sheriff Athorne of York County, calling upon him to protect him from men who, he asserted, were bent upon kidnapping him. The Sheriff went to consult Leavitt, who had anchored his craft to a buoy, and he returned early to-night and reported that Leavitt had threatened to shoot the first man who attempted to apprehend him.

Leavitt's boat is well stocked, and he intends to remain on board indefinitely, or put out to sea if the New York deputies decide to pursue him again.

AN ANARCHIST HONEYMOON.

Emma Goldman and Berkman Hold Hands on a Park Bench.

Special to The New York Times.

CHICAGO, May 25.—While the Chicago police were searching high and low for that terrible pair of "Reds," Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, the two Anarchists were on a bench in Lincoln Park to-day, holding hands and talking.

A reporter found them there, and they made no attempt to evade him.

"What shall I call you—Miss Goldman, Mrs. Goldman, or Mrs. Berkman?" the reporter asked.

"I am Emma Goldman, and I will live and die with that name," said the woman.

"But are you two married?"

"We are Anarchists and don't believe in marriage, because marriage insults the tyranny of government, and government means force," they replied almost in unison.

"But you are living together."

"Yes," said Emma Goldman, "and the love that still leaves free scope for individuality. That means companionship. But whenever one Anarchist ceases to love another more than any one else in the world, then he is free to go his way."

Berkman smiled fondly upon her.

80 TRUST INDICTMENTS.

Federal Grand Jury at Nashville Gets After Fertilizer Combination.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., May 25.—The Federal Grand Jury, which has been investigating the alleged fertilizer trust for a

BERNHARDT TRAIN ACCIDENT.

Actress Was in Her Bath—Refused to Keep Hoodooed Engine.

MANKATO, Kas., May 25.—One of the trucks of the special train carrying Sarah Bernhardt and her company broke two miles from here this afternoon and the engine was derailed.

Mme. Bernhardt was in her bath when the accident occurred. She hastily dressed and ran back and forth between her car and the locomotive in a great state of excitement. She demanded a new locomotive even after the derailed engine was replaced on the tracks. She declared that the locomotive was "hoodooed" and refused to permit her train to go ahead. The railroad was blocked several hours.

SMALLPOX ON A LINER.

Italians on the Republic Are Held for Observation.

The White Star liner Republic, which arrived from Genoa and Naples yesterday, was detained in Quarantine several hours, owing to the presence in the steerage of a passenger who had smallpox. The passengers in the compartment with the smallpox patient were sent to Hoffman Island.

OLD MORTGAGE TAX UPHELD.

Court of Appeals Passes on Statute Recently Repealed.

ALBANY, May 25.—The Court of Appeals to-day decided that the Mortgage Tax law enacted by the Legislature of 1905 is constitutional.

This law will be superseded on July 1 by the Page Recording Tax law, but the decision to-day declares valid all taxes imposed last year.

DYNAMITE BEHIND TARGET.

400 Pounds Exploded by Rifle Bullet—One Dead, Several Hurt.

SHREVEPORT, La., May 25.—A special from De Ridder, La., says that H. H. Johnson was killed, A. Keating fatally injured, and several others slightly injured by a dynamite explosion at a railroad camp twelve miles from here to-day.

The men were out at target practice with rifles, when one of the bullets struck a 40-pound pile of dynamite, causing a terrific explosion. The camp was destroyed by the fire which followed.

SHIPS AVOID ICEBERGS.

So Many Are Reported That the Big Liners Change Their Course.

Because of the many reports of icebergs on the Atlantic, the prominent Transatlantic steamship companies have agreed to send their ships over a course that is considered free from icebergs.

The officials of the White Star Line, those of the American Red Star, Dominion, and Leyland Lines have notified their commanders to cross the ocean at longitude 47, in latitude 40.10, beginning to-day.

D. J. SULLY SELLS HIS HOUSE.

$275,000 Said to be the Price—Purchaser's Name Withheld.

Daniel J. Sully, the cotton operator, has sold his residence at 9 East Sixty-second Street. The house, which is six stories in height, of the Anne [illegible] basement type, was offered at auction about two weeks ago, with an upset price of $275,000, but there was no bid. It is understood that the price in the present sale by private contract is in the neighborhood of that figure. The name of the buyer could not be learned yesterday.

Mr. Sully bought the house in December, 1903, and gave it to his wife as a Christmas present. Title to it has since stood in her name. The contents of the house were sold at auction last week.

PIERS OF HIS BUILDING GONE.

Contractor Wouldn't Settle a Strike—Then Supports Vanished.

Ed Land J. Allen, a Jersey City contractor, notified the police that four iron piers had been taken from the corners of the first story of a building he was erecting at Sixth Avenue and [illegible] Street.

Mr. Allen said there had been a strike and the men he was working on the building had been called off.

On Thursday afternoon he was accosted, he said, by a man who did not give his name but who professed to be a walking delegate of the Structural Ironwork[illegible]. He asked Mr. Allen if all of the men could not be made to settle the matter, called off intact return to work without the knowledge of the union. Mr. Allen said he declined to be a party to any such arrangement. The piers were removed [illegible]

GAG RULE EN[illegible] REPUBLIC[illegible]

Twenty-five Vo[illegible] Democrats on F[illegible]

SECRET DEA[illegible]

Hepburn and Aldr[illegible] Out Express Co[illegible] Line Am[illegible]

Special to The [illegible]

WASHINGTON, M[illegible] tional socialism in the H[illegible] hour gag rule was [illegible] 144 to 105, and the R[illegible] mercy of the Hepb[illegible] minute. The confetti [illegible] House are to be H[illegible] Republicans, and R[illegible]

The sensations w[illegible] the Democrats, wh[illegible] actics playing a m[illegible] furnished by Rettu[illegible] strong rate legislati[illegible] feared that a secre[illegible] between Hepburn a[illegible] leaked out of the H[illegible] biggest sensation [illegible] Cooper, a plucky li[illegible] suit charged Hepbu[illegible] with some personal [illegible] the express company [illegible] fortune, and when [illegible] or information a [illegible] belief that Cooper [illegible] himself. The perso[illegible] is Aldrich, and it [illegible] press company a[illegible] which the two ag[illegible] ones.

Twenty-five Re[illegible] against the rule ab[illegible] Democrats. This does [illegible] represent the entire [illegible] who were opposed [illegible] the rule who are [illegible] the conference co[illegible] not have courage [illegible] Cannon and the [illegible]

The Hintons is not [illegible] present intentions [illegible] suspicious about [illegible] intentions are to [illegible] suspected, and wi[illegible] floor of the Hou[illegible] will let the confe[illegible] adjournment has [illegible] then suddenly to[illegible] bill at the last [illegible] is a scramble th[illegible] and go home. W[illegible] cial rule like tha[illegible] the House from [illegible] quents.

The appointment [illegible] forces was decide[illegible] and still further [illegible] Sherman has pa[illegible] bill. He has bee[illegible] He attended ver[illegible] committee when [illegible] took absolutely n[illegible]

Sherman is the [illegible] can Congressiona[illegible] which will manag[illegible] It is an open se[illegible] hard to get from [illegible] most of the mana[illegible] failed, and the fi[illegible] the Chairmanship of [illegible] mittee was cut o[illegible] tee as a gentle [illegible] express companie[illegible] the hands of the[illegible]

The Hou[illegible]

The Hou[illegible] and gave [illegible] opportunity. He [illegible] elected himself [illegible] peep companies [illegible] bill, and as to [illegible] colloquial to [illegible] Hill is apart [illegible] two and a half [illegible] days' debate, as [illegible] conference Hepb[illegible]

[illegible] but the [illegible] Frick of the [illegible] necessary deal[illegible] ties of Burton [illegible]

The two [illegible] the House from [illegible] and the Sen[illegible] on the whole [illegible] to the Cortel[illegible] [illegible] and it [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] mittee was [illegible] tee as a gentle [illegible] express companie[illegible] the hands of the[illegible]

248

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890419006

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Letter / Emma Goldman.— pp. 13-14 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 4 (June, 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Blows were struck in a lusty fashion and cries of "Police!" "They're murdering them!" "Help!" rang out.

Finally the two disturbers made as if to get out, and the arrival of a watchman in uniform quieted them and their pursuers. It was, however, with ill grace that the disturbers of the meeting were allowed to leave, and as they passed through a door, cursing the law, the country, and God, a girl, still in her teens, broke through the crowd and turning to Havel, said:

"That's all right, father."

Ben Bansig saved Chicago,—there can be no dispute about that. As to Sercombe, the editor of *To-Morrow*, he deserves recognition. I suggest that he be awarded a tooth brush at the expense of City Hall.

Our three friends, Terence Carlin, Havel, Mary Latter —who, as I can authentically prove, is not the daughter of Hyppolite Havel—can console themselves with the fact that their protest has done the names of Whitman and Spencer more honor than the gas of the Baptist preacher.

* *

That the suspiciously-red noses of the newspaper men should have smelt the "immoral conduct" of Maxim Gorky, was really very fortunate for the latter. He is now relieved from the impertinence of interviewers and prominent personages. He must feel as if he had recovered from some loathesome disease. Immorality has after all many desirable qualities. What if chickens gaggle, pharisaic goats piously turn up their eyes, and the dear little piggies grunt!

* *

Well-meaning people are horrified that justice is making use of such creatures as Orchard and McParland against Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. There is nothing unusual in that. The record of the American government in its persecution against Socialists and Anarchists is by no means so clean that one need be astonished that it employs spies and perjurers as its helpmates.

* *

The Lord has developed from a good Christian into a good banker: He destroyed more churches than vaults in San Francisco.

A LETTER.

Chicago, June 2nd, 1906.

Dear Editor:—I hope you have not been trying to relieve your feelings by using language dangerous to your soul's salvation. I can sympathize with you, though. However, it was impossible for me to send the promised article for "M. E." Who, indeed, could expect a bride of two weeks to waste time upon magazine articles?! I hope you have read the reports of my marriage, though your silence would indicate that you have either neglected to read the important news, or that your usual lack of faith in the truth and honesty of the press has not permitted you to credit the story.

It is high time, dear friend, that you get rid of your German skepticism; you know, I esteem your judgment, but when it comes to doubting anything the newspapers say, I draw the line. What reporters do not know about Anarchists, and especially about your publisher, is not worth knowing. According to their great wisdom I not only incited men to remove the crowned heads of various countries, but I have done worse—I have incited them to marry me, and when they proved unwilling to love, honor and obey the order of our secret societies to blow up all sacred institutions, I sent them about their business.

Much as I realize the importance of my articles for MOTHER EARTH, you cannot expect me to sacrifice my wifely duty to my lord and master for Earth's sake.

I have always held to the opinion that there must be absolute confidence between publisher and editor on all matters except the receipts; therefore I have to confess that my newly-wedded husband, who has just graduated from the University of the Western Penitentiary—the curriculum of which is lots of liberty, leisure and enjoyment—objects to the drudgery of an agitator and publisher. In justice to him, I dare not do more than write letters all day, address meetings every evening, and enjoy the love and kindness of the comrades till early morning hours. Where, then, shall I find time to write articles for MOTHER EARTH?"

But to be in keeping with the serious and dignified tone of our valuable magazine, and especially with you

249

890419006

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Letter / Emma Goldman.– pp. 13-14 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 4 (June, 1906).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

dear Editor, I want to say that my meetings were very successful, and that MOTHER EARTH is being received with great favor in every city. Nearly 500 copies were sold here.

After reading the brilliant reports in the Chicago papers and seeing the handsome, refined policemen at the various meetings, I am not surprised that our magazine is being appreciated. Apropos of the Chicago police, just fancy, I have actually forced them out of their uniforms. I hope this will not conjure up the horrible picture of Chicago's finest parading the city in Adam's costume. Not that! Only, Chief of Police Collins was so outraged over my gentle criticism of his dear little boys at one of the woodworkers' meetings, that he gave strict orders, "No officer should again appear at a public meeting in uniform where that awful Emma Goldman is humiliating and degrading the emblem of authority and law."

After this, I hope you will never again doubt the importance of public meetings and the great and far-reaching influence of my speaking.

I shall soon be with you, if I survive my tour, the police, and the press. I shall then try to make up for my sins, in the July number of MOTHER EARTH, provided you will let me recuperate in your editorial care and affection.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

LIBERTARIAN INSTRUCTION.

By EMILE JANVION.

AMONG the important duties of Anarchists libertarian instruction should occupy the first place. As revolutionary propaganda it is the most effective.

Tolstoi in Yasnaia-Poliana, Reclus at Bruxelles, Paul Robin at Cempius, the group of the Free School at Paris have inaugurated attempts during the period of daring we have witnessed of late years.

Far from mixing education with instruction, the former should be considered as the natural consequence of the latter.

Our ideas should never be imposed by an education too specialized, narrow or sectarian, but by means of full and all-round instruction which opens the mind to criticism

and makes it accessible to the power of truth which is our strength and which will complete the forming of the character.

Our instruction should be *integral, rational,* and *mixed.*

Integral—Because it will tend to develop the whole being and make a complete, free *ensemble,* equally progressive in all knowledge, intellectual, physical, manual and professional, and this from the earliest age.

Rational—Because it will be based on reason and in conformity with actual science and not on faith; on the development of personal Freedom and independence and not on that of piety and obedience; on the abolition of the fiction *God,* the eternal and absolute cause of subjection.

Mixed—Because it favors the coeducation of the sexes in a constant, fraternal, familiar company of children, boys and girls, which gives to the character of their manners a special earnestness.

To the scientific instruction must be added manual apprenticeship, instruction with which it is in a constant connection of balance and reciprocity, and also esthetic instruction (music, art, etc.), which in point of view of an integral development has certainly not a small importance.

To turn our attention towards the child, to encourage the development of its initiative, to impress it with a sentiment of its dignity, to preserve it from cowardice and falsehood, to make it observe the *pros* and *cons* of all social conceptions, to educate it for the struggle, that is the great work, scarcely yet begun, which awaits us.

That will be the task of the nearest future if we will act logically and firmly.

* * *

THE ANTICHRIST.

From "The Antichrist," by Friedrich Nietzsche. Edited by Alexander Tille, translated by Thomas Common. Publishers: Macmillan & Co. New York.

I MAKE war against this theological instinct: I have found traces of it everywhere. Whoever has theological blood in his veins is from the very beginning ambiguous and disloyal with respect to everything. The pathos which develops therefrom calls itself belief: the

250

871014001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In German] Die Tragödie der Frauenemanzipation / Emma Goldman. – pp. 5-15 ; 17 cm. *In* Die Freie Generation: Dokumente der Weltanschauung des Anarchismus. – London : Varlagagruppe. Die Freie Generation, 1906.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

Band I July 1906
Heft

Juli 1906

Die Freie Generation

Dokumente

der Weltanschauung des Anarchismus

„Wenn man auf dem Wege philosophischer Untersuchung von der Autorität, ihrem Prinzipe, ihren Formen und Wirkungen auch Rechenschaft abgelegt will, so kommt man in der Eigenschaft der gesetzlichen oder göttlichen Autorität, in jeder Form und nach jedem Prinzip eine, anderes als diese verdammenden Organismus, dessen Wesen nach Gewissen schwerfällig und verderblich, [illegible] Tyrannei und Elend."

P. J. Proudhon.

„Bekenntnisse eines Revolutionärs."

Inhalt

Aufruf. Von Karl Barth. — „Die Freie Generation". — Die Tragödie der Frauenemanzipation. Von Emma Goldman. — Memoiren eines Internationalisten. Von [illegible]. — Materialien zur Biographie von [illegible]. — [illegible]. Einleitung von Z. L. — An der Leine. (Gedicht.) Von A. E. Königswinter. — Literarische Fortschritte. Von [illegible]. — Kampf und [illegible]. — Literarische Bibliographie.

Verlagsgruppe „Die Freie Generation"

London

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

871014001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In German] Die Tragödie der Frauenemanzipation / Emma Goldman. – pp. 5-15 ; 17 cm. *In* Die Freie Generation: Dokumente der Weltanschauung des Anarchismus. – London : Varlagagruppe. Die Freie Generation, 1906.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

...tigkeit das Schmettern der Siegesfanfaren der wahren Humanität, dass dieses keine kleinliche, triviale Palliative dulde. Darum sind wir überdrüssig all jener politischen Gurkenkurrezepte, welche uns Reformen und Verbesserungen innerhalb der bestehenden Gesellschaftsordnung versprechen, mit den Worten des Franzosen Lagrange – „Stimme der Hungersnot" – sagen wir zu all den zahlreichen Lakaienseelen der öffentlichen Staatsgewalt: „Redner der Linken, der Rechten und des Centrums, ihr seid Schwätzer! Jene die euch mit anhören, haben zu Mittag gegessen und können sich schlafen legen. Aber die Lebensmittel sind teuer, das Brot ist zu Preise und wir gewahren auch die Kraft unserer Lungen und der Tränen unserer Kinder, die verschiedenen Stimme sei, die Hungersnot spricht gewaltiger mögen als ihr Alle!..." Auch wir sprechen von der Möglichkeit von Reformen, jedoch unsere Reformen sind prinzipiell andere, sie sind das konsequente, positive Hinan-schreiten des neuen Rahmen der bestehenden Ordnung; jeder Vorwärtsstoss unserer Reform ist eine Bresche an den künstlich gestutzten Pfeilern der herrschenden sozialen Schmach.

Uns liegt nicht daran, an dieser Stelle ein Programm zu entwerfen. Unser Programm ist das Leben mit seinen tausendfachen Problemen, die nicht in oder gekünstelten Wortformel erhaben dastehen. Das Leben selbst, das wir mit Liebe und Hoffnung umfassen wollen, das will uns mit sich fortreissen, hinein in den Kampf gegen seine Widersacher, die auch die unsrigen sind. Und jeder Wort- und Gedankenstrich, jedes ernste Wort des Rechtens und Argumentierens, jede Frage stellung und Antwort, die diese Blätter bringen werden, müssen und werden der Schrei des Lebens selbst sein, eines gequälten, bedrückten Lebens, das da kämpft um die Lösung seiner Rätsel, um endlich in Wahrheit sich schmücken zu können mit der Schönheit seiner eigenen Fruchtbarkeit.

Einen Programmgrundsatz haben wir doch wohl: **Wir wollen die unbedingte Befriedigung aller menschlichen Bedürfnisse auf dem Wege des kommunistischen Besitzes; wir lachen jeder Autorität und verkünden das Recht des neugeborenen Kindes, eines jeden erwachsenen Menschen, den drückenden Geboten von Staat, Kirche und konventioneller Moral entsagen zu können.** Solange dieser Zustand nicht erreicht ist, werden wir immer in voller Rüstung bereitstehen zum Kampfe aufgerufen, erscheinen. Wir gehören all denen an, die gehören uns an, die für die Freiheit sinnen, trachten, kämpfen und sterben. Diese internationale freie Generation bildet die Grenzpfähle unseres Vaterlandes, des einzigen, das wir lieben und anerkennen. Erst in ihm wird die Freiheit aus dem Bereich staubiger Philosophasterfolianten in den Innenkreis jener grossen, herrlich schönen Kampfesphalanx der Völker aller Länder gehoben, die ihre feste, positive Grundlage, ihr Ziel in der anarchistischen Bewegung aller Richtungen erblickt.

Möge es der „Freien Generation" vergönnt sein, eine Waffe der Erkenntnis und Tat in ihr zu bilden, möge sie wachsen und gedeihen, unermüdlich bestrebt, im Stande sein, die Fauststeine zu jenem stolzen Gerüst mit herbei zu tragen, dessen Grundstein Freiheit, dessen First Menschenglück heisst!

Die Tragödie der Frauenemanzipation

von

Emma Goldmann.

Ich beginne meinen Artikel mit einem Gemeinplatz: Die Verschiedenheit aller politischen und ökonomischen Theorien, welche die Ungerechtigkeit zwischen den verschiedenen Gruppen und Klassen der Menschheit behandeln, ungeachtet aller Klassen- und Rassenunterschiede, ungeachtet aller künstlich gezogenen Demarkationslinien zwischen den respektiven Rechten des Mannes und der Frau, ist ich der Meinung, dass es eine Etappe gibt, wo selbst all diese Verschiedenheiten sich begegnen und zu einem farblosen Grau verschmelzen.

Keinen Friedensvertrag will ich hier vorschlagen. Der allgemeine soziale Antagonismus, welcher unser ganzes öffentliches Leben gegenwärtig erfüllt und welcher eine Folge der kraftvollen, von einander feindlichen und widersprechsvollen Elemente ist, wird ohne Zweifel in Stücke zerfallen, wenn die Reorganisation unseres sozialen Lebens, basiert auf den Prinzipien ökonomischer Gerechtigkeit, eine Wirklichkeit geworden ist.

Friede und Harmonie zwischen den Geschlechtern und Individuen hangen nicht notwendiger Weise von einer oberflächlichen Gleichmacherei aller menschlichen Geschöpfe ab, auch erfordern sie keineswegs die Ausscheidung von individuellen Charaktereigen oder Eigenheiten. Das Problem, welches uns heut zu Tage konfrontiert, und das die nahe Zukunft lösen muss, ist ja gerade, wie und auf welche Art der Mensch sich selbst, sein eigen Ich sein soll und kann, gleichzeitig

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

871014001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In German] Die Tragödie der Frauenemanzipation / Emma Goldman. – pp. 5-15 ; 17 cm. *In* Die Freie Generation: Dokumente der Weltanschauung des Anarchismus. – London : Varlagagruppe. Die Freie Generation, 1906,

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

Zukunft lösen muss, ist ja gerade wie und auf welche Art der Mensch sich selbst, sein eigen Ich sein soll und kann, gleichzeitig

nur auch sich eins fühlen kann mit seinen Mitmenschen, wie so er tief und innerlich empfinden mit allen menschlichen Wesen, zur selben Zeit seine eigenen, ihm innewohnenden Eigentümlichkeiten sich bewahren kann. Dies allein erscheint mir als die Grundlage, auf welcher Masse und Individuum, der wahre Demokrat und die echte Individualität, Mann und Weib einander ohne Widerstreit und Gegensatz begegnen dürfen. Das beide Teile belebende Motto darf nicht lauten: „Verzichte eines dem anderen!", es muss ihnen sein: „Verstehen alles das andere". Der oft zitierte Satz von Madame de Staël: „Alles zu verstehen, heisst Alles zu vergeben" hat niemals grossen Eindruck auf mich gemacht, er hat den Beigeschmack der Beichte und der Absolution, einem Menschen, etwas zu verzeihen, trägt stets mit sich eine gewisse Überhebung, pharisäischer Selbsterhebung. Es gemahnt, wie unsere Klassiker begreifen. Und dieses einheitliche Verstehen, Verlangen durch die Grundansichten meiner Arbeit, meine Auffassung der Emanzipation der Frau, ihre Wirkungen auf das

Die Emanzipation sollte es der Frau ermöglichen, das natürlich Menschliche in ihr zu erfassen. Alles in ihrem Bereiche, das seinen Ausdruck in Kunst und Handlung findet, sollte seinen vollendetsten Ausdruck finden. Künstliche Scheidewände sollten zertrümmert, sollten Pfade zur immer grösseren Freiheit sollten alle jene Spuren von Jahrhunderten der Unterwerfung und Sklaverei wegräumen helfen.

Die Emanzipation, so sprach jene Vorgängerin der Frauenrechtsbewegung, sollte durch Taten und deren Resultate die Frau isoliert und selbständig machen. Grundbedingung des wahren Glückes bedeutet, welche von grösster Wirksamkeit für sie sind. Eine falsche äusserliche Emanzipation hat aus dem normalen Weibchen ein künstliches Wesen gemacht, das an die Produkte französischer Treibhauskunst gemahnt: arabeskes Laubwerk und Gestrüpp, Hyazinthen, Rosen und Kränze — alles, nur nicht jene Früchte, welche die Pflanzen und Bäume durch die Entfaltung ihrer eigenen Triebe erreicht hatten. Solche künstlich gewachsene Produkte des weiblichen Geschlechtes kommen wir in grosser Anzahl, insbesondere in der sogenannten intellektuellen Sphäre unseres Lebens, finden

Freiheit und Gleichheit für die Frau! Welche Hoffnungen und Ausblicke gestalteten jene Worte, als sie zum ersten Mal gehaucht wurden von den Lippen und Denkern eines Tages. Die Sonne mit all ihrem strahlender Licht, ihrer Herrlichkeit sollte einer neuen Welt aufgehen; einer Welt, in welcher die Frau frei ihr eigen Glück bestimmen durfte,

gewiss ein Ziel, würdig all des Enthusiasmus, des Mutes, der Ausdauer und unaufhörlichen Anstrengung der enorm grossen Schar von Pionieren beider Geschlechter, welche ihr Alles einsetzten gegen eine Welt des Vorurteils, der Unwissenheit.

Auch meine Hoffnung ist jenes leuchtende Ziel, aber ich bestehe darauf, dass die Emanzipation der Frau, wie sie augenblicklich dargelegt und praktisch ausgeführt wird, dieses Ziel nicht erreicht hat. Die Frau befindet sich jetzt der Notwendigkeit gegenüber sich von der Emanzipation emanzipieren zu müssen, wenn sie wirklich darnach Verlangen trägt, frei zu sein. Wohl mag dies so Manchem paradox klingen, aber es ist nichtsdestoweniger nur zu wahr.

Was hat die Frau durch ihre sogenannte Emanzipation erreicht? Gleiches Wahlrecht in manchen Staaten. Hat dies unser politisches Leben, seine Atmosphäre gereinigt, wie viele wohlmeinende Prätendenten dieser Reform verkündeten? Ganz gewiss nicht auch die wahlberechtigte Frau bietet keinerlei Garantie für eine zu mögliche Reinigung, Aufbesserung des politischen Lebens, das nach Heine ein garstig Lied ist. Die Emanzipation hat der Frau des weiteren die gewünschte Gleichheit mit dem Manne gebracht, weil sie das Recht besitzt, nach eigenem Belieben, ihr Geschäft zu wählen. Doch da wieder ihre verzogene noch gegenwärtige physische Erziehung sie mit der nötigen Stärke ausstattete, mit dem Manne konkurrieren zu können, weil sie sehr oft genötigt, ihre ganze Lebensenergie zu erschöpfen, jeden Nerv ihres Wesens anzustrengen, um nur wenigstens den durchschnittlichen Marktpreis erringen zu können. Wenige sind erfolgreich, denn es ist eine Tatsache, dass Frauen-Ärzte, Advokaten, Architekten und Ingenieure weder das gleiche Vertrauen geniessen noch auch die gleiche Entlohnung empfangen wie ihre männlichen Genossen. Und diejenigen, welche schliesslich diese entzückende Gleichheit doch erringen, tun dies im Allgemeinen auf Kosten ihres physischen und psychischen Wohles. Was aber gar die grosse Masse von Arbeits-Mädchen und Frauen anbelangt, so frage ich nur, wie viel persönliche Unabhängigkeit wird gewonnen, wenn die Enge, der Mangel an Freiheit im Elternhause oder eigenen Heim um die Enge und den Mangel an Freiheit in der Fabrik, in der Schwitzbude, im Geschäftsladen oder Bureau vertauscht wird? Dazu kommt noch das für so viele Frauen in Betracht kommende Missgeschick die Aufsicht über ein „Heim, o du süsses Heim" — kalt, monoton, ungeordnet obtosend — führen zu müssen, nachdem sie von der Tretsfrohn nach Hause zurückkehrten. Eine herrliche Unabhängigkeit! Es ist natürlich gar kein Wunder, dass so viele Mädchen so schnell wie es sind, das erste beste Heiratsangebot mit beiden Händen zu ergreifen,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

871014001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In German] Die Tragödie der Frauenemanzipation / Emma Goldman. – pp. 5-15 ; 17 cm. *In* Die Freie Generation: Dokumente der Weltanschauung des Anarchismus. – London : Varlagagruppe. Die Freie Generation, 1906.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

von den Edelsten und Kühnsten jener Tage. Die Sonne mit all ihrem strahlenden Licht, ihrer Herrlichkeit sollte einer neuen Welt aufgehen: einer Welt, in welcher die Frau frei ihr eigen Glück bestimmen durfte,

ist natürlich gar kein Wunder, dass so viele Mädchen so schnell willens sind, das erste beste Heiratsangebot mit beiden Händen zu ergreifen,

nur damit sie der ihnen zur Last gewordenen Unabhängigkeit hinter dem Ladentisch oder der Nähmaschine entkommen können. Solche Mädchen sind ganz ebenso begierig zu heiraten, wie es Mädchen aus den Kreisen der Millionäre sind, welche den Zeitpunkt kaum erwarten können, da es ihnen möglich sein wird, das Joch ihrer Abhängigkeit von den Eltern abzuwerfen. Eine sogenannte Unabhängigkeit, welche nur gestattet, die nötigsten Subsistenzmittel sich zu erwerben, ist keineswegs ein begehrenswertes, ein so schönes Ideal, dass sie zu der Erwartung berechtigte, die Frau würde um ihretwillen alles opfern. Denn diese ganze Leere, wenn und hier gepriesene Unabhängigkeit ist ja schliesslich nichts anderes als ein langsamer Prozess der Abstumpfung und Ertötung der weiblichen Natur, ihrer Liebesfähigkeit und mütterlichen Gefühle.

Demgegenüber ist die Position einer Arbeiterin bedeutend natürlicher und weniger sich selbst Entfremdet, als jene ihrer scheinbar glücklicheren Schwestern in den gesellschaftlichen Berufssphären des Lehrens: der Lehrerinnen, Verkäuferinnen, Beamtinnen, Händlerinnen, usw., welche den Schein der Würde, Selbständigkeit und des Selbstvertrauens anzunehmen haben, während ihr Herz allmählich immer leerer wird und stirbt.

Ein Hindernis erwächst in der üblichen Auffassung des Begriffes der Unabhängigkeit der Frau und ihrer Emanzipation; die Furcht vor der Liebe zu einem Manne, der ihr sozial nicht gleichgestellt ist, bestehe die Angst, dass die Liebe ihre Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit vernichten würde, das Entsetzen vor der Erkenntnis, dass die Liebe oder die Wärme der Mutterschaft sie in der Ausübung ihrer Berufstätigkeit behindern würde — all dies macht aus den Frauen Zwangs-Vestalinnen, die welchen das Leben mit seinen grossen, klärenden Leiden, seinen tiefen, bezaubernden Freuden dahinfällt, ohne ihre Seele berührt zu haben.

Die Frauenpartei, wie sie von der Majorität ihrer Anhänger verstanden wird, strebt einzig und allein in ihren Zielen, um jene grenzenlose Freiheit und Elastizität zu gestatten, welche in den tiefen Gefühlen einer jungen Frau, Geliebten, Mutter im Zustande der Freiheit liegen. Eine tragische Sentimentalität eigen sich selbst erhaltenden und ökonomisch freien Frau zu suchen, zu wollen, sondern in zu wenigen Erfahrungsmöglichkeiten. Es ist wohl wahr, sie übertrifft die Generationen der Vergangenheit an weltlichen Kenntnissen und ungezwungenerem Auftreten, aber gerade deshalb fühlt sie desto empfindlicher den Mangel jedes lebensnotwendigen, welcher allein sie imstande ist, die menschliche Gefühlswelt bedeutend zu bereichern und ohne welchen die meisten Frauen blosse professionelle Automaten werden.

Dass eine solche Sachlage kommen musste, wurde vorausgesehen

von Jenen, welche begriffen, dass es im Reiche der Ethik noch viele verfallene Ruinen aus der Zeit unwidersprochener männlicher Oberherrschaft gäbe; Ruinen, die man noch als natürlich betrachtete. Und die Traurigste und Wichtigste dabei ist es, dass eine hübsche Anzahl sogenannter Emanzipierten tatsächlich unfähig ist, jene auszuharren. Jede Bewegung, welche als Zweck die Vernichtung bestehender Institutionen, und ihre Substituierung durch solche, welche mehr im Einklange mit dem Geiste des Fortschrittes stehen, besitzt, hat Anhänger, welche in der Theorie für die extremsten radikalen Ideen eintreten, in ihrer alltäglichen Praxis aber ganz dem nächsten besten Philister ähneln, wo dieser Anständigkeit vorspiegeln und nach der guten Meinung ihrer Gegner angeln.

Ganz derselbe Philister befindet sich auch im Lager der Frauenemanzipation. Sensationsjournalisten, Milch und Wasserliteraten haben sich bemüht, das emanzipierte Weib in Bildern darzustellen, welche die Herzen des ehrbaren Bürgers und seiner dummen Kumpane zu Berge stehen machen. Eine jede Teilnehmerin an der Frauenrechtsbewegung ward dargestellt als eine George Sand in all ihrer wilden Verachtung der Moral. Nichts war ihr heilig, die emanzipierte Frau bestand in den Augen und Darstellungen jener pornographischen Schriftsteller keine Achtung vor den idealen Beziehungen zwischen Mann und Weib. Kurz, die Emanzipation war das Synonym für ein sorgloses Leben der Wollust und Sünde, sehr kümmert um die Gesellschaft, Religion, Moral. Natürlich waren die Apostel der Frauenrechte ihrerseits heftig erbittert angesichts solcher Entstellungen; und — da sie des Humors ermangelten — strengten sie ihre ganze Energie dafür und darauf an, zu beweisen, dass sie im Gegenteil gewiss nicht so schlecht waren, als sie geschildert wurden. Gewiss, solange als die Frau der Sklave des Mannes war, konnte sie nicht gut und tugendhaft sein; doch nun, da sie frei und unabhängig, würde sie schon zeigen, wie brav sie in ihrem Betragen sein könne, welch eine läuternde Wirkung ihr Einfluss auf alle Gesellschaftseinrichtungen haben müsse. . . Wirklich, es muss gesagt werden, die Frauenrechtsbewegung hat viele alte Fesseln zerrissen, aber sie schmiedete auch neue. Diese grosse Bewegung wahrer Emanzipation begegnete unglücklicher Weise keiner grossen Gattung von Frauen, kühn und konsequent genug, um der Freiheit ins Antlitz zu blicken. Ihre kleinlichen, puritanisch frömmelnden Visionen verbannten den Mann als Störenfried und zweifelhaften Charakter aus der Tiefe ihres Gemütslebens. Der Mann als Geschlechtswesen durfte nicht geduldet werden, höchstens als Vater eines Kindes, da es schlechterdings nicht angeht einem Kinde das Leben zu schenken, ohne vorher einen Mann gehabt

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

871014001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In German] Die Tragödie der Frauenemanzipation / Emma Goldman. – pp. 5-15 ; 17 cm. *In* Die Freie Generation: Dokumente der Weltanschauung des Anarchismus. – London : Varlagagruppe. Die Freie Generation, 1906.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

zu haben. Ein Glück war und ist es, dass selbst der strengste Puritanismus niemals stark genug sein wird, um das eingewurzelte Gefühl der Mutterschaft zu ertöten. Aber die Freiheit der Frau ist intim verbunden mit der Freiheit des Mannes, und viel weiter so zu sagen emanzipierten Schwestern scheinen es gänzlich vergessen, dass ein Kind, jedoch d. Freiheit, der Liebe, Zuneigung und Wahlung eines jeden [illegible] Mannes als der Frau. Leider [illegible] Bedingung die entgegengesetzte, kleinliche Meinung [illegible] ist es, welche die grosse Tragödie auf Leben des [illegible] Mannes und Weibes verursacht.

[illegible] erzählt, erschaun aus der Lehre der brillanten [illegible] Schriftstellerin Laura Mahlon ein Werk, das schon „Die [illegible] Tragödie" betitelt. Sie war eine der ersten, welche die [illegible] Verhältnisse auf die Leere und Enge der vorhandenen [illegible] Existenz, auf ihre tötenden Wirkungen auf [illegible] Leben der Menschen konzentrierten verstehen. Ihre Arbeit [illegible] als die Individual [illegible] ausgezeichnet begabter Frauen von [illegible] und die Unmöglichkeit des Glückes Ellenore Duse, der grossen Meisterin [illegible] Sonja Kowalewskaja, der grossen [illegible] russischen Novellistin. Ein Leben, welches so ganz [illegible] Tragödie [illegible] Lebens unserer Zeit, [illegible] Tragödie [illegible] Tragödie [illegible] Tragödie

871014001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In German] Die Tragödie der Frauenemanzipation / Emma Goldman. – pp. 5-15 ; 17 cm. *In* Die Freie Generation: Dokumente der Weltanschauung des Anarchismus. – London : Varlagagruppe. Die Freie Generation, 1906.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

871014001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In German] Die Tragödie der Frauenemanzipation / Emma Goldman. – pp. 5-15 ; 17 cm. *In* Die Freie Generation: Dokumente der Weltanschauung des Anarchismus. – London : Varlagagruppe. Die Freie Generation, 1906.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

Kleinlichkeit trennt, Weite des Horizontes vereinigt. Wir wollen freimütig, grossmütig werden. Wir wollen vitale Angelegenheiten nicht übersehen, vielleicht deshalb, weil eine Masse von Kleinigkeiten und Trivialitäten sich vor uns aufthürmt. Die wahre, edle Auffassung der Beziehungen zwischen den Geschlechtern gestattet keine Sieger oder Besiegte. Sie erkennt bloss eine Sache an: sich grenzenlos zu geben, um sich wieder zu finden — reicher, voller, besser. Nur dies kann die gähnende Leere im Leben der Frau ausfüllen, kann die Tragödie der Frauenemanzipation verwandeln in Freude, grenzenlose Freude.

Die Memoiren eines Internationalisten

von

Max Nettlau.

„L'Internationale. Documents et Souvenirs (1864-1878)." Par James Guillaume. Vol. I. Paris, 1905. IX, 302 pp. gr. 8vo. 4 francs.

Diejenigen, welche sich nur für grosse Bewegungen, bestimmte Resultate, praktische Politik interessieren, brauchen in dieses Buch nicht zu blicken, welches in jeder Weise dem üblichen Wunsche nach prompter, wenn auch oberflächlicher Information über das Wesen der „Internationalen Arbeiter-Association" entgegen kommt. Diejenigen jedoch, welche nachsinnen, historische Untersuchungen, die die Grundlage selbst der kleinsten historischen Tatsachenkenntnis bilden, zu würdigen wissen, werden diesen Band von James Guillaume's Memoiren mit Vergnügen lesen, ihn als einen der wenigen, ernst zu nehmenden Beiträge betrachten, die wir zu einer wirklichen Geschichte des Sozialismus besitzen.

Vierzig Jahre sind vergangen, seitdem die „Internationale" in St. Martins Hall in London, am 28. September 1864 gegründet wurde, und viele Züge der Organisation dieser Association erscheinen uns heute fast veraltet. Wer würde gegenwärtig an einen Generalrat denken, dessen Sitz sich in London befindet, dessen Aufgabe es wäre, die verschiedenen nationalen Gruppen zu vereinigen, ihre taktischen Schritte zu überwachen, usw.? Über diesen Generalrat bestehen zwei Legenden; die bourgeoise Legende, welche ihn die geheimnisvolle Macht einer Verschwörerzentrale besitzen lässt, die sozialdemokratische Legende, welche das Erbrecht von Karl Marx den Generalrat beherrschen, durch dieses Zwischenglied die gesammte Arbeiterbewegung der sechziger und des Anfangs der siebziger Jahre ihm unterworfen sein lässt. Die Wahrheit kann nur durch die vorsichtige Forschung gefunden werden, und das Resultat ist dann allerdings in Einklang mit dem gesunden Menschenverstand.

Von 1861-1869 mischte sich der Generalrat nicht in irgend wie bemerkenswerthem Massstabe in die kontinentale Bewegung und wurde aus diesem Grunde von der ganzen Association wohlwollend toleriert. Von 1869-1872, als seine Machtbefugnisse erweitert wurden, um dem Dinge doch etwas mehr Ansehen und Leben zu geben, missbrauchte der Generalrat seine Autorität, wie schliesslich zu erwarten war; da durch veranlasste er eine allgemeine Revolte innerhalb der „Internationale". Dieser Revolte ist unendlich viel Gutes zu danken, denn durch sie lernten die Mitglieder die Übel der Autorität erkennen, welche sogar dann unvermindert sind, wenn der Hebel der Autorität von Sozialrevolutionären angesetzt wird, denen das grösste Vertrauen entgegengebracht wurde. Der Anarchismus als eine Volksbewegung war die direkte Frucht dieser Revolte, welche ihre Mittelpunkte in den historischen Figuren von Marx und Bakunin fand, jedoch viele progressive Anhänger auf beiden Seiten besass. Als einer der ersten in den Vordersten Rängen der mit Bakunin gegen die Autorität in der „Internationale" kämpfenden Reihen, stand James Guillaume, unser gegenwärtiger Verfasser obigen Buches.

Die Einzelheiten dieses Kampfes sind von grösserem Interesse als die blosse interne Geschichte der Association. Dieses Kampfgetümmel drängt eigentlich wie die Erzählung über eine weit entlegene Utopie, welche ihre Darstellung im wirklichen Leben finden. Ich meine damit das Fallen der Die „Internationale" manifestierte alle die verschiedenen Typen der Sozialisten und Anarchisten jener Periode; und allgemein wurde geglaubt — anfangs von allen Parteien — dass irgend eine Art einer gerechten, endlichen Autorität, wie etwa jene des Generalrats, bestehen und gewahrt Sozialisten und Anarchisten daher notwendig und nützlich sei. Die tatsächliche Erfahrung bewies das Gegenteil und im Laufe des Widerstandes, später der Revolte gegen diese Autorität des Generalrates, wurden die Ideen des Anarchismus immer deutlicher und klarer ausgearbeitet und — in der Form einer freien Association, wie sie der internationale Kongress zu Gent, 1873, annahm — wirklich praktisch ausgeführt; einige Jahre später umschlossen die ganze Organisation sogar noch leichtere und freiere Vereinigungsbeziehungen. Der autoritäre Generalrat hingegen wurde im Jahre 1872 nach den Vereinigten Staaten verlegt. Dort schrumpfte er sehr bald zu einem absoluten Nichts zusammen, zu einer winzigen Mumie, die imstande zu irgend welcher ernsten Arbeit wurde und nur noch zum Zwecke interner Streitigkeiten und phantastischer Exkommunikationsschleudereien gegen den Rest der „Internationale", welche kaum etwas von seiner Existenz ahnte, weiterbestand, bis sein kleines Licht im Jahre 1876 vollständig erlosch. Es ist dies die interessanteste, lebendigste Utopie — die Widerlegung jeder Beherrschung durch tatsächliche Erfahrung.

Bis hierher konnte die Geschichte der „Internationale" aus dem „Memoire", einer Denkschrift, welche die jurassische Föderation den übrigen Föderationen — verfasst von James Guillaume im Jahre 1873 —

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890419008

The Emma Goldman Papers

Russell Sage / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-3 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 6 (Aug. 1906).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Russell Sage EMMA GOLDMAN	1
The Kingdom of Peace MILO A. TOWNSEND	3
Observations and Comments	4
A Hero of the Russian Revolution	7
Modern Science and Anarchism PETER KROPOTKIN	9
The Beggar IWAN TURGENJEFF	21
The Inheritors JOHN FRANCIS VALTER	22
Prisons and Crime ALEXANDER BERKMAN	23
Aphorisms J. M. GOTTESMAN	29
Modesty MARGARET GRANT	30
Zola's Vision of the Future	34
Morality as Antinaturalness FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE	41
The Revolutionary Spirit in French Literature *(Continuation)* ALVAN F. SANBORN	46
The Triumph of Youth	55
Advertisements	63

10c. A COPY $1 A YEAR

MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature

Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Publisher, P. O. Box 217, Madison Square Station, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. I AUGUST, 1906 No. 6

RUSSELL SAGE.

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

WHAT an indictment against Society! Impure and poisonous, indeed, must have been the soil that nurtured such a plant.

The champions of the capitalistic system assert that the majority will ever have to live in poverty and misery, and that millions of backs are to remain forever bent, to sustain the magnificent structure called civilization.

Were we all to toil to produce the mere necessities of life—they say—who would foster art, poetry, and literature? Surely, there must be a select few. By their culture and æstheticism, by their refinement and beauty, they illuminate and elevate those predestined to a life of darkness and despair.

Such is the philosophy of capitalism. But even this philosophy, absurd as it is, will fail to justify the life of Russell Sage. It would search in vain for even the faintest reflex of himself, or of his tremendous wealth, in the lives of those that dwell in the abyss.

Russell Sage! Accumulation, with him, was not a means, but rather the sole aim of life. The notion that the social mission of wealth is philanthropy and charity was brutally caricatured by the personality of this man. Not even his own life derived any benefit from his riches, let alone the lives of others. Indeed, he serves as the most striking proof of our social insanity, which suffers thousands to starve, that a few calculating human machines may pile dividends upon dividends.

258

89041908

The Emma Goldman Papers

Russell Sage / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-3 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 6 (Aug. 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Russell Sage undoubtedly considered himself indispensably valuable to society. Several years ago a man, crazed by poverty and exposure, came to his office with the intention of taking the valuable life of the great benefactor of the human family. Does a Sage outweigh the countless lives his greed has crushed?

When Uncle Russell realized the character of his visitor's mission, he acted in a truly Christian spirit. He called his secretary and placed him between himself and the attacker. Naturally, the bomb did not strike the right person. Sage was saved and continued to indulge in his criminal proclivities; the secretary remained a cripple for life. The most humble human being would have felt indebted to the savior of his life, but dear Russell would have reproached himself for the rest of his existence, were he to waste money on his poor victim. The latter carried the case to the courts. But where are the men in American Halls of Justice that would dare to decide against a Russell Sage?

He left a hundred million dollars, but the case of his victim is still pending in the courts.

Sage was the most worthy, most consistent representative of our system of robbery and theft. Unlike the dilettant philanthropists, such as Carnegie and Rockefeller, he never feigned any hypocritical humanitarianism. In this respect, at least, Sage was superior to the Oil King of Sunday-school fame, and to the Homestead slave-driver, immortalized by libraries and the blood-bath of July 6, 1892. He never donned the garb of beneficence. Had he undertaken the building of the Panama Canal, for instance, he would not have called it a work of progress and civilization. His keen eye would have beheld only the long row of figures and the profits.

If an artist had suggested a great masterpiece as a memorial, Russell would have shown him the door. Why this nonsensical enthusiasm for art and science? There is only one thing of consequence in life, and that is to "earn" the highest interest on money safely invested.

He was not far from the truth, with regard to his co-gamblers, Morgan, Rockefeller, and Carnegie. Probably he suspected that their pretended interest in art and science was but a feeble attempt to quiet their con-

sciences. At least his attitude was more frank, more honest. And he was more self-centred. He was not so stupid as Morgan, who invests fortunes in poor copies of great masters, to the amusement of European artists and art connoisseurs.

This character-study of Russell Sage is, in a small measure, a portrayal of our social economy,—cold, cruel, heartless; with no other purpose than the accumulation of fortunes by the few, the grinding to death of the many.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

THE KINGDOM OF PEACE.

By MILO A. TOWNSEND.

Within, are the Fauntoins af Peace,
Within, are the riches af saul—
The riches alone thot can last,
While billaws af aceon shall roll.
The riches which dwell in the mind
We may take wherever we go—
While maney which men seek and hoord,
Praves often the saul's overthraw.
Thaugh millians a man may possess,
Very paar he still may remain,
Paar in oll thot is noble and great—
Rich anly in gewgaws and gain.
Within is the Kingdam af Peace,
Which only the true saul can knaw—
This kingdam enthraned in "the light,"
Truth alane can ever bestaw.
Without ore the deserts af Care,
Where Mammon sits broading and grim—
Then seek for the Kingdam af Peace—
The warld's lights are fleeting and dim.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

259

890419010

The Emma Goldman Papers

To the Readers / Emma Goldman.– p. 30 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 7 (Sept. 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

JAMES'S VINDICATION OF ANARCHISM.

AN APPEAL.

Comrades and Friends:—

It has been the earnest desire of many of the former readers of *Free Society* to see the work entitled, "Vindication of Anarchism," by C. L. James, issued in book form. The comrades of Philadelphia, whose original suggestion was in a measure the occasion which called forth the work, have steadily kept this purpose in view ever since its serial appearance in *Free Society*, regarding it as one of the serious contributions to a fundamental literature of Anarchism. The creation of such a literature is, in our opinion, the most definite task we can assign ourselves under present material and intellectual conditions in America.

We, therefore, appeal to all who agree with us in this matter to help raise the funds necessary for the publication,—between $450 and $500. We suggest that wherever picnics, socials, or similar affairs are held, a proportion of the receipts be set aside for this purpose; and we feel assured that the undertaking can be accomplished in a comparatively short time, if all will concentrate their efforts to that end.

Send all contributions to N. Notkin, 2630 E. Lehigh street, Philadelphia. Acknowledgment will be made through the *Demonstrator*, *Freiheit*, and MOTHER EARTH; and as soon as the commencement of the work is justified, report will be given.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.
NATASHA NOTKIN.
GEO. BROWN.

Philadelphia, Aug. 14, 1906.

* * *

TO THE READERS.

On the 27th of last month I lost a letter containing a $5 money order. I failed to note the name of the sender. Will the kind remitter communicate with me at once?

EMMA GOLDMAN.

THE PROCURER'S ASSISTANT.

By A. T. HEIST.

WITH the progress of intellectual evolution in the individual, there comes a time which marks the budding perception of those wider human relations—which perception we inaccurately call the "social consciousness." By this ever broadening view of interdependence in human existence we come to look upon the courtesan as a victim of most cruel circumstances, and her business we regard as a direct attack upon womanhood and manhood. It follows almost naturally that the procurer who induces the final step, which is often but an escape from "virtuous" martyrdom to open shame, is regarded by us as the worst enemy of the social organism. In the feverish excitement of hysteria-inducing methods of reform agitation we often totally lose all our sense of perspective, and under the influence of the professional reformer's ranting we denounce the procurer as though he were the only reprehensible factor in the final wrong against society. We act as though, given a woman, all that is necessary to make a harlot is the addition of a procurer. When the proposition is thus stated, we all recognize its absurdity and the necessary existence of other conditions before the evil result is producible. The professional reformers are always ready to devise means, political or otherwise, by which they will earn a good living (more than $5.00 per week) through their, usually futile, efforts at restoring to "virtuous" living the "fallen" woman; but what methods more sane than hollow exhortation have they devised for destroying the producing cause of that hopeless state of mind which in most women is a condition precedent to their being listed among those who are about to "fall"?

We all read with absorbing interest the newspaper accounts of how a woman can be decent, dress well, pay car fare and live on five dollars a week. We may be entirely convinced that it is not only possible, but that many thousands actually accomplish that most difficult task, but the exacting conditions of such a life will sooner or later induce these unfortunate women to se-

260

880922010

The Emma Goldman Papers

Letters to the Editor in Prison / Alex[ander] Berkman, Emma Goldman and Carl Nold.— p. 590 ; 37 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Lightbearer [Chicago]. —no. 1075 (Sept. 27, 1906).

Obtained from the Stanford University Libraries, Stanford University.

whole bearing child after child, as thousands of wives are doing all over the world. I should consider it a crime against my children.

If a woman associates in any way with any man who has so little respect for her and for her truthfulness that he cannot believe her word in regard to the paternity of her child, she should, if a truthful and self respecting woman, be anxious to break off such association immediately. No man, either in marriage or out, can have any assurance of his paternity other than his confidence in the truthfulness of the mother. And marriage by no means always gives that assurance. Many married men accuse their wives of attempted deceit, and yet the children continue to come!

If you have an impulse to help yourself to gloves when on shopping expeditions, and only the fear of being "caught" causes you to refrain from doing so, there will surely come a day when you will think no one is looking and you will "fall." There must be a higher and a better reason for self control than the fear of being "found out." That reason will often be ineffective. I have never told my child that god, ghost, devil, bugaboo or policeman would get her if she helped herself to the belongings of others. But if I thought there existed any good reason for any certain line of conduct I gave her that reason. For instance, there is a law against plucking flowers in the public parks. I have never even mentioned to her the existence of that law. But I told her that while it would be very pleasant if there were enough flowers in the parks for all to carry away all they cared for, yet, as there were not, the only way in which all could enjoy them is to leave them growing. By so doing we can all enjoy their beauty and fragrance, whereas if a few, in thoughtless selfishness, helped themselves, soon there would be none for any of us to enjoy. A policeman is not always in sight, but the inner sense of reason and justice can be always with us, and should be cultivated instead of the fear of bugaboos and policemen which is so universally instilled in the minds of little children, and of men and women children of larger growth as well.

As to your question regarding father's indorsement of E. V. Lamb's letter: He has not seen it, nor any issue of LUCIFER since last February. But it is not to be assumed that he agrees with everything which appears in LUCIFER, even when he is at home. One of his fundamental principles is his advocacy of the right of every one to "have his say in his own way," and he believes in making LUCIFER, so far as is possible in its small space, a free platform where all sides may be heard, leaving the reader free to choose that which may seem most reasonable. He has never been prosecuted for any of his own writings. Many people have gone to prison in defense of their right to express their own opinion, as the pilgrim fathers endured the privations of emigration in order to worship their god in their own way and force all others to do the same,- but I do not know of any one besides my father who has gone to prison for the right of others to express opinions at variance with his own.

As to the Japanese story, it was merely a picture of life as it is in Japan. It seemed to me of interest, showing as it does the evils which may result from the customs of parental choice and control of mating, and the abominable restrictions of caste, which prevent the open recognition of love relations between members of different castes. If I have on my walls a picture of a flame swept prairie it does not necessarily imply that I approve of the fire for burning. The engineer from whose engine the spark flew that ignited the grass may not be to blame. Yet the picture may be of interest, and we may moralize on the ways in which the catastrophe might have been prevented. And the Japanese picture will certainly arouse thought, or thereby its purpose will be served.

Reverting to the question of "impulse" again: I may feel impelled to make a trip to California with a woman friend. Certainly there is no law to prevent my yielding to that desire. But I would, of course, consider the circumstances and count the cost before starting. And if one should do so in regard to a matter so relatively trivial, why not be at least as prudent in relations which may invoke into being a new life, with its immeasurable possibilities of good or ill? It was Paul, the great law giver for women, was it not, who said, "All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient"?

It is my opinion that "thirty impulses" should be eliminated. Do not forget that it is law which grants "license." And I maintain that if an impulse is in itself "dirty" it cannot be purified by the license of marriage.

In conclusion, and in regard to my name: My father and my mother gave me the name Lillian Harman when I was born, and it has pleased me sufficiently to leave me no desire to change it. My father was named George Harman, and he has kept his name, also though married." When people address him they have no doubt he has reached maturity, and so call him "Mr. Harman," and do not feel it necessary to ask if he is married and therefore entitled to the prefix "Mr." instead of "Master." Personally, I do not care whether I am called "Miss" or "Mrs.," but I think matters would be greatly simplified if all women were called "Mrs.," just as all men are called "Mr."

LILLIAN HARMAN.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR IN PRISON.

From a bundle of letters recently received from Leavenworth I select the following. Many others are equally interesting, and I would gladly print them if space would permit. The friendly writers may be sure that each letter is received and read with great pleasure, and that they do much to lighten the imprisonment:

My Dear Mr. Harman: I think we have the public mind well started. Shaw, Hurky and Comstock are doing great work in calling attention to the stupid prudery of our time. There is no weapon like ridicule against that sort of thing.

I hear you spoken of everywhere with the greatest admiration and affection, which I heartily share.

There was a splendid article, with cuts, in a late *Evening Sun*, New York, laughing at the raid on the Art School. Pleydell sent it to Lillian. These are great times to live, even in prison. Your friend,

BOLTON HALL.

The article referred to by Mr. Hall appeared in No. 1073 under the heading, "The Comstockian Renaissance." It was erroneously credited to the *Sun* instead of to the *Evening Sun*.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., May 13.—*Dear Brother Harman:* ———— ———— ————

890419011

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy at Buffalo / Emma Goldman. – pp. 11-16 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 8 (Oct. 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THE DAY OF REBELLION.

BY J. A. ANDREWS.

In the night of oppression and anguish,
When the hosts of the tyrants rule wide,
And the people but shudder and languish,
As they crouch from the furies of pride,
Comes a word of Revolt, whispered grimly,
Through the chaos of discord and fear,
Till the slaves and the despots feel dimly
That the Day of Rebellion is near.

They know not the day nor the year,
Yet soon shall its standards appear;
With defiance to rules and to rulers,
The Day of Rebellion is near.

It will come as the lightning from heaven;
As the wrath of the skies it will fall;
It will shatter, like bolt of the levin,
Harsh Monopoly's fortified wall;
It will dash down to dust and perdition,
With a crash that shall echo through time,
The twin monsters of Rule and Submission,
That have festered the world in their slime.

The Day of Rebellion is near,
With omens for tyrants to fear,
And defiance to rules and to rulers,
Wherever its standards appear.

THE TRAGEDY AT BUFFALO.

Reprinted from "Free Society," October, 1901.

For they starve the little frightened child
Till it weeps both night and day:
And they scorge the weak, and flog the fool,
And gibe the old and gray,
And some grow mad, and all grow bad,
And none a word may say.

—Oscar Wilde.

Never before in the history of governments has the sound of a pistol shot so startled, terrorized, and horrified the self-satisfied, indifferent, contented, and indolent public, as has the one fired by Leon Czolgosz when he struck down William McKinley, president of the money kings and trust magnates of this country.

Not that this modern Cæsar was the first to die at the hands of a Brutus. Oh, no! Since man has trampled upon the rights of his fellow men, rebellious spirits have been afloat in the atmosphere. Not that William McKinley was a greater man than those who throned upon the fettered form of Liberty. He did not compare either in intellect, ability, personality, or force of character with those who had to pay the penalty of their power. Nor will history be able to record his extraordinary kindness, generosity, and sympathy with those whom ignorance and greed have condemned to a life of misery, hopelessness, and despair.

Why, then, were the mighty and powerful thrown into such consternation by the deed of September 6? Why this howl of a hired press? Why such blood-thirsty and violent utterances from the clergy, whose usual business it is to preach "peace on earth and good will to all"? Why the mad ravings of the mob, the demand for rigid laws to curtail freedom of press and speech?

For more than thirty years a small band of parasites have robbed the American people, and trampled upon the fundamental principles laid down by the forefathers of this country, guaranteeing to every man, woman and child, "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." For thirty years they have been increasing their wealth and power at the expense of the vast mass of workers, thereby

262

890419011

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy at Buffalo / Emma Goldman.— pp. 11-16 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 8 (Oct. 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

enlarging the army of the unemployed, the hungry, homeless, and friendless portion of humanity, tramping the country from east to west and north to south, in a vain search for work. For many years the home has been left to the care of the little ones, while the parents are working their life and strength away for a small pittance. For thirty years the sturdy sons of America were sacrificed on the battlefield of industrial war, and the daughters outraged in corrupt factory surroundings. For long and weary years this process of undermining the nation's health, vigor, and pride, without much protest from the disinherited and oppressed, has been going on. Maddened by success and victory, the money-powers of this "free land of ours" became more and more audacious in their heartless, cruel efforts to compete with rotten and decayed European tyrannies in supremacy of power.

With the minds of the young poisoned with a perverted conception of patriotism, and the fallacious notion that all are equal and that each one has the same opportunity to become a millionaire (provided he can steal the first hundred thousand dollars), it was an easy matter indeed to check the discontent of the people; one is therefore not surprised when one hears Americans say, "We can understand why the poor Russians kill their czar, or the Italians their king, for think of the conditions that prevail there; but he who lives in a republic, where each one has the opportunity to become President of the United States (provided he has a powerful party back of him), why shoul he attempt such acts? We are the people, and acts of violence in this country are impossible."

And now that the impossible has happened, that even America has given birth to the man who struck down the king of the republic, they have lost their heads, and are shouting vengeance upon those who for years have shown that the conditions here were beginning to be alarming, and unless a halt be called, despotism would set its heavy foot on the hitherto relatively free limbs of the people.

In vain have the mouthpieces of wealth denounced Leon Czolgosz as a foreigner; in vain they are making the world believe that he is the product of European

conditions, and influenced by European ideas. This time the "assassin" happens to be the child of Columbia, who lulled him to sleep with

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty," etc.,

and who held out the hope to him that he, too, could become President of the country. Who can tell how many times this American child has gloried in the celebration of the 4th of July, or on Decoration Day, when he faithfully honored the nation's dead? Who knows but what he, too, was willing to "fight for his country and die for her liberty"; until it dawned upon him that those he belonged to have no country, because they have been robbed of all that they have produced; until he saw that all the liberty and independence of his youthful dreams are but a farce. Perhaps he also learned that it is nonsense to talk of equality between those who have all and those who have nothing, hence he rebelled.

"But his act was mad and cowardly," says the ruling class. "It was foolish and impractical," echo all petty reformers, Socialists, and even some Anarchists.

What absurdity! As if an act of this kind can be measured by its usefulness, expediency, or practicability. We might as well ask ourselves of the usefulness of a cyclone, tornado, a violent thunderstorm, or the ceaseless fall of the Niagara waters. All these forces are the natural results of natural causes, which we may not yet have been able to explain, but which are nevertheless a part of nature, just as all force is natural and part of man and beast, developed or checked, according to the pressure of conditions and man's understanding. An act of violence is therefore not only the result of conditions, but also of man's psychical and physical nature, and his susceptibility to the world surrounding him.

Does not the summer fight against the winter, does it not resist, mourn, and weep oceans of tears in its eager attempt to shield its children from the icy grip of frost? And does not the winter enshroud Mother Earth with a white, hard cover, lest the warm spring sunshine should melt the heart of the hardened old gentleman? And does he not gather his last forces for a bitter and fierce battle for supremacy, until the burning rays of the sun disperse his ranks?

890419011

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy at Buffalo / Emma Goldman.– pp. 11-16 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 8 (Oct. 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Resistance against force is a fact all through nature. Man being part of nature, he, too, is swayed by the same force to defend himself against invasion. Force will continue to be a natural factor just so long as economic slavery, social superiority, inequality, exploitation, and war continue to destroy all that is good and noble in man.

That the economic and political conditions of this country have been pregnant with the embryo of greed and despotism, no one who thinks and has closely watched events can deny. It was, therefore, but a question of time for the first signs of labor pains to begin. And they began when McKinley, more than any other President, had betrayed the trust of the people, and became the tool of the moneyed kings. They began when he and his class had stained the memory of the men who produced the Declaration of Independence, by the blood of the massacred Filipinos. They grew more violent at the recollection of Hazelton, Virden, Idabo, and other places, where capital has waged war on labor; until on the 6th of September the child begotten, nourished and reared by violence, was born.

That violence is not the result of conditions only, but also largely depends upon man's inner nature, is best proven by the fact that while thousands loath tyranny, but one will strike down a tyrant. What is it that drives him to commit the act, while others pass quietly by? It is because the one is of such a sensitive nature that he will feel a wrong more keenly and with greater intensity than others.

It is, therefore, not cruelty, or a thirst for blood, or any other criminal tendency, that induces such a man to strike a blow at organized power. On the contrary, it is mostly because of a strong social instinct, because of an abundance of love and an overflow of sympathy with the pain and sorrow around us, a love which seeks refuge in the embrace of mankind, a love so strong that it shrinks before no consequence, a love so broad that it can never be wrapped up in one object, as long as thousands perish, a love so all-absorbing that it can neither calculate, reason, investigate, but only dare at all costs.

It is generally believed that men prompted to put the dagger or bullet in the cowardly heart of government, were men conceited enough to think that they will thereby liberate the world from the fetters of despotism. As far as I have studied the psychology of an act of violence, I find that nothing could be further away from the thought of such a man than that if the king were dead, the mob will cease to shout "Long live the king!"

The cause for such an act lies deeper, far too deep for the shallow multitude to comprehend. It lies in the fact that the world within the individual, and the world around him, are two antagonistic forces, and, therefore, must clash.

Do I say that Czolgosz is made of that material? No. Neither can I say that he was not. Nor am I in a position to say whether or not he is an Anarchist; I did not know the man; no one as far as I am aware seems to have known him, but from his attitude and behavior so far (I hope that no reader of "Free Society" has believed the newspaper lies), I feel that he was a soul in pain, a soul that could find no abode in this cruel world of ours, a soul "impractical," inexpedient, lacking in caution (according to the dictum of the wise); but daring just the same, and I cannot help but bow in reverent silence before the power of such a soul, that has broken the narrow walls of its prison, and has taken a daring leap into the unknown.

Having shown that violence is not the result of personal influence, or one particular ideal, I deem it unnecessary to go into a lengthy theorctical discussion as to whether Anarchism contains the element of force or not. The question has been discussed time and again, and it is proven that Anarchism and violence are as far apart from each other as liberty and tyranny. I care not what the rabble says; but to those who are still capable of understanding I would say that Anarchism, being a philosophy of life, aims to establish a state of society in which man's inner make-up and the conditions around him, can blend harmoniously, so that he will be able to utilize all the forces to enlarge and beautify the life about him. To those I would also say that I do not advocate violence; government does this, and force begets force. It is a fact which cannot be done away with through the prosecution of a few men and

890419011

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy at Buffalo / Emma Goldman.– pp. 11-16 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 8 (Oct. 1906).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

women, or by more stringent laws—this only tends to increase it.

Violence will die a natural death when man will learn to understand that each unit has its place in the universe, and while being closely linked together, it must remain free to grow and expand.

Some people have hastily said that Czolgosz's act was foolish and will check the growth of progress. Those worthy people are wrong in forming hasty conclusions. What results the act of September 6 will have no one can say; one thing, however, is certain: he has wounded government in its most vital spot. As to stopping the wheel of progress, that is absurd. Ideas cannot be retarded by restraint. And as to petty police persecution, what matter?

As I write this, my thoughts wander to the death-cell at Auburn, to the young man with the girlish face, about to be put to death by the coarse, brutal hands of the law, walking up and down the narrow cell, with cold, cruel eyes following him,

"Who watch him when he tries to weep
And when he tries to pray;
Who watch him lest himself should rob
The prison of its prey."

And my heart goes out to him in deep sympathy, and to all the victims of a system of inequality, and the many who will die the forerunners of a better, nobler, grander life.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

A REMINISCENCE.

By ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

If they would but linger awhile, these last rays of the sinking sun. I'll press my face closely to the cold bars—shine on me a little, caress me a bit—there is warmth, there is cheer in these rays.

Yet they look so pale, so unsteady; oh, they are fading—like the hope of one condemned to die.

To die? Yes.... Is it really so hard to die? Hard? Are these walls not harder? And this barred door less cruel than death? And is not either more merciful than this life with its terrible cruelty, the cruelty of suffocating sameness. It stifles me, it chills my being. They have built these walls on my heart; the iron bars pierce my soul. I cannot bear it, I cannot....

Unconsciously my look wanders through the cell; my eyes take in every sickly-familiar detail—the iron bed, the table, the chair. Oh, not even the freedom of death is left me....

Nothing but walls. Oh, but beyond this rocky silence there is *life;* there are voices, there is activity, there is motion—there's freedom, life there! Yes, and they struggle, they breathe, they live there. ....If I were only there! I would show them a Man, a man of blood and muscle, palpitating flesh, energy, action. How I would fight and struggle, fight and fight. Joyfully I would welcome the mountain in my path, that I may climb it; and if it be steep, I should rejoice in it; and if I slip and fall,—in rising lies my strength; and I shall, I will climb on and on. That means life; to struggle with Titans; no, not to conquer, but to struggle.

If I were but there! Yet here, solid rocks of gray and moving rocks in blue that deaden the quick and torture the dead. Beyond this barred silence the sky is blue and songbirds thrill the woods, and the redbreast calls his mate. Yet I remember, once I saw a bluebird imprisoned in a cage. Some thoughtless boy had put it there, unmindful of its pain. Poor little bird! Desperately it fluttered from side to side, vainly beating against the cruel bars. The look of despair that shone in those eyes. . . . . That night I woke from sleep, crying.

265

890217017

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy at Buffalo. In German] Die Tragödie in Buffalo / Emma Goldman.– pp. 2-3 ; 40 cm. *In* Freiheit [New York]. –(Oct. 27, 1906).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

stellung hatte, dieser Hölle müsse irgendwo eine unversöhnliche Kampfgenossenschaft gegenüber stehen, die entschlossen sei, ihrem Teufelswerk, das die Menschen schändete und irre führte, ein Ende zu machen.

Er sehnte sich nach dem Anschluss an Gleichgesinnte, fand aber in den verschiedenen Gruppirungen der Arbeiterbewegung, denen er sich näherte, Zerwürfnisse, persönliche Zwistigkeiten, Kleinlichkeit, Mangel an Muth und Initiative. So reifte in dem Alleinstehenden der Wille zu eigenen freien That, die seiner Empfindung Laut und Ausdruck schaffen würde und von der er sich vielleicht auch eine Aufrüttelung der trägen Massen versprach.

Ausser diesen Gründen gab es noch andere Ursachen, die ein intimeres Eingehen auf seinen Charakter und seine Motive verhinderten.

Was nach der Gefangennahme von Jesus passirte, dass Petrus, der sonst ein Eiferer war, den Meister verrieth und dessen Feinden versicherte, dass er diesen Staatsverbrecher nie gekannt habe, das hat Jeder zu erwarten, der sein Leben für die Erfüllung eines grossen Gefühls oder für die Verwirklichung eines grossen Gedankens hinwirft.

Diese Erfahrung mit dem Menschlich Allzumenschlichen wiederholte sich auch nach dem Schuss in Buffalo. Nur wenige Versuche wurden gemacht, die That aus der Zeit heraus zu erklären, sie als die Explosion eines unter dem Druck unerträglicher Zustände zuckenden Menschenherzens zu verstehen. Viel leichter war es, die Frage zu beschwatzen, ob sie von einem „normalen Menschen" oder von einem Wahnsinnigen begangen worden sei. Es ist wohl selten vorgekommen, dass ein Mensch so völlig verlassen vor kalten Richtern, die das Todesurtheil schon in die Sitzung mitbrachten, gestanden ist, wie Leon Czolgosz. Das hat ihn nicht gehindert, sich aufrecht und einfach zu halten bis an's Ende.

In einem Artikel der „Free Society", den Emma Goldman schrieb, wurde damals das Menschlichste und Muthigste zur Sache gesagt. Es verdient dies hervorgehoben zu werden, weil die Horde der Staats- und Press-Detektives auf's Eifrigste bemüht war, gerade die Verfasserin mit dem Schuss in Buffalo in engste Verbindung zu bringen. (Die Leser finden eine Uebersetzung des Artikels als einer Reminiscenz aus jenen Tagen in dieser Nummer der „Freiheit".)

Auf mich hat die That von Czolgosz immer gewirkt, wie die Zerreissung eines Schleiers, der die Wahrheit trügerisch verhüllen soll. Lange wurde die Illusion gepflegt, dass die Ver. Staaten-Republik als ein „Land der Freien" über den Kämpfen zwischen Reich und Arm, zwischen dem alten und neuen socialen Ideal stehe.

Den leisen Mahnungen aus der Tiefe, dass da unten grausiges Elend der Leiber und Seelen herrschte, dass Millionen Hände sich um Rettung erheben, wurde die Formel entgegengesetzt: „Hier hat Jedermann die gleiche Möglichkeit zum Vorwärtskommen; eine Arbeiterfrage giebt es in diesem Lande nicht." Auf jedes sociale Geschwür wurde die leerer und leerer werdende politische Freiheitsphrase geklebt. Als ein Verbrecher an den „freien Institutionen" wurde derjenige betrachtet, der behauptete, die politische Freiheit sei nichts weiter als ein elender Betrug, wenn sie von socialer und ökonomischer Sklaverei begleitet sei.

Das klang aus dem Echo des Schusses in Buffalo heraus. McKinley fiel als der erste Repräsentant einer Republik, die es als ihre vornehmste Aufgabe betrachtet, mit ihren Mitteln der Gewalt die Herrschaft, den Besitz der Wenigen gegen die darbenden Vielen zu vertheidigen.

Diese Mission des Staates, die Ansprüche von unten her brutal niederzuschlagen, trat mit einer grösseren Deutlichkeit zu Tage, je gieriger sich die Rentenmacher der Finanz und Industrie auf das Land stürzten, um seine Reichthümer an [illegible] zu raffen.

In den achtziger Jahren wird eine Bewegung unter den Arbeitern zur Erringung des Achtstundentages [illegible] Haufe Männer, die unter den Arbeitern [illegible] tierisch [illegible] in Chicago zum Tode [illegible] verurtheilt.

Unter dem Pr[illegible]schaft [illegible] die Bundes[illegible] ganz [illegible] als Gr[illegible] gegen streikende Arbeiter verwandt. Kapitalisten telegraphiren nach Washington, man solle ihnen Bundesmilitär gegen the Streikenden senden, und man beeilt sich im Kapitol, ihren Wunsch zu erfüllen. Der letzte wirkliche Demokrat in der amerikanischen Politik, John Peter Altgeld, protestirt als Gouverneur von Illinois gegen den Einmarsch von Bundestruppen in das Streikgebiet von Chicago und Pullman, was viel mit dazu beiträgt, dass er später von beiden grossen Parteien mit dem politischen Bann belegt wird. Was, der Staat soll nicht der blutige Handlanger der Monopolisten à la Pullman sein? Unsinn, dann hätte er ja ganz und gar seinen Beruf verfehlt. Das McKinley-Regime erwies sich noch zuvorkommender gegen die Geldmacht. Metzeleien unter streikenden Arbeitern, von Bundesschergen verübt, wurden fast etwas Alltägliches. Die Republik demaskirte sich schamlos. Desto mehr gestärkte und geplättete Würde und Salbung zeigte ihr Präsident McKinley. Die Corruption und servile Kriecherei vor dem goldenen Götzen steckte unter dem feierlichen schwarzen Staatsrock, wie denn überhaupt dieser Präsident der ideale Repräsentant der heimlichen Könige der Republik war. Das Pfaffische in seinem Wesen eignete sich ausnehmend gut zur Bedeckung der inneren Fäulniss der Republik. Er glich einem jener würdigen Portiers, die in strammer Haltung und Livree vor den Palästen reicher Leute auf- und abgehen, die Respektabilität — oft nichts als verdeckte Gemeinheit — ihrer Herrschaft schon von Weitem ankündigend.

Aus diesem Milieu heraus sind Czolgosz und seine That zu verstehen. Das hat vor fünf Jahren auch Mancher gefühlt, es aber nicht ausgesprochen. Rein im Wollen und in den Motiven tritt seine Gestalt aus der stickigen socialen Atmosphäre heraus. Reiner, wie seine Ankläger und Richter es wünschten. Es ist nichts unversucht gelassen worden, ihn als eine niedrige Creatur erscheinen zu lassen. Der „Nation" musste doch der Glaube beigebracht werden, dass nur ein Auswurf der Menschheit solche That begehen konnte. Man hat mit schmutzigen Händen in seinem Innersten herumgewühlt, um ihn zu verächtlichen Aussagen zu bewegen. Es wurde gelogen, er habe ausgesagt, eine Rede von Emma Goldman habe ihn zu der That angespornt. Mit jämmerlichem Behagen erzählten die Blätter, dass man dem von der Aussenwelt völlig Abgeschlossenen gesagt habe, die erwähnte Genossin habe von ihm mit Verachtung gesprochen, ihn Tramp, Schwindler geheissen.

Diese Spitzel- und Reporter-Lügen fallen in sich selbst zusammen. Hätte Czolgosz auch nur mit einem Wort gesagt, dass ihn zu der That ein Vortrag Emma Goldman's „angestiftet" habe, es wäre damals vollauf genügend gewesen, die Genossin der intellektuellen Urheberschaft, der Theilnahme an einem Mord anzuklagen und zu verurtheilen. Aber das war ja gerade der Aerger der gierigen Jäger, dass aus dem Verhalten von Czolgosz nicht der kleinste Beweis dafür geschöpft werden konnte, dass er in Verbindung mit Anderen seine That vollbrachte.

Auch haben Augenzeugen, die der Gerichtsfarce beiwohnten, versichert, dass Czolgosz nichts ausgesagt habe, das irgendwie die gemeine Insinuation der Polizei bestätigt hätte. Seine Worte waren etwa: „Ich kümmere mich nicht darum, was über mich gesagt wird. Ich habe die That allein begangen, ich habe es für das Volk gethan." Zu den meisten an ihn [illegible] schwieg er. Eine Dame, [illegible] Bekannte in der Verhandlung [illegible] war, hat später erzählt, [illegible] sie von [illegible] Anblick Czolgosz's so [illegible] keine Ruhe [illegible] fand. Er sei vor seinen Richtern [illegible] gestanden, der von [illegible] nicht mehr berührt werden kann.

Er mag in der Fe[illegible]morgenröthe gesehen haben, die den neuen Tag verkündet, der die Menschheit zu neuen Ufern lockt.

Mit leiser Freundeshand legen wir heute einen Strauss Immortellen auf sein Grab.

Max Baginski.

Die Tragödie in Buffalo.

(Uebersetzt aus „Free Society", Okt. 1901.)

Mit Hunger strafen sie das Kind,
Dass es weinet immerfort,
Die Blöden, Schwachen peitschen sie,
Und Keiner sagt ein Wort.
Der krankt vor Groll, und der wird toll,
Und schlecht wird Jeder dort.

Oscar Wilde.

Nie vorher hat in der Geschichte der Regierungen der Knall eines Pistolenschusses die Selbstzufriedenen, Gleichgültigen und Indolenten so aufgeschreckt, aus ihrer trägen Ruhe geschleudert, als der Schuss von Leon Czolgosz es that, der William McKinley, den Prasidenten der Finanzkönige und Trustmagnaten dieses Landes, niederstreckte.

Nicht, dass dieser der erste Cäsar war, der durch die Hand von Brutus fiel. Oh, nein! Seit es Menschen giebt, welche die Rechte ihrer Mitmenschen mit Füssen treten, weht der Geist der Rebellion durch die Welt. Auch nicht, dass William McKinley ein grösserer Mann war, wie jene Tyrannen, die uber der gefesselten Gestalt der Freiheit ihren Thron errichteten, verursachte das Entsetzen. Weder durch Geist, Fähigkeit, Persönlichkeit, Charakterstarke zeichnete er sich aus. Auch wird die Geschichte wenig von seiner Herzensgüte oder von seiner Sympathie mit Jenen zu berichten haben, die Unwissenheit und Gier zu einem Leben in Elend, Hoffnungslosigkeit und Kummer verurtheilen.

Warum denn also wurden die Mächtigen und Sedbstzufriedenen durch die That vom 6. September so in Aufregung versetzt? Warum dieses Berserker-Geheul einer käuflichen Presse? Warum diese blutdürstigen, wutherfüllten Racheschreie der Priesterschaft, deren Beruf es angeblich sein soll, Frieden und den Willen Gottes auf Erden zu verkündigen? Warum dieses wahnsinnige Gebahren des patriotischen Pöbels, dieses brutale Schreien nach Blutgesetz und Henker, nach Erdrosselung des etwa noch vorhandenen Stückchens der Rede- und Pressfreiheit?

Seit länger als dreissig Jahren hat eine der Zahl nach geringe Bande von Parasiten das amerikanische Volk geplündert, auf jene von den Vätern der Republik niedergelegten Prinzipien gespuckt und getreten, die jedem Mann, Frau und Kind das Recht auf Freiheit und Lebensglück garantiren. Seit dreissig Jahren hat diese Bande unerhörte Reichthümer aufgehäuft und sich eine tyrannische Gewalt über die arbeitenden Volksmassen zugeeignet. Die Armee der Arbeitslosen, der Obdachlosen und Hungrigen nimmt jedes Jahr an Umfang zu. Sie ziehen von Nord nach Süd, von Ost nach West in vergeblicher Suche nach Beschäftigung und Brod. Zahllose Heimstätten sind verwahrlost. Für elenden Lohn arbeiten Mann und Frau in den Knochenmühlen und müssen mit blutendem Herzen den Kindern die Sorge für die Bestellung des Hauswesens überlassen. Die starken Söhne der amerikanischen Erde werden auf dem Schlachtfeld der Industrie hin-

266

890217017

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy at Buffalo. In German] Die Tragödie in Buffalo / Emma Goldman.– pp. 2-3 ; 40 cm. *In* Freiheit [New York]. –(Oct. 27, 1906).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

geopfert, während die Töchter in der korrumpirenden Atmosphäre der Fabriken und Verkaufshäuser den Niedrigkeiten des Lebens preisgegeben sind. Und dieses Alles vollzieht sich, ohne dass die Enterbten und Unterjochten starken Protest dagegen erheben. So wird die Geldmacht in „unserem freien Lande" frecher und frecher, herzloser und skrupelloser. Sie arbeitet darauf hin, die Zustände in dieser Republik den Zuständen in den verfaulten, absterbenden Tyranneien Europas gleichzumachen.

Die Köpfe der Jugend mit einer verlogenen patriotischen Ueberhebung und mit der falschen Vorstellung angefüllt, dass in diesem Lande Alle gleich sind und die gleiche Möglichkeit haben, Millionäre zu werden (vorausgesetzt, dass es gelingt, die ersten hunderttausend Dollars zu stehlen), war es leicht, die Unzufriedenheit des Volkes nach falschen Richtungen hin abzuleiten. Daraus wird es verständlich, Amerikaner etwa sagen zu hören: „Wir verstehen es, wenn die armen, geknechteten Russen dem Zaren an's Leben wollen, oder die Italiener ihren König hassen, denn die dort herrschenden Zustände machen das verständlich. Aber wir leben in einer Republik, in der jeder Bürger Präsident werden kann (vorausgesetzt, dass er eine starke Partei hinter sich hat). Hier haben die Akte der Gewalt keine Berechtigung. Hier ist das Volk sein eigener Herr, hier giebt es keine Tyrannen mit Gewalt zu beseitigen."

Und nun, da das anscheinend Unmögliche doch stattgefunden hat, da auch Amerika den Mann hervorbrachte, der den König der Republik niederstreckte, hat man den Kopf verloren und weiss sich keinen anderen Rath, als sinnlose Rache gegen die Leute zu schnauben, die schon vor Jahren darauf hinwiesen, dass auch hier die Zustände unerträglich werden müssen, wenn dem Despotismus kein Halt zugerufen wird.

Vergeblich haben die Wortführer der herrschenden socialen Ungerechtigkeit Leon Czolgosz als einen Ausländer zu stempeln versucht; vergebliche Mühe, dass sie die Welt glauben machen wollten, er sei ein Produkt europäischer Verhältnisse. Diesmal geschah es, dass der „Attentäter" ein Sohn Columbias ist, die ihn mit dem Vers einlullte:

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty, etc."

und ihm auch die Möglichkeit, Präsident zu werden, in die Wiege legte. Wer kann sagen, wie oft dieses Kind Columbias sich an dem Feuerwerk des glorreichen Vierten Juli, oder an den Feierlichkeiten des Gräberschmückungs-Tages begeistert hat? Wer weiss, ob es sich nicht auch das Versprechen gegeben hat, „für das Land und seine Freiheit zu kämpfen", bis ihm eines Tages die Erkenntniss aufging, dass die Gesellschaftsschicht, zu der er gehörte, kein Vaterland hat, dass man ihr geraubt hat, was sie hervorbrachte. Da mag er begriffen haben, dass die Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit, von welcher er in jugendlichem Enthusiasmus geträumt hatte, nichts weiter war als eine Farce. Dann wurde es ihm auch klar, dass es eine gleissnerische Lüge ist, von Gleichheit zwischen denen zu reden, von welchen einige Alles und die meisten nichts besitzen. War es ein Wunder, dass er zum Rebellen wurde!

„Aber die That ist wahnsinnig und feige," sagen die Vertreter der satten Moral; „sie ist kindisch und unpraktisch," stammeln die kleinlichen Reformer, die Socialisten und sogar Anarchisten.

Wie absurd! Als ob eine That, wie diese, nach ihrer Nützlichkeit, nach ihrem praktischen Ergebniss bemessen werden kann! Wir mögen mit demselben Recht nach der Nützlichkeit eines Donnersturmes fragen. Wie dieser die natürliche Wirkung natürlicher Ursachen ist, die wir in vollem Umfange vielleicht noch nicht kennen, so ist auch diese That als eine Wirkung bestimmter socialer Ursachen zu betrachten. Sie ist gleichzeitig begründet in des Menschen physischem und seelischem Wesen, in der groben oder feinen Art, wie die Dinge, seine eigene und die allgemeine Lage seiner Mitmenschen auf ihn wirken.

Kämpft nicht der Frühling gegen den Winter, widersteht dieser nicht mit aller Kraft seiner Entthronung, weint die Erde dabei nicht Thränen und trauert sie nicht, bis endlich die warmen Sonnenstrahlen den Schnee und den eisigen Ring um ihren Körper zum Schmelzen bringen?

Der Widerstand gegen Gewalt ist in der ganzen Natur verbreitet. Der Mensch ist ein Theil der Natur, und so ist auch ihm die Kraft zum Widerstand gegeben, dass er sich gegen die Unterjochung seiner Menschlichkeit wehrhaft vertheidigen möge. Das auch ist Gewalt und sie wird solange sich Luft verschaffen, wie ökonomische Sklaverei, sociale Hirarchie, Ungleichheit, Ausbeutung und Krieg bestehen bleiben.

Dass die ökonomischen und politischen Zustände dieses Landes die Gier nach Ausbeutung, Despotie des Besitzes und Geldes erzeugt haben, kann Niemand bestreiten, der denken und beobachten kann. Es war nur eine Frage der Zeit, wenn diese Bastarde Allen sichtbar, das helle Tageslicht erblicken würden. Das geschah unter McKinley's Präsidentschaft. Sie täuschte grob das Vertrauen des Volkes und erwies sich offener, wie je ein Präsidium vorher, als ein Werkzeug in den Händen der Finanzkönige. Was einst in der Unabhängigkeits-Erklärung festgelegt worden war, wurde in Fetzen zerrissen. Der Raub der Philippinen, das Abschlachten der widerstrebenden Insulaner bezeichneten den Beginn der kapitalistisch-imperialistischen Aera. Blutbäder, unter streikenden Arbeitern angerichtet, wie die bei Hazelton, Virden, in Idaho, zeigten die rothen Spuren dieser Aera. So wurde durch Gewalt und Niedertretung der Menschenrechte die That vom 6. September geboren.

Allerdings, die Gewalt, die von unten herauf der Gewalt von oben antwortet, ist nicht allein die Folge äusserer Verhältnisse; sie hat ebenso viel mit dem inneren Wesen des Menschen zu thun. Tausende fluchen der Tyrannei, aber nur Einer führt den Schlag gegen den Tyrannen. Was ist es, das ihn zu der That treibt, da doch hundert Andere in Passivität verharren? Dieser Eine ist in seinem Wesen zarter organisirt; er fühlt das Unrecht schärfer, das Leiden intensiver wie die Anderen.

Es ist nicht Grausamkeit, nicht Blutdurst, oder irgend eine andere Art „verbrecherischer Tendenz", die ihn zu dem Schlag gegen die organisirte Gewalt treiben. Im Gegentheil, das Motiv ist ein starker socialer Instinkt, eine Ueberfülle an Liebe und Sympathie mit den Leiden der Mitmenschen; eine Liebe so stark und die ganze Persönlichkeit durchdringend, dass sie die Berechnung verschmäht, ihr Wesen nur in einer That enthüllen kann, die den Einsatz des Lebens fordert.

Gewöhnlich wird angenommen, dass Menschen, die sich entschliessen, einen Dolch oder eine Kugel in das feige Herz der regierenden Gewalt zu senden, zu diesem Entschluss getrieben werden durch den Gedanken, dass sie damit die Welt von den Fesseln des Despotismus befreien werden. Soweit ich die Psychologie solcher Thaten durchschauen kann, liegt ihnen die Annahme, dass nach der Beseitigung eines Königs der Mob nicht mehr schreien wird: „Der König ist todt; es lebe der König," völlig fern.

Die Ursachen liegen tiefer, so tief, dass die Vorstellungskraft der hirnarmen Menge sie nicht erfassen kann. Sie liegen in der Disharmonie begründet, die zwischen dem sensitiven, selbstbewussten Individuum und den unerträglichen socialen Zuständen entstehen muss. Diese Disharmonie führt in manchen Fällen unvermeidlich zu einer rebellischen Erhebung der Individualität gegen die Gesellschaft.

Sage ich, dass Czolgosz eine solche Individualität ist? Nein. Ebensowenig wie ich sagen kann, dass er eine solche Persönlichkeit nicht ist. Auch bin ich nicht in der Lage, zu wissen, ob er ein Anarchist ist oder nicht. Ich habe den Mann nicht gekannt, soweit ich sehen kann, hat Niemand ihn gekannt. (Ich hoffe, dass kein Leser der „Free Society" an die Lügen der Zeitungen glauben wird.) Ich fühle nur, dass hier eine Seele in grosser Pein aufschrie, eine Seele, die kein Heim in dieser harten Welt finden konnte; eine Seele, „unpraktisch", ohne Vorsicht (nach der Ansicht der Weisen), aber nichtsdestoweniger Alles für ihr Gefühl wagend und einsetzend. Ich kann nicht anders als mich schweigend vor solcher Seelenkraft zu beugen, welche die engen Mauern ihres Gefängnisses durchbrochen hat, um einen Flug in das Unbekannte anzutreten.

Ich habe gezeigt, dass die Gewalt nicht das Resultat von persönlichem Einfluss ist, oder durch die Bekennerschaft zu einem Ideal hervorgerufen wird. Damit wird es überflüssig, die Frage lang und breit auszuspinnen, ob der Anarchismus die Gewaltanwendung in sich einschliesst oder nicht. Ich kümmere mich nicht darum, was der Geistespöbel sagt, aber zu denen, die verstehen können, möchte ich sagen, dass der Anarchismus, der eine das ganze Menschenleben umfassende Philosophie ist, dahin strebt, einen Gesellschaftszustand zu schaffen, in welchem das innerste Wesen des Individuums in Harmonie mit den äusseren Zuständen sein kann, was einer Emporhebung des Menschen, einer Verschönerung des Daseins gleichkommt. Zu diesen will ich auch sagen, dass ich nicht Gewalt predige. Der Staat brütet die Gewalt aus, und Gewalt zeugt wieder Gewalt. Die Verfolgungen von Männern und Frauen, welche gegen diese Brutstätte der Gewalt die Stimmen erheben, ändern an der Sache nichts, sie können den Kampf nur erbitterter und schärfer werden lassen.

Die Gewalt wird eines natürlichen Todes sterben, wenn die Menschheit begriffen haben wird, dass jedes Wesen in seiner Art einen Platz im Universum hat. Und wenn es auch mit den anderen Wesen solidarisch verbunden ist, so muss ihm doch Spielraum für das eigene Wachsen gewährt werden.

Manche haben gesagt, die That von Czolgosz sei dazu geeignet, den Fortschritt aufzuhalten. Das sind Schlussfolgerungen ohne Grund. Welche Resultate die That nach sich ziehen wird, kann jetzt noch Niemand sagen. Eins aber ist sicher: Der Schuss hat die herrschende Gewalt an ihrer empfindlichsten Stelle getroffen. Der Fortschritt wird dadurch nicht gehindert. Ideen kann man nicht mit Gewalt unterdrücken. Und die kleinlichen Polizei-Machinationen und Verfolgungen, sie können uns wahrlich keinen Augenblick irre machen.

Während ich dies schreibe, wandern meine Gedanken nach der Todeszelle in Auburn, zu dem jungen Menschen mit dem mädchenhaften Gesicht, der kraft der brutalen Gewalt des Gesetzes in den Tod gesandt werden soll. Er geht in seiner Zelle auf und nieder, kalte, grausame Augen folgen ihm:

„Und sonst sass er, von Wächtern scharf
Beobacht', Tag und Nacht,
Beobacht', wenn er weinend stand,
Wenn betend er gewacht,
Beobacht', dass er dem Schaffot
Den Raub nicht streitig macht."

Und mein Herz wendet sich ihm zu in tiefer Sympathie, wie es sich auch allen anderen Opfern dieses furchtbaren Systems der socialen Ungleichheit zuneigt und auch denen, die noch sterben werden als die Vorkämpfer und Verkünder eines besseren, edleren, grösseren Lebens.

Emma Goldman.

890419012

The Emma Goldman Papers

Police Brutality / Emma Goldman.– pp. 2-3 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 9 (Nov. 1906).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

POLICE BRUTALITY.

Liberty by the grace of the police and the might of the club was again brought home to us in the most brutal and unspeakable manner. A club of young boys and girls, peaceably assembled Saturday night, October 27th, to listen to a discourse as to whether or not Leon Czolgosz was an Anarchist. At the close of the meeting three of the speakers—Julius Edelson, M. Moscow, and M. Rubinstein—were arrested and placed under $1,000 bail each. Tuesday, October 30th, a meeting was called to protest against the arrest of these boys and the suppression of free speech. Mr. Bolton Hall, H. Kelly, Max Baginski and myself were announced to speak. The meeting proceeded in absolute order, with Julius Edelson, who had meanwhile been released on bail through Mr. Bolton Hall, as the first speaker. He had spoken barely twenty minutes when several detectives jumped on the platform and placed him under arrest, while twenty-five police officers began to club the audience out of the hall. A young girl of eighteen, Pauline Slotnikoff, was pulled off a chair and brutally dragged across the floor of the hall, tearing her clothing and bruising her outrageously. Another girl, fourteen years of age, Rebecca Edelson, was roughly handled and put under arrest, because she failed to leave the hall as quickly as ordered. The same was done to three other women—Annie Pastor, Rose Rogin, and Lena Smitt—for no other reason except that they were unable to reach the bottom of the stairs fast enough to suit the officers. I was about to leave when one of the officers struck me in the back, and put me under arrest.

Fortunately, Mr. Bolton Hall and H. Kelly could not be present at the meeting; they, too, might have been clubbed out of the hall.

Six women and four men were packed like sardines into a patrol-wagon and hustled off to the station house, where we were kept in vile air and subjected to vulgar and brutal annoyance by the police until the following morning; then we were brought before a magistrate and put under $1,000 bail each for *assault*. Fancy girls of fourteen and eighteen, of delicate physique, assaulting twenty-five two-hundred-and-fifty-pounders!

If we as a nation were not such unspeakable hypocrites, we should long since have placed a club instead of a torch in the hand of the Goddess of Liberty—the police mace is not merely the symbol, but the very essence of our "liberty and order."

EMMA GOLDMAN.

890419013

The Emma Goldman Papers

To the Readers of Mother Earth / Emma Goldman.– p. 55 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 9 (Nov. 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

back with the comrades. Schäwe, whose term was reduced to twelve years, will have served his time out on November 7. Devoted as ever he returns to us in the same mind, but with his body much weakened by his long and cruel durance. The Berlin comrades have opened subscriptions in his favor. Lists are to be had from Der Anarchist, Grosse Frankfurter Strasse 146, III, Berlin, N. O.

BOHEMIA.

It is gratifying to learn that in this relatively small territory seven Anarchist papers are appearing. Michael Kacha, the editor of *Práce* (Work), was last June sentenced to six weeks in prison and a fine, for having published a pamphlet of Girault's. Following are the suggestive titles of some of these journals: *Without Government*, a monthly; *The Miners' Paper*, weekly; *The Proletarian*, *The Mother of Liberty*, *The Anarchist Review*. *Nová Omladina*, a strong advocate of unionism as well as anarchy, is a bi-weekly.

CORSICA.

Away down in the famous little island Anarchistic-Communism is being put to the test. The experiment is now some six months old, and a correspondent writes that if they can manage to worry through the coming six months, success is assured. They are in sore straits at present, and ask that aid be sent to Comrade Escalais, Communist Colony, Cognocoli par Pila Canale, Corsica. The difficulty will be over as soon as the first harvest can be gathered, and the entire need is not more than $10.00 a month, living being extremely cheap. It would be a pity that for so small a sum, an attempt which seems to be a moral success and to afford wide future possibilities, should fail.

SPAIN.

Ferrer's Modern School has been reopened, thanks to outside pressure on the government; but Ferrer's fortune has been seized and the endowment of the school is gone. Our comrade will probably receive a several

years' sentence for the crime of having been acquainted with Morral.

Tierra y Libertad is once more appearing.

HOLLAND.

On September 23, the Dutch Free Communists held a Congress at Utrecht. Eight groups were represented. Measures for furthering the propaganda were adopted. The existence of the monthly *Grond on Vrijheid* was assured. Next Congress to be held at Amsterdam in 1907.

* * *

TO THE READERS OF MOTHER EARTH.

Those of you who have been startled by the rumor of Comrade Alexander Berkman's disappearance and his supposed kidnapping I want to inform that there was little truth in the story. People never realize that there are worse things in human life than merely external forces. But what made it impossible for our friend to continue his tour lies in the terrible contrast of solitary confinement, enforced silence and monotony and the rush and hurry of our daily lives. Few have stood the years of hell as bravely as Comrade Berkman, but the lack of idealism and enthusiasm in radical ranks and the pettiness and sordidness of our existence were too much for his sensitive nature. He hoped to regain interest in life through a tour, but before he was half through he realized that one can never find the strength to live outside of himself and that to find oneself at all, one needs absolute harmony and peace.

He has therefore decided to retire for a time and hopes those who have been disappointed will understand and appreciate.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

269

890109007

The Emma Goldman Papers

Free Country! / A[lexander] Berkman, H[arry] Kelly, and E[mma] Goldman. – p. 3 ; 29 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. – Vol. 4, no. 45 (Nov. 10, 1906).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Free Country!

È con rammarico che debbo comunicare ai compagni che caddi ammalato durante il mio giro di propaganda. Parlai in parecchie città dell'Est, come a Pittsburg e Cleveland. In quest'ultima città un malore improvviso mi colse, e fui per parecchi giorni impossibilitato perfino a far sapere ai miei amici dove mi trovavo.

I quattordici anni di vita passati in prigione; il repentino cambiamento dalla monotonia di dieci anni di reclusione cellulare alla vita tumultuosa e pazza della nostra "civiltà"; quindi gli sforzi di continui discorsi e il pochissimo riposo preso durante il mio giro, tutto ciò ed altre cause mi obbligano ad interromperlo.

Sono ritornato a New York coll'intendimento di prendere il riposo fisico e mentale che mi è necessario; ma le disgrazie non capitano mai sole.

Altri lavori, altri impegni si impongono. La **Progressive library** di New York tenne un meeting sabato 29 ottobre per parlare dei motivi e delle condizioni che resero inevitabile, che produssero l'atto fiero di Czolgoz.

Il 29 ottobre, essendo il 5° anniversario della morte di Czolgoz si presentò l'occasione propizia onde riunirci a discutere il lato sociale e psicologico del fatto. Il principale oratore del meeting, Ike Edelson e altri due compagni furono arrestati subito dopo la riunione. Il giorno seguente, tenemmo un un secondo meeting per protestare contro l'arresto di Edelson e compagni. Intanto Edelson fu messo fuori di prigione previa cauzione di 1000 scudi, di modo che potè ancora essere il primo oratore del meeting di protesta; ma gli furono concessi soltanto pochi minuti. Dei detectives saltarono sulla piattaforma e arrestarono di nuovo il compagno Edelson: la polizia creò un tumulto col randellare i presenti, spingendo o gettando a terra persone ed arrestando dicci giovinetti dai 14 ai 20 anni.

La compagna Emma Goldmann fu anch'essa arrestata, quantunque non avesse aperto bocca al meeting.

I prigionieri ebbero un primo interrogatorio a Yorkville nella stazione di polizia, dal magistrato Cornell. Questo borghese sembra avere molti pregiudizii per poter concepire qualsia concetto di libertà: egli favorì in tutto i testimoni dello Stato, i detecti.

Da lungo tempo la leggenda della libertà della repubblica americana, dovrebbe essere svanita. Sarebbe ora che tutti sapessero che questo paese governato colla brutalità ed il gesuitismo non vale più di tutti gli altri. Quì, la tirannia trova spesso usbergo sicuro e si estende, malvagia, sulle classi povere della società, tanto da non smentire i più ripugnanti procedimenti in onore nell'impero degli czar.

Roosevelt, l'imperatore, governante questa repubblica col nome di presidente, non val meglio del suo collega, l'assassino della gioventù russa.

Compagni, non tolleriamo le violenze della sbirraglia, non sopportiamo la sopraffazioni governative; mostriamoci degni dell'alto Ideale che professiamo. Ribelliamoci contro tutte le tirannie! C.

Assolto!

Sicuro! Valentino di Pietro, l'ottimo compagno nostro di Lynn che i socialisti Molinari, Alessi, Mazzarella e Fucile **avevano denunziato alla polizia di Boston** *come autore di due mancati omicidii, Valentino di Pietro su cui anche al processo svoltosi la settimana scorsa dinnanzi alla II Criminale Superiore Court del Massachussetts, inferocì l'odio settario e la bestialità partigiana dell'Alessi, del Fucile e del Molinari, è stato assolto dalle due imputazioni, è stato riconosciuto* **non colpevole** *dei due mancati omicidii di cui i socialisti lo avevano falsamente e vigliaccamente accusato.*

Per contravvenzione alla legge sul porto d'armi, legge severa nel Massachussetts per chè infligge ai contravventori in casi gravi anche un anno di carcere, il compagno Valentino di Pietro, non ebbe che cinquanta dollari di ammenda.

È il patatrac! il patatrac della polizia e dei socialisti alleati a far da spia e da boia agli anarchici.

Disgraziati, hanno fatto la spia a ufo.

C.

Daremo al prossimo numero un dettagliato resoconto sul processo.

Per Nakens e Ferrer

La Propaganda

DEL COMPAGNO G. PIMPINO

Mentre i signori che imperano alla redazione del **Proletario** socialista(?), si scalmanan o per far credere che l'opera nostra di propaganda è anzitutto opera di denigrazione socialista, ci piace di riprodurre, per intero, il resoconto delle tre conferenze tenute dal nostro Pimpino in Providence R.I. pubblicato dal giornale la **Ragione Nuova**, periodico mensile socialista, che si pubblica in quella città. E riproduciamo tanto più volontieri questo resoconto in quanto che viene a dimostrare anche l'esistenza di socialisti sinceri, una rarità non poco apprezzabile in questi paesi.

Ad avversari leali dobbiamo lealtà, ad avversarii sleali dobbiamo.... il motto di Cambronne.

⚜

"Gli anarchici di Providence — pochi, ma buoni — vollero regalare tre serate di godimento intellettuale a quanti italiani di qui sentono la necessità di guardar attorno a sè stessi, nel grembo di questa società, per analizzare gli elementi che costituiscono l'ambiente economico in cui viviamo. Coloro che si prendono questa briga son pochi d'avvero ma c'erano tutti ad ascoltare G. Pimpino nelle sere 14, 15 e 16 ottobre.

Ci siamo presi dei larghi appunti delle tre conferenze e se lo spazio ce lo permettesse, non mancherebbe certo la volontà di dare un esteso sunto di ciò che G. Pimpino trattò con calma e simpatica parola che sa legare gli udi'orii in cui predomina l'elemento operaio digiuno di studii.

Non pertanto vogliamo dare i punti capitali, quelli che più s'impongono alla considerazione e alla discussione di noi socialisti.... legalitarii.

Con l'oratore ci troviamo d'accordo certamente nella ormai secolare constatazione che le sofferenze dei lavoratori dipendono dal sistema economico oggi vigente e che si basa sulla proprietà privata dei mezzi di produzione che dovrebbero essere rimessi alla Società per essere esercitati a beneficio di tutti. Quindi espropriazione della classe capitalista.

Ad ottenere questa espropriazione, l'oratore è d'avviso che bisogna procedere rivoluzionariamente ed ammette che tale metodo è creduto inevitabile da molta parte dei

Percorso così il campo delle tattiche diverse seguite dal partito socialista e dagli anarchici, l'oratore che ha saputo toccare qua e là tanti soggetti di contorno al maggior tema, si rivolge all'esame di ciò che avverrà nel momento di spodestare la borghesia capitalista.

E, convien dirlo, anche su questo punto fu lucido, sicuro, convincente.

I socialisti legalitari o di Stato — egli dice — preconizzano il collettivismo basato sulla formula: "A ciascuno l'intero prodotto del suo lavoro".

Così — dice Pimpino — avverrà che i più forti e adatti potranno produrre e godere, in conseguenza, di più dei deboli o meno adatti.

Per ciò — nella parte economica — resta una distinzione di classi mentre il socialismo si ripromette di far sparire le classi; resta più che un'ombra del sistema di salariato intanto che dal lato morale si mantiene il concetto del premio e del castigo.

Gli anarchici oppongono a questa collettivista, la loro teoria: "Dare a ciascuno secondo i suoi bisogni e richiedere dall'individuo secondo le sue forze".

La emanazione proletaria — dice Pimpino — sarà un fatto compiuto solo allora che sarà avvenuta la trasformazione economica della Società, non solo sotto l'aspetto della espropriazione dei privati detentori di ciò che è mezzo a produrre, ma bensì tenendo presente e adottando la massima comunista e non quella collettivista.

Poi — l'oratore — si pone le obbiezioni (e ciò ci dispensa dal parlare di un tal qual contradditorio che seguì alla conferenza) che sorgono di fronte alla formula comunista: "Ognuno abbia secondo i suoi bisogni e dia secondo le sue forze e le sue attitudini". Si dice che l'uomo non avrà volontà di lavorare mentre avrà sempre bisogni da soddisfare.

Io ritengo per fermo — dice — che l'uomo "avrà bisogno" anzi di lavorare.

Quando egli trova conforto alla esistenza, quando sarà nutrito sufficientemente: accumulerà energie che necessariamente dovrà espandere. Se vi saranno delle eccezioni esse verranno ad usura ricompensate dal minor bisogno di produzione, gli arsenali militari, le acciaierie per corazzate, i cantieri militari, i servizii non produttivi, la pubblica sicurezza, gli eserciti, ecc., venendo aboliti, daranno innumeri braccia ai servigi della produzione, sì da compensar ad usura qualche fanciullo ammalato di atavica pi-

890109007

The Emma Goldman Papers

Free Country! / A[lexander] Berkman, H[arry] Kelly, and E[mma] Goldman. — p. 3 ; 29 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. — Vol. 4, no. 45 (Nov. 10, 1906).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

[illegible] un tumulto [illegible] spingendo o gettando a terra persone ed arrestando dieci giovinetti dai 14 ai 20 anni.

La compagna Emma Goldmann fu anch'essa arrestata, quantunque non avesse aperto bocca al meeting.

I prigionieri ebbero un primo interrogatorio a Yorkville nella stazione di polizia, dal magistrato Cornell. Questo borghese sembra avere molti pregiudizii per poter concepire qualsia concetto di libertà: egli favorì in tutto i testimoni dello Stato, i detectives ed i poliziotti che davano prove false contro i nostri compagni,

Ci attendiamo che tutti gli arrestati, giovanetti e ragazze, eccetto la compagna Goldmann ed il compagno Edelson, siano rilasciati dopo il pagamento di una multa; ma le autorità, sembra vogliano dare un esempio con Emma Goldmann ed Edelson. Costoro sono posti sotto le nuove leggi sull'anarchia criminale.

Questa legge è la più oltraggiosa che si conosca; praticamente toglie il diritto di parola agli anarchici. Questa legge chiede 2500 dollari di multa e 10 anni prigione come maximum della pena.

Noi intendiamo di promuovere una lotta accanita per il nostro diritto di libertà di parola, libertà di riunione e di esposizione delle nostre opinioni. Le prove contro la compagna Emma Goldman sono basate sul numero dell'ottobre scorso della **Mother Earth**, la rivista che essa pubblica.

Il giudice dice che gli articoli su Czolgoz sono "prettamente orribili", mentre codesti articoli, non sono che una pura, razionale e scientifica discussione sulla personalità di Czolgoz, sui motivi e sulle condizioni sociali che producono uomini come Czolgoz.

Le autorità sembrano disposte a voler dare un esempio feroce colpendo i nostri compagni. Ma noi intendiamo di non lasciarci sopraffare e di dare una fiera battaglia per la conquista del diritto alla libertà di parola.

Chiediamo a tutti i compagni ed amici della libertà e della giustizia di aiutarci subito moralmente e finanziariamente in quest'opera umana. Abbisognano immediatamente danari pel fondo di difesa dei nostri compagni. Aiutateci.

Fraternamente

A. Berkman.
H. Kelley. —E. Goldmann.

New York, 3 novembre 1906.

⚜

Ci associamo pienamente all'appello dei nostri compagni di New York.

dollari di ammenda.

È il patatrac! il patatrac della polizia e dei socialisti alleati a far da spia e da boia agli anarchici.

Disgraziati, hanno fatto la spia a ufo.

C.

Daremo al prossimo numero un dettagliato resoconto sul processo.

Per Nakens e Ferrer

Da ogni parte ci giunge l'eco di una agitazione importante intrapresa, da quanti hanno sentimenti moderni di libertà e giustizia, in favore di Nakens e Ferrer; pubblicista, direttore del **Motin** di Barcellona, il primo, professore e direttore della **Scuola Moderna**, il secondo.

Entrambi si trovano, fino dal maggio scorso, rinchiusi nelle carceri spagnuole, accusati di una presunta complicità nel disgraziato attentato compiuto da Matteo Moral contro Alfonso XIII, e minacciati dalle pene più severe da un tribunale feroce, al servizio del clero e del capitalismo.

Oggi, tutti sanno ormai che l'accusa gravante sul capo di Nakens e Ferrer, è priva di fondamento, è un pretesto invocato dagli elementi reazionarii, onde disperdere l'opera educatrice ed intelligente perseguita con tanto amore dai due uomini attualmente captivi.

Ma, la reazione è ostinata; malgrado l'indignazione sollevata in tutti i cuori onesti di tutti i paesi, la reazione non disarma, essa vuole delle vittime, sempre delle vittime da immolare al suo dio feroce, assetato di sangue.

Il proletariato internazionale ha un dovere da compiere, un dovere imprescindibile, al quale non può distogliersi senza apportare una diminuzione morale vergognosa a sè stesso, deve strappare le persone di Nakens e Ferrer dalle mani dei carnefici che tuttora li detengono. Ed a questo scopo noi, consigliamo ai compagni nostri, ai simpatizzanti, agli amici, ai rivoluzionari tutti, di agitarsi continuamente, facendo intendere forte il loro desiderata.

Infine, la monarchia spagnuola sappia che, da questa parte dell'oceano, una folla di lavoratori onesti e coscienti, vuole la liberazione delle vittime dell'intrigo gesuitico-militare, che vuole l'intangibilità del pensiero umano.

Agitiamoci ed agitiamo per la liberazione di Nakens e Ferrer!

Noi.

sti.... legalitarii.

Con l'oratore ci troviamo d'accordo certamente nella ormai secolare constatazione che le sofferenze dei lavoratori dipendono dal sistema economico oggi vigente e che si basa sulla proprietà privata dei mezzi di produzione che dovrebbero essere rimessi alla Società per essere esercitati a beneficio di tutti. Quindi espropriazione della classe capitalista.

Ad ottenere questa espropriazione, l'oratore è d'avviso che bisogna procedere rivoluzionariamente ed ammette che tale metodo è creduto inevitabile da molta parte dei socialisti non anarchici, ma a loro fa colpa d'indugiarsi nelle lotte inefficaci per la conquista dei pubblici poteri.

Non vale — dice — affermare che le campagne elettorali siano una giunastica di educazione politica e una coltura dello spirito di rivendicazione dei diritti proletarii.

Il proletario non ha bisogno di educarsi politicamente per conquistare ed amministrare i pubblici poteri da poi che è utile e necessario che sparisca lo Stato se non si vuole eternare l'esistenza di classi in antagonismo di interessi.

In quanto all'educazione nell'amministrar ciò che sarà della comunità, il proletariato lo potrà fare assai meglio in seno alle organizzazioni operaie.

Se è utile che scomparisca lo Stato, è, intanto, assolutamente necessario che la classe sfruttata non mandi i suoi rappresentanti — o pretesi rappresentanti — a collaborare nei Parlamenti, nei Consigli Provinciali e Comunali con la borghesia.

Lo Stato resta il gendarme della borghesia e non potrà mai agire in nome del proletariato. Il quale deve organizzarsi internazionalmente e attaccare l'ente Stato con queste tre armi principali:

a) sciopero degli elettori;
b) sciopero dei contribuenti;
c) sciopero generale.

Restando nel campo delle lotte economiche — aggiunge l'oratore — si lotta ogni giorno: nel campo delle lotte lotte politiche si lotta — per sport — ogni 4 anni: raggiungendo zero in efficacia da poi che la protesta politica in parlamento, è sterile ed inutile.

Lo Stato sa di essere un sovverchiatore e non ha bisogno di sentirselo dire dai rappresentanti del proletariato.

Le masse vanno educate per la rivoluzione.

Il germe di questa, l'intenso malessere economico, esiste; manca — e può pronunciarsi da un momento all'altro — l'occasione che darà la spinta.

E allora il popolo dev'essere pronto a far da sè e non bisognoso di mettersi in balìa di condottieri.

Io ritengo per fermo — dice — che l'uomo "avrà bisogno" anzi di lavorare.

Quando egli trova conforto alla esistenza, quando sarà nutrito sufficientemente: accumulerà energie che necessariamente dovrà espandere. Se vi saranno delle eccezioni esse verranno ad usura ricompensate dal minor bisogno di produzione, gli arsenali militari, le acciaierie per corazzate, i cantieri militari, i servizii non produttivi, la pubblica sicurezza, gli eserciti, ecc., venendo aboliti, daranno innumeri braccia ai servigi della produzione, sì da compensar ad usura qualche fannullone ammalato di atavica pigrizia.

E con ciò abbiamo riassunto quel tanto di più interessante che dalle tre conferenze del carissimo G. Pimpino venne mirabilmente dimostrato.

Fu una propaganda compensata da ottimo successo perchè formò delle convinzioni che — educate — difficilmente si offuscheranno.

Una stretta di mano a G. Pimpino, un grazie agli anarchici di Providence che ci regalarono l'occasione di sentire il forte direttore della **Cronaca Sovversiva** al quale inviamo il nostro saluto tutto di ammirazione".

⚜

E per meglio completare questo resoconto crediamo utile aggiungere la narrazione d'un incidente, avvenuto alla terza conferenza, taciuto dalla **Ragione Nuova**. Cediamo la parola al nostro corrispondente.

Giovanelli (socialista), dimanda di fare qualche obbiezione.

Pimpino. — Si dichiara sempre pronto a discutere di idee; ma si rifiuta di discutere col Giovanelli, perchè, dice, non gode la sua stima.

Giovanelli. — Fa per parlare.

Pimpino. — Aggiunge che non crede alla sincerità politica del Giovanelli. E spiega come, in una riunione avvenuta in Barre, circa due anni or sono, in presenza di oltre una dozzina di persone, il Giovanelli disse di aver mandato al **Proletario** un articolo ove taccia Pimpino di essere un birraio; ma che edotto poi della menzogna dell'asserto, si decise a far sospendere, per telegramma, la pubblicazione dell' articolo. Qualche tempo dopo, tornato il Giovanelli in Providence, l'articolo in parola apparve sul **Popolo Cattolico** e fu in parte riprodotto da altri giornali.

Giovanelli. — Dichiaro di avere **mentito per rappresaglia** sul conto Pimpino.

Pimpino. — Soddisfatto di questa dichiarazione, concede la parola al Giovanelli.

C. C.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890419014

The Emma Goldman Papers

To My Readers / Emma Goldman.— pp. 7-8 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 10 (Dec. 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

GAUDEAMUS IGITUR.

By WILLIAM MOUNTAIN.

Then fill the goblet to the brim,
The brave will drink it to the lees;
To-morrow merry eyes will dim
And loving hearts in silence freeze.
The past is burning through our veins,
And lives a moment in our cry;
'Tis ours to joy in spite of pains,
To live a happy hour and die.

For all has been that we might live
And quaff this hour divine in bliss;
Whate'er the past of life can give
Is ours—a coffin or a kiss.
Is ours, ah! let the wine run red,
And let us drink while drink we may;
The weary? they are well abed,
And we? alas! must soon away.

The best we know is not to fear,
To live each moment as the last,
Be bravest when the foe is near,
And weak, if e'er, when danger's past;
If beaten, not to weep or sigh,
Or feebly curse a hapless fate;
To feel we do not vainly die
If life is lived in love's estate.

With cosmic disregard of care,
Our glory is we will not try
To placate fate with craven prayer
And ease our conscience with a lie;
Nor hide with words a common fear,
Nor seek some cheap unworthy aid,
But wait for death in honest cheer,
Or go to meet him unafraid.

TO MY READERS.

The birth of "Mother Earth" was an eventful day for me. For years I longed to create a medium through which I might express myself in words more durable than oral language. The necessity was not merely subjective; conditions, too, called for the clarification of much-befogged ideas,—not merely from the narrow party standpoint, but on the broad basis of a better and nobler life.

The outlook for such a magazine seemed very favorable. An artist friend promised a theatrical performance, the proceeds of which were to establish a solid financial foundation for the undertaking. Alas, the conspiracy of circumstances! Owing to many unforeseen obstacles and difficulties, the performance was only a partial success, and the greater part of the proceeds was swallowed up by the necessity of changing the original name, "Open Road," to that of "Mother Earth."

Immediately on its appearance, however, the magazine enlisted the interest of a large circle of sympathizers and friends. All prospects pointed to success.

Then came the Summer, with its hot and sultry weather. Somebody has said that a Revolution would be impossible in July—"Mother Earth," too, suffered from the same cause, the revenue of the magazine largely depending on the sales at the various radical and liberal meetings, which are quite inactive during the Summer months.

Thanks to the active interest of a few friends, however, I was enabled to fertilize the soil, hoping that with cooler weather would come the harvest.

My expectations were amply justified. August, September and October brought a host of new subscribers and a great demand for single copies.

Then the Police Department got busy. What on earth is there for them to do, but to hound Anarchists?! Thus it happened that they raided two meetings, clubbed the audiences, arrested twelve persons and confiscated a considerable part of the October issue of "Mother Earth."

Not satisfied with this arbitrary and highhanded proceeding, the police have since kept up their brutal persecution, closing radical meetings, terrorizing hallkeepers and audiences, and threatening them with arrest.

"Mother Earth" depends largely upon the sale of sin-

272

890419014

The Emma Goldman Papers

To My Readers / Emma Goldman. – pp. 7-8 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 10 (Dec. 1906).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

gle copies, averaging monthly about eighty dollars; the action of the authorities has resulted in almost extinguishing that source of revenue. Some of our liberals, ever courageous in fighting dead gods, have been so frightened by the sight of a detective that they have entirely withdrawn "Mother Earth" from sale at their meetings. And yet the postal authorities continue to pass the magazine through the mails!

Through all this unwonted activity of the police can be plainly seen the determination to suppress the spreading of Anarchism, and particularly of "Mother Eearth." Even our masquerade ball, a simple social affair, was invaded by the presence of uniformed Comstocks who left nothing undone to create a disturbance. Fortunately, nothing happened; but the depressing effect made enjoyment impossible, resulting in financial loss.

All this, however, shall not influence in the least my determination to continue the magazine. Neither shall police persecution nor personal danger deter me from voicing my ideas. Are the readers and friends of "Mother Earth" willing to assist me?

A Sustaining Fund for the magazine has been suggested, and a number of friends have already contributed towards it. I should ask all those desirous to aid to come forward soon, that I may know what to expect.

* * *

At this writing I am unable to say what the charge against me will result in. In case of my conviction and imprisonment, "Mother Earth" will continue. Comrades Alexander Berkman and John R. Coryell, aided by Voltairine De Cleyre, Max Baginski and other able contributors have consented to publish the magazine.

But whatever the future may bring, a Sustaining Fund is an immediate nccessity.

Emma Goldman.

* * *

"MOTHER EARTH" SUSTAINING FUND

H. Comarow	$10.00
W. Kipfer	5.00
Carpenter Union No. 309	25.00
Dr. Joseph Pyburn	2.50
Miss Anna Riedel	2.00

Emma Lee		2.00
M. Rubinstein,	Chicago	5.00
B. Capes,	"	2.00
J. M. Livshis,	"	3.00
Jul. Bloomfield,	"	3.00
Jos. Goldman,	"	2.00
N.,	"	5.00
		$66.50

ANNOUNCEMENT

Sunday, December 16th, at 3 P. M.

EMMA GOLDMAN

will lecture at the

Brooklyn Philosophical Association,

Long Island Business College,

143 S. 8th Street.

Subject: "False and True Conceptions of Anarchism."

273

890420000

The Emma Goldman Papers

As to "Crammers of Furnaces" / Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and H[arry] Kelly. – pp. 21-23 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 10 (Dec. 1906).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

As when your neighbor's house is on fire your own is in danger, so the protection of your liberty should begin when it is menaced by a precedent which attacks your opponent's equality of opportunity to express his disagreement with you. Let us then unite for the repeal of these iniquitous laws, born of hysteria and popular panic, and maintained in thoughtless disregard of others' intellectual freedom.

* * *

FREE SPEECH DEFENSE FUND.

Group Freie Arbeiter-Stimme	$50.00
Group Germinal	31.50
Progressive Library	25.00
Carpenter Union No. 309	25.00
Singing Society "Freiheit"	20.00
Through "Freiheit"	15.00
Brewer Union, Newark, N. J.	5.00
Through N. Notkin, Philadelphia	35.00
Chicago, through J. M. Livshis	95.35
Milwaukee, November meeting	12.75
Italian Anarchists, Alabama	3.40
Through L. Camanita	3.00
Several contributions	4.00
	$325.00

The expenditures, so far, total $215. An itemized account will appear in the next issue of "MOTHER EARTH."

THE EDITOR.

AS TO "CRAMMERS OF FURNACES."

(A Reply to E. C. Walker's Article in No. 46 "Truth Seeker.")

It requires a very brave mind to be just to one's opponent. We are apt, only too often, to misstate facts in order to gain victory in an argument or discussion. But the really honest man, the truly broadminded, scorns such tactics; to him the triumph based on falsehood is bitter fruit.

This was the thought that persisted and kept obtruding itself at our perusal of Mr. E. C. Walker's article "Crammers of Furnaces and Sitters on Safety Valves." Perhaps the article might have never been written had Mr. Walker realized that sincerity in literature and honesty towards opponents are as desirable as good weight and full measure in the matter of groceries. Or may be that, the opportunity being given, the temptation to lecture Anarchists on Anarchism was very, very strong and—Mr. Walker weak? Has he again succumbed to the passion for reiterating the claim—as ancient as it is stupid—that the Anarchist-Communists have no right to be called Anarchists.

Mr. Walker waxed eloquent over the "crime" of holding Czolgocz memorial meetings. As a matter of fact, no such memorial meetings took place and none were contemplated. The meeting in question was called for the purpose of discussing whether Czolgocz was an Anarchist or not. We claim the right of discussing—even under the present iniquitous law—whatever subject interests us. If free speech and free press mean anything, they mean freedom of discussion. We, therefore, claim the right to discuss how it is and why it is that a native born American, in this—politically the most advanced—country, the "land of opportunity," enjoying universal adult suffrage, should wish to kill the President of the United States, elected as that official is by a majority of the voting population, in accordance with our political institutions. The Czolgocz act was an entirely new phenomenon on the horizon of our country,—neither sectional feeling nor personal interest played any part in the act. A social phenomenon of this character should, in our estimation, receive our most earnest attention; it should be intelligently dis-

274

890420000

The Emma Goldman Papers

As to "Crammers of Furnaces" / Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and H[arry] Kelly. – pp. 21-23 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 10 (Dec. 1906).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

cussed in order to help us arrive at a better understanding of causes, and at a solution, if possible, of effects.

An unpopular subject? Granted. Shall freedom of speech, then, mean the discussion of only such subjects as are popular? And is the sex question a popular subject? And yet Mr. Walker has been discussing that question for more years than some of us can boast of since our birth. And we venture to say that the sex question is more obnoxious to the great American public than the McKinley episode.

"When a minority drops the pen of reason," says Mr. Walker, "and draws the sword of physical force, does it expect still to be opposed by reason and waved back by olive branches?" Not at all, Mr. Walker. It is true Czolgocz drew the sword; he paid the penalty *without a murmur*. We, however, are using the pen of reason. On what grounds, then, should we be persecuted any more than the so-called philosophical Anarchists? And does not Mr. Walker know that eight out of the twelve arrested and held for criminal court were mere spectators, and that one of the chief speakers at the alleged "memorial" Czolgocz meeting—Mr. Moscow—is a comrade of—Mr. E. C. Walker, an Individualist Anarchist absolutely opposed to violence.

We are open and avowed Revolutionists; but we defy any one to produce a single line from any English Anarchist paper or magazine published in this country within the last twenty-five years where assassination is advocated or even implied. And if this be true, can a just and honest man maintain that the followers of the Communist-Anarchist school of Thought should be treated as criminals?

Yes, literary honesty is a rare jewel, Mr. Walker. If you read in an article in "Mother Earth" that "Czolgocz was a soul in pain," you immediately declare the writer to be an apologist for Czolgocz. Is sympathy for an unfortunate man identical with justification of or apology for the man's act? As *real* Anachists we neither condemn nor justify; our business is to try to understand, understand, understand, Mr. Walker. In view of this, is it not foolish to say, "Yes, the police have acted foolishly, badly; almost or quite as foolishly and badly as the Communist Czolgocz apologists?"

"To return to our examination of the policy of those who stand forth as apologists or quasi-apologists for political assassination in the United States: In the first place, as heretofore intimated"—thus spake Mr. Walker—"they are not Anarchists, for if Anarchism means one thing more than another, it means opposition to the government of man by man. To take a man's life without his consent is the last supreme step in governing him."

Let us see, Mr. Walker. Government is an invasive organization; it taxes people without their consent; it butchers Philippino men, women and children; establishes bull pens at Idaho and sends colored troops to inflame race prejudice, by allowing those troops to obtain liquor and then illtreat the people. Government kidnaps men like Moyer and Haywood; it violates its own laws and then delegates the secretary of war to give his official indorsement to the illegal acts. In short, government and its representatives assassinate liberty at every step. At last a man arises who embodies in himself all the revolt of the people—he strikes down one of the invaders. According to Mr. Walker's logic he invades the invader. Is it not farcical to maintain that two persons can invade each other at the same time? Is this the celebrated "philosophic" logic?

We neither advocate nor advise acts of violence. But those who have come to realize that government is invasive of the liberty of the individual, can object to the assassination of tyrants on only two grounds—sentiment and expediency. Mr. Walker, who summons everything, except his own pet theories, to the bar of reason, would eliminate sentiment. Expediency is a matter of opinion and judgment.

As to that old, hoary chestnut about our not being Anarchists, do not permit it to worry you, Mr. Walker. We shall continue our Communist-Anarchist education of the people, and for the rest, let posterity judge.

EMMA GOLDMAN,
ALEXANDER BERKMAN,
H. KELLY.

Nov. 20, 1906.

(The "Truth Seeker" declined to print the above article on the ground that the "editor thought it best not to

275

890420003

The Emma Goldman Papers

Police Education / E[mma] G[oldman]. – pp. 2-3 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 11 (Jan. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

POLICE EDUCATION

Our criticism of the police brutality at the arrests on October 30th seems to have done the "Safety" Department some good.

True, the word Anarchism still affects them like the proverbial red rag, but they have at least learned to perform their "duty " in a more or less decent manner.

After dogging our steps for nine weeks, their "perseverance" and "tenacity" have at last been rewarded.

Sunday, January the 6th, the police closed our meeting held under the auspices of the "Mother Earth" Club, and arrested the Chairman, John R. Coryell, Alexander Berkman and myself.

The Criminal Anarchy of the Chairman consisted in a five-minute talk on the educational aims and purposes of the "Mother Earth" Club. Comrade Berkman was guilty of even a more heinous crime—he had not spoken at all, but he is known to have enjoyed for many years the paternalism of Pennsylvania.

A criminal Anarchist, aged 15, who happened to be at the door when the detectives passed, was taken along to complete the quartet.

Three weeks previously I had delivered the same lecture—Misconceptions of Anarchism—before the Brooklyn Philosophical Association. And though the heroes of the American Third Section—the newly created Anarchistic Squadron—were present, no arrests followed. Even detectives are not so stupid as not to understand that their Cossack tactics at Anarchistic meetings could not be profitably applied to non-anarchistic elements. It might wake the law-abiding citizen to a realization of the true state of affairs.

Our hearing before the Police Court Magistrate resulted in our being held for further "examination."

Comrades Coryell and Berkman were held in $1,000 bail each, while my bond was set at $2,000.

Inspector McLaughlin asked me, quite naively, whether I did not intend to cease my agitation. On being told that I would not change my course, the wise man informed me that I am hereafter to be arrested every time I speak upon a platform.

We, too, have learned a lesson. 'Tis no more a question of free speech. It is a conspiracy against the spread of Anarchism.

E. G.

* * *

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS.

The death of Ernest Crosby came as a great shock to all those who realize the lack of strong personalities in the world of thought and literature. To be true in the latter requires courage—we have but few Crosbys.

* * *

The trial of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone has again benn postponed, following the decision of the Colorado Supreme Court that the forcible kidnapping of those men from Colorado was perfectly legal. The laws are rather elastic in the hands of power. Of course, the defendants' counsel will have recourse to the law. We wish them success. However, if the American workmen wishes to prevent the slaughter of their champions on the altar of Mammon, they will have to meet plutocratic with their economic force. Answer the conspiracy of the money power with the general strike.

* * *

Barre, Vermont, has recently come into prominence through the arrest in that city of Luigi Galliani, an Italian Anarchist, who is accused of participation in the Weaver strike of 1902, at Paterson, N. J. As some of

276

890420004
The Emma Goldman Papers
Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman.– p. 18 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 11 (Jan. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

For the reasons here outlined, I feel it my duty to protest against all laws which punish the mere expression of unpopular opinions, not having resulted in other acts prohibited by law. Every such abridgment of the freedom of speech or of press is a dangerous precedent from which will grow other like abridgments, until we enjoy any liberties only as a matter of permission and not as a matter of right.

Every such law is destructive of the fundamental equalities of human opportunity, and violative of the rights guaranteed by our constitutions. By these considerations I am impelled, at the risk of being misunderstood, or of deliberate misinterpretation, and of great unpopularity, to insist on both the legislative and judicial annulment of all anti-Anarchist laws, and every other law abridging even in the slightest degree the means of inter-communication between sane adult humans.

* * *

LECTURE TOUR.

I intend to go on a lecture tour, the proceeds of which are to be devoted to the "Mother Earth" Sustaining Fund. I have already been invited by the San Francisco comrades, and, on my way to the Coast, I am prepared to lecture in the larger cities.

Those wishing to arrange meetings will please communicate with me at once.

EMMA GOLDMAN,
308 East 27th St.,
New York.

"EVENTS ARE THE TRUE SCHOOLMASTERS."

By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

I count it as one of the best fortunes of my life that in my early days as an anarchist it was my privilege to know Dyer D. Lum. These thirteen years he is in his grave, and yet whenever editors and contributors of anarchist journals fall to denouncing the actions of the unwise, the ebullitions of the mass, I hear his voice, as yesterday, saying in his short, brusque way: "Events are the true schoolmasters."

There was in his day, as there is now, a certain percentage of propagandists who think that they possess the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth (a perhaps enviable condition of mind, but certainly an intolerant one). They appear to think that by the application of certain abstract principles they have been able to chalk-line the course of progress, and that if it be strictly adhered to an unquestionable triumph of these principles lies straight ahead. They are essentially reasonable, cool persons, somewhat over-impressed with their lack of sentimentality, having definite "plans of campaign" in their heads. The trouble is that when the plan is put in action, it meets with the difficulties the mathematical builders of Laputa met when they put up a wall. The planners never look to right or left of the chalk-line to measure the quantities with which they are dealing, or get a relative estimate of their own forces compared with the forces they are endeavoring to guide so straightly. All at once some one of these unreckoned, undisciplined forces flies right across the well-laid-out path; helter-skelter, topsy-turvy goes all the patient work, and the "plan of campaign" is smitten in the house of its friends. Do the campaigners give a look around, now, and take in the situation? Do they begin to recognize that their little labored ant-track was just a bit of a groove bearing relation to the path of progress, about as the rut of a toy cart-wheel to the whole road; that the road is by no means straight, but full of hills and holes and curves and angles according to the obstacles met and the powers of the moving quantity? Not they! The plan is all right; so much the worse for the campaign if it disregards the chalk! The planners adjust their blinkers, give a look in their pocket-mirrors

277

890420005
The Emma Goldman Papers
"Mother Earth" Sustaining Fund / E[mma] G[oldman].— p. 34 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 1, no. 11 (Jan. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

"MOTHER EARTH" SUSTAINING FUND.

Previously acknowledged	$66.50
F. F. Mead	5.00
B. M. Schade	2.00
M. Cohn	1.00
J. B. Rheimer	1.00
R. Daverkosen	1.00
Wm. Holmes	1.00
Proceeds from R——e by Syracuse Comrades, per M. Slive*	10.00
Per Lists:	
Beckie Edelson	12.60
West Hoboken Italian Comrades	2.80
Several Friends (Paterson, N. J.)	3.45
	$106.35

E. G.

* * *

FREE SPEECH DEFENSE FUND.

Previously acknowledged	$325.00
Through L. Camanita	21.00
Through N. Notkin	12.05
Through "Freiheit"	10.00
Through K. Herlitz (Pittsburg)	4.00
Through Slutzkin (Buffalo)	5.00
Lynn Educational Club (Lynn, Mass.)	15.85
Collected on Subscription Lists:	
Rose Fritz (San Francisco)	$45.50
L. Camanita	7.00
B. Blumberg (Carteret, N. J.)	4.75
W. H. Educational Club (West Hoboken, N. J.)	6.85
John Feodor (N. Y.)	11.00
Beckie Edelson	6.50
Unknown Collector	3.80
Total	$478.30

An account of expenditures will be given when the cases are settled.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

*) A. Goldman, of Rochester, N. Y., received the prize.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

FRANCE.

American freethinkers who are always agreeably surprised on visiting France to notice the absence of puritanic Sabbath restrictions, read with mixed feelings of amusement and disgust of the recent Sunday-rest law enacted at the request of the organized workingmen, and their attempt to enforce it upon refractory employers. It is the old story: if they are able to compel their employers to give them one day's rest they do not need the law, and if they are not able the law is of no avail. Already the workers have several times put themselves in the humiliating position of asking the officials to enforce the law, and been properly insulted for it. We in America have had all manner of experience with freak Sunday laws enacted from religious motives by a dead generation and remaining as a pestiferous tool for the living one, with the result that the law generally fines some insignificant candy-store keeper, barber, milk-dealer or newsdealer, while the great corporations steadily ignore it. Our brethren in France may expect like results; with this added sting, that while our workers may be excused for trying to make the best of a bad legacy, they have voluntarily created an obnoxious restriction, of no benefit to themselves as workers, and a nuisance to themselves and everybody else in other capacities.

As the result of the active anti-militarist propaganda, which has been at much pains to ferret out and expose abuses in the French army, the inevitable party of amelioration has arisen, as is evidenced by the present attempt of Minister Picquart to reform the Courts-martial. If the proposed reform is accepted, military offenders against the civil law in time of peace will no longer be tried by court-martial. Offenses against discipline alone are to be tried by court-martial; offenses against the civil law, even if commanded by a military superior, are to be tried in the common courts. Among these offenses are enumerated: abuse of authority, insubordination, desertion, whether in or out of the country, theft, pillage, destruction of edifices, corruption, prevarication, etc. The project also proposes the abolition of the death pen-

890613000

The Emma Goldman Papers

Free Speech Defense Fund / Emma Goldman.– p. 34 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 11 (Jan. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

"MOTHER EARTH" SUSTAINING FUND.

Previously acknowledged	$66.50
F. F. Mead	5.00
B. M. Schade	2.00
M. Cohn	1.00
J. B. Rheimer	1.00
R. Daverkosen	1.00
Wm. Holmes	1.00
Proceeds from R——e by Syracuse Comrades, per M. Slive*	10.00
Per Lists:	
Beckie Edelson	12.60
West Hoboken Italian Comrades	2.80
Several Friends (Paterson, N. J.)	3.45
	$106.35

E. G.

* * *

FREE SPEECH DEFENSE FUND.

Previously acknowledged	$325.00
Through L. Camanita	21.00
Through N. Notkin	12.05
Through "Freiheit"	10.00
Through K. Herlitz (Pittsburg)	4.00
Through Slutzkin (Buffalo)	5.00
Lynn Educational Club (Lynn, Mass.)	15.85
Collected on Subscription Lists:	
Rose Fritz (San Francisco)	$45.50
L. Camanita	7.00
B. Blumberg (Carteret, N. J.)	4.75
W. H. Educational Club (West Hoboken, N. J.)	6.85
John Feodor (N. Y.)	11.00
Beckie Edelson	6.50
Unknown Collector	3.80
Total	$478.30

An account of expenditures will be given when the cases are settled.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

*) A. Goldman, of Rochester, N. Y., received the prize.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

FRANCE.

American freethinkers who are always agreeably surprised on visiting France to notice the absence of puritanic Sabbath restrictions, read with mixed feelings of amusement and disgust of the recent Sunday-rest law enacted at the request of the organized workingmen, and their attempt to enforce it upon refractory employers. It is the old story: if they are able to compel their employers to give them one day's rest they do not need the law, and if they are not able the law is of no avail. Already the workers have several times put themselves in the humiliating position of asking the officials to enforce the law, and been properly insulted for it. We in America have had all manner of experience with freak Sunday laws enacted from religious motives by a dead generation and remaining as a pestiferous tool for the living one, with the result that the law generally fines some insignificant candy-store keeper, barber, milk-dealer or newsdealer, while the great corporations steadily ignore it. Our brethren in France may expect like results; with this added sting, that while our workers may be excused for trying to make the best of a bad legacy, they have voluntarily created an obnoxious restriction, of no benefit to themselves as workers, and a nuisance to themselves and everybody else in other capacities.

As the result of the active anti-militarist propaganda, which has been at much pains to ferret out and expose abuses in the French army, the inevitable party of amelioration has arisen, as is evidenced by the present attempt of Minister Picquart to reform the Courts-martial. If the proposed reform is accepted, military offenders against the civil law in time of peace will no longer be tried by court-martial. Offenses against discipline alone are to be tried by court-martial; offenses against the civil law, even if commanded by a military superior, are to be tried in the common courts. Among these offenses are enumerated: abuse of authority, insubordination, desertion, whether in or out of the country, theft, pillage, destruction of edifices, corruption, prevarication, etc. The project also proposes the abolition of the death pen-

891002001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture. Anarchism Is Not Necessarily Violence] / [Emma Goldman]. — 28 cm. —(Jan. 6, 1907, police transcript).— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Hall on January 6th, 1907.

"Anarchism is not necessarily violence, though some of the younger comrades have from time to time committed various acts of violence. Anarchists like myself would not be too hasty, but if an act of violence was committed by some person because he was not able to control himself and his feelings would burst within him, and would commit an act of violence upon some tyrant or another, and upon investigation, I thought this act justified, no matter how unnecessary or foolish the act may seem, I for one would extend to him my hand of friendship and tender him my sympathy and assistance. x x x x x x x

"A few years ago a foolish law was enacted, and as a consequence some of our comrades are afraid of this law, and so have become self respecting and law abiding citizens, but I for one do not fear this law, for you cannot be a self respecting and law abiding (as Society and State look upon it) and also be a good Anarchist" x x x x x x

"There has been something said about it being too bad that a test case of this law is to be made with Emma Goldman in it, because as some one said I was too unpopular, I myself am glad that I am so unpopular, for if it was otherwise and I was really popular, I could not be true to myself, and therefore I shall continue to be unpopular, so long as I am able to think and act, and I shall always be opposed to government. x x x

"Government at present consists of force, and force is now on top, and so long as there is force on top we must have force on the bottom. x x x

"Society fears as its greatest enemy, Anarchy, and I am willing to plead guilty to the fact that Anarchy is Society or the States greatest enemy, for the success of Anarchy means the downfall of all Government. x x x x

"I will give you an example of how we can exist without government, I will quote Tolstoi's saying; For instance, there is a pile of some 200 or more bricks, now if you pull one of the bricks from the bottom, the rest of the bricks are bound to fall, the same thing can be applied to Government. If you stop supporting the Government, the Government is bound to fall. x x x x x x x

"It is ridiculous to think that Society cannot get along without Government, and if after there will be plenty of us of the same belief that we can get along without Government, we will say to the Government, give us what belongs to us in peace, and if you do not give it to us in peace, we will take it by force." x x x x

"As long as I live and am able to express myself, I will be opposed to Government, and as my brain dictates will use force against the Government."

211 15

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

8'00222012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Arrested for Talking Violence / Emma Goldman.— p. 16 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(Jan. 7, 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ISE ROBLEM

olish All

saaya.

TO STAY

Settle the

dnesday

eport.

n meets on ttle wheth- be allowed lic schools Schools, to red for in- , and from day. It will exercises tions The he report. ert Lucas, Rhodes He- ited States ting fight ed to have ims in the e Committee the pro- to report almas holi- editors of t side ex- their chil- the Monday of remon- at between e-third of section of

objected to ss, decora- exercises which told ar subjects were sung at compul- ly religious acter were re read by decorations, y, and mis- were sug- n subjects hose of the walls of

etween two nd the per- on the other atisfied, the schools has sions in the beration in on a plan fy all con- est on Tues- to the form o the board

r objections the commit- The hymn ot allowing acter to be ies realizes hymns have ere without deal step to e time It looks con- r use to to the list of ls, and that ook shall be

ubjects of a solutely pro- ter the ex- ading from be allowed e comments "This fall's s observed ukeys Prin- ipal School ercises of the Christian ational School ers of the ew Testament ere read by ecorations, and mis- were sug- n subjects hose of the e walls of

etween two nd the per- on the other atisfied, the Schools has sions in the beration in on a plan fy all con- est on Tues- to the form o the board

r objections the commit- The hymn ot allowing acter to be ies realizes hymns have ere without deal step to e time It looks con- r use to to the list of ls, and that ook shall be

ubjects of a solutely pro- ter the ex- ading from be allowed e comments "This fall's s observed ukeys Prin- ipal School ercises of the Christian ational School ers of the ew Testament

WOMAN'S ARREST A 'MISTAKE.'

She Paid For a Suit and When It Came C. O. D. Kept It—Court Indignant.

Mrs. Harriet Mortimer, 30 years old, of 201 Columbus Avenue, well looking and stylishly dressed, was indignant when arraigned in the West Side Court yesterday, over a comedy of errors relating to the delivery to her of a costume marked "C. O. D.," which led to her arrest and detention in the West Thirty-eighth Street Police Station on Saturday night, from 8 to 11, when she was bailed out.

When John Maher, 17 years old, of 15 Manhattan Avenue, a department-store delivery boy, stepped forward to make a complaint against Mrs. Mortimer, Magistrate Whitman characterized the detention of the woman under the circumstances to be questionable.

"If your employer wishes to make a charge against this woman he must come to this court or send some responsible person to do so," said the Magistrate, "as I cannot accept a serious charge from an irresponsible person like this boy, and hold this woman on what appears to be a mistake."

The story of Mrs Mortimer, as she related it to the Magistrate, was to the effect that she had ordered a costume costing $26, and gave in payment $16 in cash and an order from her father for $10, but that the package was sent C. O. D. Believing that there had been some mistake, she told the boy to go back and tell the clerks that she had paid in full for the suit. Then she took the package and shut the door.

"The order for $10 was sent to me by my father from Plattsburg, N. Y.," explained Mrs Mortimer. "My father had an account in that store, and sent me the order as a Christmas present."

Policeman Mahoney, who made the arrest on complaint of Maher, the delivery boy, said Mrs. Mortimer showed him a receipt for $16 made out on a blank bearing the name of the firm, as evidence of having paid the money, but there was no receipt for the order for $10 from her father. Samuel Rohan, who appeared as counsel for Mrs Mortimer, told the Magistrate that his client had been locked up three hours, because some one had blundered, and that it was a very cruel thing for a respectable woman.

Magistrate Whitman discharged Mrs Mortimer. Then he told her to appear in court on Tuesday afternoon, at 2 to see if any further complaint be made. The court was particular, however, to impress on her that she was not under arrest, and that her discharge on the arrest was unconditional, because no charge had been accepted against her.

SPOKE THE MISSING PONCE.

Ship Reports Her All Right on Dec. 28—Now a Week Overdue.

The first word received from the missing New York & Porto Rico Company steamship Ponce since she sailed from Ponce, Porto Rico, on Christmas Day was brought in yesterday by the big sailing ship Shenandoah, which made port from Port Blakely. The Ponce is now one week overdue, and it is certain that she has broken down, if nothing more serious has happened to her.

Capt. Chapman of the Shenandoah sighted the Ponce in north latitude 27.48, and west longitude 70.48, on Dec. 28. At 11 A. M. Capt. Chapman made out the Ponce headed to this port and proceeding with fair speed. Believing that the liner would arrive here several days before the Shenandoah, Capt. Chapman signalled to her, asking to report having passed him. The Ponce acknowledged the signals. The vessels passed within a quarter of a mile of each other.

When sighted the Ponce had not covered half the distance between Ponce and this port. She was about 550 miles north of Porto Rico and 250 miles from the Bermuda Islands. Consequently she was still well to the south of Sandy Hook. The weather was good and remained so until the Shenandoah reported Dec. 28, except for a strong blow on Jan. 4.

Capt. Chapman says that in his opinion the Ponce has been disabled to an extent that her machinery and drifted out of the course of steamships. Anxious inquiries for news of the Ponce came all day to the friends and relatives of those on board. A friend of T. H. Reid, a passenger, said that Mr. Reid was a purchasing agent for Swift & Co. and lived with his family at Westwood, N. J.

EMMA GOLDMAN ARRESTED FOR TALKING VIOLENCE

Anarchist Berkman Also in a Cell as an Accessory.

POLICE STOPPED HER SPEECH

She Had Just Said That the Reds Would Some Day Use Force to Overcome the Government.

Emma Goldman, who has been arrested many times in this and other cities for uttering anarchistic sentiments, was taken into custody late yesterday afternoon while in the midst of an address before an audience of 600 persons at Clinton Hall, 151 Clinton Street.

Alexander Berkman, the anarchist who was liberated from a Pennsylvania prison last Summer after having served a term of fourteen years for having attempted to take the life of H. C. Frick, was arrested along with the Goldman woman. Berkman was put in a cell at Police Headquarters, and Miss Goldman, after having been interrogated by Inspector McLaughlin, was sent to the Mercer Street Station, where there is a matron.

The charge against the Goldman woman is violation of that section of the Penal Code which makes it a felony to give utterance from a public platform to "incendiary" sentiments. Berkman is charged with being an accessory.

The police gathered in along with the two principal prisoners, John R. Coryell of 61 St. Nicholas Place. Coryell acted as Chairman of the meeting. Still another prisoner was a 15-year-old boy of the name of Schwartz. He gave his address as 110 East 146th Street.

The arrests were made by Detective Sergeant Braun, assisted by Roundsmen Buck and Werzansky, and Policemen Rafsky and Schwartz. They form a squad the duty of which is to suppress all anarchistic meetings on the east side.

The meeting at Clinton Hall had been advertised, and the "anarchist squad" determined to attend in force, with several stenographers, in order to make an arrest if any seditious talk was indulged in. Evidently Miss Goldman was not particularly averse to arrest. She could plainly see the stenographers at work, and obliged them by talking in excellent English.

The utterance which is given as the basis for the arrest is as follows:

"It is ridiculous to think that society cannot get along without government. We will soon say to the Government, 'Give us what belongs to us in peace, and if you don't give it to us in peace we will take it by force.'

"As long as I live and am able to explain myself I will be opposed to government. And as I live, and as my brain dictates, I will use force against government."

When Detective Braun heard this he first summoned the reserves from the Delancey Street Station, and then went up to Miss Goldman and arrested her. Berkman objected, saying that nothing of an unlawful nature had taken place, whereupon he was arrested also. Then Coryell was informed that he must go along. Later, as the prisoners were being taken from the hall, the boy Schwartz is said to have refused to leave. His reluctance resulted in a trip to Headquarters, and later a night in the rooms of the Gerry society.

The audience did not like the interruption. There were cat calls and hisses, but no serious disorder. The crowd was composed for the most part of Russian Jews, but there were several negroes and a scattering of Americans in it.

Berkman and the Goldman woman took their arrest coolly. As they were leaving the hall they asked Braun if he would not call a cab at their expense. Braun replied that if they did not like the idea of riding in a patrol car he would take them away in his own conveyance a patrol wagon.

The prisoners all said they preferred the car, and rode peaceably to Headquarters. A crowd of men and boys followed the car for about a block, but made no demonstration.

Inspector McLaughlin questioned Berkman and the Goldman woman in his office when they were brought in. Both said to him that they did not believe in a government of force. The Goldman woman said she intended to keep on stating just such matters as that which she had stated in the afternoon. She gave her address as 210 East Twenty-seventh Street, and Berkman gave the same number.

In giving her testimony Emma Goldman

COLLIER'S RETRACTS

Oppenheimer Treatment Sustained.

The issue of Collier's Weekly for January 5th acknowledges injustice done to the Oppenheimer Treatment, and publishes a statement of the work being done by the Oppenheimer Institute.

The Literary Digest of January 5th also states "We have interviewed a number of prominent physicians in New York City who have had experience with the Oppenheimer treatment and who stated that the results obtained through it have been satisfactory from a medical standpoint."

The Oppenheimer Treatment for Alcoholism may be administered through any physician or can be given at

THE OPPENHEIMER INSTITUTE
150 West 34th Street,
New York City.

CARPETS

General Clearance Sale.

For the next thirty days we will place on sale a large accumulation of odd pieces and discontinued patterns, in all the various grades.

AT REMNANT PRICES.

RUGS

Notwithstanding the enormous advance in cost of all wool products, we still maintain the former price on

OUR ONE FAMOUS LOT.

WILTON VELVETS, AXMINSTERS, SMYRNAS and BRUSSELS, Size 9x12 ft., at..... $20.00 each

MADE-UP RUGS with borders, in all sizes and grades

AT ONE-HALF PRICE.

SHEPPARD KNAPP & CO.
SIXTH AVE., 13TH & 14TH STS.

ANTI-DRYDEN MEN STICK; MAY BE DISCIPLINED

Say They Won't Attend Caucus If His Name Is Presented.

SENATOR'S FRIENDS ANGRY

Gov. Stokes May After All Be a Candidate—Jersey Lawmakers Begin Work To-morrow.

Special to The New York Times.

TRENTON, N. J., Jan. 6. The news that the Union County Executive delegation will refuse to enter a caucus for United States Senator unless the name of Senator John F. Dryden is withdrawn was first received here with incredulity, but was confirmed to-day by Tim Times correspondent, who called on each member of the Union County Executive delegation and received the positive assurance that, while the declaration made by them last night did not state specifically that they would refuse to go into the caucus if Dryden's name was presented, they would not do it.

But the end is not yet, the Dryden men say. The Dryden leaders say they do not like the attitude of a small county seeking to dictate to the whole Republican party, and will continue to do so.

The State leaders, who are back of Dryden, believe that the fight against Dryden has been worked up by the Valley people. They say the talk about Supreme Court Justice Mahlon Pitney being in favor of Baird was sprung to embarrass Dryden. They say they were told Robert Stocker of Union county that he did not want the Senatorship and would not accept it if it was tendered him.

It is whispered here that Gov. Stokes would not resign the governorship to succeed Dryden if he were elected by a split caucus, but would serve the entire term.

Smith,

MOND

Tenth

STOCK RE

Will be devoted to the advertised Saturday at $14.

Many of the best styl unusual.

Men's O

The coats advertised a ever offered. At $18.50 pl selling, and at $12.50, if y you can get two dollars' va

Broadway a
Fulton S
Broadway at

RHEUMA

"RHE

L



The Most Against or absolutely are exposed ment went These legs Australian wards as fa able, stylis wear over the shoe—no

The Greatest An Absolute

RHE

$1.50 Pair. A

FOR WOMEN
ROSENWASSER BROS

THE GREA

Are the Remnants
Suits to measure $18
Former prices $25. to

ARN

Broadwa

Get G

(THE GREATEST

All of

$30.00 th

Fifth Ave. and 42d St.
5 Doors West

PLANNING A HEN TRUST.

Concern Formed to Have Big Chicken Farms Near Large Cities



"All Comes to Them That Wait."

We'll publish a [illegible]

281

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890222012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Arrested for Talking Violence / Emma Goldman. — p. 16 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(Jan. 7, 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

to this country or what. Some responsible person to do so,' said the Magistrate, 'as I cannot accept a serious charge from an irresponsible person like this boy, and hold this woman on what appears to be a mistake.'

The story of Mrs. Mortimer, as she related it to the Magistrate, was to the effect that she had ordered a costume costing $20, and gave in payment $10 in cash and an order from her father for $10, but that the package was sent C. O. D. Believing that there had been some mistake, she told the boy to go back and tell the clerks that she had paid in full for the suit. Then she took the package and shut the door.

The order for $10 was sent to me by my father from Flatbush, N. Y.," explained Mrs Mortimer. "My father had an account in that store, and sent me the order as a Christmas present."

Policeman Mahoney, who made the arrest on complaint of Muller, the delivery boy, said Mrs. Mortimer showed him a receipt for $18 made out on a blank bearing the name of the firm, as evidence of having paid the money, but there was no receipt for the order for $10 from her father. Samuel Bohan, who appeared as counsel for Mrs. Mortimer, told the Magistrate that his client had been locked up three hours, because some one had blundered, and that it was a very cruel thing for a respectable woman.

Magistrate Whitman discharged Mrs. Mortimer. Then he told her to appear in court on Tuesday afternoon at 2 to see if any further complaint be made. The court was particular, however, to impress on her that she was not under arrest, and that her discharge on the arrest was unconditional, because no charge had been accepted against her.

SPOKE THE MISSING PONCE.

Ship Reports Her All Right on Dec. 28 —Now a Week Overdue.

The first word received from the missing New York & Porto Rico Company steamship Ponce since she sailed from Ponce, Porto Rico, on Christmas Day was brought in yesterday by the big sailing ship Shenandoah, which made port from Port Hickely. The Ponce is now one week overdue, and it is certain that she has broken down, if nothing more serious has happened to her.

Capt. Chapman of the Shenandoah sighted the Ponce in north latitude 27 48, and west longitude 73 48, on Dec. 28. At 11 A. M. Capt. Chapman made out the Ponce headed in this port and proceeding with fair speed. Believing that the Ponce would arrive here several days before the Shenandoah, Capt. Chapman signaled to the steamer to report having passed him. The Ponce acknowledged the signals. The vessels passed within a quarter of a mile of each other.

When sighted the Ponce had not covered half the distance between Ponce and this port. She was about 320 miles north of Porto Rico and 250 miles from the Bahama Islands, the nearest land. She was about 200 miles south half a point east of Sandy Hook. The weather was good and remained so until the Shenandoah reached port, except for a strong blow on Jan. 4.

Capt. Chapman says that in his opinion the Ponce has been disabled by an accident to her machinery and drifted out of the course of steamships. Anxious inquiry for news of the Ponce came all day from the friends and relatives of those on board. A friend of T. H. Kidd, a passenger, said that Mr. Kidd was a purchasing agent for Swift & Co., and lived with his family at Westwood, N. J.

PLANNING A HEN TRUST.

Concern Formed to Have Big Chicken Farms Near Large Cities.

The Amalgamated Poultry Farms, an incorporated concern, designed to form a Hen Trust, was sprung upon breeders at the Poultry Show in Madison Square Garden last week.

The plan contemplates establishing immense poultry farms near the principal large cities of the country. Among the promoters is Charles Cyphers, who is to furnish the incubators. All the breeders in the Garden admitted that there was no question as to the hens being prolific, and that the idea looked to be alluring.

Those who looked favorably upon the plan said that with scientific methods and unity of purpose, big farms for raising poultry would pay handsome dividends. Whether the fun stock will be sold on the curb or on the Stock Exchange remains to be decided by the promoters.

SKYSCRAPER MAKERS' CLASS.

Y. M. C. A. to Start Its School for Builders.

The Winter term of the school of structural engineering, sometimes known as "the school for skyscraper builders," will begin at the West Side Young Men's Christian Association, West Fifty-seventh Street, to-day.

On Jan. 15 the night school of plan reading will be reopened. Together these schools have an attendance of 300 the majority carpenters, contractors, builders, and others interested in architectural and engineering work.

The [illegible] Committee of the Association includes H. W. Hodge is Chairman; Henry F. Hornbostel, and R. Hunt Lowe.

[illegible] found
[illegible] Times
[illegible] tyant

[illegible] ND.
[illegible] goods to [illegible]

[illegible] upon while in the midst of an address before an audience of men persons at Clinton Hall, 161 Clinton Street.

Alexander Berkman, the anarchist who was liberated from a Pennsylvania prison last Summer after having served a term of fourteen years for having attempted to take the life of H. C. Frick, was arrested along with the Goldman woman. Berkman was put in a cell at Police Headquarters, and Miss Goldman, after having been interrogated by Inspector McLaughlin, was sent to the Mercer Street Station, where there is a matron.

The charge against the Goldman woman is violation of that section of the Penal Code which makes it a felony to give utterance from a public platform to "incendiary" sentiments. Berkman is charged with being an accessory.

The police gathered in, along with the two principal prisoners, John R. Coryell of 60 St. Nicholas Place. Coryell acted as Chairman of the meeting. Still another prisoner was a 15-year-old boy of the name of Schwartz. He gave his address as 110 East 146th Street.

The arrests were made by Detective Sergeant Braun, assisted by Roundsmen Bock and Werzansky, and Policemen Rafsky and Schwartz. They form a squad the duty of which is to suppress all anarchistic meetings on the east side.

The meeting at Clinton Hall had been advertised, and the "anarchist squad" determined to attend in force, with several stenographers, in order to make an arrest if any seditious talk was indulged in. Evidently Miss Goldman was not particularly averse to arrest. She could plainly see the stenographers at work, and obliged them by talking in excellent English.

The utterance which is given as the basis for the arrest is as follows:

"It is ridiculous to think that society cannot get along without government. We will soon say to the Government: 'Give us what belongs to us in peace, and if you don't give it to us in peace we will take it by force.'

"As long as I live and am able to explain myself I will be opposed to government. And as I live, and as my brain dictates, I will use force against government."

When Detective Braun heard this he first summoned the reserves from the Delancey Street Station, and then went up to Miss Goldman and arrested her. Berkman objected, saying that nothing of an unlawful nature had taken place, whereupon he was arrested also. Then Coryell was informed that he must go along. Later, as the prisoners were being taken from the hall, the boy Schwartz is said to have refused to leave. His reluctance resulted in a trip to Headquarters, and later a night in the rooms of the Gerry society.

The audience did not like the interruption. There were cat calls and hisses, but no serious disorder. The crowd was composed for the most part of Russian Jews, but there were several negroes and a scattering of Americans in it.

Berkman and the Goldman woman took their arrest coolly. As they were leaving the hall they asked Braun if he would not call a cab at their expense. Braun replied that if they did not like the idea of riding in a street car he would take them away in his own conveyance—a patrol wagon.

The prisoners all said they preferred the car, and rode peaceably to Headquarters. A crowd of men and boys followed the car for about a block, but made no demonstrations.

Inspector McLaughlin questioned Berkman and the Goldman woman in his office when they were brought in. Both said to him that they did not believe in a government of force. The Goldman woman said she intended to keep on giving just such lectures as that which she had delivered in the afternoon. She gave her address as 208 East Twenty-seventh Street, and Berkman gave the same number as his residence.

In giving her pedigree Emma Goldman said she was unmarried. Berkman said he was single.

To the matron at the Mercer Street Station the Goldman woman said the arrest was an outrage. She communicated with friends in the hope of being arraigned before a Magistrate and admitted to bail.

Inspector McLaughlin said last night that among the magazines taken from the hall in which the meeting was held was one containing an article on the late Russell Sage, written by Emma Goldman. The opening paragraph said:

"What an indictment against society before and [illegible] must have been the soil that nurtured such a plant!"

Miss Goldman and Berkman were bailed out late last night by Samuel Edelstein of 140 Henry Street. Bail was fixed at $2,000.

COTTON EXCHANGE ATTITUDE.

Board Will Aid an Inquiry, Mr. Taft Informed Secretary Cortelyou.

Henry W. Taft returned from Washington yesterday after his consultation with Postmaster General Cortelyou regarding the accusations of Representative Livingston of Georgia against the New York Cotton Exchange, of which he is counsel for.

"I saw Mr. Cortelyou to tell him that the Exchange was ready at any time to meet any charges which were brought against it. The matter is a highly important one, but nothing has been done [illegible]

CARPETS
General Clearance Sale.

For the next thirty days we will place on sale a large accumulation of odd pieces and discontinued patterns, in all the various grades,

AT REMNANT PRICES.

RUGS

Notwithstanding the enormous advance in cost of all wool products, we still maintain the former price on

OUR ONE FAMOUS LOT.

WILTON VELVETS, AXMINSTERS, SMYRNAS and BRUSSELS, Size 9x12 ft., at..... $20.00 each

MADE-UP RUGS with borders, in all sizes and grades.

AT ONE-HALF PRICE.

SHEPPARD KNAPP & CO.
SIXTH AVE., 13TH & 14TH STS.

ANTI-DRYDEN MEN STICK; MAY BE DISCIPLINED

Say They Won't Attend Caucus If His Name Is Presented.

SENATOR'S FRIENDS ANGRY

Gov. Stokes May After All Be a Candidate—Jersey Lawmakers Begin Work To-morrow.

Special to The New York Times.

TRENTON, N. J. Jan. 8.—The news that the Union County Democratic delegation will refuse to enter a caucus for United States Senator unless the name of Senator John F. Dryden is withdrawn was first received here with incredulity, but was confirmed to-day by THE TIMES correspondent, who called upon each member of the Union County Executive delegation and received the positive assurance that, while the declaration made by them last night did not state specifically that they would refuse to go into the caucus if Dryden's name was presented, they meant that.

But the end is not yet, the Dryden men say. The Dryden leaders say they do not like the attitude of a small county seeking to dictate to the whole Republican majority of South Jersey. This year, they assert, South Jersey rules the Republican Party, and will continue to do so.

The State leaders, who are back of Dryden, believe that the fight against Dryden has been worked up by the Colby people. They say the talk about Supreme Court Justice Mahlon Pitney being a candidate was sprung to embarrass Dryden. Pitney, they say, told Robert Mecker of Union County that he did not want the Senatorship, and would not accept it if it was tendered him.

It is whispered here that Gov. Stokes would not refuse the election if he could get it. If he were elected he could announce that he would not go to Washington and be sworn in until the expiration of his official term, as did La Follette of Wisconsin. In this way Stokes would be keeping faith with the statement of last week that he intended to serve out his term of Governor.

It was declared here to-day by a State leader of high degree that the kind of ex-United States Senator Jamie Smith, Jr., could be seen in the parting forward of Mr. Pitney for the United States Senatorship. There were rumors last week that he stood ready to give Senator Dryden a few Democratic votes if Dryden could not find enough in the Republican ranks.

The one hundred and thirty-first Legislature opens on Tuesday, and the latest gossip about the formation of the Assembly is that two Democratic members of Passaic County have kicked over the traces and propose to vote for the return of James Parker of Passaic as clerk of the House. Parker is a Republican, and has been clerk for seven consecutive years.

Tomorrow and Tuesday will witness the greatest Democratic jubilee demonstration New Jersey has ever seen. In 1902 the faithful flocked to Trenton to give Voorhees the last Democratic Governor of the State the proper kind of a [illegible] It is a magnificent [illegible] the first

The costs advertised ... ever offered. At $18.50 ... selling, and at $12.50, if you ... you can get two dollars' val...

Broadway a...
Fulton St...
Broadway at ...



RHEUMA...
"RHEU...
L...

The Most ... Against or ... —absolutely ... are exposed ... ment went ... These leg... Australian ... warm and ... table, stylis... wear over ... the shoe—no...

The Greatest ...
An Absolute ...
RHE...
$1.50 Pair. ...

FOR WOMEN
ROSENWASSER BROS...

THE GREA...

Are the Remnants ...
Suits to measure $18...
Former prices $25. to...

ARN...
Broadwa...

Get G...
(THE GREATEST ...
All of ...
$30.00 th...
Fifth Ave. and 42d St.
5 Doors West



"All Comes to Them That Wait."

We'll publish a reward in a few days that will show that waiting for that Suit or Overcoat has been mighty worth while.

Moe Levy & Co.
THREE STORES—Outfitters to ...

(Men and Boys) 119-125 Walker St., NEW YORK.
(Men Only) 1457 Broadway, NEW YORK.

Men, Boys, Women and Girls 190-192 Fulton St., Brooklyn

AMUSEMENTS

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE ...

282

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890420006

The Emma Goldman Papers

Among Barbarians / Emma Goldman.– pp. 10-11 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 12 (Feb. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Gohier, "has been its exploitation of the spirit of patriotism. The feudal lords never thought of this. Having established their domination over the land, they accepted the task of defending it against all enemies. During the middle ages it was a generally accepted principle, which was as just as it was logical, that every man owed military service to the country in proportion to his wealth, especially in proportion to his landed wealth. The person who owned nothing had nothing to defend, and so was not expected to do military service. . . . It was the Bourgeoisie, become sovereign, that invented obligatory and unpaid military service. . . . The ancient régime kept in check the working classes by mercenaries, generally Swiss, Germans or Irish. But the bourgeois régime of to-day decimates strikers by the hands of the sons of these very strikers; proletarians are shot down by proletarians, an arrangement which is as economical as it is amazing."

Yes, that's the trick of democracy—to rob, oppress and kill the people in the name of the people.

* * *

AMONG BARBARIANS

By Emma Goldman.

The difference between a barbarian and a truly civilized being is this: While the former sets up his own opinion as the universal criterion, the latter recognizes no stagnation in the world of ideas; the barbarian condemns; the civilized man endeavors to understand.

The barbarian says, "We live in the most progressive land; we have achieved all that is possible." He considers contrary opinions as criminal and disturbing the harmony of things.

Barbarism is a stagnant swamp; intellectual liberty is the flowing river, the raging torrent carrying away the riff raff of old, decayed institutions.

This barbarism is the great foe of the libertarian and revolutionary element in America. Not the revolutionists only, but also the innovators in the fields of art and literature have no less to endure from the barbarians, though in different form.

The Anarchists are persecuted by absurd legislation; the revolutionaries in art and literature, by our public opinion and moral standards. Anarchists are the victims of police brutality; the artists, dissatisfied with the art conceptions of parlor estheticists, suffer the condemnation of Mrs. Grundy.

Woe to the American artist who will not be the slave of Puritanic hyprocisy. He would die of starvation were he to depend upon his art for the means of subsistence.

It would be difficult to find a judge in the United States who could see in Anarchistic defendants the representatives of a new conception of life; a new world-philosophy, intimately related with the social, scientific, artistic and economic currents of past generations.

In this respect the revolutionists of Europe have the advantage. The authorities of France, Germany, Italy and Russia lack the spirit of the American parvenu, whose most characteristic trait is conceit. Worldly successful, he considers himself perfect; but the self-made man is usually a god-made ass.

European civilization has outgrown the spirit of the parvenu. World-changing revolutions have taken place; and where these lacked, deep-rooted currents developed the consciousness that humanity cannot remain at a standstill.

There, even the powers that be have to some extent fallen under the broadening influence of a higher civilization. Naturally, their interests will determine their inimical attitude towards the heralds of new ideas; still, their antagonism is not of a character to stamp the revolutionists as criminals and degenerates, as is the case in this country.

A Parisian judge, daily passing the site where formerly stood the Bastille, or the Place de la Concorde, the Tuileries Gardens—each and every stone loudly proclaiming the historic mutability of all that is—must necessarily awaken to a clearer appreciation of revolutionary ideas than his American colleague. The latter firmly believes that the path of our social and intellectual growth has been finally and irrevocably marked out by the revolutionary fathers of the republic.

283

890420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anent My Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman. – p. 31 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 12 (Feb. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

protest; Cantwell and Quinn got six months hard labor for what was considered an incitement to violence. Even the conservative papers ridiculed the conviction and sentence, but once in the hands of the English Government, there is no hope of release until the sentence expires, except by royal pardon. In Great Britain there are no courts of appeal for criminal cases, and a pardon being out of the question, our comrades served their time. The rigors of an English prison affected Cantwell's heart, and he was never the same man afterward. He broke down in 1903, and was taken to St. Paneras Infirmary at the top of Highgate Hill, where I visited him. The air was good and the treatment satisfactory, he said, making no complaints. He was in the danger-ward with a large number of other patients whose cases were considered so hopeless that visitors were allowed at any time during the day. If a patient was able to look out of the window, he was comforted by the sight of the cemetery attached to the infirmary and the cheerful looking gravestones dotting the ground. It must have been a real inspiration to those poor, hopeless mortals to see one after the other passing away, and then look out over that cemetery. Cantwell was made of stern stuff, and after staying there four months he insisted on leaving, much against the advice of those in charge. He was too weak to do propoganda work, but being too independent to live off anyone and wanting something to do, he started a little store in Fulham Road.

Pressed for time, I was unable to see Cantwell again before returning to America. The following is an extract from a letter written by a comrade, a member of "Freedom Group," on January 8th:

"Since you wrote me we have lost poor Cantwell. I saw him a month ago, when he was much as usual, but I suppose that all these months he has been in the infirmary, heart disease was taking firm hold of him, though he suffered no pain. He felt unwell the Sunday before Xmas and stayed in bed; six days later he passed quietly away in his sleep. He suffered greatly for two days, but the pain left before death, I am glad to say. He was buried beside his sister in Edmonton Cemetery —miles away to the N. E.—on the 3rd inst. Only a few of us were able to get to the cemetery, owing to the

distance, etc.—it is a pretty, rural spot, and the grave lies in an open, sunny place, just as poor T. C. would have liked. The group sent a wreath, as did the Hydes and one or two other friends. There was a religious ceremony, in spite of Mrs. Hyde's protest (she knows the family well) and Kitz, who was armed with an address to deliver at the grave, had to remain silent, there being too few comrades present. At the burial there was an element of humor which poor C. would have rejoiced in, viz.: A vigorous verbal argument across his coffin before it left the undertaker's, between Mrs. Hyde and C.'s dreadful old missionary uncle, who, as soon as he caught sight of the card on our wreath, went for us like a mad bull, but he was pretty well handled by Mrs. Hyde before calm was restored. They are a queer, hard sort of people. C.'s mother visited him at the infirmary, but his father has never been near him since he gave up the little shop in Fulham two years ago. We shall all miss poor T. C., in spite of his many crochets."

A. D. asked me—a short time ago—to send some picture postal cards to Cantwell, but she forgot to give me his address; its too late now! Farewell, Tom Cantwell! It was worth while meeting you.

* * *

ANENT MY LECTURE TOUR

Owing to the necessity of my presence at the celebration of the first anniversary of "Mother Earth" (February 21), I shall begin my lecture tour March 3rd, at Pittsburg. From there I shall go to Cleveland, Columbus, Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis and St. Louis, where meetings have already been arranged.

I should like to hear as soon as possible from the cities West of St. Louis.

I shall lecture on the following subjects:

The Revolutionary Spirit in the Modern Drama.
Misconceptions of Anarchism.
The Building of True Character.
Direct Action versus Politics, and other subjects.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

890420008

The Emma Goldman Papers

Free Speech Defense Fund / [Emma Goldman].– p. 32 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 12 (Feb. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

FREE SPEECH DEFENSE FUND

Previously Acknowledged	$478.30
Group "Bread and Freedom," per N. Notkin..	3.40
Per Subscription Lists:	
I. Brooks, Pittsburg	$10.50
Mrs. N. Seldes, Pittsburg	9.00
Wm. Simonds, Toronto	4.00
Italian Anarchists, Sacramento	3.40
G. Kupferschmid	9.75
S. Djerve	3.85
Wm. Schenk	1.00
Carl Nold	1.00
Mrs. Rosenzweig	2.00
S. Weiss	2.50
Dr. Pyborn	2.50
From the Freie Arbeiter Stimme Defense Fund	50.00
	$581.20

* * *

FREE SPEECH FUND EXPENDITURES

To Pentecost & Campbell	$200.00
To Mayer London	75.00
To the Arrested Comrades:	
1. Zetlin	19.00
2. M. Moscow	20.00
3. M. Rubinstein	24.00
4. H. Lang	4.00
5. Wm. Gordon	8.00
6. Beckie Edelson	5.00
7. Annie Pastor	2.00
Sent per Kerner to the Tombs	8.00
Expended for the Arrested Comrades in the Station House and Tombs	15.00
Meals Sent to the Tombs, per J. Edelson	24.50
Incidental Expenses in Connection with our First and Second Arrests	30.00
Postage and Stationery	10.00
Loss to "Mother Earth" through Police Interference	100.00
	$544.50

Total Amount Received	$581.20
Expenditures	544.50
On Hand	$36.70

N. B.—The amount on hand, together with the sums collected on outstanding subscription lists, will be turned over to Comrade L. Galliani's Defense Fund. His position being very serious, we request that the money collected by the Freie Arbeiter-Stimme should be turned over for the same purpose.

NOTICE.—Those having subscription lists will please return them to me at once. EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

"MOTHER EARTH" SUSTAINING FUND

Previously Acknowledged	$106.35
Group Edelstadt, Chicago	40.00
Social Science League, Chicago	10.00
Syracuse Comrades, per Gesin	15.00
Proceeds from my Lecture in Brockton, Mass..	15.00
Proceeds from A. B.'s Lecture at the Germinal Group	10.35
Miss Anna Riedel	10.00
Mrs. Rosenzweig	1.00
Per Subscription Lists:	
Kipfer	5.00
Menandez	3.10
Brodsky	1.00
	$216.80
*Dr. Pyborn's Contribution Deducted	2.50
	$214.30

E. G.

*The $2.50 credited to Dr. Pyborn in a previous number as a contribution to "M. E." Sustaining Fund, should have gone to the Free Speech Defense Fund. We rectify the error in this number.

285

890613001

The Emma Goldman Papers

Free Speech Fund Expenditures / Emma Goldman. – pp. 32-33 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 1, no. 12 (Feb. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

FREE SPEECH DEFENSE FUND

Previously Acknowledged	$478.30
Group "Bread and Freedom," per N. Notkin	3.40
Per Subscription Lists:	
I. Brooks, Pittsburg	$10.50
Mrs. N. Seldes, Pittsburg	9.00
Wm. Simonds, Toronto	4.00
Italian Anarchists, Sacramento	3.40
G. Kupferschmid	9.75
S. Djerve	3.85
Wm. Schenk	1.00
Carl Nold	1.00
Mrs. Rosenzweig	2.00
S. Weiss	2.50
Dr. Pyborn	2.50
From the Freie Arbeiter Stimme Defense Fund	50.00
	$581.20

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

FREE SPEECH FUND EXPENDITURES

To Pentecost & Campbell	$200.00
To Mayer London	75.00
To the Arrested Comrades:	
1. Zetlin	19.00
2. M. Moscow	20.00
3. M. Rubinstein	24.00
4. H. Lang	4.00
5. Wm. Gordon	8.00
6. Beckie Edelson	5.00
7. Annie Pastor	2.00
Sent per Kerner to the Tombs	8.00
Expended for the Arrested Comrades in the Station House and Tombs	15.00
Meals Sent to the Tombs, per J. Edelson	24.50
Incidental Expenses in Connection with our First and Second Arrests	30.00
Postage and Stationery	10.00
Loss to "Mother Earth" through Police Interference	100.00
	$544.50

Total Amount Received	$581.20
Expenditures	544.50
On Hand	$36.70

N. B.—The amount on hand, together with the sums collected on outstanding subscription lists, will be turned over to Comrade L. Galliani's Defense Fund. His position being very serious, we request that the money collected by the Freie Arbeiter-Stimme should be turned over for the same purpose.

NOTICE.—Those having subscription lists will please return them to me at once. EMMA GOLDMAN.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

"MOTHER EARTH" SUSTAINING FUND

Previously Acknowledged	$106.35
Group Edelstadt, Chicago	40.00
Social Science League, Chicago	10.00
Syracuse Comrades, per Gesin	15.00
Proceeds from my Lecture in Brockton, Mass.	15.00
Proceeds from A. B.'s Lecture at the Germinal Group	10.35
Miss Anna Riedel	10.00
Mrs. Rosenzweig	1.00
Per Subscription Lists:	
Kipfer	5.00
Menandez	3.10
Brodsky	1.00
	$216.80
*Dr. Pyborn's Contribution Deducted	2.50
	$214.30
	E. G.

*The $2.50 credited to Dr. Pyborn in a previous number as a contribution to "M. E." Sustaining Fund, should have gone to the Free Speech Defense Fund. We rectify the error in this number.

286

890613002

The Emma Goldman Papers

"Mother Earth" Sustaining Fund / E[mma] G[oldman].– p. 33 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 1, no. 12 (Feb. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

FREE SPEECH DEFENSE FUND

Previously Acknowledged	$478.30
Group "Bread and Freedom," per N. Notkin	3.40
Per Subscription Lists:	
I. Brooks, Pittsburg	$10.50
Mrs. N. Seldes, Pittsburg	9.00
Wm. Simonds, Toronto	4.00
Italian Anarchists, Sacramento	3.40
G. Kupferschmid	9.75
S. Djerve	3.85
Wm. Schenk	1.00
Carl Nold	1.00
Mrs. Rosenzweig	2.00
S. Weiss	2.50
Dr. Pyborn	2.50
From the Freie Arbeiter Stimme Defense Fund	50.00
	$581.20

* * *

FREE SPEECH FUND EXPENDITURES

To Pentecost & Campbell	$200.00
To Mayer London	75.00
To the Arrested Comrades:	
1. Zetlin	19.00
2. M. Moscow	20.00
3. M. Rubinstein	24.00
4. H. Lang	4.00
5. Wm. Gordon	8.00
6. Beckie Edelson	5.00
7. Annie Pastor	2.00
Sent per Kerner to the Tombs	8.00
Expended for the Arrested Comrades in the Station House and Tombs	15.00
Meals Sent to the Tombs, per J. Edelson	24.50
Incidental Expenses in Connection with our First and Second Arrests	30.00
Postage and Stationery	10.00
Loss to "Mother Earth" through Police Interference	100.00
	$544.50

Total Amount Received	$581.20
Expenditures	544.50
On Hand	$36.70

N. B.—The amount on hand, together with the sums collected on outstanding subscription lists, will be turned over to Comrade L. Galliani's Defense Fund. His position being very serious, we request that the money collected by the Freie Arbeiter-Stimme should be turned over for the same purpose.

NOTICE.—Those having subscription lists will please return them to me at once. EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

"MOTHER EARTH" SUSTAINING FUND

Previously Acknowledged	$106.35
Group Edelstadt, Chicago	40.00
Social Science League, Chicago	10.00
Syracuse Comrades, per Gesin	15.00
Proceeds from my Lecture in Brockton, Mass.	15.00
Proceeds from A. B.'s Lecture at the Germinal Group	10.35
Miss Anna Riedel	10.00
Mrs. Rosenzweig	1.00
Per Subscription Lists:	
Kipfer	5.00
Menandez	3.10
Brodsky	1.00
	$216.80
*Dr. Pyborn's Contribution Deducted	2.50
	$214.30

E. G.

*The $2.50 credited to Dr. Pyborn in a previous number as a contribution to "M. E." Sustaining Fund, should have gone to the Free Speech Defense Fund. We rectify the error in this number.

287

880922013
The Emma Goldman Papers
Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman.– p. 30 ; 37 cm. *In* Lucifer, The Lightbearer [Chicago]. –no. 1085 (Feb. 14, 1907).
Obtained from the Stanford University Libraries, Stanford University.

they say, about all the Yeoland women being ready to ruin themselves for—love. We are none of us really good, you know, except poor Rosamond, and she was so very plain. I remember once, when I was a little child, hearing some one say that no woman with Yeoland blood ever had any morals, and I suppose it's true.'

"She spoke in a tone of mild speculation not enlightened with amusement, but the old man winced."

Pam, the daughter, who is the heroine of the story, is charmingly frank, unspoiled and natural. In talking with the same old man she says, in answer to his questions: "My name is Pamela, just Pamela. It appears that children whose parents are not married have only one name."

In defense of her mother she says: "It wasn't her fault that father was married. . . . Of course she and father were sorry about Mrs. Kennedy, but they couldn't very well kill her, could they?"

Pam always considers her mother's love life an ideal one (which is one of the weak points in the story), and very early in her own life determines never to marry. When about ten years old she has the following conversation with an old housekeeper:

"I wish that I had twins."

"Perhaps your husband might not be pleased, though, Miss Pam."

"I am not going to have a husband."

"Now what a young lady you are, to be sure! There's no danger of your being an old maid."

"Who said I was going to be an old maid? Of course I shan't. I shall have a lover, and he will adore me as father adores mother; but marriage is a *bêtise*. Imagine me being an old maid!"

Some years later, in answer to the question why she thought love could not endure in marriage, she says:

"Because marriage seems to me to be so hampered and narrowed by a thousand humdrum cares and superstitions; because married people squabble and get over being in love; because the very fact that one has sworn to keep on feeling a certain way is bound to make one change. Imagine vowing in church to hate and loathe your bitterest enemy all the rest of your life and then trying to do it! It stands to reason that you'd begin to like him before you had got out of the church door! . . . I think people who love each other need no promises."

She falls in love with a man who has promised to marry a titled lady because she will aid him in his political career. His final choice is an obscure life with Pam rather than a brilliant one without her, but she refuses to accept him at such a sacrifice. She argues:

"It—your career—will never get old and wrinkled; it will never be ill; it will never contradict and torment you. And I should do all these things. All this, to say nothing of hurting her so terribly."

"But why should you mind hurting her? You have never blamed your mother for doing what she did—and what she did was more than what you might do."

". . . But now, somehow—perhaps because I know Lady Henrietta, and because I know that she loves you as much as I do—I simply can't do it."

After this they have one happy summer day together in "Arcadia," the name of her parents' home; then they part, presumably forever.

There is another book advertised, "Pam Decides," with, I presume, the same character, in which, I hope, the god of love may be kinder.

LILLIE D. WHITE.

"THREE ACRES AND LIBERTY."

This is the title of a new book by Bolton Hall which is now on the Macmillan presses and which will be published March 1. It is intended to open the eyes of the city man of small means, and the working man on precarious wages, to the feasibility of getting a living out of from one to three acres, either with or without giving up his present occupation, and without cutting himself off from near neighbors; also to show the possibilities of intensive culture. The author has endeavored to be absolutely practical, and in all cases to offer proof that the assertions made, if open to question, are justified.

LECTURE TOUR.

I intend to go on a lecture tour, the proceeds of which are to be devoted to the *Mother Earth* Sustaining Fund. I have already been invited by the San Francisco comrades, and, on my way to the coast, I am prepared to lecture in the larger cities. Those wishing to arrange meetings will please communicate with me at once.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

308 East Twenty-seventh street, New York.

WHERE THE POLICE DO NOT INTERFERE.

Other people's inconsistencies are the queerest things in the world. I am led to this reflection by recalling a vaudeville performance I attended the other day. Usually the only amusement I get out of these affairs is in watching, in blasé superiority, an audience moved to merriment by fantastic horse-play, broad jokes and a kind of caterwauling which they innocently believe to be singing. As a rule I go away glad to get a breath of fresh air, and piously thanking God that I am not as other men.

After a disgusted interval of two or three years I went again the other day, and I think vaudeville is getting on. I was highly amused by a quiet monologist who seemed at home before his audience instead of merely brazen; endured with fortitude the usual "negro melodies"; laughed before I knew it at a revamped mother-in-law joke, and held my breath while the balancers did wonderful things with pyramids of lighted lamps and dinner plates set on edge.

I went in at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The playhouse was near the center of the shopping district, but to my surprise three-fourths of the large audience were men. I should have thought I was in the wrong pew if I had not known that the house was entirely "respectable." Hereafter I mean to beware of the so-called respectable. I have been misled by it several times of late, and had my sense of propriety outraged within its hypocritical precincts. On this particular occasion my mind flew to Bernard Shaw and "Mrs. Warren's Profession" for sanctuary!

Because I enjoy showing up other people's inconsistencies I must give a hint of the kind of thing which the police (our theatrical censors) consider harmless from a moral point of view—which is the same as saying that it is the kind of thing they enjoy. Who ever believes in his heart that what he really enjoys is harmful?

At the close of the afternoon a one-act skit was put on which appealed to my esthetic sense because it was well acted; but I confess I am not so well grounded in immodesty but that I blushed for everybody concerned except the women who were not there. I was proud of them, for I concluded they had taken the censorship into their own hands, where it ought to be, and had condemned the performance by staying away.

The scene was a stateroom in a sleeping car. An unmarried couple, strangers to each other, are traveling on other people's passes belonging to a man and his wife. The train conductor, wiser than he should be but not so frank, gives them the same stateroom. From this point on it needs Mr. Shaw himself to write of the play without giving offense to the reader. People who eat meat should never go to such places nor attempt to describe them in mixed company. I refuse myself to go any farther in this direction, and would not have alluded to it at all except in pursuit of the aforementioned inconsistency.

The point I wish to make is this: The blundering, stupid, low-minded police, in whose hands, practically, the censorship is in New York, permit this suggestive, lascivious sketch, nicely calculated to rouse (if I may speak plainly) the already overstimulated instincts of men, to be played in a leading theater every afternoon and evening without a protest.

But they confess themselves horribly shocked at a play like "Mrs. Warren's Profession," in which there is not a salacious word or a suggestive situation, where there is not even a low-necked dress nor a short skirt. The truth is, they are shocked by Shaw's play because they scent danger to their profession. It was written to show the degradation which comes to women who pander to the debased appetites of men, and shows fearlessly the false social condition which drives women into that occupation.

The only inference possible is that in the eyes of the police it is disclosure of the cause of body and soul destroying thoughts and practices which is shocking, not the things themselves. The police get their living because of these practices, and only a simple-minded person saws off the limb on which he is sitting.

I suspect I have made the police out to be not so inconsistent after all. Maybe it is the public, which does not see through their little game, which is really queer.—*Bertha W. Howe, in Truth Seeker (New York).*

We have thought to make our marriage tie stronger by taking away all means of dissolving it; but the more we have tightened the constraint, so much the more have we relaxed and detracted from the bond of will and affection.—*Montaigne.*

840514000

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anent My Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman.— p. 16 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 1 (March 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

nanimity and gentleness. I had not been mild, and a smaller man would not have felt particularly friendly just then.

His time was short and he left before the meeting was over, refusing to accept his expense money, saying: "Keep that as my contribution." I never met him again.

Of his recent conversion to socialism I have little to say. It did not surprise me. I had recognized before that his mind was of the unstable order which has to be changing. Had he gone into Unitarianism, or Catholicism, that also would not have surprised me. He would not have remained a socialist any more than he remained an anarchist, or a single taxer, because he could not remain anything. But, in the party or out of it, he would always have been a splendid force; and in the summing up of his life, the balance must go to the credit side. For the effective and concentrated efforts of his best years were for progress, humanism, liberty.

Would that he had died sooner, or not so soon.

* * *

ANENT MY LECTURE TOUR

By he time this issue reaches our subscribers I shall be in Detroit, having lectured in Cleveland, Columbus, Toledo and Toronto.

I shall remain in Detroit March 16th and 17th. Address: 167 Hale St.

In Chicago, March 18th to 28th. Address: 1245 Milwaukee Ave.

In Cincinnati, March 29th, 30th and 31st. Address: General Delivery.

From Cincinnati I shall go to Minneapolis, Winnipeg, St. Louis and the West. All those wishing to arrange lectures along my route will please communicate with me at once.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

THE NEWER ETHICS

BY HELENE STOECKER, Ph.D.

"The noble one wishes to create something new, and a new virtue.
"The good one willeth that old things should be preserved."

Nietzsche (Zarathustra).

IF one believes in the eternal growth and continual development of life and sees in struggle the father of all things, then one must also realize that the duty of humanity lies in seeking newer and higher forms of society. The oft-repeated reproach that because one does not pretend to have reached the last goal of human development, one must consequently deny that a newer code of ethics could even be created, cannot be taken seriously. Then, with Zarathustra, one remembers that the greatest danger for the future development of mankind comes through the "good and just," those who speak and feel in their heart: "We *know* already what is good and just, we have it; alas, for those who still seek for it!" The "good and just" have since time immemorial crucified those who wrote "new words on new scrolls." Our work does not lie with those who are in contented possession of all virtue and wisdom, but rather with those who seek new and higher goals for humanity.

Nothing is more mistaken than to imagine that because one seeks newer ethics, one would consequently abolish all standards of morality. We cannot be without standards. There only remains the question of establishing their relative values. Life, as it comes with the value of our human consciousness, has grown to have the highest of all values. Everything, therefore, which tends to strengthen and broaden life must be considered as a higher form of social development. On the other hand, everything which depreciates its value must be considered harmful and immoral.

Consequently, customs which may have been considered "good" under a now obsolete form of society, would not be so if measured by the standards of a later development. No one can deny this who believes in the growth of life.

289

840514001

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 4-8 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 1 (March 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Frenzied they rush to reach the templed space
Where grin the idols: Pelf and Power and Place.

Here, at the doorway of all progress made,
Men pause to wipe their feet, their souls afraid.

Think you, some Persian rug outspreads its art?
Laugh lightly! 'Tis a woman's broken heart.

* * *

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

With this issue MOTHER EARTH enters upon her second year's journey, with colors flying.

Last year's path was thorny, but not without fruitful results. The first anniversary was celebrated by more than four hundred friends from New York, Brooklyn and New Jersey, while those who could not attend gave evidence of their interest and appreciation by sending contributions.

We are grateful to our friends, and we promise to use our best efforts towards still further improving the educational and literary standard of MOTHER EARTH.

Those whose subscription has expired at the end of the first year will greatly aid us by sending in their renewals, so that we may know on how many of our old friends we may count.

* * *

The characteristic features of the Thaw case are: poverty, the power of money, venality of woman's love, man's greediness to possess. The central figure in this tragedy is a young woman—an article of sexual luxury, surrounded by prospective buyers. The purchaser regards her in the light of his private property, as he would his horse.

The young girl soon learns to play her part: the poverty-stricken mother looks upon the beauty of her daughter as a future source of revenue; nothing offers such opportunities for "friendships" with rich men as the chorus.

Such men are seducers; yet still more so, the seduced. Woman's virtue, to them, is a tempting morsel; but while they are lavishing their money, they become the victims of subtle deceit. Priding themselves on their victory over innocence, they are conquered by woman's cunning.

Stanford Whites and Thaws can purchase bodies, but their combined wealth could not buy a single soul. That is the tragedy of such lives, as well as the comedy. Their victim is at the same time the avenger of her sex-slavery. Is she, the marketable thing, to be faithful? The master satiated, the slave is once more on the market. Serving White, she must still look out for another possible buyer. She meets Thaw—a simpleton, whose intellect would not suffice to make him a successful bootblack; but he is rich. He is a more promising catch than White; the latter, a man of "experience," is not so easily tricked. Thaw would guarantee the continuation of the life of luxury, to which she has become accustomed; he would even marry her, that she may realize her dream of an idle, rich, parasitic life.

Some marriages become prostitution; in this case, prostitution became marriage. The latter legalized the woman's swindle and caused the man's violent folly.

But for the wedding, it would have been simply a case of prostitution, like a thousand other similar cases, characteristic of our good, moral society. Marriage, legalizing and complicating things, made the murder possible.

Because of the marriage—and the man's wealth—the girl became the legal property of Thaw; it was the latter's "duty" to guard the "honor" of the woman, not to speak of his own "honor." As lover, his honor was of no consideration; it became operative with the marriage.

Her marriage forced the woman into greater deceit. She must no longer openly market her charms; tact and diplomacy are necessary to preserve marital decorum. She continues her relations with White; perhaps she even cares for him more than for her husband. The latter sees in her virtuous innocence persecuted; he believes implicitly her wild stories of the Bluebeard White. Finally he feels that morality demands vindication. He kills White and imagines that he has delivered his wife from her hated persecutor; he was "instrumental in the triumph of decency over vice."

290

840514001

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 4-8 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 1 (March 1907).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The hangman condemns; the free-minded man strives to understand. The question here is not who was right or who was wrong; rather, whether it is not necessary and possible to create a social atmosphere, where woman should cease to be a commodity, and mankind in general be delivered from the curse of money-greed and morality.

* * *

Why should the rich not rejoice and go to church? The latter teaches that "the rich and the poor we must always have with us," thus serving as the pillar of the parasitic existence of the wealthy.

Why should the rich not love the State? The latter, by cunning and violence, guards their stolen wealth against the hungry producers.

The rich should also love the army; the latter secures to them possession of the Philippines and other islands; it tyrannizes over the natives and presses profits from them—for the rich.

But the poor—why should they care for these institutions? Those who continue to do so are the victims of a false education, misleading teachings and mental inertia.

* * *

Karl Marx taught his diciples that economics are the foundation of politics. His modern apostles have, however, reversed his teaching; their motto is, "Let us win political power; then we shall revolutionize the economic conditions." They have endeavored to transplant the center of revolution from the factory to Parliament, from the street to the counting room. Hence the transformation of economic revolutionary Socialism into a political reform-movement. The strength of the latter depends on votes, not on revolutionaries. A parliamentary party must limit its activities to the constitution and laws of the country, thus aiding in upholding existing institutions. It cannot put itself outside of the law, since such a position would stamp all political activity on its part illogical and absurd.

Every government represents the legislative and administrative power of the bourgeoisie; the revolutionary proletarian must oppose it, rather than try to reform it.

Existing institutions can only be strengthened by the use of political power; to believe in their overthrow by such means is utopian. The social revolution begins where the belief in government and the present "order" ceases.

Herein lies the folly of parliamentary Socialists: attempting to smuggle the social revolution under cover of reform, they merely succeeded in turning reformers and politicians.

By such means the German Social-Democracy had achieved great political "success." During many years it was the beacon of all parliamentary Socialists; soon it will serve as a sad example of what a true Labor Party should *not* be.

The January elections in Germany prove that the Socialistic power of political enlistment is exhausted. They have profited little by compromising with the Philistines, the lower middle class and the Clerical Party. They took good care to keep clear from the revolutionary and Anarchist element; indeed, their leaders were ever busy in keeping the party "pure." The energetic and progressive elements of the proletariat found the atmosphere of the party too stifling—they either left or were expelled. It was that very fear of offending popular prejudices that resulted in the Socialistic failure during the last elections.

The Socialists of Germany are between two fires—the revolutionary proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Gradually they must lose the confidence of the former, since their tactics condemn the working man to continue passively to suffer exploitation and oppression. Neither can they gain the confidence of the bourgeoisie, since the latter naturally prefers the safe representation of the tried parties—the Conservative and the Liberal.

Revolutionary Socialists welcome the débacle of the parliamentary card-house. They have long since realized the fatality of political success; the mass, however, must first experience the *reductium ad absurdum*, ere it can find the proper solution.

* * *

The régime of the Tsar is daily becoming more anæmic. It is spilling the blood of the noblest children

291

840514001

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 4-8 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 1 (March 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

of Russia in thick streams, but the precious fluid serves to strengthen the revolution and to make Tsarism weak and lifeless. Lacking internal vitality, the Russian despotism believes to have found a much-needed stimulant in the Duma. The latter is to save the knout; it should bring "order" out of the existing chaos and rehabilitate an ignominious government.

In case of success, European and American financiers would regain their confidence in the autocracy, and more cash would be forthcoming to aid in suppressing the revolution.

* * *

Ideals do not pay. If we happen to possess any remnants of old convictions, we should put them on the shelf with other bric-a-brac, to be occasionally admired in a pensive mood.

Is it not a proof of a "fine soul" to talk of the asininities of one's youthful days? When business is slack, it is rather pleasant to recollect "those wild things." Of course, one must not forget himself so far as to call back to life old ideals and, perchance, become active in their behalf.

Thus philosophise the "wise," the "practical," the matter-of-fact people; they shrug their shoulders, assuring us that life must be taken as it is, not as it should be. But what is *life?* Life spells hypocrisy; the world is peopled with sneaks, renegades and cowards. A few thousand more or less of this calibre—what does it matter?! The competition among them is constantly growing more intense; soon the ex-idealist realizes that he has been doubly cheated: he has bartered the best part of himself for profit, and now he finds himself sadly disappointed in his expectations.

THE RED MONTH

THERE are days in history that should be prohibited by governments; days of an exciting, destructive character, possessing the power of rousing the elemental forces of men into activity; days apparently unrelated to the rest of the year.

Our immigration laws prohibit the landing of persons who disbelieve in organized government, thus barring Anarchists from our joyful shores. Alas, what an ineffectual method of keeping out "obnoxious elements"!

To properly protect the subjects of this country against the spirit of rebellion, it is necessary to banish the historical dates, when organized governments have been forcibly overthrown.

Ye Legislators, to the front! You have a great task to perform. 'Tis of little avail to expel the John Turners, so long as the lessons of revolutionary history—and their pernicious ideas—are accessible to the people.

March is the *red month* in the modern history of Europe. America has not as yet experienced such dangerous events;—too dangerous for power and authority. The war of 1776 was, after all, but a territorial, not a national revolution: the refuse of all countries, thrown into the American pot, could hardly be called a Nation. The Monroe doctrine existed before it was conceived by Monroe. "English lords may continue to rob the Irish peasants and oppress the industrial slaves of Lancashire and Manchester, as they please; on American soil we can exploit labor *ourselves.*" Such were the arguments of the newly-baked American patriots, who saw in this country the greatest source of wealth and power.

European revolutions had a different aspect; there the Nations were swept by the fires of social and economic regeneration.

March eighteenth and nineteenth, 1848, are memorable in the history of Prussia. Citizens, students and workmen of Berlin fought the hireling army of the government, on barricades. The throne began to totter. The people carried their fallen dead before the palace and demanded that the king pay his respects to the noble dead. The storm of March had performed a miracle: for once the king obeyed the people.

The Revolution spread through Germany, Austria and France. Unfortunately, however, the revolutionary

292

900611000

The Emma Goldman Papers

Notice / Emma Goldman. – 18 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 1 (March 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

10c. A COPY $1 A YEAR

MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature

Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Publisher, 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. II MARCH, 1907 No. 1

NOTICE.

"Mother Earth" has returned to her old home, 210 East 13th Street. The readers will please take note of the change and kindly forward all mail, intended for "Mother Earth," to the above address.

Comrade Alexander Berkman will have charge of "Mother Earth" during my absence. All mail to be addressed as above.

All personal mail will be forwarded to me.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

293

890215000
The Emma Goldman Papers
Ernest Crosby / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 22 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.].—no. 11 (March 16, 1907).
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

ANNO V — BARRE VERMONT, SABATO 16 MARZO 1907 — Num. 11

CRONACA SOVVERSIVA

Ebdomadario anarchico di propaganda rivoluzionaria.

Ut redeat miseris abeat fortuna superbis

Abbonamento anno per l'interno e per l'estero, $1.00
semestre " 50

I manoscritti non si restituiscono
Redazione ed Amministrazione, P. O. Box 1, Barre, Vt.

18 Marzo 1871

È una data che si ricorda sempre con commozione profonda, è un anniversario che nella storia delle affermazioni, delle rivolte e delle ascensioni proletarie, lente ma ostinate, segna l'aurora di troppe speranze nuove, di diritti e di rivendicazioni troppo umane perchè possa ricorrere inosservato.

Il fascino che nella mente dello studioso e dello storico, l'impressione incancellabile che nell'animo del proletariato internazionale, l'orrore che in tutti i pudibondi preconizzatori di cose sante — dalla santa inquisizione alla santa alleanza — esercitò ed imprese, pur effimero e rapido come una meteora, il tentativo comunalista del 1871 non emanando soltanto dalla fierezza eroica con cui, nella diserzione, nell'abbandono, nell'abbiezione di tutti, la santa canaglia raccolse nel suo ferreo pugno i destini e le fortune della Francia tradita, immeschinita

ghesia, colla borghesia, soltanto colla borghesia.

Vibrano echi ben diversi dal movimento comunalista del 1871. Esso dice che la questione non istà tutta nel trasferire da dio all'uomo il diritto di governare; esso dice che il suffragio universale significando delegazione, alienazione, rinunzia di tutti a qualcuno, è frode, è un diritto che esercitandosi si annichilisce: la contesa non è intorno alla forma dello Stato, è sullo Stato, e la federazione dei comuni liberi ed autonomi della Francia, tentata dai lavoratori di Parigi nel Marzo 1871, è negazione dello Stato. E rompendola colla vecchia menzogna convenzionale e democratica dell'alleanza tra lavoro e capitale insegna, coll'esempio e coll'opera che L'EMANCIPAZIONE DEI LAVORATORI SARÀ OPERA DEI LAVORATORI, O NON SARÀ.

Ecco perchè il 18 MARZO 1871 si ricorda sempre con commozione profonda, ecco perchè l'Anniversario della Comune

lanca e della menzogna salito unanime tra gli incensi profusi e le lacrime bugiarde l'inno magnifico alle sue virtù!

Tacquero: nessuno mostrò accorgersi che una grande intelligenza ed un nobile cuore si erano spenti per sempre.

Gli è che ERNEST CROSBY era un innamorato del popolo, di cotesta immensa forza umana che lotta angosciata dalla tenebra e dal dolore, ed in mezzo alla quale egli procedeva agitando la fiaccola della speranza e della libertà.

"Ogni araldo d'emancipazione trovava un fratello in lui che si schierava con Tolstoi contro ogni ipotesi, contro ogni concezione dello Stato; che per la libertà del pensiero, del pensiero anarchico sopratutto, aveva combattuto e combatteva con un fervore e con un'energia che nessuno in questa nostra repubblica aveva osato per lo spirito spiegare".

Così, parlando di lui, concludeva

Ed ogni qualvolta io ho cercato di rimuovere il Crosby da questo suo atteggiamento convitandolo alle battaglie del socialismo libertario egli rispondeva che "simpatizzava colle idee nostre ma giudicava il socialismo marxista una minaccia allo sviluppo dell'umanità e della libertà".

Mi scriveva nel corso di queste amichevoli discussioni: "uno stato socialista richiederebbe in tutti i suoi cittadini un'anima d'angeli che soltanto secoli e secoli possono maturare. In quest'attesa parmi che l'attingere un po' di giustizia sia campo abbastanza vasto al lavoro politico; all'infuori della politica noi non possiamo che fomentare una larga corrente di cooperazione. Certo è tentazione grande quella di lavorare ad un movimento internazionale, ma io non posso farlo: che pensereste di me se lavorassi a pro' della chiesa cattolica romana quando sapete che tutti i suoi dogmi ripugnano alla mia ragione? Mi conforta del resto l'essere in buona

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890215000

The Emma Goldman Papers

Ernest Crosby / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 22 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. –no. 11 (March 16, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

zza eroica con cui, nella diserzio- nell'abbandono, nell'abbiezione di . ia santa canaglia raccolse nel ferreo pugno i destini e le fortune i Francia tradite ignominiosa- te dall'impero; non emanano sol- o dal disperato coraggio con cui barricate de l'Hotel de Ville e l'emple, cogli olocausti eroici di bbrowsky e di Delescluze essa ri- icò il diritto e la capacità politica ggerne le sorti; non emanano nto dalla rugiada propiziatrice di ne, d'orrendi odii di classe, di ii irremissibili, d'inobliabili lutti sono circonfusi i trentacinque- fucilati della Comune; emanano ra e sopratutto dall'imperioso e ido complesso di rivendicazioni li che quel moto squillò al mon- l alla storia.

proclamazione, il 18 Marzo 1871, Comune di Parigi, ed i settan- giorni di vita contrastata e dif- in cui si conchiuse tra un ag- , un'insidia ed una sortita sotto co degli obici versagliesi, non o certo mutato la faccia del mon- ia rimangono il primo e caratte- o tentativo di RIVOLUZIONE SO- .

rivolnzione del 1879 che con- le alla dichiarazione dei DIRITTI 'UOMO è, figliola primogenita del .I secolo e degli enciclopedisti, me contro il DIRITTO DIVINO. È izione filosofica e politica: trasfe- da dio all'nomo il diritto della nità.

rivoluzione del 1848 ricorda che ti dell'nomo sono gli stessi in cittadino e conchinde al suffra- niversale, alla sovranità del po- ndata sulla delegazione, sulla esentanza. È ancora e sempre ivoluzione politica.

ha di più; 1789-1830-1848 dicono proletariato attingerà la sua e- pazione [illegible] della bor- SARA.

Ecco perchè il 18 MARZO 1871 si ricorda sempre con commozione pro- fonda, ecco perchè l'Anniversario della Comune, aurora di troppe spe- ranze nnove, di rivendicazioni e di diritti troppo nmani, non può ricor- rere inosservato:

> ..... al mondo oggi da questo
> luogo incomincia la novella storia.

G. PIMPINO.

Ernest Crosby

La sete di dovizie e di potere do- mina ed urge così sciaguratamente ogni ora della vita nostra, turbandone e corrompendone le fonti vive, che noi la trascorriamo intera senza dedi- care nè un minuto nè un pensiero al carattere, all'intelligenza, ai principii.

Freme in noi un'unica ossessione: arrivare, arrivare ad ogni costo! Se il successo si deve chiedere ad umani olocausti scellerati, se la fortuna deve edificarsi sullo strazio di tenace vite dilaniate nelle fabbriche, se la vitto- ria deve carpirsi tra l'ecatombe, non importa — purchè si arrivi.

Accade così che i cnori più nobili e le menti più elette passino inosservati ed ignorati fra la turba affannosa di cui hanno volnto elevare il tenore di vita, il sentimento della fierezza, il re- taggio della libertà.

Così è accaduto di **Ernest Crosby**, uno dei più generosi figli che dal grembo di questa America cinica sie- no nati, e che la morte ci rapì ama- ramente or sono sei settimane.

Oh, se egli fosse stato un armeg- gione della politica torbida, un arri- vista senza scrupoli e senza pudore, un ladro avventurato del lavoro e del sudore degli umili, sarebbe dalle co- lonne dei grandi quotidiani della pa- vore e con un'energia che nessuno in questa nostra repubblica aveva osato per lo innanzi spiegare".

Così, parlando di lui, conchiudeva recentemente un altro eletto spirito americano. Leonard Abbott: così noi che l'abbiamo intimamente conosciu- to lamentiamo la perdita di ERNEST CROSBY come quella di uno dei più puri, dei più gagliardi campioni del nostro Ideale.

Perchè il Crosby fu anarchico piut- tosto che socialista, e la sua predile- zione non originava da dispetti, da capricci o da miserie ma da una ra- gione logica e da un esame coscien- zioso delle due dottrine.

Uno studio accurato ed una dili- gente inchiesta aveva egli condotto sulla concezione socialista, e la sua ostilità al socialismo non si era che accentuata. Ciò spiega come egli alla conferenza tenutasi alla Stoke Man- sion di Norotow, lo scorso anno, egli prendesse parte cogli individualisti piuttosto che coi socialisti; e come egli prendesse il suo posto di com- battimento discutendo in contradditorio con Jack London l'ultima volta che questi parlò a New York.

L'ultimo articolo che egli mi man- dò ribadiva i giudizii di Lafcadio He- arn che "il socialismo è una reversio- ne a forme sociali superate"; e con- chiudeva: "I socialisti hanno diritto a tutte le nostre simpatie in quanto lottano contro le iniquità presenti, ma essi seguono una diagnosi sba- gliata quando coteste ingiustizie de- rivano dall'individualismo. A valle delle nostre sommità sociali noi ab- biamo da parte del monopolio e del pregiudizio una vera negazione del- l'individualismo, e, per me, unico effi- cace rimedio sta nel rendere l'indivi- duo sempre più padrone di sè stesso, non nell'assoggettarlo schiavo di or- [illegible] dissepolte dagli ipogei

pro' della chiesa cattolica romana quando sapete che tutti i suoi dogmi ripugnano alla mia ragione? Mi con- forta del resto l'essere in buona com- pagnia: nè Tolstoi nè Whitman, ne sono certo, si sarebbero mai ascritti ad un partito, e neppure Carpenter, per quanto posso dai suoi scritti giu- dicarne. Sarei lietissimo di associarmi all'opera vostra tanto più che potrei portarvi un po' della mia esperienza di vecchio repubblicano; la coscienza non vuole. Ma vi sarò grato se mi vor- rete annoverare compagno in questa larga famiglia socialista in cui posso- no stare Edward Carpenter, Eugenio Debs, George Herron e Maxim Gorki.

. . . . . .

Il ritratto di William Morris pen- deva alle pareti del suo studio; di Car- penter aveva riassunto e volgarizzate le idee per gli americani, di Debs e di Herron fu amico sincero, e Massi- mo Gorki aveva ripetutamente visi- tato a State Island e nelle vallate di Adirondacks.

EMMA GOLDMANN.

Barre, Vt. 27 Febbraio 1907.

La Demolizione

Rivista di Propaganda Razionalista e Sclentifica, diretta dal prof. O. Dinale

Uscirà il prossimo primo Maggio, con la collaborazione di noti scrittori d'Europa e d'America, col programma specifico di lotta contro tutti i dogmi e contro tutte le autorità, per l'educazione e la coltnra rivoluzio- naria del proletariato.

Per abbonamenti e rivendite rivolgersi alla Ditta Gilardino e Romano, 416 Spring Street, West Hoboken, N. J., che ne ha l'esclusivo deposito per l'America.

Per la Direzione, scrivere, **Annemasse, France p. r.**

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

295

840514002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 60-65 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 2 (April 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

The expressions of sympathy in certain quarters in favor of Free Russia are occasionally rather surprising. Professional politicians, Wall Street gamblers, reverends, penny-a-liners and other pillars of the capitalistic system grace with their presence protest meetings and become enthusiastic over liberty—for Russia. All of them, of course, agree that in this blessed land of ours we are enjoying the very perfection of freedom; indeed, some of the speakers at those meetings assure us that the sole object of the present Russian revolution is to bring about the very conditions for which this country is "so justly famed": liberty of press and speech, and the equal rights of all.

Indeed, Columbia may boast of her freedom! The five-fold judicial murder at Chicago, in 1887; the present conspiracy to hang the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners; the common occurrence of shooting down starving strikers; the police suppression of meetings all over the country; the all-powerful press censorship at Washington; Comstock outrages and the imprisonment of publishers and editors of radical magazines—not to speak of our abject economic slavery—are these not the best proofs of our vaunted freedom!

A characteristic friend of freedom—for Russia—is Mr. S. L. Clemens, whose business it is to supply the nation with humor. We had the opportunity of observing Mr. Clemens at a recent meeting at Carnegie Hall, where the speakers of the evening very forcibly condemned the brutal régime of the Tsar. It was gratifying to see the venerable white head of our humorist nod approval as the speakers characterised the Tsar as an inhuman beast, unfit to live in the twentieth century. A few days later, however, Mr. Clemens participated in the banquet given by the New York Russian Consul in honor of a certain Spiridonovitch—that infamous Panslavist and Jew baiter, sent to America by the Tsar's government to create public sentiment in favor of his autocratic master. Mr. Clemens, the friend of Russian Freedom, and Spiridonovitch, the red-handed arch reactionary, drinking the

health of the Russian Nero—did Mark Twain ever before perpetrate such a capital joke?

One who can write such beautifully anarchistic characterizations of all politics, as Mark Twain did, and then go on the stump for a mayoralty candidate, must be a humorist indeed. We admire such versatility, and we are moved by deepest emotion when we behold a man with a heart spacious enough to take in even the rather respectable proportions of Grover. Familiar as we were with the man's admirable versatility, we were surprised, however, to see our Mark fraternize with the Russian revolutionists and then drink the health of the blood-stained Tsar.

"For ways that are dark, and tricks that are vain, American humor is peculiar."

* * *

The trial of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone has again been postponed. The governmental conspirators are mistaken, however, if they hope thus to lull to sleep the interest of the laboring masses. The latter are aroused; they will not be quieted by the empty assurances of political lackeys, mine owners and corrupt labor leaders.

Those familiar with the case and who remember the tactics followed in the prosecution of Adams—the prologue of this tragedy—realize the terrible significance of the appropriations made by the Idaho Legislature and mine owners for the benefit of the prosecution. The intention, all too apparent, is to hang the defendants: the coal barons do not wish to be disturbed any more in their methods of exploitation; they will not shrink back from murder to attain their ends.

We hope that the laboring masses of this country will not suffer themselves to be misled by "the wise counsel of trusted leaders"—if they would prevent a repetition of the judicial murders of 1887.

It is not sufficient to raise defense funds and attend protest meetings. There is but *one* way to secure justice for Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone—the General Strike. The file and rank of organized labor must take the initiative; let "the leaders" follow. May the success of this weapon in gaining repeated victories for our European brothers prove a salutary lesson for America.

296

840514002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 60-65 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 2 (April 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Having swallowed the Beef Trust and sent up the flue the Oil Trust, and after having saved the country from half a dozen other monsters, the White House Don Quixote tightened his armor and was ready to wreck the Railroad Trust.

In vain did his faithful Sancho Panza—Cortelyou—warn and lament; the brave Don Ruzvelt was not to be trifled with. "I must liberate the peepul!" he cried, while the dear peepul awaited the great deed with bathed breath.

But alas! Don Ruzvelt found his windmill. It was a beautiful sunny morning when Sir Pierpont appeared before the Don. What happened history doth not tell. But the Don threw away his lance, and the dear peepul are still awaiting the liberating deed.

* * *

One year ago the radical movement lost a pioneer of freedom—John Most.

His life in America was a tragedy, a continuous battle with the stupidity of the "free" citizens and the brutality of the authorities. Here his path was strewn with far greater obstacles than in Europe. Persecuted though he was in the Old World, he yet found there a far more congenial atmosphere than in this free country: the revolutionary spirit has won recognition in Europe; here it is still to be conquered. There, the soldier of Revolution is looked upon as the representative of a new philosophy of life; though persecuted, he is never treated as a thief or highwayman, as is the case in free America. It is characteristic of the alleged progress of the two most "civilized" countries that Comrade Most suffered the greatest persecution in England and America; in the prisons of the latter he first learned that "there are no political prisoners in a free country"; and he was treated accordingly.

America is the best proof that social tyranny and economic despotism are safest under the mask of political phrases. Never before in all history has a nation been so successfully oppressed and exploited in the very name of liberty, in the name of its own fictitious sovereignty.

How make the blind see? That is the difficult problem that propagandists must face, as did John Most. The

attempt to solve it constitutes the great tragedy in the life of the active revolutionist.

Comrade Most drained the bitter cup to its dregs. Neither persecution nor misunderstanding, however, could break his spirit. He died, as he had lived, carrying the torch of Freedom.

* * *

The thousand flickering torches but dimly lighted the broad Parisian boulevard. Great was the indignation over the unexpected strike of the electrical workers: fashionable Paris longed for the opera; but the temple of art was darkened and in the dim candle-light the cashiers could be seen counting the money to be returned for already purchased tickets. Finding the theatres also deserted, "society" hastened to the fashionable cafés and restaurants. Alas! The usually so gay and brilliant resorts were enveloped in darkness and gloom. Disappointed and desperate, they order their chauffeurs to drive to their clubs. But, oh horrors! Not a single electric light there to gladden their hearts!

Naturally, they raged and fumed. They could not enjoy unilluminated life. Vanity fair needs light, light, light. Living in the seeming, not in the being, they need electric splendors. How dared the proletarians deprive the elect of the brightness of their salons! Have not they —the international *flaneurs* of the Parisian boulevards—been generous to the rabble? Are they not liberal contributors to philanthropic enterprises? Are they not capable of shedding copious tears at witnessing misery—on the stage? Are they not liberal in giving their old clothes to their chambermaids? Is it not heartless, brutal and selfish to deprive them so suddenly of their accustomed pleasures?

Elegant Paris fumed and the parasites of all lands sympathized with them. What! Has the rabble grown so bold as to become more indispensable than machines? Do they dare to play a rôle in the life of the élite?

The anger of the chosen is quite explicable. Today Paris, to-morrow Newport; yesterday the opera, and then the race-track. And all of a sudden the realization is forced upon them that their very life is dependent on the silent consent of the millions. They lounge about in brilliant

297

840514002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 60-65 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 2 (April 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

salons, made beautiful and light by the work of others; they are dressed in silks woven by strangers' hands; they dine luxuriously on viands furnished by unknown producers. "Money is the minted will of others," said Dostoyevsky, and the proletariat had been guaranteed to have neither.

Had been! In the suddenly darkened salons the rich idlers beheld, perhaps for the first time, the terrible emptiness of their lives, the parasitism of their existence. Perchance the darkness enlightened them.

* * *

Dull is his life; drudgery his fate; a mere beast of burden, with the sentence of Tantalus. Exploited and oppressed, he vainly seeks relief—begging, imploring, praying. His anger, bitterness and hate are growing, accumulating; then, one day the storm breaks forth—and the world is astounded!

Driven to the very verge of starvation, the hungry giant grows desperate. His cry is heard; it vibrates in the craven hearts of his terror-striken tyrants. The elemental storm grows and sweeps through the breadth of the land, tearing away all the dams of our rotten civilization.

The "statesmen" are struck with wonder: they have heard nothing from the peasant during their long "activity" in Parliament; more important affairs were absorbing their attention; the question as to whether the clique of Sturdza or of Jonescu, or of some other political hero, should have charge of the national flesh pots was of paramount importance. Neither they, these wise pilots, nor their imported King, nor his noble consort, the great "poet" Carmen Silva, who sings so beautifully of the "idyllic" life of the Roumanian peasant, had ever given ear to the cries from the depths.

Suddenly comes the awakening. Hurriedly promises are made, obnoxious laws repealed—alas, too late! The peasants will not listen any more, nor—trust. The red cock is let loose; for once the creators destroy.

Taught by the priests to regard the Jews as the source of their misery, the peasants begin the attack on them; quickly, however, they realize their mistake, and their fury is directed towards their real enemies.

"The Anarchists are at work, inciting the people," is the cry of the exploiters. Poor simpletons! The psychology of a popular uprising is to them a book with seven seals.

* * *

Our latest information is to the effect that our old friend, Constantin P. Pobiedonostsev, has happily joined in Hades the large family of the Romanoffs, Plehwes and Trepoffs. The latter were all very much surprised at Constantin's late arrival. He explained, however, that the revolutionists could not be induced to waste their ammunition.

* * *

ON THE ROAD

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

THE road, the open road! What grand inspiration it gave the "gray poet," what wonderful vistas it disclosed to him, of space, color, beauty, opportunity, wisdom. "The secret of the making of the best person, the room for a great personal deed, the test of wisdom, the strength that will overwhelm all law and mock all authority." All that, and more, the open road meant to the great American poet, and to all those who, like Whitman, could walk along the open road, strong-limbed, careless, child-like, full of the joy of life, carrying the message of liberty, the gladness of human comradeship.

But what of society's outcasts, the tramps, the homeless, shelterless, worn and weary? Does the road mean to them what it meant to the great Walt? Does it not rather mean to them a desert, cold, dreary, aimless? Hated and feared; everywhere hounded; hungry, wretched, with bleeding feet; walking, walking, walking—can the road inspire them to great deeds and liberating thoughts?!

And the workingman, tramping from town to town in search of a master, can he rejoice in the beauties of the open road? The cries of his starving little ones make him deaf to the music of the birds and the sweet symphony of rustling leaves; not for him the enchanting

840514003

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Road / Emma Goldman. – pp. 65-71 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 3 (April 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

salons, made beautiful and light by the work of others; they are dressed in silks woven by strangers' hands; they dine luxuriously on viands furnished by unknown producers. "Money is the minted will of others," said Dostoyevsky, and the proletariat had been guaranteed to have neither.

Had been! In the suddenly darkened salons the rich idlers beheld, perhaps for the first time, the terrible emptiness of their lives, the parasitism of their existence. Perchance the darkness enlightened them.

* * *

Dull is his life; drudgery his fate; a mere beast of burden, with the sentence of Tantalus. Exploited and oppressed, he vainly seeks relief—begging, imploring, praying. His anger, bitterness and hate are growing, accumulating; then, one day the storm breaks forth—and the world is astounded!

Driven to the very verge of starvation, the hungry giant grows desperate. His cry is heard; it vibrates in the craven hearts of his terror-striken tyrants. The elemental storm grows and sweeps through the breadth of the land, tearing away all the dams of our rotten civilization.

The "statesmen" are struck with wonder: they have heard nothing from the peasant during their long "activity" in Parliament; more important affairs were absorbing their attention; the question as to whether the clique of Sturdza or of Jonescu, or of some other political hero, should have charge of the national flesh pots was of paramount importance. Neither they, these wise pilots, nor their imported King, nor his noble consort, the great "poet" Carmen Silva, who sings so beautifully of the "idyllic" life of the Roumanian peasant, had ever given ear to the cries from the depths.

Suddenly comes the awakening. Hurriedly promises are made, obnoxious laws repealed—alas, too late! The peasants will not listen any more, nor—trust. The red cock is let loose; for once the creators destroy.

Taught by the priests to regard the Jews as the source of their misery, the peasants begin the attack on them; quickly, however, they realize their mistake, and their fury is directed towards their real enemies.

"The Anarchists are at work, inciting the people," is the cry of the exploiters. Poor simpletons! The psychology of a popular uprising is to them a book with seven seals.

* * *

Our latest information is to the effect that our old friend, Constantin P. Pobiedonostsev, has happily joined in Hades the large family of the Romanoffs, Plehwes and Trepoffs. The latter were all very much surprised at Constantin's late arrival. He explained, however, that the revolutionists could not be induced to waste their ammunition.

* * *

ON THE ROAD

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

THE road, the open road! What grand inspiration it gave the "gray poet," what wonderful vistas it disclosed to him, of space, color, beauty, opportunity, wisdom. "The secret of the making of the best person, the room for a great personal deed, the test of wisdom, the strength that will overwhelm all law and mock all authority." All that, and more, the open road meant to the great American poet, and to all those who, like Whitman, could walk along the open road, strong-limbed, careless, child-like, full of the joy of life, carrying the message of liberty, the gladness of human comradeship.

But what of society's outcasts, the tramps, the homeless, shelterless, worn and weary? Does the road mean to them what it meant to the great Walt? Does it not rather mean to them a desert, cold, dreary, aimless? Hated and feared; everywhere hounded; hungry, wretched, with bleeding feet; walking, walking, walking—can the road inspire them to great deeds and liberating thoughts?!

And the workingman, tramping from town to town in search of a master, can he rejoice in the beauties of the open road? The cries of his starving little ones make him deaf to the music of the birds and the sweet symphony of rustling leaves; not for him the enchanting

840514003

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Road / Emma Goldman. – pp. 65-71 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 3 (April 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

beauty of a spring day's birth, nor the color symphony of the setting sun. For him, relief is but within the gloomy walls of factory or mill, and the sweetest music in the whirring wheels.

Or to the immigrant, forced to leave his native soil, the cradle of his youthful dreams, plans and aspirations; in a strange land, dragged along with wife and child—what does the open road mean to him but fear and dread and anxiety.

The English tourist, tall, lean and arrogant; the German with his typical green clothes and cap, and his Gretchen, fat, heavy and dull, the very embodiment of the monarchical three K's—Kirche, Kaiser, Kinder—what do they see in the road? Herded in an excursion party, intent upon the guide who, trumpet and watch in hand, shouts the names of historical places and events—ah, one has but to see them along the country roads, or in New York, Paris and London—worn, dusty, perspiring —the very incarnation of stupidity and boredom. What means the road to them?

And the carrier of a new message, the pioneer of the new thought, the singer of liberty, what does the road mean to him or her? Contumely, slander, hatred, lack of understanding, disappointments, persecution, imprisonment.

These and other thoughts filled my mind as the train rushed along in the darkness of the night.

* * *

Cleveland. The same dark, gloomy, filthy Union Depot, the same terrible contrast between the rich and the poor, as in the days prior to the Single-Tax Mayor's régime. Euclid Avenue with its magnificent mansions and spacious lawns, and the squalid dens where the poor are herded—all just as before.

Our Cleveland groups of young boys have done their utmost within the last few years to spread the ideas of Anarchism. Now they have built up a nice little library of Russian, German, Jewish and English literature. The bright, inviting spot serves as the headquarters for the thinking, groping working people of the neighborhood.

The boys spared no efforts to make the meetings successful; as a result I had large, appreciative audiences.

The most pleasant and interesting surprise in Cleveland proved my host and hostess, a young couple recently transplanted from the revolutionary soil of Russia to a miserable, squalid American cottage. Both fanatical opponents of Anarchism; yet generous, attentive and hospitable to an Anarchist. It is well for humanity that the mainsprings of life are not called into play by mere theories; else my hosts would have erected for me a social-democratic scaffold, as they seriously admitted would be the case when Socialism becomes triumphant: "Anarchistic disturbers of public welfare will have to be strung up."

* * *

Columbus. The capital of Ohio, the seat of the law's lawlessness. The State House, where the straitjackets for human thought and activity are forged, is indeed an imposing structure. Some day, after it has been cleared of the last vestige of stupidity and crime, the Capitol will serve as a music and lecture hall. At present it harbors too many public thieves to be of any use.

The Johnstown flood or the San Francisco disaster could not have caused greater consternation among the official pillars of society than my arrival here. Orders were issued to every hallkeeper to keep out "the evil spirit." The police and saloon keepers are very closely related; orders were obeyed and the doors closed to us. Having accepted our rent-deposit, the hallkeepers were legally bound to permit the use of their halls; contracts and good faith, however, are of little consequence to "the law-abiding" when free speech is to be strangled.

It is quite astonishing to see intelligent people still cling to the myth of the existence of free speech; experience should have taught them ere this that we have just as much freedom as the club of the average policeman and our own great respect for the latter's authority will permit. Some well-meaning citizens of Columbus called on the Mayor and Chief of Police, naively demanding redress. Alas! These worthies did not even possess the courage of the ordinary thief or burglar. Both assured the citizens that they had nothing whatever to do with stopping my meetings, while their sub-

300

840514003

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Road / Emma Goldman. – pp. 65-71 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 3 (April 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ordinates went about spreading terror among the hall-keepers.

Police, laws and lawmakers are very costly articles; no wonder that the working people of Columbus have such a starved appearance. I have met men here who work for 5—6 dollars per week—about as much as the Chief spends for his cigars. They are suposed to "live," and support their families on six dollars a week. Yet cleanliness is rather expensive, you know. Where is one to get the means, or even the ambition, to keep clean on six dollars a week?

Rare plants sometimes grow in the poorest soil. Dr. C. S. Carr, of Columbus, is certainly such a plant. He is a spiritualist, I am told. But whether spirits exist or not, the doctor seemed to me a spirit from another world when he called to invite me to his home. Though worn out by persistent reporters and other callers, I could not resist the temptation of that sweet personality, that rose-cheeked youth with the snowy white hair. Sitting in his large, beautiful study, I could readily understand Dr. Carr's philosophy of simplicity.

"Why should people not try to beautify even the least they have? Why should they want that which they do not have?"

"Why not, dear Doctor?! Why should man not aspire to greater heights than those in which unjust and cruel institutions have placed him? The theory of contentment, of a simple life of beauty may be all right for those who have comfort, beauty and sunshine. But how about the people doomed to live on five dollars a week? Cleanliness and beauty are too costly for them. The parks, the libraries? Ah, my dear Doctor, the ragpickers of Columbus find no time to breathe the fresh air in the parks, nor to read books in the libraries. And if they really could enjoy the parks and libraries, could they return contentedly to their squalid, miserable hovels?"

I was glad to be the Doctor's guest; it gave me an opportunity to set the ladies of the house right on "that man Gorki," who, as the outraged mock modesty of the Puritans would have it, forsook his wife and is now living with a Russian Evelyn Nesbit. Such was the opinion of the ladies about that pure, noble woman, Mme. Andreieva. If such views are entertained in a

liberal home about the most beautiful and sacred relation —made sacred by the power of love and not by the ridiculous mumbling of a priest—what can we expect from the average, unthinking person?

I assured the ladies that there can be no comparison between Mme. Andreieva and Evelyn Nesbit Thaw. Not that I condemn the latter: she is the product of a perverted system of morality; the victim of a stupid institution, called education; the dupe of a vicious thing, called religion; the two having degraded woman to a sex commodity. Mme. Andreieva, however, is of a different type. I do not know her personally; but I know that she is one of that great host of Russia's daughters who have freed themselves from the fetters of conventionality and have declared their right to choose the man they love in perfect freedom; to be his companion, his comrade, at home as on the barricades.

Would, to goodness, that America's daughters should follow the example of their Russian sisters! Then, and not till then, will Columbia stand erect and the voice of Liberty be heard even in Columbus, Ohio.

* * *

Toldeo. Happy Golden Rule Jones! It is well that you cannot know that your successor is a gentleman who claims to be a Tolstoyan, a philosophic Anarchist, a friend of Labor—everything, except a lover of free speech.

About to negotiate the strike of the automobile workers of Toledo, this good man was easily frightened by the newspapers: he could not afford to have the terrible doctrine of Communist Anarchism interfere with his negotiations. Poor, poor Labor! I fear me much it has become weak-kneed and bloodless from the sentimental love of its "friends." 'Tis time you'd send those pseudo-friends about their business; walk out in the open, out of the political traps, out of the mayors' offices, out of the halls of legislatures and Congress! Out into the daylight, into the broad, open road of an independent, strong economic self-reliance!

Thanks to the efforts of a few truly big spirits, a meeting was held in Toledo Tuesday, March 12th; the local press conveniently ignored the matter, while the

301

840514003

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Road / Emma Goldman. -- pp. 65-71 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. -- Vol. 2, no. 3 (April 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

suppression of the meeting on the preceding day was heralded all over the country.

It was an unusually interesting gathering, that at Zenoba Hall. Workingmen, doctors, lawyers; earnest men and women in all walks of life came to the lecture and I was glad of the opportunity to explain to them the true meaning and object of Anarchism.

The most interesting feature of my Toledo visit, however, was the gathering of a few truly free spirits, exceptionally bright and noble souls, with the fire of their revolutionary forbears still buoyantly coursing in their veins. It was my good fortune to meet Mrs. Kate B. Sherwood, one of America's grandest mothers; a mother not merely because of some physiological process, but rather in that wider sense of broad understanding, of comradeship, of oneness with all that which strives for recognition. And Mrs. Pyle, the daughter of Mrs. Sherwood, and Dr. John Pyle, with their enlightened, broad sense of human fellowship, made my hours passed in that true home of liberty an evergreen memory. Dr. J. Pyle, I understand, was once the Socialistic candidate for Congress. He failed to get elected. Fortunate man! He, man of simplicity and affection, with his large vision of human liberty, would have soon withered in the poisonous atmosphere of politics. And Mrs. Laurie Pyle, my sweet hostess, the true comrade and companion, the Anarchist of the soul, that sheds so much love and beauty over that wonderful home on Ashland Avenue.

The road of the pioneer is sown with misunderstanding, obloquy and hatred, yet so long as there are such homes, so long as such spirits live and work—and no doubt there are others, if one were but fortunate enough to find them—there is satisfaction and joy in the labor of Liberty and Love.

"Allons! After the great companions, and to belong to them!
They, too, are on the road—they are the swift and majestic men—they are the greatest women!"

* * *

Toronto. Queen Victoria stores and Prince of Wales saloons notwithstanding, Toronto could teach our "Republic" salutary lessons in freedom. I addressed here

three meetings, and not a policeman in sight! In Toronto they seem to employ the police at dangerous street crossings, for the protection of children and cripples, while our "finest" are protecting the gambling resorts in Wall Street and suppressing free speech. I suggest that we raise a fund to send our free democratic police to school in Toronto.

* * *

Detroit, you have proven a traitor to the memory of that sweetest lark of liberty—Robert Reitzel—whose influence permeated the entire life of the city. Meetings stopped by the brutal arm of the law.

Where are ye, men and women, that have once worshiped at the shrine of "Der Arme Teufel"? Ye, that have celebrated feasts of song, flowers and wine in the sanctum of the great, inimitable Reitzel? All ye who were lifted out of the mire of money-making and have wandered under the palms with that arch-rebel against all sham, law and hypocrisy; where are ye? The spirit of Reitzel is gone; else Detroit would never submit to the brutal rule of Captain Baker.

Robert Reitzel, arise and sweep the city with your cleansing storms; let us hear again the reverberating thunder of your voice, your protests and your condemnation of all cowardice and slavery.

(*To be continued.*)

* * *

ANENT MY LECTURE TOUR

By the time this issue reaches our subscribers, I shall be in:

Winnipeg, from April 10th to 16th.
Denver, from April 17th to 21st.
Salt Lake City, from April 22d to 23d.
Sacramento, from April 25th to 30th.

On the 30th of April I expect to be in San Francisco. Address: 880 Oak Street.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

302

840514004
The Emma Goldman Papers
Anent My Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman.– p. 71 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 3 (April 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

suppression of the meeting on the preceding day was heralded all over the country.

It was an unusually interesting gathering, that at Zenoba Hall. Workingmen, doctors, lawyers; earnest men and women in all walks of life came to the lecture and I was glad of the opportunity to explain to them the true meaning and object of Anarchism.

The most interesting feature of my Toledo visit, however, was the gathering of a few truly free spirits, exceptionally bright and noble souls, with the fire of their revolutionary forbears still buoyantly coursing in their veins. It was my good fortune to meet Mrs. Kate B. Sherwood, one of America's grandest mothers; a mother not merely because of some physiological process, but rather in that wider sense of broad understanding, of comradeship, of oneness with all that which strives for recognition. And Mrs. Pyle, the daughter of Mrs. Sherwood, and Dr. John Pyle, with their enlightened, broad sense of human fellowship, made my hours passed in that true home of liberty an evergreen memory. Dr. J. Pyle, I understand, was once the Socialistic candidate for Congress. He failed to get elected. Fortunate man! He, man of simplicity and affection, with his large vision of human liberty, would have soon withered in the poisonous atmosphere of politics. And Mrs. Laurie Pyle, my sweet hostess, the true comrade and companion, the Anarchist of the soul, that sheds so much love and beauty over that wonderful home on Ashland Avenue.

The road of the pioneer is sown with misunderstanding, obloquy and hatred, yet so long as there are such homes, so long as such spirits live and work—and no doubt there are others, if one were but fortunate enough to find them—there is satisfaction and joy in the labor of Liberty and Love.

"Allons! After the great companions, and to belong to them!
They, too, are on the road—they are the swift and majestic men—they are the greatest women!"

* * *

Toronto. Queen Victoria stores and Prince of Wales saloons notwithstanding, Toronto could teach our "Republic" salutary lessons in freedom. I addressed here

three meetings, and not a policeman in sight! In Toronto they seem to employ the police at dangerous street crossings, for the protection of children and cripples, while our "finest" are protecting the gambling resorts in Wall Street and suppressing free speech. I suggest that we raise a fund to send our free democratic police to school in Toronto.

* * *

Detroit, you have proven a traitor to the memory of that sweetest lark of liberty—Robert Reitzel—whose influence permeated the entire life of the city. Meetings stopped by the brutal arm of the law.

Where are ye, men and women, that have once worshiped at the shrine of "Der Arme Teufel"? Ye, that have celebrated feasts of song, flowers and wine in the sanctum of the great, inimitable Reitzel? All ye who were lifted out of the mire of money-making and have wandered under the palms with that arch-rebel against all sham, law and hypocrisy; where are ye? The spirit of Reitzel is gone; else Detroit would never submit to the brutal rule of Captain Baker.

Robert Reitzel, arise and sweep the city with your cleansing storms; let us hear again the reverberating thunder of your voice, your protests and your condemnation of all cowardice and slavery.

(*To be continued.*)

* * *

ANENT MY LECTURE TOUR

By the time this issue reaches our subscribers, I shall be in:

Winnipeg, from April 10th to 16th.
Denver, from April 17th to 21st.
Salt Lake City, from April 22d to 23d.
Sacramento, from April 25th to 30th.

On the 30th of April I expect to be in San Francisco. Address: 880 Oak Street.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

303

890830002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy and Snuff at Goldman Meeting / Emma Goldman.—p. 4 ; 50 cm. *In* The Minneapolis Journal. —(April 7, 1907).

Obtained from from the private collection of Sal Salerno. Institutional Location: Department of Labor Studies, Metropolitan State University, Minneapolis, MN.

Mpls. Journal

AL. Sunday, April 7, 1907. P. 4, C. 5

"QUEEN OF ANARCHISTS"



ANARCHY AND SNUFF AT GOLDMAN MEETING

THE "QUEEN OF ANARCHISTS" SPEAKS AT HOLCOMB'S HALL.

She Contends That Anarchy Means Peace and Not Bloodshed; That Society Rests on Human Instinct and That Instinct Can Not Be Destroyed.

The Emma Goldman who spoke in Holcomb's hall last evening on "Misconceptions of Anarchy," was not the Emma Goldman who has been popularly pictured as waving the red flag of revolt and bloodshed.

"I am opposed to man killing," she said, "but I do not condemn the individuals who take the law in their own hands. That is for the judge."

Radical ideas on free love and armed revolt were conspicuously absent in Miss Goldman's address, and if any among the 200 persons who comfortably filled the hall expected to hear a rabid appeal to passion they were disappointed. Economic conditions, governmental and industrial, were de-

[illegible] educational systems were ridiculed, but there was no talk of bombs or infernal machines. In fact the only opportunity of the evening for the city detectives who were scattered thru the hall, came when an unknown miscreant scattered quantities of Chinese snuff. Miss Goldman was not disconcerted by the sneezing which followed and the detectives were unsuccessful in their search for the culprit.

Prefacing her remarks with the assertion that government and anarchism have nothing in common, Miss Goldman stated that her object would be to correct current misrepresentations and misconceptions of the anarchists' belief. American anarchism, said Miss Goldman, is not of foreign origin, and she named Thoreau, Emerson, Whitman and Garrison as among the Americans who had founded the anarchistic sect.

Society Is Stable.

"The main opposition to anarchism," said Miss Goldman, "rests in the belief that it tends to destroy society. Society rests on human instinct and the human instinct cannot be destroyed."

Laws, she asserted, are unnecessary. "If it is natural for human beings to obey the law, why have policemen and judges? It is unnatural and therefore against human life to obey human laws. Therefore the government surrounds itself with law enforcers. Don't tell me that this is a country where man makes the law. Parties make the law and money controls the parties.

"Only the foolish man suffers the penalty of the law. The rich men are never punished. The man who robs you of your muscle and your brain is a greater criminal than the man who robs you of your money. I am opposed to man killing, but is it quite right that people should howl at a man like Thaw and sit quiet in the midst of horrible accidents due to the greed of the rich?"

In concluding her address Miss Goldman predicted that the time would come when the people would realize that they could take care of themselves and the principles of anarchism would prevail with peace.

Denounced as a Dreamer.

Immediately following Miss Goldman's address a young man sprang to his feet and proceeded to harangue the crowd in the interests of socialism. He denounced Miss Goldman as a "dreamer" and for a time it looked as the the meeting might assume some of the traditional aspects of an anarchistic gathering. The crowd, however, stood with Miss Goldman and had it not been for her interposition in behalf of the young enthusiast, he would have been hooted down. As it was, he, with several other men of socialistic tendencies, were allowed to ask questions which Miss Goldman answered. In the course of her answers she pleaded for the emancipation of women, ridiculing President Roosevelt's ideas on race suicide. She also asserted that she felt no especial dislike for John D. Rockefeller. "He is result of the system" she said "Why attack him more than others?" Abolishment of government was in her opinion the only way to correct conditions and she said that abolition of government could only come about thru education of the people.

BOYS FIRE LOAD OF HAY TO SEE FIRE RUN

Too Quiet in North Minneapolis for the Kids, but Today They'll Be Busy Dodging.

Red fire wagons and dashing horses failed to excite the small boys around Plymouth and Washington avenues as they expected last night, but the boys made a real fire which caused trouble for the department and themselves.

Fires have been so scarce in North Minneapolis recently that even a run to a small blaze is a novelty to the boys and they began relieving the monotony Friday night by turning in a false alarm from the box at Plymouth avenue and Second street N. The fire department answered with the usual racket and the youngsters were so highly pleased that they tried the trick again last night.

The second run seemed to them to lack the spectacular and the boys looked on with disgust from an old shed a little distance away.

Then the boy minds began to work. A real fire would make the department deliver the goods and would bring the crowds. Nearby in the haymarket was the material and they hastened to the largest load of hay in the place. A flare followed the vigorous scratching of matches and the boys trampled on each other for the honor of turning in the alarm. Again the rattling wagons came and the firemen had enough work in other loads.

Today the boys will have to dodge Fire Marshal Charles Ringer, who has learned their names and has planned to give the boys all the excitement they want in juvenile court.

We Give Security Stamps With All French Dry Cleaning Work.
Hoffman's (3) Stores and Laundry.
Main 27J; T. C. 3128. Both Stores.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890830003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] How "Anarchy's Queen" Would Train Children / Emma Goldman.— p. 6 ; 28 cm. *In* The Minneapolis Journal. —(April 8, 1907).

Obtained from from the private collection of Sal Salerno. Institutional Location: Department of Labor Studies, Metropolitan State University, Minneapolis, MN.

looked after by the probation officers, because the law was in such shape that punishment of the real offender, the parent, was impossible. The penalty for the parental offence of contributing to the dependency or delinquency of children will be not less than 90 days in the workhouse and not more than 100.

In the case of a family, headed by a father who is just too lazy to work to support the children who have come under the notice of the Humane society of the Associated Charities, the judge will from now on have the satisfaction of being able to impose a fine upon his shiftlessness, forcing him to find work and care for his family.

In the states where the juvenile court work has been carried on most successfully, notably Colorado, Pennsylvania and Illinois, the power to punish parents for the nonsupport of children has always been with the court, and the passing of the new law in Minnesota will materially broaden the scope of the "crime-preventing" work among children.

Begining today, the juvenile court will be in session all day Monday in each week, instead of two afternoons of the week, Monday and Thursday, as formerly.

LAMENT BISHOP'S DEATH

METHODIST PREACHERS OF TWIN CITIES TAKE NOTE OF PASSING OF BISHOP FITZGERALD.

Dr. George S. Innis, professor of history at Hamline university, today read a paper on "Paul, the Evangelist," before the joint session of the Methodist ministers of St. Paul and Minneapolis. The joint session is an annual affair, and the ministers met this morning in the Hennepin Avenue Methodist church.

A committee appointed by the joint preachers' meeting of St. Paul and Minneapolis to draft resolutions regarding the death of Bishop James N. Fitzgerald and of his daughter, made the following report:

"Whereas, In the providence of God this great loss has come to the church, we, the Methodist preachers of St. Paul and Minneapolis in joint session desire to convey to Mrs. Fitzgerald and her family our deep sympathy. We join with the universal Methodist church in prayer that God will sustain her in this great and overwhelming sorrow. We recommend that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Mrs. Fitzgerald. (Signed) Samuel P. Long, W. A. Shannon, Richard N. Avison.

After the general discussion following the reading of the paper by Dr. Innis, Dr. Stevens of St. Paul spoke of the Methodist revival services that have just been concluded in the Central Park church.

A dinner was served in Dayton's tea rooms at the close of the meeting. About thirty were present.

TAKES GOOD "LICKING" BUT SAVES HIS CASH

tion that there will not be a good crop. The wheat in Kansas looks splendid and is in an advanced stage of growth, and were it not for the dry top soil, that state could be said to be looking fine. What is needed to promote the growth and check the fears of the farmers is one good soaking rain.

Watching the Crop.

The whole southwest is watching the crop. Wheat, and the green bug, and dry weather are the topics. Constant repetition of reports of damage, admittedly bad in places, has led to some assumption of a general situation more serious than really exists, for, while the dry weather is general, there is nothing as yet warranting the use of the word "drought," while the insect damage has affected only a small part of the entire southwest winter-wheat area.

HOW 'ANARCHY'S QUEEN' WOULD TRAIN CHILDREN

Emma Goldman, anarchist, last evening delivered her second lecture in Minneapolis at Kistler's hall. She spoke in German and an audience of about 300 persons, mainly men, women and children of the Jewish race, gathered to hear her.

"The Education of the Child" was the subject of Miss Goldman's lecture. She asserted that the child should be left alone to work out its own education; that it should be allowed to endure all that it is capable of enduring.

"Let the child understand that it is an individual as soon as possible. When parents work for their children, feed their children, clothe their children, think for their children, settle their questions of right and wrong, after the children are capable of doing this for themselves, they are simply stunting the growth of the children's character, on the same principle that you would destroy the usefulness of a muscle by binding your arm to your side. The muscle would wither away."

There was little savoring of violence in Miss Goldman's remarks. Her last lecture in Minneapolis will be delivered tonight in a hall at 26 Washington avenue S.

"CHAMBER" CASE TUESDAY

Use of the Minneapolis Chamber Quotations at Issue.

The taking of testimony in the suit of the Chamber of Commerce against the Superior Board of Trade clearinghouse, and the Wisconsin Grain & Stock company will be resumed before G. F. Hitchcock, federal court commissioner, tomorrow at 10 a m. The question involved is the alleged illegal use of the quotations of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce by the defendants.

Final action in the case will take place in the federal court at Madison, Wis. Four days have been consumed in the taking of testimony presented by the plaintiff. The defendants will present their side of the case in May. Developments in the case are being closely watched by the grain interests of the entire northwest as a successful termination of the case in favor of the plaintiff would mean much in the fight against bucketshop methods.

council only six members would sign it, one less than was needed, and several less than the vote it received. The net result was no majority report, no minority report and a renewal of the struggle in the committee this week with the outcome greatly in doubt.

Indirectly the matter of the Minneapolis General Electric company's franchise may come before the committee on underground wires Thursday. This committee may receive further overtures from the parties seeking a franchise to construct a heating and lighting tunnel under the business portion of the city. The possible connection between this tunnel and the possibility of competition in the electric energy business in Minneapolis, as shown in The Sunday Journal, makes the matter one which will have a considerable bearing upon the General Electric controversy.

The committe on sewers met today. [illegible] committee.

Mpls Journal
April 8, 1907
P.6, CA

The committees on ways and means and bonds of the city officers will hold a joint meeting Thursday at 2 p.m. The committee on claims and licenses meet Friday at 10 and 10:45 a.m., respectively. The committee on grades and additions meets at 2 p.m. Wednesday. The committee on health and hospitals will meet at 3:30 p.m. Thursday. The committee on paving is scheduled for 2 p.m. Thursday.

"DIVINE HEALER" IS UP ON THEFT CHARGE

Ole O. Ostby, the "divine healer," who was arrested in Thief River Falls Saturday, was arraigned before Judge H. D. Dickinson today, charged with larceny in the first degree. Two indictments, charging Ostby with stealing $650 from Hanna Haugen, had been returned by the grand jury, and Ostby pleaded not guilty to both. He will be tried April 29. His bail was placed at $1,000.

Charles Chase, who has been indicted for robbery in the first degree, asked toda ythat his trial be postponed so that he might communicate with his father in Iowa. He told Judge Dickinson that his father had been a practicing lawyer in Iowa for forty years, and would undoubtedly come to Minneapolis to defend his son were he informed of the younger Chase's predicament. The trial was set for April 17. Chase is charged with having "rolled" Michael Marston in a saloon at 213 First street N, and having stolen $556 from him.

The criminal calendar for the April term began today with the trial of Frank S. Druck, charged with rape. A jury disagreed in regard to Druck's guilt or innocence at the last session of court.

VERNDALE STARTS SALES DAY

Hundreds of Farmers Are Present from Surrounding Country.

Special to the Journal.

Verndale, Minn., April 8.—Verndale

890830004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Goldman Extols Drama / Emma Goldman.— p. 8 ; 23 cm. *In* The Minneapolis Journal. —(April 9, 1907).

Obtained from from the private collection of Sal Salerno. Institutional Location: Department of Labor Studies, Metropolitan State University, Minneapolis, MN.

City News

PAINE HEADS AUTO CLUB

ANNUAL MEETING OF NEW ASSOCIATION REVEALS MUCH TO BE PROUD OF.

Asa Paine, formerly vicepresident of the Minneapolis Automobile club and president of the Florida East Coast Racing association, was elected president of the first organization at its annual meeting, which was held at the clubrooms in the Phoenix hotel last night. The election was unanimous. The other officers are Horace Lowry, first vicepresident; Benjamin F. Nelson, second vicepresident, R. J. Smith, secretary, J. H. Riheldaffer, treasurer.

Frank M. Joyce, retiring president, in a short speech congratulated the club on its growth and prosperity. He pointed out that within a year the membership of the club has been increased by 227 members, making a total of 600. He added that this membership makes the Minneapolis Automobile club second only to those of New York and Chicago in point of numbers and that it is not second to them in any other respect. Mr. Joyce declined a nomination for reelection.

The report of Treasurer Riheldaffer showed that the finances of the club are in sound condition and that the clubrooms have been secured right rather than at expense. Following the discussion of this subject the club turned to the interesting topic of good roads, and might be talking about them yet had not the call to lunch been sounded. The members resisted, but long enough to authorize the appointment of a committee of five to confer with Mayor J. C. Haynes relative to the enforcement of the ordinance against throwing bottles, glass and rubbish into the streets.

BABY WASTED TO MERE SKELETON

In Torments a Year and a Half with Terrible Sores on Face and Body —Hands Tied to Stop Scratching and Tearing at Flesh — But

GOLDMAN EXTOLS DRAMA

NOTED SOCIALIST SPEAKS OF MODERN WRITERS AS EXPONENTS OF ANARCHISTIC PRINCIPLES.

Anarchistic principles as expounded in the works of modern dramatists was the theme of Emma Goldman's last address in Minneapolis, which was given in Union Temple last evening. The best audience of her visit greeted the anarchist queen.

Miss Goldman asserted that Tolstoi, Ibsen and Hauptmann were the torchbearers of intellectual unrest and she used the works of these writers as well as those of Gorky, Maeterlink and Shaw in an attempt to show that the drama in each case had been chosen as a means of teaching anarchistic principles and interpreting the spirit of revolt.

In speaking of Gorky, Miss Goldman said that the "American people drove him from their shore by their inquisitive habit of minding other people's business and made it impossible for him to accomplish his purpose."

Ibsen was lauded as the emancipator of women. "What we need," asserted Miss Goldman, "is not more children, but fewer children and those from healthier mothers."

Miss Goldman asserted that there is no real drama in America, that the American people are too busy in their search for money to develop their minds to a stage of drama appreciation.

The Irishmen, Yeats and Shaw, and the Englishmen, Wilde and Pinero, were named by Miss Goldman as the four great dramatists of the English race. Shaw she said, found that people would not have the socialistic tracts which he wrote so he began to ridicule society on the stage.

In speaking of Shaw's play, "Mrs. Warren's Profession," Miss Goldman said:

"You know we, as Anglo-Saxons, pride ourselves on our purity. We are afraid of the dust so we keep our pure, white angelic souls sheltered in the house with the windows down. That is the reason the sewer is stifled for want of fresh air and sunshine. That is the reason 'Mrs. Warren's Profession' was barred. We want to deny to ourselves that there are such professions in our society as Mrs. Warren's profession. But we will have such professions just so long as we have laws founded on such stupid conceptions of morality as we now have."

SCHOOLS PLAN A "SHOW"

Women Principals Would Raise Money for Exoo Exhibit.

every count. $1.

MN Journal
April 9, 1907
P. 8, C4



YOU KNOW, reefers are i

DOUBLE bre please the 7

AND the dressy ages 14 to

COLLEGE h to $25.

Confirmation Su $3.95 to $20.

lean blue a scarf (50

flannels, $

NEWEL LAID TO REST

Simple Service Marks Obsequies of Late Diplomat in St. Paul.

With little ostentation but with much evidence of love and respect Stanford Newel, former United States minister to The Hague was buried yesterday in St. Paul.

Brief services were held at the home, 251 Dayton avenue and then the body was taken to Oakland cemetery for interment. The body of Mrs. Newel, who died in January, 1906, was taken from the receiving vault and buried beside that of her husband.

The funeral
confined to t
the Episcopal
Theodore Sed
of St. John
furnished by
Newson, Mrs
Mr. Woodwor
ers were Hen
as P. Wilson
Charles E. S
W. Bunn, Jo
and E. A. F
bearers were
Louis W.
Charles L. S
Charles W. G
H. Lightner.

The General Condem
or Sec
of an injurious character, which ind
to cure all
National Legislation
have established more clearly than
The Value and Imp

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

830523000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Anarchy Expounded by Woman Leader / Emma Goldman.– pp. 1, 11 ; 45 cm. *In* The Winnipeg Tribune. –(April 10, 1907).

Obtained from the Manitoba Legislative Library, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

...familiar with the navigation ... river and most intimately con... with it, as well as the engineer... department, are positive in ...lief, that the bridge as now ...structed would seriously in... with navigation. This will al... much more serious when navi... increases, as it surely will ... the St. Andrews Rapids lock ...ements are completed.

Withdraw Permission.

...er these circumstances I feel ...qualified permission to the ... Winnipeg to proceed with the ...tion of the bridge according ... present plans must be with... and that I must say that the ...must be changed to meet the ...ht of the resident engineer and ...artment which concurs in his ...

...evident to me that in any case ...uld eventually result in a very ...re, and that it is better for the ... change their plans and con... bridge in accordance with the ...on at that point."

...sult of the letter is that the ... have to revise the whole ... at large cost and abandon ... the work already done.

...TER SUPPLY ... OR WINNIPEG

...ul Engineers Appoint... Look Into Question ...Will Meet May 6.

...L AMEND ...RIMINAL CODE

...r of Justice Writes ...r in Reference to ... Amendments.

...for the community.

Winnipeg Tribune Apr 10, 1907

ANARCHY EXPOUNDED BY WOMAN LEADER

Emma Goldman, Apostle of Anarchy, Tells What the Philosophy of Anarchism Is and What Would Happen if Anarchy Was in Place of Artificial Laws—To Lecture in Winnipeg.

At an early hour this morning that clearly set at naught the rules of organized society relating to set functions the telephone bell of The Tribune rang and the following question came floating on the shadowy wings of electrical communication: "Do you want to see Emma Goldman?"

"Sorting letter" was the answer and obeying an injunction to come at once, the newspaper man bade his office mates a last fair well, gave them dire threats for the disposition of such tragic bits of his remains as might be gathered up after the expected bomb explosion, and sallied forth to meet the woman whose public utterances have more than once called down the police authorities upon her and in one instance at least, brought about her lodgment in gaol for the period of a year.

Reasonable expectation might and would for in ordinary circumstances would have warranted the caller upon this woman leader of an organization at whose door have been laid some of the direst crimes of the century in picturing Miss Goldman as a swarthy, Amazonian sextet or more, tall and with a voice like sunshine brass.

Possibly having had some few months ago the search of time that should not be subscribed and the existence of being married to almost ... of female ... [illegible] ... the ... [illegible] ... fact it was no ... [illegible] ... Miss Goldman, a ... [illegible] ... with a ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible]

The Emma Goldman Papers

830523000

[Interview] Anarchy Expounded by Woman Leader / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 11 ; 45 cm. *In* The Winnipeg Tribune. – (April 10, 1907).

Obtained from the Manitoba Legislative Library, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

JOHN WADGE,

Real Estate Broker, 21 Ninth Street, Brandon, Man. P.O. Box 452. Phone 1.0.

BRANDON IS THE STRONGEST centre for legitimate real estate investment in the west this year. The advance of real estate prices has been steadier than in any other western centre. There has been no boom, prices are still much below the prices in smaller centres.

BRANDON HAS PRACTICALLY DOUBLE the population of Saskatoon and Regina, and the new properties being put on the market here are only 10 minutes from the centre of the city, and with three miles in similar centres.

I HANDLE ONLY PROPERTIES that are all sold cheap to actual buyers, properties lying within the walk from the centre, all of them closer than the most substantial of the properties situated in the present centre of Brandon, some of the blocks already containing buildings.

THESE PROPERTIES ARE ON THE market at prices much proportionately than any other properties in Brandon.

WRITE FOR MAPS, CIRCULARS, and if you prefer, will call on you at your home in the city and make appointments.

JOHN WADGE, 21 NINTH STREET, BRANDON, MAN.

T. H. GOODMAN & CO.

Room 3 Nanton Block, 464 Main St. Phone 3329. P.O. Box 329.

We have for sale the following Bonds to yield from 5 to 6 per cent.

Municipal Bonds, Corporation Bonds, Debentures, Stocks, Etc.

Mail enquiries receive prompt attention.

Members Winnipeg Stock Exchange.

SINCLAIR MACKENZIE & KING

I'LL

G. W. DONALD & CO.

717 McIntyre Block.

Correspondence, Expert in Disputed Handwriting, Forgeries, etc. Private Instruction in all Business subjects. Open evenings.

G. W. DONALD,

Late Secretary WINNIPEG BUSINESS COLLEGE

National Trust Company, Limited

Capital, $1,000,000.00 Head Office, Toronto. Reserve, $400,000.00

Branches—Winnipeg, Montreal, Edmonton, Saskatoon.

Arthur Stewart, Mgr. for Manitoba and Northwest. D. H. Cooper, Assistant Manager.

Winnipeg Office: 323 Main Street.

MONEY TO LOAN on Improved Farm or City Property at lowest current rates.

ACTS as executor and trustee under wills or administrators for intestate estates, as guardian, liquidator, or arbitrator by appointment, or as trustee to secure issue of bonded indebtedness.

4% allowed on deposits in our Savings Department. You may withdraw in any amounts by issuing your own check.

Bryant's Cobalt News

Dealing with CONIAGAS — COBALT DEVELOPMENT — SILVER LEAF — FOSTER — TRETHEWEY — KERR LAKE — COBALT CENTRAL — COBALT LAKE — and general conditions of the Cobalt Camp and its leading mines is now in our publisher's hands and we daily expect delivery. After our clients have been provided for, upon request we will take pleasure in mailing this Cobalt Guide, while the supply lasts, with our Daily Bid and Asked Price List, FREE OF CHARGE, to those first applying for same. DOLLARS FOR CENTS have been earned in COBALTS, and never have conditions been more favorable for prosperity, and a splendid development of the resources of this unique Mining Section, whose shipments of ore of tremendous values have proven to be truly one of the world's wonders, bringing wealth to every one interested in the immediate future.

Bryant's Cobalt News tells you how to Buy and Sell Cobalts. WRITE FOR IT AT ONCE.

BRYANT BROTHERS & COMPANY

BROKERS AND DEALERS IN UNLISTED SECURITIES.

84 ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER ST., MONTREAL.

Telephone Main 4071—4072. Business Established 1899

RECRUITS FOR 90TH REGIMENT

Lieut.-Col. Billman Says Indications Point to a Successful Season.

When seen by a Tribune reporter last night, Lieut.-Col. Billman, of the 90th Regiment, stated that recruiting was progressing most favorably and that everything pointed to a very successful season. The Lieut.-Col. said, already strong, is having a number of recruits added to its corps.

"The question with the brigade camp will be held on June 19 to 27," said the Lieut.-Col., "the 90th may go into camp on the 25th, 26th and 27th of June. Authority has been given by the government to go into camp on those three days, but it has not been definitely decided as yet, as it is feared a large number of the men will be unable to attend.

"It is very probable that the Fort Wilkins regiment will attend the rathskeller in June. It is expected that the camp will be very large as brigades from all over the West. Men will have six days' leave of absence for that purpose.

[illegible] are 60 men in the [illegible] are the only [illegible] Grenadiers [illegible] prepared for [illegible] Monday night [illegible] Major Mutter [illegible] Wednesday night for [illegible] Armouries [illegible] Major Mutter [illegible] Monday night [illegible]

ANARCHY EXPOUNDED BY WOMAN LEADER

Continued from Page 1

[illegible] 98 and we had every place [illegible] and [illegible] were made [illegible] speaking [illegible]

[illegible] are [illegible] of [illegible] Russia [illegible] Some of our [illegible] there. France [illegible] Next I was [illegible] in common [illegible] and [illegible] a sympathizer [illegible] just [illegible] between [illegible]

[illegible] I have spoken [illegible] that was [illegible] and [illegible] I shall speak there [illegible] I was [illegible] the east [illegible] the [illegible] Montreal [illegible] Toronto [illegible] Winnipeg [illegible] Anarchists [illegible] I was [illegible] Monday [illegible] I was [illegible] Wednesday [illegible] for [illegible] Anarchists [illegible] I was [illegible] Monday [illegible] I was [illegible] Wednesday [illegible]

[illegible] stopped for any particular reason and the meetings were not actually forbidden, but the hall keepers were terrorized by threats of losing their licenses if I were allowed to speak in their halls.

Not Forbidden to Speak.

"No, I was not personally forbidden to speak and the character of my talk there would not have been at all different from that of my lectures at the other places where I spoke. I prepare my lectures carefully before I start on my tours and could not well change them to suit the different places.

"I have never been in Winnipeg before, but have been twice to Montreal, and also to Toronto, but Winnipeg is so far north that it is hard to reach. I shall go from here to Denver and to Salt Lake City, Sacramento and other places on the Pacific coast on this trip, which will extend to the end of June. I am not really travelling under the auspices of anybody; my friends and comrades in the different places arrange for my lectures.

England Land of the Free.

"Which do I consider the freest country? Politically I consider England the freest country; that is so far as concerns free speech, free press and free assemblies, although England is going back, somewhat, on her former principles upon the matter of free immigration. England used to be the home of all political refugees and, while nobody has been barred, yet, they are going to be. There have been some very stringent provisions enacted as to emigration of late.

"No," smilingly said Miss Goldman. "I don't think it will effect our people. I think that laws are made to be broken and if rigid laws are enacted ways will always be found to avoid them.

"The United States has made some very rigid laws against the coming of anarchists to that country and since those laws were made few have been coming into the states by the immediate, not more so, in fact, than they ever did before.

The Futility of the Law.

"That is the futility of law and the way that law is disregarded. Instinctively is the opposite to law, that is human nature. You prohibit a thing and straightway you awaken a desire for it. Yes, I think that will apply to all things and that is the reason why I am a believer in non-government.

"Would it be right to steal if they were not forbidden by law to do it. I am sure they would not. I was in a community of Russians in Switzerland, where the sheriff told me that he had not had a single case of crime in his town in three years of office, so not his salary, just the same he had nothing to do but spend a time playing billiards and reading Ingersoll.

"He was a brilliant man; he invited me to speak in the court house which was a most strange experience for an anarchist although I myself believe that that is what courthouses should be used for.

"How did I account for the state of things that existed in Switzerland? Why I suppose that the people were able to govern themselves, that they had work and that the [illegible] were [illegible] Law Not Alone to Blame.

"Of course I [illegible] that [illegible] to crime. No less a person than Cardinal Manning said that necessity knows no law.

"Would I say that the anarchists were the party of necessity? I most certainly should say so. Anarchy represents the necessities of human life and its cravings, else it would have no meaning.

"I have been an anarchist for 20 years. I was 19 years old when I became an anarchist—and I am 39 years old now. I have no hesitation in telling my age, because Anarchy teaches frankness; indeed, its very essence is frankness. I believe, too, that age stands for something if one's time is properly employed. It stands for experience and there is no good reason for a woman who has had the right sort of a life to conceal her age.

"When women had only to work in the kitchen, to supply food for their husbands and families, there was good reason why they should seek to hide their age, but when her intellect began to awake she has no reason for being otherwise than frank and open.

Anarchists Not All Among Poor.

"I do not know how many anarchists there are in Winnipeg. Anarchists are not all among the poor and laboring classes. I was invited to speak to a company of professional men in Minneapolis and I was surprised to find so many anarchists in every class of life.

"No, Anarchy does not stand for violence. Republicans, Democrats and Irish have committed acts of violence but that has nothing to do with anarchists, and, besides, the individual crime, committed by anarchists, is nothing by comparison with the crimes of organized government; it is merely a drop in the sea.

"The killing of King Humbert and President McKinley? They had nothing to do with the philosophy of Anarchism, but they have lots to do with the condition that made them possible."

Word was received yesterday by N. J. MacDonald, of the Rat Portage Lumber company, informing him of the death of his mother, Mrs. E. MacDonald, of Lacrosse, Wis. The deceased lady was well known in Winnipeg, being a frequent visitor here in previous years. Mr. MacDonald and his sister, Nellie of Keewatin, leave today to attend the funeral in Lacrosse.

MURDER WAS JUSTI

Continued from Pa

[illegible] reproaches to bear on yo[illegible] the sadness of it all. 'You [illegible] me from your side and no[illegible] fight the battle of life alo[illegible] me.' 'Oh, Stanford White [illegible] ed Delmas, 'had that man [illegible] the way with his smooth t[illegible] fessional tricks and device[illegible] tle Evelyn could not have t[illegible] her from the man who l[illegible] the behest of those profe[illegible] celvers."

"If you don't believe in m[illegible] timony," wrote Harry Thaw [illegible] nothing to do; being honest [illegible] ful has finished me."

Melancholy Story.

"The pages neither of pos[illegible] tory contain a simpler, sadd[illegible] melancholy story of devot[illegible] that which came as a de[illegible] on the mind of this young [illegible] he saw the girl he loved [illegible] the man from whose clutc[illegible] rescued her. In the condit[illegible] Harry Thaw left New York [illegible] to Pittsburg."

Mr. Delmas then read from [illegible] Harry Thaw's testimony reg[illegible] actions of her son at that [illegible] he was moody and quiet, [illegible] not sleep, how he often w[illegible] piano. "He struck a few [illegible] the instrument, went on [illegible] ness, until the [illegible] ended until they shuddered like [illegible] a soul in agony, until the st[illegible] from love and the music [illegible] and finally died away. The [illegible] then he said his sobs, she [illegible] awake until the stars of [illegible] told that mother that the [illegible] on he could not to [illegible] soon be a mother's art sh[illegible] was not her sons soul [illegible] the story.

"Then, gentlemen, not [illegible] awful scene in the church [illegible] member the organ was roll[illegible] voices were upholding to the [illegible] of Hosts, the God of Arm[illegible] Navies. 'Lest we forget, [illegible] forget, lest we forget.' [illegible] being uttered, the last li[illegible] but in Harry Thaw's hea[illegible] Never! Yes, I can never, n[illegible] a man can never forget that [illegible] innocent one is done from [illegible] and has returned to the [illegible] those who came after her."

What was then Harry Th[illegible] tal condition. Must be gi[illegible] He could not be would n[illegible] torture, indomitable na[illegible] was, he conceived that he [illegible] stem to retrieve. He [illegible] New York to try once m[illegible] h[illegible]

Mr. Delmas then read [illegible] greater as a pleading for m[illegible] plea. Here she refused [illegible] see Harry, but finally how th[illegible] She then read the stories sh[illegible] and were not true.

Meeting With Tha[illegible]

Mr. Delmas then told o[illegible] of December 24 last, when [illegible] Harry Thaw [illegible] but when [illegible] the old lawyer, [illegible] her but a thing to gratify [illegible] just, and then cast aside lo[illegible] down the paths of fall[illegible] Thaw's belief that there [illegible] had designs upon his life [illegible] upon, as was Thaw's visi[illegible] after her second operation [illegible] ter which Thaw had [illegible] mother to go to Evelyn an[illegible] cause. Mrs. William Thaw [illegible] lyn that she would be lo[illegible] spected as her son's wife, [illegible] consented to the marriage, [illegible] place on April 4, 1905.

"The man pledged to [illegible] before Almighty God that [illegible] life he would protect her," [illegible] said dramatically. He the[illegible] stories of Evelyn receiving [illegible] noyances from White and [illegible] of such stories upon Thaw. [illegible] night of May Mackenzie [illegible] had told her, when she s[illegible] love of Harry and Evel[illegible] could "get her back" also [illegible]

Mr. Delmas pictured the [illegible] guish of Thaw during this [illegible] told of Thaw's action in [illegible] his will on his wedding ni[illegible] "other victims of White." [illegible] to the story of the "Pla Gi[illegible] It was White's purpose [illegible] with this child in the sam[illegible] manner and afterwards c[illegible] like a dirty rag, to float he[illegible] life's sewers into a pauper[illegible]

Thaw's letter to Anthony [illegible] and his efforts to secure th[illegible] tion of the district attorney [illegible] tive agency to have Whit[illegible] were spoken of. Mr. Delm[illegible] Evelyn Thaw's statement t[illegible] Here[illegible] that There was [illegible] subject of White, and a[illegible] man who had brooded on [illegible] for three years, who had [illegible] dreadful horrors haunting h[illegible] in the stillness of the nigh[illegible] be human to retain the [illegible] reason. Gentlemen, put y[illegible] his place, picture to you[illegible] horrors he went through, a[illegible] tice to Harry Thaw."

At 12.30 o'clock the rece[illegible] dered.

Night of the Trag[illegible]

Following the recess, [illegible] brought the narrative of h[illegible] down to the events of the [illegible] tragedy, the 25th of June la[illegible] of Thaw and his wife at [illegible] Cafe Martin, when White [illegible] Evelyn wrote this note [illegible] hand "The B—s was [illegible] ago, but went out again."

308

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

840514005
The Emma Goldman Papers
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. — pp. 119-123 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 2, no. 3 (May 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Ah! the hot owner sees not Death, who adds
Him to his land, a lump of mould the more.
Hear what the Earth says:—

EARTH-SONG

"Mine and yours;
Mine, not yours.
Earth endures;
Stars abide—
Shine down in the old sea;
Old are the shores;
But where are old men?
I who have seen much,
Such have I never seen.

"The lawyer's deed
Ran sure,
'In tail,
To them, and to their heirs
Who shall succeed,
Without fail,
For evermore.'

"Here is the land,
Shaggy with wood,
With its old valley,
Mound and flood.
But the heritors?
Fled like the flood's foam.
The lawyer, and the laws,
And the kingdom,
Clean swept herefrom.

"They called me theirs,
Who so controlled me;
Yet every one
Wished to stay, and is gone.
How am I theirs,
If they cannot hold me,
But I hold them?"

When I heard the Earth-song,
I was no longer brave;
My avarice cooled,
Like lust in the chill of the grave.

* * *

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

As long as the capitalists of Europe and America could, with the aid of their respective governments, carry their "civilization" into Asia and force the latter's truly cultured people to buy their shoddy wares, there existed no yellow peril. Only when the "heathens" began to practically apply the lessons taught them by their white "benefactors"; when they, too, began to propagate civilization—lo! suddenly we perceived the yellow peril.

"Guard your most sacred possessions, ye nations of Europe!" cried the German Emperor, and the international boodlers applauded unanimously. Many workingmen, especially those of America, joined in the cry; even some revolutionists were deluded into the belief that the competition of Asiatic labor was dangerous to their ideas. How unjustified this fear has fully been demonstrated within the last few years by the remarkable spreading of social revolutionary ideas among the Japanese and Chinese. The intellectuals of these nations are as familiar with modern radical ideas as the people of America and Europe. The labor question is now no less acute in those countries than with us.

A very hopeful sign of the times is the recent organization of the "Social Revolutionary Party of Japanese in America," whose aim it is to enlighten their countrymen with regard to existing social conditions and to prepare them for the social revolution.

Herewith we publish the proclamation of the new organization, a remarkable document, which indicates that the American workingmen have a great deal to learn from their "heathen" brothers:

"We proclaim to the people of the whole world the organization of the Social Revolutionary Party of Japanese in America.

Who says that labor is divine, while a few people are fed and clothed well and millions are suffering from poverty and hunger?

309

840514005

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 119-123 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 3 (May 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

What is life for, when one man takes away the rights and liberty of millions that he may live in luxury and ease?

What is the dignity of a nation when the lives of millions are sacrificed in war to satisfy a few men's ambition and vanity?

Yes, labor is intolerable, life is miserable, the nation is cruel, and society is unjust.

The cries of the sufferers all over the world are increasing day after day, and the enthusiastic attempts to abolish these torments and to try to secure true liberty and happiness and peace are increasing month after month.

How can a man who has heart and soul look at suffering humanity without a feeling of sympathy or a desire to assist in the alleviation of the wrongs?

It is our duty to revolutionize this unjust system of society and make it a beautiful, free, happy one, both to the honor of our forefathers, and for the benefit of our sons. It is not only our duty, but it is our right.

The purpose of our revolutionary society is to realize this fact, and to discharge this duty and secure our rights.

We proclaim to the people of the world the organization of the Social Revolutionary Party of Japanese in America, and we will endeavor to bring about this revolution according to the program herein adopted.

Come, those who are interested, and join us. Do not hesitate!

OUR PROGRAM:

1. We shall abolish the industrial, economic competitive system of to-day, which breeds pauperism, and let the people own the nation's wealth.

2. We shall endeavor to destroy traditional and superstitious ideas of class lines, and will try to insure equal rights for all.

3. We shall endeavor to abolish racial prejudice and learn to realize the true meaning of the brotherhood of men.

4. In order to accomplish the above stated purposes we recognize the necessity of uniting with the comrades of the world."

* * *

If anything more was necessary to convince the American public of the existence of a capitalistic conspiracy to hang Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, and destroy the Western Federation of Miners, the high-handed interference of Theodore Roosevelt has accomplished that.

To curry favor with the pirates whose stolen millions sent him to the White House, our political desperado did not hesitate to stoop to the use of his official position against the Idaho defendants. Such base attempts to influence justice have seldom been witnessed outside of Morocco and Turkey.

We say, to influence justice; because the private opinion of a professional politician as to the moral worth of the representatives of revolutionary ideas is a matter of entire indifference to the latter. It is self-evident that the chief lackey of the plutocrats cannot consider the opponents of the latter as anything but "undesirable citizens." There are many citizens, however—and by no means the worst—who look upon the White House parasites as highly undesirable citizens.

It is time that the American people, and especially organized labor, should realize that the White House is the very last place to look for justice, a "square deal," or even common decency.

* * *

We mourn the tragic fate of William McLaughlin—better known as "Billy"—late Inspector of Police, Chief of the New York Detective Bureau, and Head of the "Anarchist Squad," of recent creation. Yesterday a power in the land; to-day a mere Captain of Westchester, familiarly known as Goatville, with nothing to do but sign his name in the blotter twice a day. The salary is a paltry two thousand five hundred a year, and but little graft. The *Sun*, whose editor claims friendship with "Billy," informs us that the former detective is rich—his wealth, no doubt, saved from the yearly salary of three thousand five hundred—and that he is expected to resign at once. Others say that "he is game and will stick it out." All of this is very sad for a man who can buy twenty-thousand-dollar houses and live like a bank president on a salary of three thousand five hundred a year. Such a genius deserves to be chancellor of the exchequer of a South American Republic. Alas, poor William!

* * *

Our friend Luigi Galleani was tried during the last week of April for alleged participation in the Paterson riots of 1902. We are happy to state that the trial resulted in a disagreement, seven jurymen voting for conviction and five for acquittal. We do not think that the District Attorney of Paterson will seek new laurels by bringing Galleani to trial again. It is to be hoped

310

840514005
The Emma Goldman Papers
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 119-123 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 3 (May 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

that he will not succeed in finding twelve men to send our innocent brother to prison.

On the heels of the trial comes the information that William McQueen—whose five-year sentence for "complicity" in the Paterson troubles had almost expired—was pardoned on condition that he leave at once our hospitable shores. The Paterson capitalists and their political lackeys may now rest in peace.

* * *

Maurice Donnay, an *enfant terrible* of French literature, has recently been elected member of the *Académic Française.* Loyalty, rather than literary merit, is nowadays the key that unlocks the door of immortality: mere loyalty is often sufficient; merit alone—never. Maurice Donnay is one of the few possessing both.

Besides Anatole France and Jules Lemaître, he is now the only artist in the Academy who considers industrious erudition, alexandrines of proper measure and fine sounding parliamentary speeches as meritorious literary productions.

Ten years ago, however, he would have knocked for admittance in vain. All his poetic *finesse,* his manifold talents and power of ingenious observation did not suffice to open the door, until he had conclusively proven by one of his recent mediocre plays that he was eligible to immortality.

His receptive soul must often suffer tortuous hours by the incarceration of his wild spirit within the confines of academic respectability. In truth, but once has he succeeded in taming down his genius to the strict requirements of a conventional play. In all his following works his artistic spirit soon manifested itself by rising above all literary dogmas and puritanic morality.

The academic sedateness demanded by the mossy institution from its Immortals will hardly prove a sufficient guarantee against an occasional "bad break"—no more than Donnay's erudite engineer training prevented his public appearance as *chansonnier* in the *Chat Noir* of Rodolphe Salis.

The eternal fitness of things: the pæans of peace sung by professional exponents of war.

The peace farce of recent date was as fiendish a caricature of the Brotherhood of Man as Satan could desire. A glance at the list of participants is sufficient to characterize the sincerity of *those* friends of peace. The parvenu steel king in the rôle of chief peace-maker,—ye gods, what a spectacle!

Having had his praises sung on Founders' Day, at Pittsburg, the hero of Skibo and Homestead, this chief beneficiary of the war of classes, came to New York to witness his triumph as king of peace. As such he was felicitated by his imperial brothers, Oily Bill and Terrible Teddy, and decorated by the French Government with the cross of the Legion of Honor. This honor, however, is now of such questionable quality that it may properly be said of an honest man thus decorated: "He has been dishonored with the Legion of Honor."

* * *

In the sign of prosperity.

On the benches in Madison Square cower, chilled, human débris—ragged, dirty, hollow-eyed, mere caricatures of man. . . .

It is not permitted to sleep in the parks. Soon comes the night stick, awakening the dozing; the policeman drives the frightened wretches out of the park. They go, resigned in the abyss of despair, further—further!

At Union Square the cruel performance is repeated. The nearer we approach the lower part of the city, the more pronounced and heartrending the misery and suffering. From foul-smelling alleys and filthy hallways there comes the sound of heavy breathing and low coughing. The dark steps of the railroad tunnel are plastered with the forbidding figures of unemployed and homeless—men for whom there is no room in all the forest of houses and who cannot afford the price of a night's lodging; men to whom work is a luxury, unattainable by those run down at the heels and whose shoes are tied with strings; men past vice or virtue; men who have long since forgotten to live and are too misery-stupified to cross the threshold of the land of the dead.

In the sign of prosperity.

311

840514006

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Road / Emma Goldman.– pp. 128-135 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 3 (May 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

more—they are the factors that will fashion the system of production and distribution in the coming free society.

The proletariat of Europe has already awakened to a realization of his great mission; it remains for the American workers to decide whether they will continue, as before, to be satisfied with the crumbs off the board of the wealthy. Let us hope that they will soon awaken to the full perception of their great historic mission, bearing in mind the battle scars of former years. Especially at this time, when organized capital of America—the most powerful and greedy of the world—is again attempting to repeat the tragedy of 1887, American labor must warn the overbearing masters with a decisive "Thus far and no further!"

* * *

ON THE ROAD

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

(*Continuation.*)

CHICAGO. City of the greatest American crime! City of that black Friday when four brave sons of the people were strangled to death—Parsons, Spies, Engel and Fischer, and you young giant who preferred to take your own life rather than allow the hangman to desecrate you with his filthy touch. You noble free spirits who walked along the open road, believing its call to be "the call of battle, of rebellion." 'Tis therefore you went "with angry enemies, with desertion."

O for the indifference, the inertia of those whose cowardice permitted you to die, to be strangled—the very people for whom you had given your life's blood.

O city of shame and disgrace! City of gloom and smoke, filth and stench. You are rotten with stockyards and slums, poverty and crime. What will become of you on the day of reckoning, when your children will awaken to consciousness? Will their battle for liberty and human dignity cleanse your past? Or will they demolish you with their wrath, their hatred, their revenge for all you have made them endure?

As my train neared this hole, bellowing suffocating smoke and dust, covering the sky with a dark, gloomy cloth, on the morning of the eighteenth of March, I thought of you, Paris. Great, glorious Paris! Cradle of rebellion, mother of that glad, joyous day, thirty-six years ago, when your flying colors proclaimed brotherhood and peace in the grand spirit of the Commune. What a contrast between you and Chicago! The one inspiring, urging on to rebellion and liberty; the other making her children mercenary and indifferent, clumsily self-satisfied. What a contrast! What an awful contrast!

I arrived at Chicago at the high tide of politics, the various parties wrangling, huckstering and wrestling for political supremacy, each claiming to stand for a principle: the greatest good of the people.

What Bernard Shaw says of the English in "The Man of Destiny" holds equally good with us in this country: "When the Englishman wants a thing, he never tells himself that he wants it. He waits patiently till there comes into his mind, no one knows how, a burning conviction that it is his moral and religious duty to conquer those who have got the thing he wants. He is never at a loss for an effective moral attitude. As the great champion of freedom and national independence, he conquers and annexes half the world and calls it colonization. When he wants a market for his adulterated Manchester goods, he sends a missionary to teach the natives the gospel of peace. The natives kill the missionary, he flies to arms in defence of Christianity, fights for it, conquers for it, and takes the market as a reward from heaven. In defence of his island shores he puts a chaplain on board his ship, nails a flag with a cross onto his top gallant mast and sails to the ends of the earth, sinking, burning and destroying all who dispute the empire of the seas with him. You will never find an Englishman in the wrong. He does everything on principle. He fights you on patriotic principles, he robs you on business principles, he enslaves you on imperial principles, he bullies you on manly principles."

No better picture could be drawn of our own good people, especially our politicians. Of course they do not

312

840514006

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Road / Emma Goldman.— pp. 128-135 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 3 (May 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

want the job of mayor, governor or president; of course they do not want to get fat as the proverbial seven cows; it is only for a principle that they enter politics, for the dear people's sake, for municipal ownership's sake, for the sake of purifying our bad morals, for good government, for child labor laws, factory improvement, for anything and everything, only not for their own sake. 'Tis for the sake of principle our politicians fight, lie and abuse one another; for the sake of principle they invest their money in land robbery, in cotton mills where the children of the dear majority are forced to work under the industrial lash, or in stockyards and packing houses where human beings are made to rot in filth.

For the sake of principle liberals, the Single Taxers, have made a compact with the Democratic Party, hailing Dunne, Hearst and others of their caliber as the Messiahs of the people, and indulging in the same cheap methods of abuse and attack. One of our Single Tax brothers was elated over the discovery that his opponent lived with a "nigger." "We'll use it against him. It is sure to kill his chances," said our "liberal" friend, and no doubt it is. Just think, advanced people prying into the private life of a man and publicly dissecting it for the sake of a political job,—I beg your pardon, for the sake of principle. How coarse, how vulgar "principle" has made man.

And our Socialistic friend, is he not ready to string up anyone who disputes "economic determinism" and "the materialistic conception of history"? For the sake of his principle he will kick anyone out of the party who dares doubt the infallibility of political action; he will denounce us as dynamiters, when we venture to suggest some other method. For the sake of principle the Socialistic paper of Chicago devotes its front page to the discussion of "gowns for the ladies," and a Socialistic candidate appeals for votes on the ground that he has a good law practice and an income of a hundred thousand dollars. And the majority goes into the trap and allows itself to be humbugged—for the sake of a principle.

While in Chicago I delivered nine lectures before various nationalities—Jewish, Bohemians, Danish, not to forget of course the dear, fortunate natives who make the Social Science League their headquarters. Whether it

was due to the subject, "The Revolutionary Spirit of the Modern Drama," or to the innate curiosity of the Americans, I do not know; at any rate the meeting at the Masonic Temple was the largest and the most interesting. Two real live professors from the Chicago University, quite a host of students from the same institution, as well as lawyers, politicians and workingmen packed the hall. Great strides must have been made in the last few years to bring out instructors and students from the Rockefeller College. It is not so very long ago that Tolstoi's picture was turned face to the wall because he dared criticise the endower of that hall of learning.

Some naive people were so enthusiastic over my lecture that they suggested to one of the professors that he invite me to the University to repeat my lecture. Alas, they forgot the "principle" for the sake of which the good professor could not invite the Anarchist, Emma Goldman, to the College. Probably he thought that at the sound of Anarchism the University buildings would crumble to pieces, as the walls of Jericho did at the sound of the Jewish trumpet. No one can blame the professor —"principle" before freedom of knowledge.

Life in Chicago has always been hateful and trying to me, but the great kindness at the home of my dear comrades, Annie and Jack Livshis, and especially the untiring goodness and the fine tact and discretion of the Anarchistic Mother, Annie, helped to overcome my aversion to the jungle city.

Cincinnati. The old sensational speculations as to whether I will or will not be allowed to speak in that city greeted me in the newspapers when I arrived. Madam Alice R. Longworth living on Walnut Hill, it was quite reckless of the city fathers to alow dangerous utterances at Cincinnati. However, Anarchism has been heard at three large meetings, and Walnut Hill is still intact. America is full of parasites—Anarchism has greater things to do than to bother about some particular member. It has to build character, to develop individuality, to clear the human mind of spooks and shadows. It has to call men and women "out from the dark refinement, out from behind the screen, out from traditions and prejudices—into the open road."

313

840514006

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Road / Emma Goldman.— pp. 128-135 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 3 (May 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

St. Louis. Some people seem to be incapable of learning that Anarchism and dirty halls in squalid sections of the city are not synonymous. True, Anarchism does not exclude the poor, the dirty or the tramp any more than the sun excludes them, but it does not make a virtue of filth. It seems to me that so long as people remain satisfied with their present conditions, absolutely indifferent to cleanliness, air and beauty, they cannot possibly feel the burning shame of their lives, nor will they strive for anything that might lift them out of the ugliness of their existence. I do not censor anyone, for I am convinced that the boys of St. Louis tried their best; yet I am grieved that they should be satisfied with so little. True, the halls were cheap, but though the future of *Mother Earth* depends upon the success of this tour, I cannot even for her sake speak in dingy little halls, dark and gloomy, with the dust and smoke making it impossible to breathe.

Minneapolis. Those who believe that only organizations or groups can accomplish things should profit by the example of Minneapolis, where two energetic workers did wonders.

The population of this city is composed of shopkeepers, bankers, doctors and lawyers—not the element that is usually interested in radical ideas. Nor were such ideas ever put before them. Anarchism was a spook, an evil spirit in that town, but daring is the only way to success. The audiences that thronged the halls for three successive evenings far surpassed in number and intelligence the most optimistic expectations. When I looked into the earnest faces, I felt that here were people who did not come to see but to hear, to be enlightened and to learn, and I was grateful to my good star, or rather to the energy and perseverance of the two comrades who made such meetings possible.

The world is full of freaks—the Minneapolis Spook Club can certainly boast of a large following. This organization is composed of professional men only, and as they are known for their purity and morality, they never suffered the evil spirit of woman to invade their sanctum before. But thanks to the generosity of a friend, the rigid rules of the Spook Club were temporarily set aside.

Possibly the members thought that one could not be a woman and an Anarchist at the same time. The angelic chastity of the Spookers would have been quite discomforting to me, were it not for the presence of a few daughters of that arch seducer Eve, who helped to bring some wit and humor into the dead atmosphere of statute and dissecting room wisdom. Specialists were there a-plenty, doctors enough to create any amount of disease, lawyers and a real live judge to induce one to commit crime, bump interpreters and bump producers, and so forth; all important and awe inspiring gentlemen, but as innocent of the great questions of the day as new born babes, their heads full of spooks and fears of all that their lack of wisdom could not grasp.

Winnipeg. The dirty crows—as a certain French artist named the priests—who infest the streets and cars of Montreal are not as numerous in Winnipeg, but the horrors of their creed are as dominant here as there—the creed that has for centuries gone about killing, burning and torturing is still holding the Canadian people in power, befogging their minds as in ages past.

The city was white on my arrival; everything in the tight clutches of grim winter; apparently not a sign of life or warmth. But the greetings of my comrades and the enthusiasm of the audiences soon convinced me that all was not cold or dead. Spring, the great awakener of life and growth, was stirring in the hearts of those who had come to hear me.

Men and women from every nook in the world gather at Winnipeg, the land of promise. They are soon made to realize, however, that the causes which drove them from their native shores—oppression, greed and robbery—are quite at home in this new, white land. The true great promise lies in all these nations coming together, to look one another in the face, to learn for the first time the real force that makes for wealth. Men and women knowing one another and clasping hands for one common purpose, human brotherhood and solidarity. Yes, Winipeg is the place of promise. It is the fertile soil of growth, life and ideas.

The Radical Club, but two years old, has become a tremendous factor in creating interest in new thought.

314

840514006

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Road / Emma Goldman.— pp. 128-135 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 3 (May 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

My six days' visit seemed a dream. Large, eager audiences every evening and twice on Sunday, a beautiful social gathering that united two hundred men, women and children in one family of comrades, and people constantly coming and going during the day, all anxious to learn, made the time pass like a flash. When I stood on the platform of the train bidding a last farewell to a large group of friends, I keenly felt the pains of parting; but this, too, I felt:

Allons! We must not stop here—
However sweet these laid-up stores, however convenient this dwelling we cannot remain here,
However shelter'd this port and however calm these waters, we must not anchor here,
However welcome the hospitality that surrounds us we are permitted to receive it but a little while."

I wanted to be alone with my thoughts, alone with my impressions of those who had passed before me in long processions during my stay in Winnipeg. However, the official zeal of the Immigration Inspectors willed it differently. With the usual impudence that goes with authority I was subjected to the "third degree": my name, occupation, whether American citizen, how long in America, and whether I had been out of the States before. Evidently the uniformed gentlemen had studied that infamous anti-Anarchist Immigration Law that will not admit "disbelievers in organized government." I assured my anxious protector that he would have to let me return, since I had been in America eighteen years before that stupid law was passed. Though myself a citizen of the world, my father happened to be privileged enough to become a citizen of this free country. After a long conversation with some others of his ilk, my good friend decided to let me go on. I know from experience that our law makers can do anything they please; still, I am optimistic enough to believe that they would not venture to keep me out of this "sweet land of liberty." Besides, what are laws for if not to be evaded? No wonder so many "disbelievers in organized government" have flocked to America since the law against them became operative.

Poor, stupid Immigration Inspector! If you could have foreseen the result of your zeal, you might not have made it so public that the dangerous Emma Goldman was on the train. You got my fellow passengers intensely interested, with the result that I added a seventh meeting to those held at Winnipeg and disposed of a large number of magazines and pamphlets—not in the hall, but in the Pullman sleeper. When will our fool governors learn that the best government is the one that governs least or not at all? Never before have I felt as convinced of this truth as on this tour. The rigid laws against Anarchists, passed within the past four or five years, the shameful misrepresentation of Anarchism, and the persecution of its adherents have awakened the most intense interest in our ideas in this country. Still more striking is the tremendous change in the attitude of the press. The papers in Toledo, Toronto, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Minneapolis and Winnipeg, especially those of the last two cities, have been remarkable for their fairness and decency in reporting my meetings. Probably they have learned that yellow journal methods, sensational, vulgar, untruthful reports are no longer believed by the thinking readers of newspapers. I wish our Eastern journalists would learn the same lesson and follow the example of one of their colleagues, the editor of the Winnipeg *Tribune*, who has this to say:

"Emma Goldman has been accused of abusing freedom of speech in Winnipeg, and Anarchism has been denounced as a system that advocates murder. As a matter of fact, Emma Goldman indulged, while in Winnipeg, in no dangerous rant and made no statement that deserved more than moderate criticism of its wisdom or logic. Also, as a matter of fact, the man who claims that Anarchism teaches bomb-throwing and violence doesn't know what he is talking about. Anarchism is an ideal doctrine that is now, and always will be, utterly impracticable. Some of the gentlest and most gifted men of the world believe in it. The fact alone that Tolstoi is an Anarchist is conclusive proof that it teaches no violence.

"We all have a right to laugh at Anarchy as a wild dream. We all have a right to agree or disagree with the teachings of Emma Goldman. But we should not make ourselves ridiculous by criticising a lecturer for the things that she did not say, nor by denouncing as violent and bloody a doctrine that preaches the opposite of violence."

(To be continued.)

315

890117001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Strike Viewed Through Emma Goldman's Glasses / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* The San Francisco Call. —(May 6, 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ed practically unanimously
Page 4

to give out statements in
before the staff present
Page 7
continues to be serious and
to his bed for some
Page 7

received civic congratu
to be made next Sun
Page 7
to obtain better freight
of other actors Page 10
Danish is dedicated to
assisted by forces of the
Page 11
ment will sail today for
ct Logan Page 14
baptized at Bethesda Sun
e Episcopal Church P 9

rendered emotional by
ervice house and wonders
only a sleeping role P 8
ter preaches farewell s
ch to Oakland Page 8
rials class of the pioneer
Page 8
es under agreement with
aken up by Oakland city
Page 8
amedia nearly lost mone
rope with great demand
Page 8
del Exalto the pride of
y. Page 7
mers arrive to Los Ange
day today Page 9

central federated union
members to prevent wha
case of Moyer and Hay
Page 7
ns decision on wage con
al. Page 8
Indians ruin burials and
Page 9

eague baseball team wins
ad lose by default and
Oakland Page 8
program arranged for this
Page 8
ral is cross country race
Page 8
the "Big Meadow" tennis
and cup at the California
Page 9
presentation applies the
ready to meet it on the
Page 8

ed from Japan steamship President
Wednesday Page 10

ounds of fly over new
e ready for a day see
Page 9

VICTIM
D AND HUNGER

of Violence on Son of Dela- Doctor

day 5.—The body of
., which was found
in a pool of water
where he was last
March 4, was interred
e funeral a coroner's
ntified the body and
pay.
to make it appear
dered away and fell
ysicians have decided
No marks of vio-
on the body. The
y, and the child may
frozen or starved to
are perplexed at the
d so near the Marvin
oint which they had
and again.

This letter is submitted to you not only in the best interests of all concerned, but for the general welfare of the city.

We trust that you will appreciate the kindly spirit in which this is offered, and will give the matter the immediate consideration which the exigency requires.

We await a reply by 6 p. m. today (this Sunday) at 1746 Fillmore street. Yours sincerely,

CIVIC LEAGUE OF SAN FRANCISCO.
By special committee Norton C. Wells, Isidor Jacobs, Frank W. Martin, A. W. Scott Jr., Robert A. Ross.

RESPONSES RECEIVED

The civic league committee met in the office of the Fillmore street branch of the California Safe and Trust company at 6 o'clock to further discuss the arbitration proposal in the light of the answers received from the representatives of the different organizations.

In answer to his communication President Cornelius of the carmen's union stated that he would have the subject brought up for consideration at the meeting of the executive committee of the union tonight, and gave a favorable response to the proposal that it be presented to a mass meeting of the carmen, although he did not give a definite promise that it would be carried this far. Likewise President Calhoun signified his willingness to accept the arbitration idea. Secretary McCabe of the labor council also promised to submit the proposal at a meeting of the telephone operators today. Word was received from Manager Phillips of the telephone company that he had received the communication for his company in the absence of President Scott, but that it would be delivered to Scott on his return today and that an answer might be expected at that time.

Accompanied by J. Daniell Brown, the committee adjourned to President Calhoun's residence at 7 o'clock for the personal interview which it had asked for in the hope of persuading Calhoun to modify his announced intention of refusing to consider arbitration. While this result was not achieved, the visit was not without results. The conference lasted an hour and a half and at its conclusion Calhoun agreed to make no effort today to operate any cars, in order that the committee might have time to further its attempt to bring about the resumption of traffic without disorder and bloodshed. The conference was fruitful also to the extent that it resulted in the offer to take back all strikers at the old wages fixed by the arbitration board. This was a concession from Calhoun's announcement prior to the strike that any men joining in such a movement could not return to the company's employ, except at a lower wage.

LETTER FROM CALHOUN

Before the visit of the committee President Calhoun had drawn a letter in answer to the one received earlier in the day. This letter, which was delivered to the committee on its arrival, was as follows:

Dear Sirs: I regret missing you when you called this afternoon. The letter which you left for me has been received, and I reply immediately. The sentence known as fully advised that if its members struck this company the union would permanently sever its relations with the United Railroads. The public generally of this city is well informed through public statements made last fall when this city was plunged into the useless, wasteful and unnecessary strike by this same body of men and their leaders that my company will never deal or treat with men in its employ or their representatives. There is now much more involved in this controversy than the mere question of wages and hours.

I learned before I left New York that a conspiracy was on foot to create a strike among the employes of my company. I met a meeting with the officers of the National association of street railway employes, and as Mr. Watson of that union was too ill to come to New York I went to Detroit to have a conference with him. He was too ill to be seen, but I met the executive committee of the national union, and Mr. Cornelius, the president of the local union, was present. I discussed the situation in San Francisco with kindness and courtesy with the executive committee of the national association, but I told them then that my company could not consent to be constantly plunged into strife with its employes, and that if the members of the local union declined to abide by the wages and hours fixed by the recent board of arbitration, and went out on a strike, I would never again deal with the leaders of the local union. This position has been again stated to Mr. Cornelius since my arrival here and to the conference committee of the local union. This decision is irrevocable.

So far as I know there is not a member of the carmen's union now in the employ of a railroad in this city. It is now a union of ex-employes, and if no longer has any connection with the United Railroads. Its members struck this company without any grievance, and without any request for a conference. Its leaders have been informed that my company will not treat with them, and that it will not reinstate any of the strikers who have been guilty of violence. Many of the strikers have been reinstated, and others will be reinstated as fast as their places can be filled with competent men. Many of the strikers have already secured employment elsewhere, and the company is not responsible for the fact that they have done so.

Yours very truly,
P. CALHOUN.

The notice referred to in this letter was drawn later in the evening by President Calhoun and sent to the officials of the company, with instructions that it be posted in all the car barns and delivered to as many of the striking carmen as possible. The notice reads:

All employes of this company are hereby directed to report at their respective car barns, or other customary places, by Tuesday morning, May 7, 1907, at 8 o'clock ready to resume work.

All of such employes will receive the same rate of pay as heretofore. Those not reporting are hereby discharged from the employment of the company, and they will immediately turn in their badges, punches and all other property of the company in their possession or under their control, and receive the amount heretofore deposited by them under the rules of this company.

PATRICK CALHOUN,
President United Railroads of San Francisco.
May 6 1907.

STRIKE VIEWED THROUGH EMMA GOLDMAN'S GLASSES

Woman Anarchist Declares Patrick Calhoun's Industrial Influence Should Not Be Continued

Emma Goldman, anarchist, disciple of Ibsen and George Bernard Shaw, an embodiment of contrarities, addressed a gathering of her kind last night at Walton's pavilion. Her address was the usual scarlet denunciation of things as they are contrasted with things as she would have them. She referred, among other things, to the car strike.

"You will always have conflicts of this kind so long as you have men like Patrick Calhoun and the conditions he brings about," she said. "I have no fault to find with Calhoun personally. He probably is a very plausible man. He probably is all right individually. Industrially, however, he is all wrong."

NO HOME NEED BE "LONELY"

MILLIONS ARE ENTERTAINED WITH THE NEW

"ALUMINUM TONE ARM"



Columbia Graphophone

ALL our Machines are sold at the EASTERN PRICE.

Easy Payments when desired.

A WRITTEN GUARANTEE with all Machines.

COLUMBIA RECORDS are SUPERIOR IN TONE, VOLUME AND MUSICAL QUALITY. Excel all others in DURABILITY.

OUR RECORDS PLAY ON ANY MODERN TALKING MACHINES—DISC or CYLINDER.

25c each for GOLD MOULDED Records.

50c each for 10 inch DISC Records.

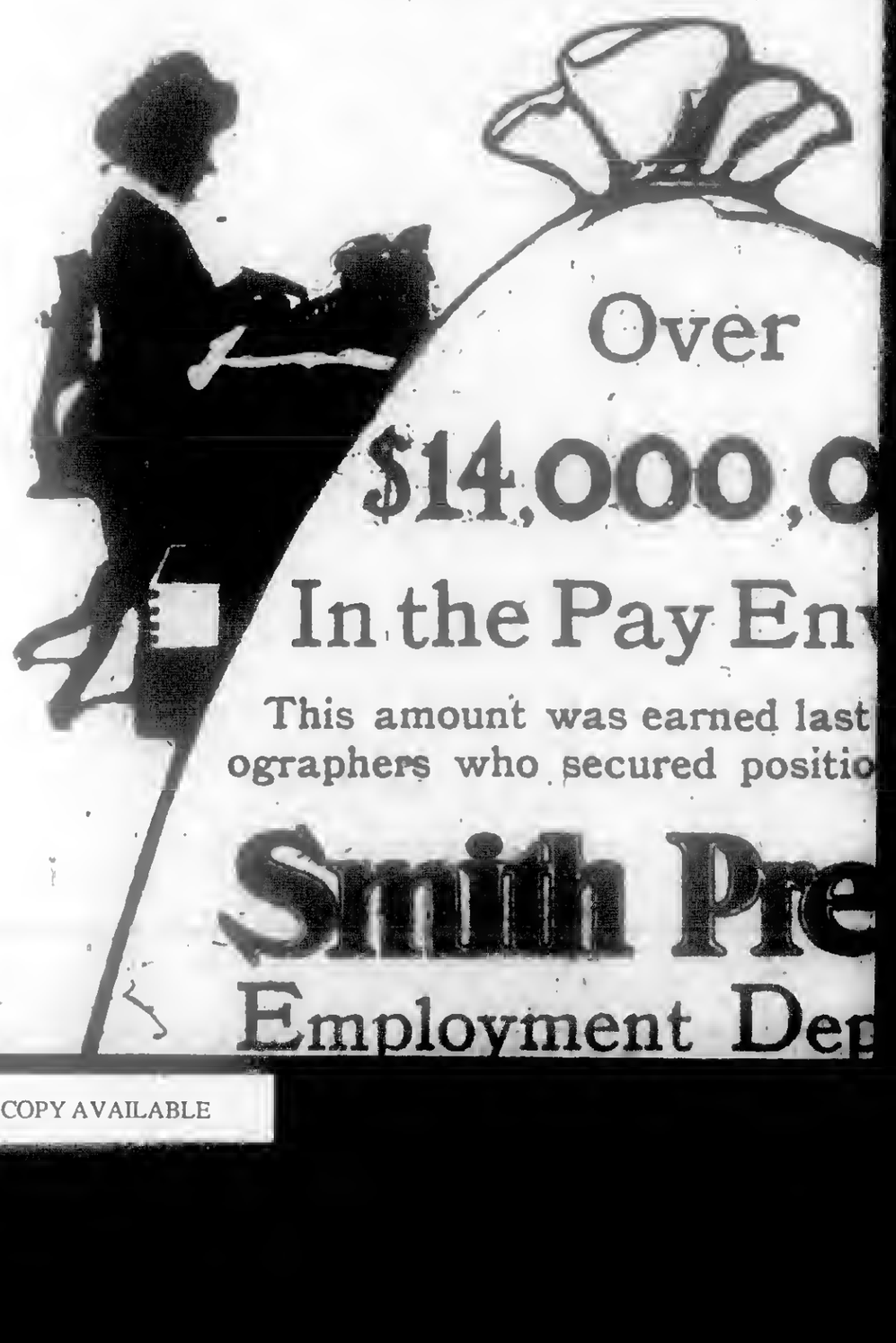
$10.00 PER DOZEN for 12 inch DISC Records.

lack is not easily noticed. But th

Ask for the Brewery Bottling.
Common beer is sometimes substituted for Schlitz.
To avoid being imposed upon, see that the cork or crown is branded

Schlitz

The Bee
That Made Milwa



Over
$14,000,0
In the Pay En
This amount was earned last
ographers who secured positio

Smith Pre
Employment Dep

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890122001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Miss Emma Goldman Says Religions Are Curse to Humanity / Emma Goldman. — p. 14 ; 26 cm. *In* The San Francisco Call. —(May 17, 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

TELEPHONE OFFICIALS AND GIRL OPERATORS HOLD STRIKE PARLEY

Conference Brought About by Civic League Causes Hope of Peace

UNION MEETS TODAY

Decision of the Session to Be Considered by the Members

MISS EMMA GOLDMAN SAYS RELIGIONS ARE CURSE TO HUMANITY

Declares Bible Is Used to Keep Common People Ignorant

SPEAKS TO GERMANS

Woman Agitator Makes a Rabid Address to Followers Here

[illegible] was gained no[illegible] country for [illegible] every nod[illegible] stage to a crowd [illegible] at 535 Minna street [illegible] Czar [illegible] influences [illegible] speaker was not [illegible] the speaker her effort [illegible] to [illegible] at religion [illegible] the week on Russia [illegible] to German, [illegible] peking fa[illegible] head of [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] was composed [illegible] the Jew[illegible] Retri[illegible] ality. [illegible] speaker, are [illegible] that they [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] proper [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

840514007

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 176-178 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 4 (June 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

The legal farce now being played at Boise, Idaho, augurs nothing good for Haywood. When one considers the unfriendly attitude of the Court and the material from which the jurors are being selected to try the accused leader of the Western Federation of Miners, one involuntarily exclaims: "All hope abandon, ye who enter here!" The most strenuous efforts have been made by the authorities to pack the panel with men specially selected for their dense ignorance, their narrow outlook upon life and their enmity toward the Western Federation of Miners. Mr. Richardson, one of the counsel for the defence, realizing the situation, has made the following protest to the trial judge:

"There are 6,000 votes in this county. Of this number 5,000 at least are eligible as jurors. There were 500 men in the parade at Boise on the last Labor Day.

"One bundred and sixty special talesmen have been drawn on two venires. It is a singular coincidence that only one union labor man was found in that number, and only two who actually work for daily pay. There are at least 3,000 day laborers in this county. None of them has been brought here.

"There is no reason why the laboring class, or even the union class, should not be represented on tbis jury. We do not ask the Sheriff to select that class, but we do believe the next venire should be more diversified."

"The Court has complete confidence in Sheriff Hodgin," replied Judge Wood. "The Court will have nothing further to say on this subject."

Even the capitalist papers, which can not be accused of sympathy with the Boise defendant, are forced to admit that the talesmen are a bunch of simpering idiots. The New York *Times,* for instance, has this to say of the stock from which the arbiters of Haywood's fate are being chosen:

"The fact of the matter is that most of the Idaho farmers have only the vaguest sort of an idea as to what a Socialist is. They seem to imagine that he is some sort of a six-legged, eight-horned animal of undefined but terrible proclivities, whose proper place would be in a museum of dangers."

One of the jurors selected to try Haywood has characterized his mental caliber by stating that he did not believe in capital punishment, except for Anarchists, whom he would hang on sight.—It is nothing short of murder

to place the fate of a human being in the hands of men so totally devoid of all sense of justice.

We repeat what we have said on previous occasions: Only energetic action on the part of organized labor will free the imprisoned leaders of the Western Federation of Miners.

* * *

Nothing enrages the bull like a red rag flashed before the animal's eyes. The red flag—symbol of the international revolutionary proletariat—has a like effect upon the pillars of our capitalist society.

The recent demonstrations, in which the red flag was carried as a warning to the masters of our Republic, have both frightened and enraged the sky-pilots, penny-a-liners and justice mongers. One of the last, by the name of Crane, has arbitrarily forbidden the red flag to be unfurled, characterizing the same as "objectionable, immoral and provocative of Anarchy."

This is highly pleasing to us. The revolutionary workmen of this country will pay no more attention to such prohibitions than do their brothers in France, Germany and Russia. The rage of the exploiters proves that the revolutionary spirit is making good progress in this Republic, in spite of the great liberties we enjoy on paper.

* * *

The *Appeal to Reason* has been indicted by the federal authorities for circulating "scurrilous, defamatory and threatening" matter. Fred D. Warren, the managing editor, has been arrested and held to await trial in November.

This is the Rooseveltian method of getting rid of "undesirable" citizens and publications. No doubt, the persecution is inspired by the mine owners, against whom the *Appeal* has been waging uncompromising war.—Censorship has ever been the handmaiden of dictators.

* * *

Thus spake Jesus to the rich man:

"Go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, take up the cross, and follow me."

318

840514007

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 176-178 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 4 (June 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

"It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God."

And thus spake Archbishop Ireland:

"The very recognition of manhood in every man makes the multitude the rulers, and the multitude tends too readily to momentary excitements. The wild Anarchist, the would-be assassin, are the public enemies of society whom to tolerate is to tolerate open sedition. An enemy, too, of public order is the workman who, refusing his own labor, deters by violence a brother workman from offering his labor, as is even in a greater degree the strong and the powerful who override the law of the land in carrying out schemes of their ambition.

"Private property, the right of every man to own and dispose of the fruits of brain and of hand, must be regarded as SACRED AND INVIOLABLE. It is the cornerstone of the social structure. Destroy it, weaken it, and you establish barbarism. Nor is private ownership to be merely for the individual himself. It is for those who are parts of himself, his children and those others whom by his own free will he chooses to make beneficiaries of the rewards of his labor of mind or of limb.

"That in the holding of private property there be inequality is a fact that is inevitable. MEN ARE NOT AND NEVER WILL BE EQUAL. Proposed Utopias which ignore the nature of men and the vital condition of human society, are an insult no less than an injury to the individual whom they fain would beguile by their will-o'-the-wisp glamor and deception."

Poor Nazarene! You were the original "undesirable citizen."

* * *

THE AMSTERDAM ANARCHIST CONFERENCE

By MAX BAGINSKI.

THE process—national as well as international—of "exterminating" us Anarchists has now been going on for several decades. Almost all "civilized" governments, republican as well as monarchical, have built high fences around their boundaries in order to keep out the dread "public danger." Whatever forms of violence human ingenuity could devise have been practiced upon the Anarchists. Russia and Spain torture them; they suffer in the prisons of France, Italy, Germany and Austria, while our free America subjects them to the tender mercies of her police hordes and deports them.

People charge us with being mere dreamers whose

ideals are purely utopian—lacking common sense and opposed to human nature. Humanity must become angelic—so we are told—before Anarchy would be feasible.

On the other hand we are pictured as veritable devils, whom only fire and brimstone will conquer.

The Anarchist Conference to be held in August at Amsterdam, Holland, will serve as ironic proof, so to speak, that the united governmental efforts have failed to "exterminate" Anarchism.

The Conference can accomplish, however, much more. The Anarchists do not believe in "binding resolutions," nor in majority decisions. We expect much, however, from voluntary co-operation, and the international exchange of ideas, opinions and experiences. The "power to resolve" does not depend upon the number of ayes and noes. It springs from the free, rational perception of things.

To the Anarchists democracy is no less a tyrant than autocracy. Indeed, the latter has but one head; democracy, however, is a thousand-headed hydra that can not be guillotined as easily as a Bourbon Louis.

Much may be resolved upon that is never carried out, while many things are accomplished without preliminary solemn resolutions. Wherever free initiative is the outgrowth of certain conditions it will prove far more effective than resolutions passed by majority vote. Nor must we forget to consider the harmful effect of obedience as compared with the ennobling, broadening results of free solidaric action.

We may, therefore, safely ignore the objection that no Conference should be held by those who do not believe in the superiority of the majority. The Conferences and Congresses of politicians have for their principal object the eradication of all free initiative. The party has decided—that settles it! A gathering of Anarchists, however, is for the very purpose of reviving and strengthening the spirit of initiative. Laws and rules are required by people who want to dominate others. That applies to party leaders, for instance, whose power is endangered when their flocks leave the beaten path and ignore established custom. The same is true of governments, as well as of all mastery founded on force

319

890117014

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Roosevelt Is Not Friend of Labor / Emma Goldman.— p. 12 ; 43 cm. *In* The Oregonian [Portland]. —(June 3, 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ROOSEVELT IS NOT FRIEND OF LABOR

Instrument of Capital and Apostle of Brute Force, Says Miss Goldman.

REFERS TO IDAHO TRIAL

High-Priestess of Anarchists in Lecture Counsels Followers to Line Up to Save Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

"How many anarchists are there in the United States? Well, there is no record as to how many there are of us," replied Emma Goldman, the high priestess of anarchy, when asked the question yesterday. "However, I am in communication with 60,000 anarchists, of whom I have a knowledge. Our membership is in no sense confined to the laboring classes, for we recognize no classes. It includes students and professional men as well.

"As an indication," continued Miss Goldman, "of the intense interest that is being taken by people in every section of the United States in the philosophy of anarchism, I might say that during my present tour I have sold $1700 worth of pamphlets treating on anarchistic subjects. When it is considered that with the exception of a limited number of books, sold for 60 cents each, all of these leaflets were priced at but 10 cents, an idea may be formed as to the number of persons who are really interested in this subject and are actually studying it."

"What do you think of President Roosevelt as the champion of popular government?" was asked by the reporter.

"President Roosevelt, no matter how good he may be as a man, is not the friend of labor and the toiling masses. He is the instrument of organized government and the representative of the capitalistic classes. He does not embody the better qualities of the American citizen. He is the apostle of brute force, and does not possess those finer qualities which make for the development of kinder human relations."

On Tour for Three Months.

Miss Goldman is a native of Russia and was educated in Germany. She came to the United States 22 years ago, and has lectured in exposition of anarchism and its teachings for 18 years. Of her career as a lecturer, five years were spent in Europe, where she made a study of conditions, on which she bases much of her argument in behalf of the philosophy she now preaches. She left New York in March, and during the last three months has lectured in practically all of the principal cities in the United States.

From Portland Miss Goldman goes to the Sound, and thence into Canada, where she says there is great activity among the friends of anarchism. She expects to reach New York City early in the Summer, and will then sail for Amsterdam, where she will attend a congress of anarchists that will be convened August 15.

Large audiences assembled at the Selling-Hirsch building twice yesterday to hear lectures by Miss Goldman. Both audiences were representative of the laboring classes. There were but few present out of curiosity. Evidently of her faith were her hearers, who were frequently stirred to applause by her vigorous utterances. In the afternoon Miss Goldman lectured on "Direct Action Versus Legislative or Political Action."

Strikes Not Effective.

"Industrial problems in this country," she said, "have given rise to a realization that there is need for considering the best methods for bringing about relief from existing economical conditions. What has labor accomplished through legislative or political action? By relying on these agencies as a means of relief, the working people as an organization are weakening themselves. The records show that almost every important strike within the past 30 years has been lost to the laborers, or has been broken. Trades unions are generally considered a means for bringing about an improvement in their own economical welfare, but the lack of solidarity and comity of interest among the different branches of organized labor is responsible for the failure of the average strike. Instead of all other branches of organized labor lending their support to the particular organization that is seeking strikers did not understand the plan proposed by direct action.

Referring incidentally to the pending trial of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone in Idaho, Miss Goldman referred to Detective McParland as a "degenerate," characterized the Pinkerton detectives as the "scum of society," and declared that President Roosevelt is "the officer of organized authority and government and the instrument of the capitalists." She then spoke of incidents in connection with the burial of men hanged for complicity in the Haymarket riots, when friends of the dead men lined up for five miles to follow the dead to their graves.

Advises Against Delay.

"Are you going to wait until after the lives of those three men on trial in Idaho have been taken," she asked, "and then line up for a distance of five miles to follow them to their graves? Why wait until their lives have been taken? Would it not be well to line up now?

"Capital is more brutal in America than it is in any other country, and the time certainly has come when the means so successfully employed in Europe should be adopted in this country. Direct action and the general strike are needed in this country to settle labor difficulties. There is no common ground for labor and capital and they cannot be brought together. He who says they can is either a fool or a hypocrite. It is not by arbitration, not in Congress, but through the industrial movement and the united efforts of the workingmen themselves that relief from existing conditions can be brought about."

Last night Miss Goldman delivered her last lecture, the subject being "Revolutionary Spirit in the Modern Drama." She argued that there exists a dissatisfied condition in all classes of society and in every activity of life closely bordering on a state or revolt. In the course of the lecture, she quoted from the following writers and their works: Tolstoi's "Power of Darkness"; Gorky's "Night of Refuge"; Ibsen's "A Doll's House," "Ghosts," and "Enemy of the People"; Gerhaupt's "Weavers and Sunken Bells"; Miribeau's "Business Is Business"; Maeterlinck's "Monna Vanna"; Yeat's "Where There Is Nothing"; Oscar Wilde's "Lady Windemere's Fan," and Bernard Shaw's "Mrs Warren's Profession."

FROM A VETERAN ENGINEER

Advises Voters to Defeat Examining Board Ordinance.

PORTLAND, June 2.—(To the Editor.)—In today's Oregonian I read two letters from two distinct factions of the engineers' associations, one endeavoring to explain to the taxpayers of this city the merits of or need of an examining board, the other the utter uselessness of such an institution. Now, neither one of these hits the nail on the head. I wish to say to the taxpayers of Portland that I am a taxpayer of the city, have been a steam engineer in Portland for 35 years, and am pretty well acquainted with all the different steam plants and a great many of the engineers, though I am not a member of either faction. I wish to put this matter straight to the voters. There is no need of any such board as an engineers' examining board. No good can come from it. All boilers in the city are under inspection of a careful, competent inspector, and a report is made quarterly in duplicate. One report is sent to the owners and a duplicate turned over to the insurance company insuring the same. A report also is made as to the care and management of these steam plants, and there is not an owner of a steam plant in this city who does not know just the exact qualifications of his engineer. I find no fools in charge of steam plants in this city (except a few who would like to have the taxpayers put them in a fine office to look wise—and graft).

Neither is there need of a wiring inspector. There are already rules laid down as to how work shall be done in this line. Taxpayers are already burdened heavily enough without those jolly rot amendments to our city charter, and all voters should vote no to both. All the boilers in our hotels are in good careful hands. Not a city in the United States can compare with Portland in this respect. We have no accidents from engineers' faults in Portland, and I defy Mr. Asher or any other engineer to show figures to the contrary. Engineer examining boards never saved any lives yet, but have created hardships and plenty of ill-feeling.

I am not slinging mud at any engineer who is attending to business for himself and his employer. I merely ask the voters and engineers generally to vote money for good up-to-date mechanical journals. Respectfully,

W. E. HARRIS,
384 North Eighteenth street.

PERSONAL MENTION.

C. A. Johns, of Baker City, is at the Imperial.

W. J. Van Valkenberg, a Silverton lawyer, is at the Perkins.

L. N. Maxwell, an attorney from Salem, is registered at the Perkins.

E. L. Smith, of Hood River, was registered at the Imperial yesterday.

THE MENACE WH



ECONOMY GAS COMPANY filed a l
company, means opposition, cheaper
Thos. W. Strong misstates facts abo
voters.

NEW POLICY IN RESERVES

GOVERNMENT EXPERIMENTS IN GRAZING THEM.

Band of Sheep Will Be Fenced in and Left Without Herder to Brave Coyotes.

WALLOWA, Or., June 2.—(Special.)—Frederick V. Coville, expert botanist from the Bureau of Plant Industry, is here from Washington, D. C., to inaugurate an experiment which it is believed will greatly increase the grazing capacity of the reserves. Down on the Chesnimnus division of the Imnaha reserve, where the coyotes are thickest, an area of ten or 12 square miles will be enclosed with a wolf-proof fence and a band of sheep, preferably yearlings which have not been herded, will be turned in the enclosure and allowed to pasture during the remainder of the Summer.

It is believed that the same amount of grass will support many more sheep when they are pastured than when they are herded. Should this theory be proved, the result will revolutionize the entire policy of the department in regard to the reserves and will have a great bearing upon the stock industry. The same experiment will be tried on a small scale in other reserves, but nowhere so extensively as here on the Imnaha National Forest Reserve.

The fence will consist of a closely barbed hog wire, stretched close to the ground, a woven wire fence three inches above that with a triangular mesh of five or six inches, six inches higher a barbed cattle wire and eight inches above that a smooth cable wire. These will be stretched on eight-foot posts, set two and one-half feet in the ground. This fence, it is thought, will exclude all coyotes and other wild animals which prey upon sheep.

Mr. Covill will remain here until the first of July, when he will go to Washington to report, but will return about the first of August. While here he will confer with the stockmen and ascertain their views in the matter. The information gleaned from this source is expected to aid materially in conducting the experiment. Two assistants for Mr. Coville will arrive this week.

Besides this experiment the department will send an expert entomologist during the coming month to determine the best method of combatting the effects of the bark beetle that is destroying hundreds of acres of lodge-pole pine in the Sheep Creek region.

PUBLIC AUCT

In the Corridor

TUESDAY, JUN

Parcel No. 1

"THE WILLINGTON"

689-695 NORTHRUP STREET.

Comprising 12 apartments, all 6 rooms; all rented and with a waiting list of 8 families.
Lot, 100x100.
Building, 66x72.
3 stories and cement basement.
Steam heat, gas, electric light, baths, freight and hand elevators, telephone exchange.
The plumbing for each apartment separate and detachable.
Built last October.
Floor joists 2x10.
Studding only 1 foot apart.
Extensive bracing and bridging.
All walls fire-proof.
Built by day labor.
Building cost $45,000.
Lot value $7000.

Only to be sec
purchase.
highest bidder
Make appointm
Lot alone w
House could no
less than $14,
AN ELEGANT

Parc
Lots
Will

320

890117014

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Roosevelt Is Not Friend of Labor / Emma Goldman. – p. 12 ; 43 cm. *In* The Oregonian [Portland]. –(June 3, 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

who are really interested in this subject and are actually studying it."

"What do you think of President Roosevelt as the champion nf popular government?" was asked by the reporter.

"President Roosevelt, no matter hnw good he may be as a man, is not the friend of labor and the toiling masses. He is the instrument of organized government and the representative of the capitalistic classes. He does nnt embody the better qualities of the American citizen. He is the apostle of brute force, and does not possess those finer qualities which make for the development of kinder human relations."

On Tour for Three Months.

Miss Goldman is a native of Russia and was educated in Germany. She came to the United States 22 years ago, and has lectured in exposition of anarchism and its teachings for 18 years. Of her career as a lecturer, five years were spent in Europe, where she made a study of conditions, on which she bases much of her argument in behalf nf the philosophy she now preaches. She left New York in March, and during the last three months has lectured in practically all of the principal cities in the United States.

Frnm Portland Miss Goldman goes to the Sound, and thence into Canada where she says there is great activity among the friends of anarchism. She expects to reach New York City early in the Summer, and will then sail for Amsterdam, where she will attend a congress of anarchists that will be convenod August 15.

Large audiences assembled at the Selling-Hirsch building twice yesterday to hear lectures by Miss Goldman. Both audiences were representative of the laboring classes. There were but few present out of curiosity. Evidently of her faith were her hearers, who were frequently stirred to applause by her vigorous utterances. In the afternoon Miss Goldman lectured on "Direct Action Versus Legislative or Political Action."

Strikes Not Effective.

"Industrial problems in this country," she said, "have given rise to a realization that there is need for considering the best methods for bringing about relief from existing economical conditions. What has labor accomplished through logislative or political action? By relying on these agencies as a means of relief, the working people as an organization are weakening themselves. The records show that almost every important strike within the past 20 years has been lost to the laborers, or has been broken. Trades unions are generally considered a means for bringing about an improvement in their own economical welfare, but the lack of solidarity and comity of interest among the different branches of organized labor is responsible for the failure of the average strike. Instead nf all other branches of organized labor lending their support to the particular organizatinn that is seeking to benefit its condition, we find them lending their services to the capitalists. What is needed is a regeneration of trades unionism."

"There can be no comity of relations between those who own everything and never work and those who dn not own anything and always work. The miners' strike in 1904 was lost because the striking miners relied on legislation that it was hoped would effect a satisfactory settlement between the mine-owners and the miners. The printers' strike in 1907 was lost for no other reason than that the strikers gave their employers four months' notice that a strike was to be called. The result was that the employers at once began to prepare for the threatened strike, and the very men who proposed tn strike and did strike aided the employers in preparing for the difficulty, in eventually defeating tho strike hy working overtime during those four months.

Why the Carmen Lost.

"The recent strike among the carmen in San Francisco has been lost for the very same reason. The strike of the miners, it is true, was arbitrated, hut not in the interest of the miners, who were required tn return to their former employment under precisely the same conditions as before.

"Participatinn is politics by organized labor has nnt gained anything, but instead has undermined the basic principle and subdued the revolutionary spirit nf workingmen the world over. The result of this experience has been the development of a new movement, the industrial movement which has come to recognize as a means for gaining relief not legislative or political action, but direct action and the general strike. Instead of depending and relying on their representatives, their laws and those who are negotiating for them, laboring men are coming to realize that the only effective means of accomplishing results is for them to come into direct relation with their employers and give them no time to prepare for strikes."

Miss Goldman quoted statistics to show that in France and Germany, where the direct action and general strike theory was invoked, 35 of 100 strikes were won, 25 partly won and the remaining 40 lost because the

FROM A VETERAN ENGINEER

Advises Voters to Defeat Examining Board Ordinance.

PORTLAND, June 2.—(To the Editor)—In today's Oregonian I read two letters from two distinct factions of the engineers associations, one endeavoring to explain to the taxpayers of this city the merits of or need of an examining hoard, tho other tho utter uselessness of such an institution. Nnw, neither one of these hits the nail on the head. I wish to say to the taxpayors of Portland that I am a taxpayer of the city, have been a steam engineer in Portland for 36 years, and am pretty well acquainted with all the different steam plants and a great many nf the engineers, though I am not a member of either faction. I wish to put this matter straight to the voters. There is no need of any such hoard as an engineers' examining board. No good can come from it. All boilers in the city are under inspection of a careful, competent inspector, and a report is made quarterly in duplicate. One report is sent to the owners and a duplicate turned over to the insurance company insuring the same. A report also is made as to the care and management of these steam plants, and there is not an owner of a steam plant in this city who does not know just the exact qualifications of his engineer. I find no fools in charge of steam plants in this city (except a few who would like to have the taxpayers put them in a fine office to look wise—and graft).

Neither is there need of a wiring inspector. There are already rules laid down as to how work shall be dône in this line. Taxpayers are already burdened heavily enough without these jolly rot amendmente to our city charter, and all voters should vnte no to both. All the boilers in our hotels are in good careful hands. Not a city in the United States can compare with Portland in this respect. We have no accidents from engineers faults in Portland, and I defy Mr. Asher or any other engineer to show figures to the contrary. Engineer examining hoards never saved any lives yet, but have created hardships and plenty of ill-feeling.

I am not slinging mud at any engineer who is attending to business for himself and his employer. I merely ask the voters and engineers generally to vote no. Better let engineers spend their money for good up-to-date mechanical journals. Respectfully.

W. E. HARRIS,
384 North Eighteenth street.

PERSONAL MENTION.

C. A. Johns, of Baker City, is at the Imperial.

W. J. Van Valkenberg, a Silverton lawyer, is at the Perkins.

I. N. Maxwell, an attorney from Salem, is registered at the Perkins.

E. L. Smith, of Hood River, was registered at the Imperial yesterday.

W. F. Matlock, accompanied hy his wife, is registered at the Imperial from Pendleton.

CHICAGO, June 2.—(Special.)—Portland people at Chicago hotels:

At the Great Northern—Martha J. Patten, Lena C. Patten, A. B. Steinbach; at the Auditorium—C. W. Gardner; at the Palmer House—E. Sullivan and wife.

BUSINESS ITEMS.

If Baby Is Cutting Teeth

Be sure and use that old and well-tried remedy, Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup, for children teething. It soothes the child, softens the gums, allays all pain, cures wind colic and diarrhoea.

Damascus creamery butter fat, f. o. b. Portland. 224c



In countries where beer is the national beverage, there is practically no drunkenness, for beer contains a small percentage of alcohol and is rich in food values.



The Pabst Eight-Day Malting Process makes Pabst Blue Ribbon Beer the most healthful beer brewed—the beer richest in actual food values.



The Pabst Brewing Process reduces the percentage of alcohol to less than 2½ while making the beer absolutely pure, healthful, and strengthening.

Charles Kohn & Co.,
Cor. 3rd & Pine Sts., Portland.
Phone Main 460.

voters.

NEW POLICY IN RESERVES

GOVERNMENT EXPERIMENTS IN GRAZING THEM.

Band of Sheep Will Be Fenced in and Left Without Herder to Brave Coyotes.

WALLOWA, Or., June 2.—(Special.)—Frederick V. Coville, expert botanist from the Bureau of Plant Industry, is here from Washington, D. C., to inaugurate an experiment which it is believed will greatly increase the grazing capacity of the reserves. Down on the Chesnimnus division of the Imnaha reserve, where the coyotes are thickest, an area of ten or 12 square miles will be enclosed with a wolf-proof fence and a band of sheep, preferably yearlings which have not been herded, will be turned in the enclosure and allowed to pasture during the remainder of the Summer.

It is believed that the same amount of grass will support many more sheep when they are pastured than when they are herded. Should this theory be proved, the result will revolutionize the entire policy of the department in regard to the reserves and will have a great bearing upon the stock industry. The same experiment will be tried on a small scale in other reserves, but nowhere so extensively as here on the Imnaha National Forest Reserve.

The fence will consist of a closely barbed hog wire, stretched close to the ground, a woven wire fence three inches above that with a triangular mesh of five or six inches, six inches higher a barbed cattle wire and eight inches above that a smooth cable wire. These will be stretched on eight-foot posts, set two and one-half feet in the ground. This fence, it is thought, will exclude all coyotes and other wild animals which prey upon sheep.

Mr. Covill will remain here until the first of July, when he will go to Washington to report, but will return about the first of August. While here he will confer with the stockmen and ascertain their views in the matter. The information gleaned from this source is expected to aid materially in conducting the experiment. Two assistants for Mr. Coville will arrive this week.

Besides this experiment the department will send an expert entomologist during the coming month to determine the best method of combatting the effects of the bark beetle that is destroying hundreds of acres of lodge-pole pine in the Sheep Creek region.

PUBLIC AUCT

In the Corridor

TUESDAY, JUN

Parcel No. 1

"THE WASHINGTON"
689-695 NORTHRUP STREET.

Comprising 13 apartments, all 6 rooms; all rented and with a waiting list of 8 families.
Lot, 100x100.
Building, 86x73.
3 stories and cement basement.
Steam heat, gas, electric light, baths, freight and hand elevators, telephone exchange.
The plumbing for each apartment separate and detachable.
Built last October.
Floor joists 2x10.
Studding only 1 foot apart.
Extensive bracing and bridging.
All walls fire-proof.
Built by day labor.
Building cost $45,000.
Lot value, $7000.

Total present income per year, based on income since completion.....$7,680.00
Total expenses per year, based on expenses since completion..... 2,374.00
Net.....$5,306.00

TERMS:

One-third cash; balance to suit purchaser.

Nothing to equal these apartments west of Chicago.

No picture can do this building justice. Go and see inside and out and the general arrangement. Cannot be excelled in the Northwest.

Parcel No. 2

RESIDENCE, 620 WEST MAIN STREET.

Lot, 45x105.
10 rooms.
Gas and electric light, hot and cold water, cement basement, two toilets.
Stone retaining wall.

SEE THIS PROPERTY FOR YOURSELF. CALL FOR KEY.

A SNAP!

Parcel No. 3

One of the handsomest residences in the City.
Pretty lawn and flowers.
Close in. Only three years old.
S. W. Corner of Irving and 18th Sts.
Comprising 14 rooms.
Modern in every particular.
Lot one-quarter block—100x100.
With stone retaining wall.

Only to be seen
purchase.
Will be sold at
highest bidder.
Make appointme
Lot alone wo
House onuld not
less than $14,00
AN ELEGANT
TU

Parcel

Lots 3 and 4,
Willamette Hei
ner 28th and
Two short b
One nf the mo
blocks for resi
tiful part of t
No better locati
city. A delig
fect nsighborh

Parce

Residence
Street, City.
10 rooms, B
Hnt and col
Lot 45 feet; 30
feet deep, an
deep.
Terms to suit p
NO PICTURE
JU
GO AN

Parce

INCOME—A
PRESENT
Three 5-Roo
Three 6-Roo
Baths and f
Lot 50x100. N.
Columbia.
New—modern—
particular.
Present inonme,
Always waiting
Centrally locat
the coming s
Will certainly
In line for rapi
$14,000 can rem
6 per cent.

Parce

RESIDENC
HE
Cnmfortable
Hot and co
all around.
Between tw

POINTER IF YOU WANT A
YOU WILL BID F

J. WHY

Room

AUCTIONEER

321

840514008

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 205-211 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 5 (July 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Comrades, make Subscribers for

Cronaca Sovversiva

Italian Anarchist Weekly

$1.00 per Year 50c. per Six Months

Box I, Barre, Vt.

"Common Sense"

The great Socialist Weekly of the South West.

One year . . . . . 50 cents
Six months . . . . . 25 cents

COMMON SENSE PUB. CO.
Send for Sample. Los Angeles, Cal

Jefferson Preparatory School

185 HENRY STREET, NEW YORK

"A Progressive and Successful School"

REGENTS, CIVIL SERVICE AND COLLEGIATE COURSES

Special Classes in English

All Classes Carefully Graded — Personal Attention Given to every Pupil

Classes Open to Beginners as Well as to Advanced Pupils

SAMUEL FRIEDWALD, Principal

Kneipp Cure Bath Establishment

621 Bushwick Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Electric Loh-Tanin Baths For Chronic Rheumatism, Nerve Strengthening, Blood Purifying And for Paralysis

Herb, Electric, Sulphur, Steam, Cold & Warm Baths
Nauheim Baths (Kohlensaure Wellenbäder)

Separate Entrance for Ladies

CURT W. BRETOW, Chiropodist—Naturopath

10c. A COPY $1 A YEAR

MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature

Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Publisher, 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. II - JULY, 1907 - No. 5

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

Judge Rosalsky, of New York, is achieving notoriety by the equanimity with which he imposes the most brutally severe sentences upon—poor, friendless defendants.

Recently he sentenced a man to fifteen years, whose "crime," properly considered, was mere disorderly conduct.

Last October, when the mention of Czolgosz's name by some of our comrades created a panic among police and bourgeois souls, this same Rosalsky volunteered the information that if the arrested Anarchists were to appear before him, "they would get a fair trial; but if convicted, they would be punished to the full extent of the law."

A hangman in the garb of a judge! And yet a judge overflowing with consideration and mercy—when the right kind of defendants stand before the bar.

The theatrical trust, managed by Klaw and Erlanger, was charged with illegally suppressing competition, persecution of "obnoxious" actors and the suppression of unprofitable plays.

The charges were dismissed by Judge Rosalsky. The art monopolists, who deal in art as the butcher deals in meat, found mercy at the hands of the wise judge. Bring but rich, influential culprits before the bar and Judge Rosalsky will prove that his heart overflows with kindness, compassion and mercy for the unfortunate defendants.

840514008

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 205-211 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 5 (July 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Our statistics as to the "wealth of the country"—the absorption of monster fortunes by individual families and corporations—remain incomplete if we fail to count in the army of victims sacrificed on the altar of greed and profit.

The following report from one of our industrial hells —Pittsburg—throws some light on the cost of capitalistic production:

"The grim and tragic side of Pittsburg's industrial supremacy, as reflected in the county coroner's log book of violent deaths, is beginning to arouse a feeling of horror at the frightful cost of the wealth which its millionaires are piling up.

"When the coroner closed his log for 1906 he found that in the year he had been called on to record a total of 2,660 deaths. Of these 919 were the result directly of accident in mill, mine, or on railroad, the industries most essential to the city's progress. Sufficient more of the total number of deaths in the city were indirectly attributed to the same causes to make more than 50 per cent. of all the deaths the cost in human life of the steel and money made in Pittsburg for 1906.

"Appalling as these figures are, the chances are that a new record will be established this year. Already in the five months that have elapsed, 1,095 deaths have been recorded in the coroner's log, and of these 344 came suddenly and violently in the mills and mines and on the railroads that gridiron the city. In the same period last year, the total number of deaths recorded was 1,015, and those laid at the door of the city's industries numbered 340.

"While in the aggregate these figures may seem abnormal they are recorded so regularly that their magnitude is scarcely realized. The average number of deaths reported to the coroner is about 250 a month, and there is little variation from this from year to year.

"Comparing the loss of life by accidents with the tonnage and production of the Pittsburg district, one life has been snuffed out for every 50,000 tons of coal that is shipped, and the annual shipment is about 50,000,000 tons. For every 3,800 cars that carry freight out of or into Pittsburg some soul has given up the ghost. This is exclusive of cars that are carrying freight through to other points.

"Every 7,600 tons of the 7,000,000 tons annual production of iron and steel have been put out at the cost of the life of one of the manipulators somewhere in its manufacture, and of the 800,000 tons annual output of steel rails every 87,000 tons have been put upon the market only after some one of its producers has laid down his life."

Such reports often read: "Burned by molten metal and died."

In what cause do these unfortunates suffer such a terrible death? Merely to prolong their poverty, to perpetuate their own and their progeny's slavery. How much more noble and heroic—and more practical—were it if they would stake their lives in the cause of their emancipation from industrial slavery!

* * *

Canada is about to perpetrate one of the most unspeakable outrages—ostensibly in the name of civilization, in reality because of governmental violence and greedy land speculation.

Recent reports from Winnipeg state that the Canadian government has finally decided to expel the Doukhobors from the lands assigned to them in 1899.

The Doukhobors are splendid agriculturists; they have successfully cultivated a considerable part of the land, and now they are to be despoiled of their homes and the fruits of their labor, in the manner practiced by our own railroad and land sharks.

One is reminded of the story told by Frank Norris in "The Octopus": the fight of the California farmers with the railroads who are wont to claim the "right of ownership" as soon as the value of the land has become enhanced by successful cultivation.

But while the California farmers, conscious of their strength, resisted by force of arms the robbery of their land, the meek in spirit Doukhobors will be set upon and driven from their homesteads, like the lepers of old, without offering resistance.

Knouted and persecuted in Russia, victims of Cossacks and starvation—all because they refused to murder at the Czar's behest—they finally sought, with Tolstoy's assistance, a haven on Canadian soil.

There they toiled industriously and successfully, as farmers. But the government, greedy of the improved lands, stamped them as criminals. Their worst crime is thus described in a report from Winnipeg:

"One of their earliest leaders had taught that governments were unnecessary, all men equal, the hierarchy and the priesthood human inventions, the church and its ceremonies superfluous, monasticism a perversion of human nature, the conspiracy of property owners a disgrace to mankind, and the Czar and archbishops just like other people. They refused to pay taxes, and the matter was compromised by allowing them to do road work.

"They had been made exempt from military service, but they

323

840514008
The Emma Goldman Papers
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 205-211 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 5 (July 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

refused to become citizens and take out patents on their land in the regular way. They were cleanly, industrious, honest, moral and religious, but the only Bible they believed in was scriptural quotations passed from mouth to mouth and such inspirations as they themselves thought they were receiving from time to time."

Thus the Doukhobors are to be despoiled and expelled by a Christian government for taking Christianity seriously and attempting to practice its precepts in their every-day lives. How unfortunate that they did not become good, hypocritical, automobile Christians—their desirability as citizens would then not be doubted.

Non-resistants, the Doukhobors will prove easy victims of governmental brutality. With fiendish refinement of cruelty Canada has chosen the coldest winter months for the expulsion outrage.

* * *

A word about recent strikes and how they should *not* be conducted.

It seems like the veriest irony upon modern, all-too-passive strike methods that the seamen declared a strike *after* the longshoremen, defeated, had returned to work. Are there any workingmen foolish enough to believe that their strike funds will ever suffice to successfully fight multi-millionaires along lines of passive resistance? What folly! The labor unions have but *one* successful weapon: economic pressure combined with the General Strike.

Lack of active sympathy and solidarity was responsible for the loss of the car men's strike at San Francisco. Union teamsters, for instance, hauled strike breakers from the railroad station to the company's barns and transported for the company the necessaries of life, thus helping to break the strike. Mr. Cornelius, one of the organizers of the car men's union and now its President, personally assisted in taking a street car to the barns when the unskilled scabs proved incompetent to do so. Such leaders are traitors and the worst enemies of labor, and strikes thus conducted are doomed to failure.

The New York authorities are very much concerned about the city's health, but not to the extent of giving the city cart drivers a chance to make a decent living. Refuse lies rotting in the streets—but even at the risk

of an epidemic the powers that be will not grant the drivers' demands for humane conditions.

If the strikers, however, had shown more perseverance and had received the solidaric support of their fellow-workmen, they would have won the strike: the comfortable classes would speedily realize that their whole civilization would perish from filth, were it not for the work of their slaves.

* * *

It cannot be denied that even the dog days bring some consolation.

People and institutions whose habitual activity is a nuisance—when not positively evil—take their summer vacation, to the unspeakable relief of sensible men.

Legislatures adjourn, so that the growth of the ill-smelling refuse pile of law-making impotence is temporarily arrested.

In the courts only the "most important cases" come to trial—and Justice draws a sigh of relief: she is not to be prostituted so often by the hangmen of paragraphed legality.

Another advantage of the dog days is that the President makes fewer speeches. That's about the only occasion when he deserves well of his country.

Perhaps the greatest boon resulting from the hot spell is the fact that Benjamin R. Tucker has decided not to publish his *Liberty* till September. He thus stamps himself a man of great consideration, who sympathises with the troubles of mankind and is determined to do his best not to add to our intellectual misery.

It is to be hoped that the unusual heat will also moderate the zeal of the ethical Felix Adler. It were the better part of wisdom if he would consent to take a few months' rest upon the moral cushions of scientific ethics. He has earned his vacation, since he must have toiled long and hard to discover the great new virtue: self-aggrandizement. He recently eulogized Carl Schurz as the very personification of virtue. Schurz's forte was career making. 'Tis the newest virtue to secure as many sinecures and honors as possible. Felix Adler will go down in history as the founder of get-there ethics.

324

840514008
The Emma Goldman Papers
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 205-211 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 5 (July 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

John Spargo's abortion: "Not Guilty." Dramatis personae: Haywood et al. Scene—Boise. Time—1907. The wisdom and integrity of the jury triumph. Accused free. General blowing of noses. The public melts in tears. Wet handkerchiefs. A priest intones "Te Deum." General thanksgiving. Amen.

The next drama of the Social Democrat Spargo will close with a cake walk in which Orchard, McParland, Governor Gooding, Archbishop Ireland and the leaders and dramatists of the Social Democratic Party will participate.

* * *

DOUGLAS, Arizona, July 1.—Manuel Satabia, one of the leading spirits in the former St. Louis junta, known here as Samuel Moret, was arrested yesterday and lodged in jail at the instance, it is said, of the Mexican Government.

Late last night an automobile occupied by two Americans was driven to the jail. The prisoner was delivered to them and was forcibly placed in the vehicle. The automobile and its occupants were seen a little later passing through the streets and several witnesses say that the prisoner was choked into submission.

This was the last seen of the automobile, but there seems little doubt that Satabia was delivered to Mexican officers at Aguaprieta.—*N. Y. Times*, July 2, 1907.

The people that go into hysterics over the crimes committed by the Czar of Russia should bear in mind that conditions nearer home, in Mexico, are in some respects even worse than those of Russia. It is also well to remember that the American government is aiding to the best of its ability the Mexican bloodhounds in their mad pursuit of innocent victims.

In our next issue we expect to speak at greater length of the terrible governmental outrages now being perpetrated in Mexico.

* * *

When the first Duma was dissolved, a member of the British Cabinet exclaimed in a fit of "liberal" enthusiasm: "The Duma is dead. Long live the Duma!"

Now the second Duma has been driven to join its predecessor. Liberalism and Parliamentarism are proving dead letters.

Is it not time to exclaim: "The Duma is dead. Long live the Social Revolution!"?

* * *

Severe prison sentences have been imposed by the Spanish Inquisition on several radicals, among them José Nakens, editor of *El Motin*, who has been condemned to nine years' imprisonment. They were charged with sheltering over night Morral, who had thrown a bomb at the imbecile Alfonso. Humane feeling was the offence of the condemned. Among barbarians hospitality was a sacred duty, but under Christian civilization it is the gravest crime.

* * *

The "revolution" of the vine growers of Southern France would seem to indicate that even philistines will kick over the traces when governmentally driven to starvation. They had heard of the State-enriched Panamites and of greedy speculators and promoters generously fed by the government. There was no reason, they thought, why they, too, should not be protected by the government in their profits. Poor simpletons, they soon learned through bitter experience that the State is the agent of the big thiefs, but no protector of the common people. The social and economic maladies of the latter are governmentally treated with powder and shell.

* * *

THE HAYWOOD TRIAL

By MAX BAGINSKI.

THE social and economic causes and battles, which have resulted in the Idaho trial, are of far greater significance than the legal wrangle now in progress at Boise; the latter, considered by itself, is but a carricature of the world-drama and its social, psychic meaning.

It is to be hoped that Clarence Darrow, chief counsel for the defence, will lift the court proceedings from their low level to the higher phase of social-philosophic consideration. He is probably the only lawyer in the country intellectually equal to the requirements of the case and who, moreover, possesses that sincerity of purpose and sympathetic understanding which cannot be acquired by either study or calculation.

325

840514009
The Emma Goldman Papers
On the Road / Emma Goldman.— pp. 215-222 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 5 (July 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

of the gallows, Orchard suddenly felt opportunity knocking at his door: acquittal, liberty, money and protection held out alluring hands to him—the conversion of the murderous Saul into the meek Paul was a foregone conclusion. 'Tis but a repetition of a common occurrence. It is our daily experience that the meanest scoundrels feel safest and best under the protection of the altar cloth. The prosecutor, Senator Borah, is certainly a pious Christian—there is a charge of land robbery pending against him.

So far no evidence has been forthcoming in support of the charges against the officials of the Western Federation of Miners, except the accusations of the Pinkerton-converted Orchard. The prosecution has no legs to stand on; the State's case is even weaker in this instance than it was in the case of Spies and comrades in 1886. It is only too plain that plutocracy, with the aid of the State, is straining every nerve to remove from its path its enemies, these incorruptible champions of labor; and yet, 'tis by no means safe to predict the acquittal of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, for Justice has sold herself, body and soul, like a prostitute, to the money power.

The Prosecutor and Court are the tools of plutocracy, and the jury consists, at best, of "desirable" citizens whose chief fitness, as jurors, is in the fact of their complete ignorance of the very subjects most vital in this trial.

The sole hope is in organized labor, whose advisers and true friends the accused are. Unfortunately, however, the great majority of workingmen are still sleeping the sleep of the innocent; yet there is a ray of hope shining from the West which leads us to believe that the great awakening is not so far distant.

That ray is to be found in the following report:

"The annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners has by a vote of 345 to 25 delegates deprived local unions under its jurisdiction of the power of making contracts with employers. The preamble and resolution adopted read as follows:

"'Contracts entered into with the employing classes are of benefit only to the former. Such contracts divide the workers in their struggle with the exploiters; change one body of workers in subjection while war is being waged upon another body; often compel one union to scab upon another union; destroy the class instinct of the workers by a false sense of temporary security to cease taking an active interest in the affairs of their organization while such contracts are in force, and have absolutely no place in a progressive labor organization. Therefore be it

"Resolved, By the fifteenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners, that any and all signed contracts or verbal agreements for any specified length of time that may have been entered into between any local union or unions of the Western Federation of Miners are by this convention declared null and void.'"

This step is a new departure; it shows clear comprehension of conditions and is the reflex of the determination to oppose the whole economic power of labor to brutal capitalistic exploitation. Welcome the conscious strength which will not be twittered away in useless bickerings and compromises.

Such shameful trials as the one now taking place at Boise can be prevented only by the strong, self-conscious attitude of labor. An intelligent proletariat which has advanced to a true understanding of its position and which has emancipated itself from the superstition of governmental justice and capitalistic economics will not suffer such trials.

* * *

ON THE ROAD

BY EMMA GOLDMAN.

(Conclusion.)

Denver. Those who fly high on the wings of imagination must expect to suffer an occasional fall.

The stirring history of Colorado's labor struggles quickened my blood with the thought of the revolutionary attitude of the workers since 1903. I was full of expectation. Had not the mine owners with the aid of their hirelings—the government—waged relentless war against organized labor? Had they not robbed and oppressed in the most merciless manner? Had they not employed the most dastardly means against the three friends of labor whom they could neither corrupt nor conquer? Surely the plutocracy of Colorado had committed enough crimes to cause a national revolution.

My imagination pictured united labor striving in soli-

326

840514009

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Road / Emma Goldman.– pp. 215-222 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 5 (July 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

daric unity in that great cause, their emancipation from the twin monsters of capitalism and authority.

It was a painful awakening! Whatever the feeling of the workers of Colorado may be at this critical moment, Denver has too much of the hospital atmosphere to permit of a healthy revolutionary spirit. Essentially a health resort, its patients are too much occupied with themselves to bother about the outrage now being enacted at Boise. Of course, there are the intellectuals, or the High Brows as they are playfully called: writers, editors and other professional men; but one would look in vain for revolutionary backbone among them. They hug their comforts and love material and social success too well to follow the example of their brothers in Russia who, at the risk of their own lives, carry the beacon of human emancipation into factory and field. No doubt the American intellectuals are also interested in the pressing questions of the day, but it is the parlor interest of men decked out in evening dress, sipping tea from dainty China cups. Fortunately, the world is full of exceptions. It gave me great joy to find two such in Henry and Lillian Thayer—true Americans in the best sense, in whom the revolutionary spirit of their forefathers has triumphed over the influence of a conservative New England rearing.

The meetings arranged by a solitary enthusiastic comrade proved quite successful, but as I said before, they bore a convalescent appearance. Our social, however, more than realized my highest expectations. In spite of the stormy night we had a most successful gathering of representatives of various schools of thought, united by a genuine feeling of brotherhood and common interest. The purely human side is always at its best at informal affairs.

Our comrades at large will be glad to learn that our old staunch friends William and Lizzie Holmes have awakened to a new interest and have joined the literary staff of *Mother Earth*.

San Francisco. The city I once called the American Paris looked like a graveyard upon my arrival. Not a fashionable cemetery with imposing tombstones, but like a gigantic refuse pile in which sticks and stones mark the last resting place of the social outcasts. But, then,

an uninterrupted trip of sixty hours under capitalistic management that landed me in San Francisco eight hours too late for the first of May meeting, is not calculated to make one see things in roseate colors. Three weeks' stay in the city has, however, not worn off my first impression. The earthquake—or the fire, as the natives prefer to believe—has left its lasting mark. Of course, capitalistic greed is striving to rebuild the city, but the new homes and structures being put up are making the Gate City even more hideous than the ruins still scattered about. No less hideous are the disclosures of the depravity of the local authorities, represented by Mayor Schmitz & Co. The good citizen is eternally drilled in the necessity and usefulness of laws and government, while his rulers are growing fat on the Mrs. Warrens, without even running the financial risks of Sir John Crofts or the Bishop of Canterbury. When one considers how few of our official rogues are ever exposed, one shudders at the demoralization of our public life.

The conditions during my stay in San Francisco almost seemed to bear out the charges of the yellow press against me. As if it were not sufficient for one woman to be responsible for the deaths of all crowned heads and most great strikes, I have now discovered that I am credited by science with having enriched surgery by a most interesting case—the result of the Czolgosz shot.

Two strikes really broke out after I set foot on the shaky soil,—shaky not because of the quake, but on account of the numerous quacks of the California labor movement, who are feeding the workers on patent medicine and pills. Nothing but quack treatment can bring about such results as the strike of the telephone operators and car men. The former have but recently awakened to the necessity of organization, which probably means to most of them more ribbons and ice cream; but the car men, familiar with the true purposes of trade unionism, should have long since realized that they are waging a life-and-death struggle. The attitude of the unions was simply ridiculous. They gave the company all opportunity to prepare for the strike and then looked on in passive resistance while their doom was being sealed. Nay, more, Cornelius, President of the car employees,

327

840514009

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Road / Emma Goldman. – pp. 215-222 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 5 (July 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

offered his services to the Mayor to preserve order, which under the circumstances meant the protection of the company in its successful strike-breaking.

The only satisfactory feature of the strike was the attitude of the public. The people refused to ride on the cars and walked singly and *en masse* to and from work; their sympathies were entirey with the strikers and the latter would have gained a splendid victory had they been blessed with sufficient sense to know how to handle the situation.

The general condition of the city made the preparations for my meetings very difficult, the more so as most of our local comrades live very far apart and were worn out by their daily long tramps. The work of arrangement therefore fell upon the shoulders of a few men. A number of splendidly attended meetings took place, and a large amount of literature sold.

Our farewell social brought the radical elements closer together and, though twelve different nationalities were represented, including our ardent Japanese comrades, all hearts beat in unison for one great, common cause.

Climate is known to have great influence upon human development; it is probably due to this that the Socialists of the coast are less dogmatic and authoritarian than their Eastern brothers. At any rate, I was invited to lecture before the San Francisco local and was treated in the most cordial manner.

Los Angeles.—Four weeks' continuous correspondence finally resulted in five meetings being arranged in the Sunny City. It was hard ploughing, but the harvest repaid the effort. As the readers will find a more detailed report from Los Angeles, I shall merely remark here that if I have accomplished nothing more than to rekindle the enthusiasm of our long-lost brother, W. C. Owen, my work at Los Angeles has been amply rewarded.

Few of our young readers and comrades are familiar with that name, but those of us who remember such intellectual towers as Dyer D. Lum and John Edelman will recollect W. C. Owen as one of the ablest and ardent workers in the movement at that period.

For reasons of his own, Comrade Owen has kept in the background. When my coming to Los Angeles was suggested, he was too skeptical of success to take an

active interest. I was therefore very glad to see him at every meeting and happy to learn that he became sufficiently interested in my work to continue it upon my departure.

I am also glad to state that C. B. C——r, well known to our New York comrades, has recovered his former intellectual breadth and is now actively participating in the work of the Social Science Club.

Altogether, my visit to Los Angeles proved a rare treat. My host and hostess, the breeze of the Tyrolian mountains in their natures; my meeting an old comrade who, in spite of his Socialistic opportunism, is really bigger than his work; and many other persons and incidents combined to make my visit interesting and pleasant.

Portland.—Philistine ascendancy seems to have ridden the local Anarchists of their Anarchism. Most of them have grown prosperous and do not want their neighbors to remember their "youthful follies." Others are busy saving the country from race suicide. Those who have some Anarchism left were willing enough to work, but lacked the experience. Still, three meetings have been held at Portland, and it is to be hoped that the ice crust covering the native heart and mind has been somewhat reduced in size. The *Oregonian,* a daily publication, aided my work by printing almost stenographic reports of my lectures.

Tacoma.—Nature has not been as generous to Tacoma as to Portland; it lacks the latter's brilliance and beauty. The city seems to be stagnant; it has not grown during the last eight years.—My first meeting was largely attended and very satisfactory. By request I remained for another lecture which, however, was not as successful as the first, owing to a large fire which broke out in the neighborhood at the opening of the meeting.

Home Colony.—It was my intention to spend a few days at Home Colony, better known in Tacoma as the home of "cranks" and "free-lovers." But fate willed it otherwise. I arrived at 8 P. M., and left the next morning, as time was pressing. I therefore do not know whether the colonists are either cranky or free; but this I do know, that they have accomplished wonders. Within eight years they have converted a wilderness into a beautiful

328

840514009

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Road / Emma Goldman.– pp. 215-222 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 5 (July 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

garden, and though numerous nationalities are represented at the Colony, they have successfully demonstrated that neither law nor government is necessary for their well-being. No doubt there is occasional friction and misunderstanding; but the colonists have conclusively proven that neither police nor jails are necessary in a rational social organization. As they gradually learn that true Anarchism means non-interference, friction will be minimized.

Seattle.—All is well that ends well.—The authorities and hall keepers became panic-stricken when my coming was announced. It was with great difficulty that we procured a hall.

I refer my readers to the more detailed report by A. H. I wish to state, however, that I regret very much that the proposed debate could not take place. It would have been almost too easy a victory to meet a man who shows his colors like Mr. Mills. The latter claims that Socialism "proclaims its obedience to the law and its desire to act always under and in accordance with legal forms." If that be so, I fail to see the difference between Socialism and any other governmental theory. Or Mr. Mills misrepresents Socialism, and in that case he is but a typical politician.

Calgery.—"We are the people; the grandest people. We possess the greatest wonders of the world,"—such is the notion of a real, "desirable" American citizen.

After enjoying the perfume of New York's greatest ornament—the famous East Side—for eight years, I made my first trip through the West in 1897. When I beheld the majestic beauty of the Rockies and the California mountains, I too felt that nature was incapable of anything grander. But my journey from Seattle to Calgery, through British Columbia, the dreamland of Selkirks and the Glaziers has completely cured me of national arrogance. Never before had I seen such glory, such wealth of color and form, and never has man with all his boasted achievements seemed so puny, so insignificant as at the sight of those giants with the shimmer of gold reflected upon their snowy caps, immovable, inexorable and eternal as the firmament.

From these heights I fell into the mud of Calgery,—a town as gloomy as the priest's cassock. The great mass,

however, that thronged the hall Sunday, June the sixteenth, was as surprising as it was unexpected. Indeed ideas are like lightning: they travel with the same rapidity and strike hard when they come in contact with the human mind. They have reached even far-away, deserted Calgery. Unfortunately, I did not have a single brochure or *Mother Earth* with me. The Canadian Postal service seems to serve everybody but the people. Literature sent from New York on the sixth of the month did not reach Calgery till after the sixteenth. My trunk, containing books and pamphlets, having been negligently allowed to remain at Seattle, I could leave nothing behind me but an impression. However, the ice has been broken, and if the work is continued, good fruition will result.

Nobody should be expected to lecture or to attend a meeting during the hot Summer days. Winnipeg and Chicago have convinced me of this on my return trip. It was altogether too hot to remain indoors. Besides, the human mind refuses to be overtaxed. I was too fatigued and worn out to take much interest in the meetings in the above-mentioned cities. Still, I was glad to meet again our active boys of Winnipeg and the good comrades of Chicago.

When I left New York, March third, I believed that I could return by the first of May. I found, however, such a tremendous interest in Anarchism all through the country, that even four months' touring barely covered the ground.

Our grand old man, Peter Kropotkin, recently wrote to me, inquiring whether I could recommend some young American comrades for work abroad. I replied, in effect, that if we had such gems, we could set them here. Now that my tour is ended, I am convinced more firmly than ever that the soil is ripe and the seed good. What we need is sowers. I have met many genuine, clear-headed and sincere American Anarchists, willing and ready to help our work, once it is properly started. What they lack is initiative. Some day that, too, may be called forth when the call of the battle will ring loud enough in their ears. Then they, too, will realize the beauty of the open road and joyfully follow its beckoning.

329

840514009

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Road / Emma Goldman.— pp. 215-222 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 5 (July 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

"Listen! I will be honest with you,
I do not offer the old smooth prizes, but offer rough new prizes,
These are the days that must happen to you:
You shall not heap up what is call'd riches,
You shall scatter with lavish hand all that you earn or achieve,
You shall be treated to the ironical smiles and mockings of those who remain behind you,
What beckonings of love you receive you shall only answer with passionate kisses of parting,
You shall not allow the hold of those who spread their reach'd hands toward you."

* * *

ANENT THE AMSTERDAM CONFERENCE

The San Francisco Group "Liberty" and the Cleveland "Anarchist Group" have endorsed the suggestion ot the Chicago and Winnipeg comrades about my going to the Amsterdam Conference; they have decided to cooperate in furnishing the necessary funds.

Groups and Clubs in other cities who are in sympathy with the project will please communicate with me at once. They are also requested to notify me of any particular subjects they may wish me to bring to the attention of the Conference.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

SEATTLE REPORT

It was good for sore eyes to see Comrade Emma Goldman again. We were unable to arrange a complete schedule—could get the hall only for three lectures, June ninth, eleventh and twelfth, at the Socialist Temple, where Emma Goldman spoke on "Misconceptions of Anarchism," "Direct Action versus Political Action," and "The Revolutionary Spirit of the Modern Drama." She spoke in Seattle to crowded houses and wound up by organizing the Social Science Club with about 60 members. The work here was not only successful financially,

but also served to kindle the dormant fires of the spirit of revolution and has created a basis for uniting the revolutionary forces and stimulating them to greater activity.

One of the causes of this success was the announcement of our amiable and enlightened Chief of Police that he would arrest Emma Goldman on sight. The natives took notice—for they have heard that Emma Goldman usually dared, and were anxious to see Greek meet Greek. I helped the ball along by issuing this gentle defy a week or two before Emma arrived: "Wappenstein, Chief of the Police Department of this city, has been quoted (I hope incorrectly) to the effect that if Emma Goldman will open her mouth here he will arrest her. This is wild talk. Miss Goldman has a perfect right to open her mouth at all times and places. The Chief of Police should be the last man to be guilty of such intemperate language. There may be some of us who have little respect for policemen in general, but I can assure Chief Wappenstein that it can not be increased by such behavior on his part." After this the Chief modified his plans and announced that he would arrest the speaker if she held open-air meetings, but as such meetings were not contemplated, his officiousness and impudence were entirely gratuitous. His back-down was sufficiently undignified to serve him as a lesson in all future attempts to suppress free speech.

Aside from the great success that attended the meetings there was one significant incident that deserves particular mention. The Socialists in this city are split in two factions, as a result of the "practical" methods that W. T. Mills, leader of one of the factions, favors for winning power as the representative of a "class-conscious proletariat." He is succeeding fairly well, to the angry disgust of the revolutionary (sic) wing. Were it not for the jealousy arising from this split it would have been next to impossible to get the Socialist Temple for the purpose of expounding Anarchist theories. We challenged Mr. Mills to debate with Miss Goldman, but as the latter could not stay long enough to meet Mr. Mills's convenience, the debate was given up and Mr. Mills contended himself by criticizing the lecture on "Direct Action versus Political Action." The Socialists

840514010
The Emma Goldman Papers
Anent the Amsterdam Conference / Emma Goldman.— p. 222 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 5 (July 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

"Listen! I will be honest with you,
I do not offer the old smooth prizes, but offer rough new prizes,
These are the days that must happen to you:
You shall not heap up what is call'd riches,
You shall scatter with lavish hand all that you earn or achieve,
You shall be treated to the ironical smiles and mockings of those who remain behind you,
What beckonings of love you receive you shall only answer with passionate kisses of parting,
You shall not allow the hold of those who spread their reach'd hands toward you."

* * *

ANENT THE AMSTERDAM CONFERENCE

The San Francisco Group "Liberty" and the Cleveland "Anarchist Group" have endorsed the suggestion of the Chicago and Winnipeg comrades about my going to the Amsterdam Conference; they have decided to cooperate in furnishing the nccessary funds.

Groups and Clubs in other cities who are in sympathy with the project will please communicate with me at once. They are also requested to notify me of any particular subjects they may wish me to bring to the attention of the Conference.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

SEATTLE REPORT

It was good for sore eyes to see Comrade Emma Goldman again. We were unable to arrange a complete schedule—could get the hall only for three lectures, June ninth, eleventh and twelfth, at the Socialist Temple, where Emma Goldman spoke on "Misconceptions of Anarchism," "Direct Action versus Political Action," and "The Revolutionary Spirit of the Modern Drama." She spoke in Seattle to crowded houses and wound up by organizing the Social Science Club with about 60 members. The work here was not only successful financially,

but also served to kindle the dormant fires of the spirit of revolution and has created a basis for uniting the revolutionary forces and stimulating them to greater activity.

One of the causes of this success was the announcement of our amiable and enlightened Chief of Police that he would arrest Emma Goldman on sight. The natives took notice—for they have heard that Emma Goldman usually dared, and were anxious to see Greek meet Greek. I helped the ball along by issuing this gentle defy a week or two before Emma arrived: "Wappenstein, Chief of the Police Department of this city, has been quoted (I hope incorrectly) to the effect that if Emma Goldman will open her mouth here he will arrest her. This is wild talk. Miss Goldman has a perfect right to open her mouth at all times and places. The Chief of Police should be the last man to be guilty of such intemperate language. There may be some of us who have little respect for policemen in general, but I can assure Chief Wappenstein that it can not be increased by such behavior on his part." After this the Chief modified his plans and announced that he would arrest the speaker if she held open-air meetings, but as such meetings were not contemplated, his officiousness and impudence were entirely gratuitous. His back-down was sufficiently undignified to serve him as a lesson in all future attempts to suppress free speech.

Aside from the great success that attended the meetings there was one significant incident that deserves particular mention. The Socialists in this city are split in two factions, as a result of the "practical" methods that W. T. Mills, leader of one of the factions, favors for winning power as the representative of a "class-conscious proletariat." He is succeeding fairly well, to the angry disgust of the revolutionary (sic) wing. Were it not for the jealousy arising from this split it would have been next to impossible to get the Socialist Temple for the purpose of expounding Anarchist theories. We challenged Mr. Mills to debate with Miss Goldman, but as the latter could not stay long enough to meet Mr. Mills's convenience, the debate was given up and Mr. Mills contended himself by criticizing the lecture on "Direct Action versus Political Action." The Socialists

331

840514011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 235-239 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 6 (Aug. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

MOTHER EARTH

JOSEPH ROSENBERG
...Custom Tailor...
310 East 89th Street
Bet. 1st & 2d Aves., N. Y.

"Common Sense"
The great Socialist Weekly of the South West.
One year . . . . . 50 cents
Six months . . . . . 25 cents
COMMON SENSE PUB. CO.
Send for Sample. Los Angeles, Cal

DO NOT FAIL TO READ

The Conquest of Bread

By PETER KROPOTKIN

A remarkable book, written in the author's usual clear and concise style. The best popular exposition of scientific Anarchism extant.

PRICE, ONE DOLLAR

To be had through MOTHER EARTH

Kneipp Cure Bath Establishment
621 Bushwick Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Electric Loh-Tanin Baths For Chronic Rheumatism, Nerve Strengthening, Blood Purifying And for Paralysis
Herb, Electric, Sulphur, Steam, Cold & Warm Baths
Nauheim Baths (Kohlensaure Wellenbäder)
Separate Entrance for Ladies
CURT W. BRETOW, Chiropodist—Naturopath

10c. A COPY $1 A YEAR

MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature

Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Proprietor, 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. II AUGUST, 1907 No. 6

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

The confidence of the people in governmental justice is not very strong in these United States. The whole country, from Maine to California, is evidencing its surprise at the acquittal of William Haywood on the charge of killing Governor Steunenberg.

This general surprise can be explained only by the fact that the people at large are convinced that the will of the money powers is the highest law of the land, and that truth and right are the mere handmaids of that will. That is the sentiment of a great portion of the people—a sentiment perfectly justified and not very far from the Anarchistic conception of the State and its mission.

The acquittal of Haywood is by no means a rehabilitation of governmental justice; it can only be explained in the following manner:

The conduct of the trial by the prosecution was a dismal failure from the beginning. The methods employed to manufacture evidence were worthy of the worst possible police and juristic ruffianism—the Pinkertons, the Borahs and Hawleys did not seem to credit the jury with much common sense; they evidently thought that the most barefaced inventions were good enough testimony for a jury of farmers. The State and the Pinkertons had the audacity of employing as their chief witness a man—Orchard—whose total depravity was apparent to everyone familiar with the circumstances of the case. The

840514011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 235-239 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 6 (Aug. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

prosecution built its hopes of victory upon that very depravity. The impossible was expected from the jury.

The progress of the trial served to make this one thing clear: the Western miners and their organization knew exactly where they stood and what they wanted. For years they had battled aginst the conspiracy of law and capital; they had fought as men conscious of their purposes and aims, even to the extent of realizing that explosives had not been invented for the special benefit of arrogant mine owners. They fully understood that they could not rely upon the law and the machinery of politics —these were the tools of exploiters employed to stifle the rights of labor as, for instance, in the case of the eight-hour law. The oppressed workers could not find relief anywhere, whether in the Capitols of Colorado and Idaho, nor at Washington.

The Western miners soon realized that they enjoyed such rights only as their own power could guarantee them. They learned the value of solidarity and direct action; their battles were the school that cured them of their respect for law and government.

Those who have carefully followed the trial could not but realize that they behold the vigorous birth of a new world—a world with a healthy new social philosophy, freed from the fetters of plutocratic traditions. Whether considered right or wrong, lawful or lawless—the proletariat stood there, in the full consciousness of its strength and purpose, determined to assert its right of existence and to defend it, if need be, by force of arms.

Neither friend nor foe could fail to appreciate the situation. The acquittal of Haywood was probably the result of the mixed feeling of respect and fear: it was not deemed advisable to drive those determined men to desperation by the conviction of their innocent fellow-workman.

The Idaho trial teaches the American proletariat a powerful lesson; namely, that it must depend only on its own initiative and strength, rather than on the State and its representatives.

* * *

Learning of the result of the Idaho trial, we wired the following messages:

"Miners' Magazine, Denver, Colo.

"A happy augury of Labor's coming greater and final victory."

"President Roosevelt, Oyster Bay, N. Y.

"Undesirable citizens victorious. Rejoice.

"EMMA GOLDMAN,
"ALEXANDER BERKMAN,
"HIPPOLYTE HAVEL."

* * *

Learning of Haywood's acquittal, the sovereign people breathed a sigh of relief: "The hangmen of the Republic were about to commit another crime in my name."

The Heavenly Father: "Wasn't that lucky! I was afraid I couldn't shake that fellow Orchard—would have had to reserve a special seat for him on my right."

Hearst Yellows: "And now, fellow-citizens of this glorious Republic, you surely realize who has achieved this great victory: it was Brisbane with his powerful editorials. Hearst took a determined stand for Haywood —after the verdict was announced."

The New York Times: "What is the use of trial by jury when labor organizations are not branded as criminal and its leaders sent to the gallows."

Conference of mine owners: "Trusts are a good thing, generally speaking; but they are not practicable in the detective business. Pinkerton has sold us a gold brick. There should be more competition in this trade."

Pinkerton Headquarters: "Here, McParland, take your wage and this dozen Bibles. Go down to the South Sea Islands and convert those heathens to Christianity. But if you don't succeed in this mission any better than with the conversion of Orchard, you need not call again."

The Social Democrats: "A wonderful opportunity to boom Haywood for our next President. Fine chance to make ourselves—ridiculous."

The President: "An idiotic jury! The guilt or innocence of an undesirable citizen should be left to me to decide."

* * *

The electrocution business at Sing Sing, the New York State prison, is prospering. "They that use the sword shall perish by the sword."

What a lie! The murderers of Cuban and Philippine

333

840514011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 235-239 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 6 (Aug. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

fame are not in Sing Sing awaiting electrocution. They are highly respected patriots, filling important positions in the government.

* * *

A great detective show is scheduled to take place at Buffalo on the first of September—the unveiling of a McKinley statue.

The high officials of the State and Nation which will congregate there will hardly feel at ease with the spirit of Czolgosz hovering over them.

Such monuments are a barbaric reminiscence of the past, the shame of the present and—the ruins of the future.

* * *

In olden times there was a forest in which dwelled numerous wolves. They were continually invading the neighboring fields and carrying off the stock. Finally the sheep and cattle became exasperated and threatened the wolves with bodily harm, and also to cite them before the court of the lions.

The wolves, realizing their danger, decided to sacrifice one of their fellows who had happened to make himself obnoxious to them. Thus it happened that they carried the victim to the fields and delivered him to the vengeance of the sheep and cattle, who forthwith fell upon the luckless wolf, rejoicing that there were still to be had justice and a square deal in the forest.

Henceforth the wolves continued to steal and rob in renewed safety.

That is the story of Mayor Schmitz, of San Francisco.

* * *

Our freethinkers, pure and simple, enjoy the rare privilege of showing apparent signs of life, though actually dead.

One of them, in a series of articles in *The Truthseeker*, completely annihilates Max Stirner. The writer goes about it in a childishly simple way: he hurls Thomas Paine at Stirner, and lo, 'tis done! Stirner knows nothing and understands less, since he does not agree with Paine. That is quite "rational," but not rational enough.

A surer way to annihilate Stirner would be to prove that his teachings do not harmonize with the inscriptions

on the pyramids or with the philosophic views of Egyptian mummies.

* * *

Lucifer, the champion of woman's emancipation from sex bondage, has been transformed into a magazine, called *The American Journal of Eugenics*. Among the articles contained in the August number are: "A Study in Social Psychology," by the Rev. Sidney Holmes; "The Question of Population," by C. Gonnard; "Relative Sex Morality," by James Armstrong; "The Song of Maternity," by Lillian Browne-Thayer, etc. The last issue contains sixty-four pages, an increase of sixteen pages over the July number. Ten cents per copy; $1.00 per year. Order of newsdealers, or of M. Harman, 500 Fulton Street, Chicago, or of *Mother Earth*.

* * *

Our readers will be glad to learn that a new Anarchist publication has been started in Tokio, Japan. The publishers are three Chinese girls who have courageously freed themselves from the heavy shackles of Occidental tradition, prejudice and superstition. "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation" has been translated for the first issue of the new journal. Comrade Denjiro Kotoku writes us that there is a great awakening taking place among the intellectuals of Japan. A hearty welcome to this new champion of a better life!

* * *

SOCIAL CONDITIONS UNDER FREEDOM

By WM. HOLMES.

THAT human beings, when left to the freedom of their own devices, with plenty of elbow room, unrestricted opportunities to exploit nature, and secure in the possession of their own productions, will conduct themselves according to the law of equal freedom, is attested by numerous examples in modern as well as ancient society. And it was undoubtedly the recognition of this Anarchistic fact that impelled the distinguished American, Washington Irving, to put into the mouth of his quaint old Dutch historian, in "Knickerbocker's History of New York," these memorable words:

334

The Emma Goldman Papers

840514012

A Literary Nuisance / Emma Goldman.– pp. 250-253 ; 20 cm *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 6 (Aug. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

A LITERARY NUISANCE

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

IGNORANCE and arrogance on the part of a critic, and the literary "innocence" of the editor or publisher make a combination which can be fitly characterized as a literary nuisance.

Such is the article "Modern Germany—Mad?", by George Sylvester Viereck, published in the June issue of the *Arena*. Supposedly treating of modern German literature, the writer succeeds only in displaying his own ignorance and arrogance.

These two qualities were ever characteristic of the legitimate members of the Hohenzollern house. If it be true that the Viereks are the illegitimate offsprings of that house, it would seem to prove that illegitimacy does not always rectify the faults of legitimacy.

Of all ignoramuses the writing ignoramus is the most stupid. That is the fatality of the trade of writing. Since the literary style is one's innermost expression, a fool's writing necessarily betrays his emptiness.

Evidently Mr. Viereck did not consider that; else he would have left the pen alone: conceit would have saved him.

The modern literature of Germany is of nearly twenty years growth. Its most striking works have been written under the inspiration of the social revolutionary spirit of that period. They represent the high tide of the passionate aspirations and hopes for the regeneration of social and individual life along the lines of Socialism and Anarchism: social justice, economic freedom and the emancipation of woman from the fetters of home-slavery were its slogans.

The modern spirit found its strongest and most artistic expression in the dramas of Gerhart Hauptmann, as well as in the works of Max Halbe, Otto Erich Hartleben, and Frank Wedekind; Sudermann, however, identified himself with the stage rather than with life.

Whatever the valuation of the German modern literati —as compared with their predecessors—it is unquestionably true that they have enriched and deepened our soul-

life. It was they who have voiced in a penetrating and unique manner the mute suffering of the underworld, the social aspirations which formed the undercurrent of accepted traditions.

These few and apparently irrelevant remarks are made merely to show that modern German literature is neither as "mad" nor as empty as the head of its critic, Mr. Viereck.

Let us now consider the *Arena* article in detail.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Viereck has named Marie Madeleine (pseudonym) as "the first and foremost" in the "literary madhouse" of modern Germany. It is because her subject matter is so closely allied to his own? And is she to be characterized as "indecent" by the psychopathic author of the "Haunted House"? While by no means the foremost of German moderns, one cannot read her "*Eine Priesterin der Aphrodite*" or "*Und es verrauschen und verklingen Tage und Tage*" without feeling that she has touched humanly vital chords. Her poetry is the cry of a soul that, in her own words, "*hat niemals ihr Ziel gefunden*"—if that is "indecent," what word in the English or even in the German vocabulary can fittingly characterize the following stanza of Mr. Viereck:

"To-night I feel the presence of the others,
"Your lovers were they and are now my brothers;
"And I have nothing that has not been theirs,
"No single bloom the tree of passion bears
"They have not plucked. Beloved, can it be?
"Is there no gift that you reserve for me—
"No loving kindness or *no subtle sin*,*
"No secret shrine that none has entered in,
"Whither no mocking memories pursue
"Love's wistful pilgrim?"

Mr. Viereck absolutely ignores the real representative poetesses of modern Germany, such as Helene Boehlau, Frieda von Buelow, Clara Viebig and Hedwig Lachmann. True, he speaks of Margarete Beutler as "the most gifted poetess," but of course he regards her—who is no less a personality than she is a poet—as "depraved," because "she declares in her autobiography that she is tempera-

* The italics are mine. E. G.

335

840514012

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Literary Nuisance / Emma Goldman.– pp. 250-253 ; 20 cm *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 6 (Aug. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

mentally incapable of entering into permanent marital relations." Mr. Viereck stupidly reads into that sentence the desire of the poetess to advertise herself by a recital of her private affairs. With the same criterion he judges that tender poetic soul—Peter Hille—who, Mr. Viereck informs us, had said that "as a Westphalian he was a shameless liar, godless and without conscience." Our critic believes that this "confession" was made "to attract attention at any price." 'Tis a pity that Peter Hille was so frank and outspoken. His lack of discretion in this regard was not compatible with good business methods. No wonder poor, sensitive Peter Hille died destitute and forsaken in his miserable garret.

Not the least bad break of Mr. Viereck is his reference to Gustav Wied as "the alleged German Mark Twain." In confidence we will inform our well-posted critic that the satirist Gustav Wied happens to be a Dane.

Mr. Viereck has dropped his pose of the decadent, blasé beyond good and evil. His ambition was to play the rôle of a miniature edition of Oscar Wilde. That, however, proved impractical in the land of Comstock. It seemed more advisable to masquerade as the indignant moralist and censor of "indecent" German poetesses.

The author of the *Arena* article is morally outraged by Frank Wedekind (not Franz, as he is erroneously called by Mr. Viereck) and Erich Mühsam. The fact that such "vulgar" and "nauseating" writers are tolerated in the leading magazines of Germany conclusively proves, according to our critic, the literary rottenness of Germany. How fortunate that Wedekind is not an American writer—he would be confiscated by our Puritans. Yet this "vulgar" Wedekind is the author of that beautiful "*Frühlingserwachen*," a work that should be read by every mother and teacher, portraying as it does in the most tender and artistic manner the sex awakening of the child and showing the terrible crimes committed by parents and teachers against their maturing children.

Equally "impossible" Mr. Viereck considers Erich Mühsam. The latter dares to openly avow himself an Anarchist! He would not be permitted to tread our shores, much less to contribute to our leading magazines, which would be outraged—like Mr. Viereck—by the exposé of our rotten social conditions, as depicted in

"*Amanda*." It is owing to the literary honesty of the Mühsams, however, and the courage of German leading periodicals who publish such exposés (so much regretted by Mr. Viereck) that the consciousness of the world is awakened to the realization of the enormity of our social crimes responsible for the things portrayed by Mühsam.

"Tell me what amuses you," our critic exclaims, "and I will tell you what you are." Mr. Viereck strenuously objects to the "obscenity" of the *Simplicissimus* jokes and carricatures. They are very harmful, he thinks, since they expose the rottenness of certain social circles. He probably prefers *Puck* and *Judge*. There is nothing "indecent" in them, to be sure. Indeed, their vacuity and lack of wit can favorably compare even with the *Arena* article.

Fortunately, Germany is not quite helpless against this damnable literature. The good Kaiser stands guard over the morals of his people. His would-be relative has this to say about it:

"And so, too, much in the actions of Kaiser Wilhelm that may strike us as uncalled-for interference in matters of art, is due to the desire of his healthy nature to place a check upon things unwholesome and unclean."

Kaiser Willie's "healthy nature" expresses itself in art and literature by patronizing impotence and mediocrity, while artists and writers of real merit are made to feel his most sovereign displeasure. The royal megalomaniac recognizes only such literary efforts which foster national stupidity and flatter the Hohenzollern régime. His influence is positively harmful, encouraging writers and artists who are ever ready to sacrifice their own mental sovereignty for a royal smile or a cheap order.

I apologize for having charged Mr. Viereck with lack of talent. His reference to the Kaiser proves his considerable ability as a career-hunter and schnorrer patriot.

336

900220005
The Emma Goldman Papers
Amsterdam Conference Fund / Emma Goldman. — pp. 259-260 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —(Aug. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

By the time that most of the unions will have obtained the six-hour day by direct action, and the eight-hour day relegated to the dim past, Parliament will declare that the legal eight-hour day is an outrage, an impossibility, and unconstitutional; but labor won't give a damn!

* * *

ANENT THE AMSTERDAM CONFERENCE

La Questione Sociale, of Paterson, N. J., reprints an article of Peter Kropotkin, of the year 1896, dealing with the much discussed subject of the advisability of Anarchist congresses. We quote:

"The International must work in view of a double aim.

In its every-day work it will establish the union between the men of various trades in every city, in every district, in every nation, and internationally between all trades.

And in its congresses it will do its propaganda work widely, outside of the ranks of its organization. It will disseminate its ideas with full hands in the midst of the entire population—before all amongst those strata that still keep away from the revolutionary advance guard of labor.

In these congresses the workers—always the workers—of the different trades and different nationalities will learn to know each other. They will learn and deliberate the methods to bring their strikes to good results by national and international mutual aid. They will learn how to paralyze the beast of capitalism by the force of their international attack. They will learn to press the beast to the wall with their shoulders and make it surrender before the united forces of the workingmen.

They will study at the same time the best ways to produce and exchange their products. By means of this continuous mutual understanding, renewed every year by the international exchange of ideas, shall the new form of the organization of industries work itself out, which is destined some day to replace capitalist production and the mercantile exchange of products.

And at the same time the regional and international congresses will serve as powerful means of propaganda

of Socialist ideas and for the working out of new ideas.

At each congress two or three important questions will be submitted for study, to be reported on at the following congress. These questions will be submitted for discussion, first amongst the groups of workers, then in the little regional and national congresses, and, finally, at the annual international congress.

People of good will are bound to prepare reports summing up the discussions of groups and regional bodies; and these reports will serve as basis for discussion at the following congress. Finally, published as reports, they will serve as arguments for discussions and for propaganda in the papers."

* * *

AMSTERDAM CONFERENCE FUND

Freie Arbeiterstimme Group, New York	$25.00
Group Germinal, New York	5.00
Group Weckruf, New York	5.00
Bruno Lehmann, New York	1.00
D. Bouquet, New York	.50
Thos. Brothers, Brooklyn	2.00
Liberty Group, San Francisco, per I. Edelson	10.00
Mrs. Erne, Portland, Ore	5.00
A. Weislander, Portland, Ore	3.00
Mrs. Robinson, Seattle, Wash	1.00
Wm. Holmes, Denver, Colo	1.00
Group Winnipeg, Can	*15.00
Per P. Fogel, Winnipeg, Can.:	
P. Fogel	2.00
F. Kraemer	3.00
E. N. Ling	2.00
Per J. Livshis, Chicago:	
S. Oakley	5.00
S. T. Hammersmark	3.00
J. M. Livshis	3.00
Joe Goldman	1.00
F. Schoettle	1.00
Frank Schreiber	1.00
Miss Grant	.50
Ben Capes	1.00

* Additional ten dollars promised.

337

900220005

The Emma Goldman Papers

Amsterdam Conference Fund / Emma Goldman. — pp. 259-260 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —(Aug. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

M. Rubinstein	1.00
M. Newman	1.00
J. Fishman, St. Louis	1.00
B. Gelfer, New York	1.00
T. P. Lehan, Redlands, Cal.	1.00
P. Leone, Redlands, Cal.	1.00
Joe Weed, Redlands, Cal.	.50
	$102.50

The sum received so far will barely pay the fare, both ways. Not being in the grace of God I cannot be expected to live on faith and air. I must therefore ask the comrades and groups who have indorsed my participation in the Conference to continue their contributions.

During my absence all mail is to be addressed as heretofore, 210 East 13th St., New York.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

UNWELCOME PREY

By LILLIAN BROWNE-THAYER.

IT is a morning in early May. Spring is flinging out her intoxicating odors. The palpitating sunlight embraces the earth with passionate caresses. Nature, responsive, has burst into life in blade and leaf and flower. In the park geometric beds of tulips and crocusses and daffodils have sprung up in blotches of red and yellow and purple—mad, riotous colors in orderly array.

Across the boulevard the sunlight plays upon the red brick, ivy-patched walls of the Girls' High School. Through the open window comes the sound of a piano prelude; then the voice of the director is heard. There is a pause, and soon a chorus of fresh young voices floats out on the air. Passers-by slacken their gait to listen. The loungers in the park rouse themselves from their dozing as the words of an old anthem reach their ears:

"Sing Alleluia forth in duteous praise,
Ye citizens of heav'n, O sweetly raise,
An endless Alleluia."

The words are repeated over and over—"An endless,

endless Alleluia." To an imaginative and romantic mind the old air would roll back the centuries to magnolia-bordered walks by cloistered walls—to vesper bells and a nuns' processional. But the loungers in the park are not imaginative, romantic natures. Idle workingmen on strike have neither the spirit nor the culture to indulge in such mental luxuries. The dreadful present is all-absorbing. And yet the music seems to soothe their tired, discontented souls—

This is sweet rest for weary ones brought back,
This is glad food and drink that ne'er shall lack,
An endless Alleluia."

One of the men turned on his face and smothered an exclamation. His companions, half asleep on the benches and grass, are too weary with life to be cynical. They are older men than he.

An open carriage rolls into the east entrance of the park from the boulevard. The face of the occupant is concealed by a white lace parasol. The coachman draws rein in the shade of one of the horse-chestnut trees that border the driveway. The woman closes her parasol and leans back against the cushions.

"Ye who have gained at length your palms in bliss,
Victorious one, your chant shall still be this,
An endless Alleluia."

She arranges a bracelet on her fat wrist and wipes the perspiration from her moist neck, carefully powdering her chin with a puff she conceals in her belt.

"While Thee, by whom were all things made, we praise
Forever, and tell forth in sweetest lays
An endless Alleluia.
Almighty Christ, to Thee our voices sing
Glory forevermore, to Thee we bring
An endless Alleluia. Amen."

There is a stir and the big front door of the school swings back and the girls swarm out into the sunlight like bees from a hive. They separate in pairs and in

338

88022202

The Emma Goldman Papers

Brief News and Comment / Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Hypolyte Havel.— p. 6 ; 28 cm. *In* The Demonstrator [Home, Wa.]. —Vol. 5, no. 4 (Aug. 21, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

BRIEF NEWS AND COMMENT.

Comrade Emma Goldman has gone to the International Anarchist convention to be held in Amsterdam commencing August 25. Good wishes to our gallant comrade.

One of our most active comrades has been expelled from the Socialist party in Trenton, N. J. He was asked by the committee of investigation to explain why he, being an Anarchist, had joined the Socialist party? To explain his action our comrade has written an interesting article which we will publish, beginning in next issue.

As soon as they learned of the result of the Haywood trial our comrades of Mother Earth sent the following telegram:

President Roosevelt, Oyster Bay, N. Y.: Undesirable citizens victorious. Rejoice.
EMMA GOLDMAN,
ALEXANDER BERKMAN,
HYPOLYTE HAVEL.

The comrades of Liberty Group of San Francisco have sent THE DEMONSTRATOR $5 to help it along. The new policy of the paper pleases them, and they have decided to help support it hereafter. If the various groups thruout the United States would do the same we would very soon be able to enlarge the paper and publish it weekly. We do not want to appear in the role of a beggar, but we wish to inform the comrades and friends that they could aid the growth and circulation of the paper by ordering a number of copies and distribute them in their neighborhood. The price we leave to you—pay just what you wish or can pay. You will also oblige us by sending the addresses of persons you believe would be interested in reading THE DEMONSTRATOR.

Our friends in France and Spain have started a campaign of agitation against the Cesar of Mexico. Louis Bonafous, one of the best of Spanish writers, with his sincere and energetic pen, has denounced the Mexican dictator, Portirio Diaz, in the largest paper of Spain—El Heraldo de Madrid. The bandits of the government of the dictator are alarmed, and are trying, with the aid of their hired press, to refute the charges of our European friends. But all the hireling journalists of the world will not be able to prevent light being shed on the political and economic situation of Mexico, and we hope that very soon all the honest and sincere people of the world will join us in our campaign against peonage—Mexican slavery—and highwaymen—the plutocrats of Mexico.

A correspondent in San Francisco informs us that the street-car strike in that city is still on without any sign of it going to end in favor of the strikers. Patrick Calhoun, the president of the United Street Railroad Company, with his gang of Bowery ruffians, better known under the name of Farleyites, is mighty and will do most anything to accomplish his end. When San Francisco was invaded by the army of strikebreakers and pocket and throatcutters all the honest inhabitants of the metropolis of the Pacific were prepared to make a general cleaning out of those "desirable citizens", but the strikers were there to see that no offense was committed against law and order, and some of them went so far as to say that the Farleyites were right in acting as strikebreakers, for they were not union men. The leaders of the strike publicly declared that they were willing to help the police to protect the strikebreakers. We were a witness to the following: A car was abandoned by the Farleyites in the middle of the block. The strikers took it in charge, and, with all the abasement of a valet, they ran the car to the barn. With such workers we have very little sympathy. The strike will be ended when Calhoun, in his proudness, which is justified by the cowardice of the workers, wills it should end.

* * *

IS ORGANIZED TYANNY.

Roll it about into every little corner of your brain: grip it into every fiber of your body; keep it close to your pillow when the stars shine above, and when the vibrations of the universe have rocked you into sound slumber, ever remember that organized government is organized tyranny.

J. STERN.

* * *

IN NEED OF AID.

Elmina Drake Slenker, better known, perhaps, as "Aunt Elmina", a worthy woman who has devoted most of her life to the cause of freedom and will continue to do so, and who is now past eighty years of age, is in need of aid to get her the necessaries of life. If you are not able to send her any money, send her some reading matter or write her a cheerful letter. Address her at Snowville, Va.

BERTHA STOCKER.

* * *

LIFE.

Life is a mystery. As we sow we reap;
And as we're born we sow.
From whence we came or whither we shall drift,
We do not know.

This we may know, if anything is known,
That we exist;
That he who tries not, often wins the prize.
That he who tried, has missed.

But what we are, or why we are at all,
We can but guess.
And no one knows if we shall yet be more,
Or yet be less.

J. N. BOULT.

* * *

If there is a supreme being, or almighty god, who rules the universe, the sphere as well as the actions of puny men, then why do those who profess allegiance to him cast aside and violate his laws and impeach his integrity and insult his beneficency by erecting man-made governments and enacting man-made laws, and use the bloody weapons of war to prop up and maintain these man-made laws and governments?—A. R. Parsons.

339

840514014

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].— pp. 273-274 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 2, no. 7 (Sept. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF
EUGENICS

The only publication in the English language devoted to the important subject of race culture. It urges the importance of better quality rather than greater number of children. It demands the right of woman to control her own person. You must be interested in it if you are interested in the welfare of the human race.

Among the contributors are THEODORE SCHROEDER, attorney for the Free Speech League and associate editor of the *Arena;* EDGAR L. LARKIN, director Lowe Observatory; DR. E. B. FOOTE, JR., MARGARET GRANT, author of "Child of Love"; HULDA L. POTTER-LOOMIS, REV. SIDNEY HOLMES, E. C. WALKER, GEORGE BEDBOROUGH, of London; PAUL ROAIN, editor *Regeneration*, Paris.

M. FLORENCE JOHNSON conducts a department devoted to Culture, physical and mental; there is a Young People's Department, edited by a school girl, the editor's granddaughter. There are poems, stories, reviews, comments on current events, etc.

Standard magazine size; 64 pages and cover. Issued monthly; $1.00 a year; 10c. a copy. Order of your newsdealer or of the editor and publisher, **M. HARMAN**
500 Fulton Street, CHICAGO, ILL.

Voice of Labor

FRIENDS AND SYMPATHIZERS of labor, who wish a clear, intelligent and well written account of the radical labor movement in the British Isles should read the VOICE OF LABOR. Free from dent and serving no political party, it is doing splendid work in pointing out the futility of political methods and the advantages of direct action.

Published weekly at 127 Osculston Street, London N. W., England, at one dollar a year. Subscribe and learn how the Socialists, Labor men and Cabinet Minister John Burns are (not) bringing about the millennium.

"Common Sense"

The great Socialist Weekly of the South West.

One year . . . . . 50 cents
Six months . . . . . 25 cents

COMMON SENSE PUB. CO.
Send for Sample. Los Angeles, Cal.

SPECIAL PRICES on keys in large quantities, for clubs, etc. If you want to supply the members of your club with keys, send me sample. If you have none I'll supply suitable Yale key and as many duplicates as you wish. Key checks stamped for 15 cents.

A. I. TASK, Locksmith, 51 Ward St., Brockton, Mass.

JOSEPH ROSENBERG

...Custom Tailor...

310 East 89th Street

1st & 2d Aves., N. Y.

10c. A COPY $1 A YEAR

MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature

Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Proprietor, 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. II SEPTEMBER, 1907 No. 7

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

Samuel Gompers, writing in the *American Federationist,* regrets the growing custom among workingmen of spending Labor Day at picnics and in general jollification. He calls upon the unions to devote the day to demonstrations, reminding them of the "serious meaning of the holiday." Gompers should know, however, that Labor Day lost its serious meaning when it became legalized. The day chosen by workingmen to express their hopes and aspirations was emasculated by receiving plutocratic sanction. And it is Gompers and consorts, preaching the lie of "identical interests of employer and employee," that are responsible for this.

Workingmen of revolutionary spirit know that the first of May—not the capitalistically legalized holiday—is the true Labor Day. They know that labor demonstrations can have but one rational object: to unify labor and to remind the exploiters of the power of labor. But when the spirit of solidarity and co-operation and, above all, of conscious class interests is lacking, such demonstrations are a hollow mockery.

* * *

The mollycoddle attitude of Gompers's organization, the Central Federated Union, in regard to the recent ukase of Commissioner Bingham, is disgraceful and disgusting. "Red flags prohibited," read the police order. Upon inquiry from the C. F. U., the Commissioner kindly explained that the new order was due to the dis-

840514014
The Emma Goldman Papers
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].— pp. 273-274 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 7 (Sept. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

all professions and trades, even supplanting him entirely in some of them. The direct result is the lowering of the economic standard and the increase in the number of the unemployed. Considerations of national well-being do not trouble the beast of capitalism: the health of our future mothers is a matter of no consequence in the eternal dance around the golden calf. And it goes without saying that our legislatures and Congress are in perfect accord with the plutocracy, even to the extent of declaring unconstitutional the law against women working overtime. Naturally, the "liberty" of the exploiter to convert women's blood and bodies into profits must not be interfered with.

The crowning shame of the typically American brand of civilization is the employment of children of tender age in mines, factories and sweatshops. Recent investigations have disclosed a terrible condition: children of the age of five and six years are regularly employed in workshops, toiling long hours under the most unsanitary and vile surroundings, their wages being merely nominal. These terrible conditions have at last aroused public sentiment, resulting in a great anti-child-labor movement which could probably accomplish some effective reform, but for the deplorable near-sighted policy which has selected the crooked path of politics for its activities.

(To be continued.)

* * *

OUR AMSTERDAM LETTER

Comrades:—I am writing in great haste, in order that my letter may reach *Mother Earth* before the September issue goes to press.

The International Anarchist Congress—the first ever held without molestation from the authorities—opened with a large meeting Sunday afternoon, August 25th. The gathering was addressed by the following speakers: Dr. Friedeberg, in German; Enrico Malatesta, in Italian; R. de Marmande, in French; P. Ramus, in German; Rogdaeff, in Russian; Christian Cornelissen, in Dutch; and myself, in English.

To-day, August 26th, after wasting considerable time in unnecessary preliminaries, began the reading of the various reports on the present condition of the Anarchist movement in Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Bohemia, Switzerland, Italy, Servia, Russia and the United States. As all the reports will no doubt be published, I shall merely say for the present that we have learned many interesting features of our movement, which I will discuss in the next issue of *Mother Earth*.

There are in all ninety delegates, representing Germany, France, Belgium, Bohemia, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Servia, Russia, England and the United States.

It is very significant that an Anarchist Congress can take place without governmental interference—in fact, without a single policeman at the hall entrance—in a monarchical country. Such a thing were impossible in "free" America. European delegates would find the gates of Columbia closed to them. O for the glory of our free country!

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Amsterdam, Aug. 26, 1907.

* * *

THE McKINLEY MONUMENT

BUFFALO now has a McKinley statue. The unveiling has been characterized as a "national event," participated in by "the whole Nation," which has not yet recovered from the alleged great loss it had sustained through the shot of Czolgosz.

Our Republic has grown very unrepublican. The country our forefathers had in mind was to be the land of a free people, enjoying equality. To-day we are ruled by Cæsars and Crœsuses who have long since abolished the simple republican virtues. Of the old Republic nothing remains but the name; its essence is a plutocracy.

And the people? They are exploited and oppressed—in the name of the people. Their bondage is skilfully veiled by an appearance of independence and liberty. Modern governmental policy consists in hypnotizing the enslaved masses into the belief that they are sovereigns.

341

840514015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Our Amsterdam Letter / Emma Goldman.– pp. 274-275 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 7 (Sept. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

all professions and trades, even supplanting him entirely in some of them. The direct result is the lowering of the economic standard and the increase in the number of the unemployed. Considerations of national well-being do not trouble the beast of capitalism: the health of our future mothers is a matter of no consequence in the eternal dance around the golden calf. And it goes without saying that our legislatures and Congress are in perfect accord with the plutocracy, even to the extent of declaring unconstitutional the law against women working overtime. Naturally, the "liberty" of the exploiter to convert women's blood and bodies into profits must not be interfered with.

The crowning shame of the typically American brand of civilization is the employment of children of tender age in mines, factories and sweatshops. Recent investigations have disclosed a terrible condition: children of the age of five and six years are regularly employed in workshops, toiling long hours under the most unsanitary and vile surroundings, their wages being merely nominal. These terrible conditions have at last aroused public sentiment, resulting in a great anti-child-labor movement which could probably accomplish some effective reform, but for the deplorable near-sighted policy which has selected the crooked path of politics for its activities.

(To be continued.)

* * *

OUR AMSTERDAM LETTER

Comrades:—I am writing in great haste, in order that my letter may reach *Mother Earth* before the September issue goes to press.

The International Anarchist Congress—the first ever held without molestation from the authorities—opened with a large meeting Sunday afternoon, August 25th. The gathering was addressed by the following speakers: Dr. Friedeberg, in German; Enrico Malatesta, in Italian; R. de Marmande, in French; P. Ramus, in German; Rogdaeff, in Russian; Christian Cornelissen, in Dutch; and myself, in English.

To-day, August 26th, after wasting considerable time in unnecessary preliminaries, began the reading of the various reports on the present condition of the Anarchist movement in Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Bohemia, Switzerland, Italy, Servia, Russia and the United States. As all the reports will no doubt be published, I shall merely say for the present that we have learned many interesting features of our movement, which I will discuss in the next issue of *Mother Earth*.

There are in all ninety delegates, representing Germany, France, Belgium, Bohemia, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Servia, Russia, England and the United States.

It is very significant that an Anarchist Congress can take place without governmental interference—in fact, without a single policeman at the hall entrance—in a monarchical country. Such a thing were impossible in "free" America. European delegates would find the gates of Columbia closed to them. O for the glory of our free country!

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Amsterdam, Aug. 26, 1907.

* * *

THE McKINLEY MONUMENT

BUFFALO now has a McKinley statue. The unveiling has been characterized as a "national event," participated in by "the whole Nation," which has not yet recovered from the alleged great loss it had sustained through the shot of Czolgosz.

Our Republic has grown very unrepublican. The country our forefathers had in mind was to be the land of a free people, enjoying equality. To-day we are ruled by Cæsars and Crœsuses who have long since abolished the simple republican virtues. Of the old Republic nothing remains but the name; its essence is a plutocracy.

And the people? They are exploited and oppressed—in the name of the people. Their bondage is skilfully veiled by an appearance of independence and liberty. Modern governmental policy consists in hypnotizing the enslaved masses into the belief that they are sovereigns.

342

840514016
The Emma Goldman Papers
To Our Comrades / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – pp. 292-293 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 7 (Sept. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

TO OUR COMRADES

Friends:—We are living at a time of great social unrest. The simple democracy of former days has been changed by capitalism into a despotic imperialism. The people feel their bondage growing daily more unendurable, but fail as yet to understand the cause or the cure.

Social quacks and professional politicians are busy exploiting popular dissatisfaction for their personal aggrandizement; they seek to pacify the people by palliatives, in order to continue safely riding on their backs.

Dissatisfaction with existing conditions is finding its strongest expression among the working class. The man of toil begins to understand that there is no hope for a radical change under the capitalist régime. He is gradually realizing that the methods heretofore employed by labor are ineffectual and not designed to improve his economic position. He is embittered by the regularity of his defeats. He is fast losing confidence in his so-called leaders, in whom he is beginning to see the friends of labor's enemies.

Comrades! Let us not fail to properly appreciate this crucial period in the history of American labor, and let us prove our appreciation *actively*. We have an all-important work before us. It is for us, as Anarchists, to point out to the workingman the real cause of his dissatisfaction, misery and oppression; to impress upon him the inefficiency of trades unionism, pure and simple; to convince him of the dangerous uselessness of parliamentary methods. We must discover to him his natural weapons and the powerful means at hand to make himself free; we must point out to him the methods so successfully being used by his European brothers: the revolutionary tactics whose final destiny it is to free labor from all exploitation and oppression, and usher in a free society; the modern, efficient weapons of direct action and general strike.

The best medium for introducing these battle methods to the workingman is a weekly revolutionary paper. Our magazine, *Mother Earth*, is doing excellent work. But it is a monthly, and, as such, it must deal with the various manifestations of our social life; it cannot devote itself exclusively to one particular phase. The projected weekly, however, is to deal entirely with labor, its battles, hopes and aspirations.

To *Mother Earth*, whose work is theoretical, literary and educational, must be added a practical weekly, a fighting champion of revolutionary labor.

We must carry our ideas to the men that toil.

Therefore we appeal to you, comrades. If you have the cause of Anarchism seriously at heart; if you want the workingmen to learn our ideas; if you realize how all-important is the propaganda of direct action and the general strike, then come to our aid by financing the project of a weekly revolutionary paper.

Comrades! It is for you to decide whether we, as Anarchists, should take our stand in the midst of throbbing life or remain on the philosophic by-ways.

Alexander Berkman.
Harry Kelly.
Voltairine de Cleyre.
Emma Goldman.
Hippolyte Havel.
George Bauer.

P. S.—The comrades are urgently requested to act without delay. For obvious reasons it were desirable to begin the publication of the weekly paper on the 11th of November. All communications and contributions for this purpose should be addressed to Alexander Berkman, Box 47, Station D, New York.

* * *

NOTE

We take great pleasure in informing our readers that with the next issue MOTHER EARTH will again appear in 64 pages.

343

890227000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[An appeal. In German] Ein Appell / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – p. 6 ; 38 cm. *In* Freiheit [New York]. –(Sept. 14, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

(Eingesandt.)

Ein Appell.

An die Genossen.

Freunde!

Wir sind die Zeugen einer gewaltigen Gährung im ganzen Lande. Die Umwandlung der Republik in eine Plutokratie, wie sie die Welt bis jetzt nie gesehen, erregt alle Schichten der Bevölkerung. Das Volk sieht und fühlt, dass es von Tag zu Tag immer mehr versklavt wird, kennt aber weder die wahren Ursachen dieser Sklaverei, noch die Mittel zur Aufhebung derselben.

Politische Quacksalber aller Schattirungen trachten, das Volk durch Palliativmittelchen zu beschwichtigen, um ihr Schmarotzerdasein im Solde des Kapitals weiter fristen zu können.

Der Geist der Unzufriedenheit mit den bestehenden Verhältnissen tritt am schärfsten in den Reihen des arbeitenden Volkes hervor. Der Arbeiter fängt an zu begreifen, dass alle seine Bestrebungen, in der heutigen kapitalistischen Gesellschaftsordnung ein menschenwürdiges Dasein sich zu verschaffen, vergeblich sind. Er kommt auch zu der Erkenntniss, dass seine bisherige Kampfesweise nicht nur irreführend, sondern auch ziel- und zwecklos war. Die ergebnisslosen Kämpfe erbittern ihn und die Rebellion gegen das mit den Kapitalisten fraternisirende Führerthum ist im steten Wachsen begriffen.

Wie die bürgerlichen Politiker die Unzufriedenheit des Volkes durch Scheinreformen einzudämmen und für ihre selbstsüchtigen Zwecke auszubeuten versuchen, so treten die parlamentarischen Scheinsozialisten an den Arbeiter heran und suchen ihn für ihre Stimmkastenpolitik zu gewinnen. Sie wollen das Proletariat vom Regen unter die Traufe bringen. An Stelle der ziellosen pure and simple Politik der gewerkschaftlichen Führer soll der weit ziellosere Kompf am Stimmkasten treten.

In dieser Zeit ausserordentlicher Erregung haben wir Anarchisten eine grosse Aufgabe zu erfüllen. Es gilt, dem arbeitenden Volke die Ursachen seiner Versklavung klarzulegen, ihm das Ideal einer freien Gesellschaft fassbar zu machen und ihm die revolutionären Mittel und Wege zu seiner Befreiung vom Joche des Kapitalismus an die Hand zu geben. Der amerikanische Proletarier muss mit der direkten Kampfesweise, wie sie seitens der fortgeschrittenen Arbeiterschaft Europa's bereits geführt wird, bekannt gemacht werden.

Um diese Aufgabe erfüllen zu können, haben wir in erster Linie ein englisches revolutionäres Wochenblatt nöthig. Unsere englische Monatsschrift „Mother Earth" erfüllt ihre Aufgabe zwar in vorzüglicher Weise; aber eine Monatsschrift muss sich mit allen Phasen des sozialen Lebens befassen und kann sich deshalb nicht einer speziellen Aufgabe widmen. Anders ein Wochenblatt, das sich ausschliesslich mit den Kämpfen, Idealen und Hoffnungen der Arbeiter beschäftigen würde. Der literarisch und theoretisch aufklärend wirkenden Monatsschrift muss ein wöchentliches Kampfblatt vorangehen, in dem die Taktik der direkten Aktion und des Generalstreiks propagirt und alle Phasen des gewerkschaftlichen Kampfes voll und ganz gewürdigt werden. Unsere Ideen müssen in die Reihen der Arbeiter eindringen.

Genossen! Dessentwegen ist dieser Appell an Euch gerichtet. Seid Ihr damit einverstanden, dass der anarchistischen Bewegung ein englisches wöchentliches Kampforgan ersteht, dann leistet uns finanzielle Beihilfe zur Herausgabe dieses Blattes. Es gilt zu entscheiden, ob wir in der Mitte des pulsirenden Lebens oder abseits, gleichsam auf dem philosophischen Seitenwege, stehen sollen.

Mit solidarischem Grussel

Alexander Berkman.
Harry Kelly.
Voltairine de Cleyre.
Emma Goldman.
Hippolyte Havel.
George Bauer.

P. S. — Aus begreiflichen Gründen wäre es angebracht, mit der Herausgabe des Blattes am 11. November zu beginnen. Die Genossen sind ersucht, so bald wie möglich in Aktion zu treten. Alle Beiträge und Zuschriften bitte an Alexander Berkman, Box 47, Station D, New York City, zu richten.

Die deutschen Sozialdemokraten und der internationale Krieg.

Von Robert Michels.

Die sozialdemokratischen Führer und Deputirten August Bebel und Gustav Noske haben kürzlich wieder einmal im Reichstag die öffentliche Erklarung abgegeben, ihre Partei würde in jedem Angriffskrieg das Vaterland mit Einsetzung aller Kräfte vertheidigen. Auch in der sozialdemokratischen Presse, auf sozialdemokratischen Kongressen spukt die dieser Erklärung zu Grunde liegende formalistische Unterscheidung von Angriffs- und Vertheidigungskrieg herum.

Die deutschen Sozialdemokraten glauben also, entscheiden zu können, in welche Kategorie im einzelnen Falle ein ausbrechender Krieg hineingehört. Je nachdem dann ihre Stellungnahme. Entweder freudiges Einsetzen aller Muskeln für das „Vaterland", oder . . . .

Nur schade, dass ein Haken in dieser bequemen Fassung des Problems ist und dass dieser Haken in der Logik der Thatsachen liegt.

Es ist in der That ein Unding, im Moment der Gefahr und der hochgespannten Erregung erkennen zu wollen, wen von den beiden kontrahirenden Staaten die „Schuld" trifft, ja, selbst entscheiden zu wollen, in welchem von den beiden der wirkliche „Angreifer" zu erblicken ist.

Zunächst: wer entscheidet daruber, wer im gegebenen Falle — sagen wir in einem zwischen Deutschland und England oder Frankreich ausbrechenden Kriege — der schuldige Theil ist? Die Reichsabgeordneten Bebel und Noske? Oder die opportunistische Redaktion des von den Radikalen eroberten Vorwärts? Oder etwa eine — natürlich geheim zu haltende — Zusammenkunft von Parteivorstand und Generalkommission? Oder beruft man — telegraphisch —, etwa am dritten Mobilmachungstag? — einen ausserordentlichen Parteitag ein, dessen Majoritätsbeschluss bindende Kraft besässe? Und weiter: Würde er in Landwehruniform tagen? Und von den parteipolitisch organisirten Reservisten aller Gaue Deutschland's beschickt werden? Und welche geheimen Aktenstücke würde er in Händen haben, auf Grund derer er seinen Entscheid fällen könnte? Und endlich und nicht zum letzten: über welche Exekutivgewalt würde er verfügen, gesetzt den Fall, dass die Organe des Staates diesen tragikomischen Kongress überhaupt gewähren lassen würden? Unterdessen ständen dann die drei Millionen sozialdemokratischer Soldaten und Unteroffiziere natürlich schon längst vor Paris und würden kaum Lust dazu verspüren, sich um ein etwaiges Urtheil, dass die deutsche Regierung Frankreich gegenüber im Unrecht wäre, auch nur im geringsten zu kümmern. Jede derartige Entscheidung wäre also ein Schlag in's Wasser!

Aber noch wichtiger als die Frage nach der Ausführbarkeit eines sozialdemokratischen Entscheides in der Kriegsfrage ist die nach seinem Zustandekommen. Daran, die Fürsten und Diplomaten der interessirten Staaten vor ein sozialdemokratisches Tribunal zu berufen und sie einem hochnothpeinlichen Kreuzverhör zu unterwerfen, wird doch wohl Niemand von den Angriffs- und Vertheidigungs-Theoretikern im Ernste denken. Wie liegen überhaupt die Dinge im Kriegsfall?

Jede Regierung besitzt alle Machtmittel, deren sie bedarf, um den wahren Sachverhalt der Auseinandersetzungen zwischen zwei Diplomaten, die zum Kriege führten, den Augen der Kontrolle zu entziehen, zur ausschliesslichen Verfügung. Jede Regierung wird in letzter Stunde, wenn sie den Telegraph allein in der Hand hat und keinerlei Widerlegung von irgend einer Seite her mehr zu befürchten braucht, den Zwischenfällen diejenigen Versionen geben, die ihr am tauglichsten scheinen, um in den Augen ihrer Unterthanen als gerecht, als frivol in den Krieg hineingedrängt dazustehen. Vor und bei dem Ausbruch jedes Krieges ist die ganze bürgerliche Presse beider interessirten Länder eifrig bemüht, den Gegner als den alleinigen Störenfried, den leidigen Krakehlsucher, den heimtückischen Einbrecher darzustellen, den es gilt, mit der Hilfe Aller von Haus und Hof fernzuhalten. Die Völker sind jener Presse auf Gnade und Ungnade ergeben, einschliesslich der der gewohnten Pressfreiheit ganz oder zum grösseren Theil beraubten Sozialisten, auch wenn sie anmasslich genug sind, das wissen zu wollen, was in fast allen Fällen historisches Geheimniss bleibt, nämlich wer „Unrecht" hat.

Der Krieg von 1870—71 zeigt uns klar, wie die Mittagssonne, wie innerlich unmöglich jedes moralische Richteramt über die Schuld der Völker und Regierungen ist. Noch heute, fast vierzig Jahre nach dem Kriegsausbruch, ist die Schuldfrage des deutsch-französischen Krieges eine der kompliziertesten, ja verworrensten Probleme unserer neueren Geschichtsforschung. Noch heute sind in Deutschland nicht nur der gebildete und der ungebildete Plebs, sondern mit einer in der deutschen Wissenschaft sonst seltenen Einmuthigkeit selbst die Fachkreise darüber einig, dass dieser Krieg fast ausschliesslich ein Werk der Provokation Frankreich's war, während umgekehrt in Frankreich alle Welt, vom Krämer bis zum Hochschulprofessor, ebenso einig in der Annahme ist, dass der Krieg einzig auf das Konto der Anmassung Preussens zu setzen war: Hier die kränkende Anrempelung des greisen Heldenkönigs durch Benedetti in Ems, dort die kränkende Fälschung der Emser Depesche und die Bekanntgabe der Unredaktion durch Bismarck. Die Historiker der nicht direkt betheiligten Völker aber stehen theils auf deutscher, theils auf französischer Seite, je nachdem sie aus deutscher oder aus französischer Quelle schöpften, je nachdem ihre Sympathien mehr nach deutscher oder nach französischer Seite hinneigen.

Und die „historische Wahrheit?" wird man mich fragen. Die „historische Wahrheit" wird manchmal von den geschichtsbeflissenen Pfadfindern aufgefunden, wenn es den personis dramatis gefallen hat, nachdem sie die Augen geschlossen, ihre Memoiren veröffentlichen zu lassen, sowie wenn es den Regierungen einfällt, ihre Archive der staunenden Nachwelt zu öffnen. Später, später. Selbst die demokratische gallische Republik lässt sich nur in die bis zur französischen Revolution geschriebenen Staatspapiere hineingucken und verschliesst den Rest, wenigstens in sehr wichtigen Fällen, allen forschenden Augen. In der Mehrzahl der Fälle wird die „historische Wahrheit" nie gefunden.

(Fortsetzung folgt.)

344

88051044

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Anarchy. In Italian] Anarchia / Emma Goldman.– p. 276 ; 26 cm. *In* Il Pensiero [Rome]. –Vol. 5, no. 18 (Sept. 16, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archivio Famiglia Berneri, Pistoia, Italy.

ANARCHIA

(*A proposito del Congresso di Amsterdam*)

E' parola che torna ostica a molta gente la quale non sa comprenderla che come sinonimo di malvagità, di disordine e di caos, come non sa ritenere gli anarchici che quali malfattori facinorosi sempre in agguato per accoppare un ricco e ripartirsene le spoglie.

Pei suoi adepti ha ben diverso significato, essa è dottrina sociale che intende realizzare l'ordine nell'assenza di ogni governo, di ogni sfruttamento dell'uomo: non significa quindi che completa libertà individuale.

Le ragioni per cui alla parola *anarchia* si è dato fin qui significato di illimitato disordine sono ovvie, essendosi fin qui inculcato agli uomini che essi devono essere governati, che sono governati saggiamente, che il governo è una necessità di cui non si può assolutamente far a meno.

Nei secoli scorsi ogni temerario che osasse affermare poter l'umanità proseguire, senza la protezione d'un autorità terrena e spirituale, il suo cammino, era considerato come un pazzo e la sua temeraria pazzia scontava al manicomio o sul rogo: oggi si contano a milioni gli empii, uomini e donne, che all'idea di un ente soprannaturale sorridono increduli.

Con tutto questo i liberi pensatori di oggi continuano nella loro maggior parte a credere nella necessità di uno Stato che protegga i cittadini, senza ricordare, senza riflettere che il governo non è esistito, non esisterà mai che coll'oppressione e per l'oppressione; che all'autorità si debbono imputare i più scellerati delitti che abbiano mai funestato la società umana; che se l'autorità evolvendosi progressivamente fu dispotismo, oligarchia, democrazia, non cessò però mai d'essere coercizione ed oppressione.

La falange dei buoni che riconoscono il malessere presente e vogliono rimediarvi ed all'uopo questo proposito votano intelligenza e volontà, s'è di molto accresciuta, ma essa non sa ancora emanciparsi dai pregiudizii, dalle superstizioni di che l'inquinarono secoli e secoli di barbarie, non sa ancora vedere con chiarezza che cosa realmente si nasconda sotto l'istituzione che essa chiama governo.

— Come potremo vivere senza governo? si chiedono gli uni; se il nostro governo non è buono cerchiamo di

880511044

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Anarchy. In Italian] Anarchia / Emma Goldman.– p. 276 ; 26 cm. *In* Il Pensiero [Rome]. –Vol. 5, no. 18 (Sept. 16, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archivio Famiglia Berneri, Pistoia, Italy.

IL PENSIERO, RIVISTA QUINDICINALE DI SOCIOLOGIA, ANNO V, 16 SETTEMBRE 1907, N° 18°.

cambiarlo, di sostituirglieue uno migliore, ma prescindere da esso, pretendero farne a mono ci pare assurdo.

Il male è questo: che un huon governo è un'illusione; la sua esistenza è fondata sulla tirannia di una classe sopra l'altra.

— Ma gli nomini debbono essere pur governati! si osserva, essi vogliono esser guidati dalle leggi! — Può anche essere: ma ammesso pure cho gli uomini sieno bambini i qnali debbano essere ad ogni modo guidati, chi sarà sufficientemente perfetto, sufficientemente savio, sufficientemonte puro da governare e guidare i suoi compagni?

Noi sosteniamo che gli uomiui debbono governarsi individualmonte da sè e se per questo essi non sono maturi, ancor meno maturi lo sono por governare gli altri. E' dnnque possibile che un solo nomo, che pochi uomini possano guidare i milioni di ciechi di cui si costituisce una nazione?

— Nou possiamo tuttavia far a meno di qualcho autorità, osserva qualche ostinato e con ragione. Ma noi questa autorità l'abbiamo pure; l'abbiamo nel potere irresistibile delle leggi naturali, che si manifesta nel mondo sociale come nel mondo fisico.

Che noi comprendiamo o meno queste leggi, noi dobbiamo subirle perchè in esse si integra la nostra esistenza, ne siamo gli schiavi assoluti senza che tnttavia la schiavitù sia nmiliante nè consacrata dai codici.

La schiavitù invece così come oggi esiste tollera nn padrone estorno, nn legislatore, straniero a coloro che gli obbediscono, mentre le leggi naturali non sonn fnori di noi, sono in noi stessi e soltanto in confermità di queste leggi viviamo, respiriamo, ci muoviamo; non sono nemiche nostre, sone nostre benefattrici.

Le leggi stabilite dall'uomo e raccolte nei codici sono in conformità ed in corrispondenza colle leggi naturali? Nessnno oserebbe affermarlo. Ed è appunto perchè le leggi umane non sone confermi alle leggi naturali che l'umanità geme piagata da tutti i delori. E' assurdo parlare di benessere umano finchè non avremo realizzata la libertà.

Non meravigliamoci dunque che l'anarchia ed i suoi apostoli raccolgauo tanta messe di maledizioni e di persecnzioni feroci: essa è dottrina che urta troppo violentemente le regole generalmente convenute: l'attiva, ardente energia dei suoi propagandisti deve necessariamente ferire un soverchio numero di coscienze.

***

Al povero si predicano la rassegnazione e la pazienza a riscatto di gioie ultra terrene: ma che cosa devo importare al povero, al paria miserabile, nudo, mendicante per tntta la vita un boccon di pane, se le porte del paradiso si spalancheranno più largamente... dopo morte, meglio a lui che non al ricco?

Sono promesse che in cospetto dell'ineffabile miseria della moltitndine hanno carattere di amare, atroci ironie.

Ho trovato pochi nomini, pochissime donne, intelligenti, che osino difendere l'onore e la coscienza dei governi esistenti: tutti crano con me, ed in più d'nn pnnto, d'accordo; ma nel momento decisivo dell'azione mancava loro il coraggio morale di affermare francamente, apertamente, la loro simpatia, la loro solidarietà coi rivoluzionari dell'anarchismo.

Noi che abbiamo scelto la nostra via, la via segnataci dalle nostre convinzioni in nome dei principii della scienza e delle leggi naturali, combattiamo con ogni forza nostra l'organizzazione che si chiama Stato, proclamando per tutti nn egual diritto alla produzione ed alle gioie della vita.

Rotti i vincoli d'un'antorità straniera, nelle libere associazioni sorte spontanee a consacrare l'indipendenza e l'autonomia dell'individuo, ognuno recherà al benessere comune ed al proprio il suo contributo, lavorando secondo le sue forze, consumando a seconda dei snoi bisogni. Le scoperte della scienza, le applicazioni sempre crescenti sempre più umane, delle invenzioni tecniche all'industria renderanno il lavoro facile e gradito: la scienza, l'istruzione, l'arte, accessibili ad ogni mente, perfezioneranno, nobiliteranno la razza e la donna sarà, allora, l'nguale dell'uomo.

Bel sogno! bel sogno certo, se gli uomini fossero angeli e non egoisti: replica un ultimo contradditore.

Angioli? ma l'egoismo non è un delitto nè nu ostacolo; lo è soltanto, per meglio dire, laddove le condizioni d'ambionto permettono ad un individno di soddisfare al proprio egoismo a detrimento di quello dei suoi simili

In una società anarchica ciascnno cercherà naturalmente di soddisfare alle esigenze del proprio *io*, ma come nella natnra sopravvivono soltanto le specie, i cni individui facciano del mutno appoggio la base del loro sviluppo, così nella società l'uomo per assicnrare al proprin *io* le soddisfazioni agognate stenderà amica la mano a tutti coloro che solidali gli stenderanno fraternamento la propria, e germoglierà dall'egoismo invitta, invincibile la fratellanza.

Questo il nostro ideale.

***

Un pugnale nella destra, una fiaccola nella sinistra, tra il fumo e le schiante delle esplosioni dinamitarde dipingono i nemici del nostro ideale l'anarchico, l'anarchico pazzoide e delinquente, fanatico del cataclisma universale, pronto a raggiungerlo assassinando il primo che passa. Ma è qnesta nna sconcia caricatnra convenzionale, agitata ostinatamente dinnanzi ad un pubblico sempre disposto ad accettare, per poltroneria intellettuale e morale, anche le scempiaggini più fantastiche.

Noi, anarchici, pensiamo che l'anarchìa cioè la libertà individuale non si conquisterà senza vinlenza, come senza violenza non avrebbe potnto la libertà greca difendersi alle Termopili ed a Maratona.

Le plebi reclamano sempre più energicamente, sempre più apertamente la libertà e le condizioni ad attingerla si fanno giorno per giorno più favoreveli.

E' evidente che attraverso la storia nn'evoluzione si elabora, a cui schiavitù e violenza di ogni forma dovranno cedere il passo, e da qnella rivoluzione zampillerà piena, intera, insommergibile la libertà, la libertà per tutti, la libertà per ciascuno.

L'anarchismo non è dnnquo, come insinuano i microcefali dell'ordine costitnito e... di quello costitnendo, nn movimento retrogrado, ma movimento rivoluzionario-fecondo d'avanguardia. Gli anarchici ricordano alle masse lavoratrici una imperiosa necessità che esse non debbono dimenticare mai: la lotta gigantesca da cui devo essere fatalmente preceduta la realizzazione delle nostre idee; mentre d'altro canto la soluzione rivoluzionaria affrettano con tutti i mezzi che sono a loro disposizione: la parola, la stampa, l'azione.

Conchiudendo: il benessere dell'nmanità non è possibile senza communismo e senza anarchia, senza uguaglianza nei rapporti economici, senza libertà nel diritto. Il sistema comunista escludendo ogni rapporto da padrone a servo significa già in sè anarchismo: certo è che a raggiungere meta così alta la rivoluzione sociale è fatalità ineluttabile.

Quanto alla violenza che devrebbe secondo i benpensanti essere caratteristica dell'anarchismo noi non la ripudiamo, nou la ripudieremo mai: confessiamo soltanto che non arriviamo a comprendere come possa condannarsi in un individno e glorificarsi in nn popolo, quando entrambi vi fanno ricorso per conquistare o difendere la libertà.

Questo solo in conclusione è vero: che tutti gli oppressori hanno condannato sempre la ribellione degli oppressi; le colonie greche indocili provocano le ire della Persia, le forche caudine schiaffeggiano la maestà di Roma onnipotente, e Bunkershill è per l'Inghilterra vaticinio di sciagura.

Può l'anarchia realizzarsi senza ricorrere alla forza, che reggo e governa al mondo egni cosa?

EMMA GOLDMANN

QUESTO ARTICOLO FU RIPUBBLICATO DA LUIGI BERTONI SU "IL RISVEGLIO" (N. 561) DEL 2 APRILE 1921

840514017

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 295-302 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 8 (Oct. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ADVERTISEMENTS

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF

EUGENICS

The only publication in the English language devoted to the important subject of race culture. It urges the importance of better quality rather than greater number of children. It demands the right of woman to control her own person. You must be interested in it if you are interested in the welfare of the human race.

Among the contributors are THEODORE SCHROEDER, attorney for the Free Speech League and associate editor of the *Arena*; EDGAR L. LARKIN, director Lowe Observatory; DR. E. B. FOOTE, JR., MARGARET GRANT, author of "Child of Love"; HULDA L. POTTER-LOOMIS, REV. SIDNEY HOLMES, E. C. WALKER, GEORGE BEDBOROUGH, of London; PAUL ROSIN, editor *Regeneration*, Paris.

M. FLORENCE JOHNSON conducts a department devoted to Culture, physical and mental; there is a Young People's Department, edited by a school girl, the editor's granddaughter. There are poems, stories, reviews, comments on current events, etc.

Standard magazine size; 64 pages and cover. Issued monthly; $1.00 a year; 10c. a copy. Order of your newsdealer or of the editor and publisher, M. HARMAN

500 Fulton Street, CHICAGO, ILL.

CLARENCE S. DARROW

says things which are misunderstood, distorted and resented by the ignorant, and denied by the selfish and designing, but the men of brains and heart know that he speaks words of wisdom and of truth.

READ HIS BOOKS.

AN EYE FOR AN EYE.—A story of the crime of society against a criminal $1.50

RESIST NOT EVIL.—An arraignment of the doctrine of force and punishment .....75c.

A PERSIAN PEARL.—A volume of essays each one of which is a living, throbbing thing.....$1.50

FARMINGTON.—An idyl of boyhood seen through the eyes of a man; said to be Darrow's own life story.....$1.50

THE OPEN SHOP.—A thorough discussion and defense for the closed shop..10c. each, 85c. a doz.

CRIME AND CRIMINALS.—An address delivered to prisoners in the Chicago County Jail. 10c. each, 85c. a doz.

Any of the above sent postpaid on receipt of price.

Circulars of above and other books, for stamp.

SAMUEL A. BLOCH,

264 D. KINZIE STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

SPECIAL PRICES on keys in large quantities, for clubs, etc. If you want to supply the members of your club with keys, send me sample. If you have none I'll supply suitable Yale key and as many duplicates as you wish. Key checks stamped for 15 cents.

A. I. TASK, Locksmith, 51 Ward St., Brockton, Mass.

JOSEPH ROSENBERG

—Custom Tailor—

310 East 89th Street

1st & 2d Aves., N. Y.

10c. A COPY $1 A YEAR

MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature

Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Proprietor, 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. II OCTOBER, 1907 No. 8

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

A great many intelligent people—and some fools—are forever mouthing such empty platitudes as, "America is a free country," "Every man who is willing to work can find a job," and many other equally bright and original sayings.

These inanities are repeated so persistently, that occasionally—when we are suffering from an attack of biliousness or are sore at the world in general because some conductor has palmed off a lead nickel on us—we are almost inclined to believe them; always provided, of course, that our own stipend is reasonable and regular.

At this point it usually happens that some good, kind government official comes along and mercilessly robs us of an argument that has been a source of satisfaction and of a conscious feeling of superiority over our less fortunate fellow-men. The latest State Bureau of Labor report reads:

"Conditions of employment in the first six months of this year have not been so favorable as in the record year of 1906, but they surpassed those of 1905, which was the next best year. Returns to the State Bureau of Labor Statistics from associations of working people, with a membership of more than 93,000 wage earners in eighty-five different trades and occupations, show that the average monthly number of idle workmen was 147 per 1,000 in the first half of 1907, as compared with 151 in the corresponding period of 1905, 104 in 1906, and an average of 164 for the last five years. At the end of June the number idle was 7,809 (81 per 1,000), of whom 1,200 were not working on account of illness, accident or other disability, 700 on account of labor disputes, and the remaining 5,900 on account of lack of employment or other non-personal causes.

347

840514017

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].— pp. 295-302 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 8 (Oct. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

"Building operations, which were retarded by the severity of the winter, are now unusually active in all the large cities. In New York the number of buildings begun and the number completed in the second quarter of the present year exceeded the record of last year, and the estimated cost of projected buildings fell but little short of the 1906 record, the decline in the erection of houses in Manhattan and The Bronx having been almost counter-balanced by an increase in office buildings, etc. In both Rochester and Syracuse new records in the building department were attained, and in Buffalo there was a large increase over the average of recent years, althougb the total was somewhat below the figures for the corresponding months of last year.

"At the end of June conditions of employment in nearly all trades were much above the average. While there were, as a rule, more unemployed workers in the various industries than in the same month last year, there were fewer than in 1905, the next best year of the decade, in all but three of the groups in which all trades are classified. In New York City, in which reside two-thirds of the wage earners herein included, the conditions of employment at the end of June were more favorable than in any of the last five years, with the exception of 1906."

Stripped to the bone, the above figures mean that 164 out of every 1,000 workingmen have been idle during the last five years,—a period probably unprecedented for its prosperity in the last fifty years. We will be told, no doubt, that a certain number of lazy or rapacious workmen of the above total were out on strike. Putting aside the fact that the percentage of the striking workmen is very small, it is a certainty that if there were no labor unions "to cause" disputes, the men would be working twelve or fourteen hours instead of eight or ten, and the total number out of work would be larger for that very reason. The question naturally arises: If there are 16½ per cent. unemployed during such very prosperous times, what is the percentage in periods of depression?

Dreamers, like ourselves, might ask of what use is a social system which condemns one man out of every five—a very low average, taking prosperous and dull times—to idleness, prevents him from producing wealth, being happy and adding to the general well-being of the human family. The practical man answers: "This is a free country," "Every man who is willing to work can find a job," "We are a great people," etc.

Of course, we are—but what do you think of it?

* * *

Among the members of Roosevelt's official household is a descendant of a family of Corsican banditti, known in history as Buonaparte. The ambition of this "imperial" scion seems to be to surpass his master Teddy in brutality of expression. A year ago, for instance, he had the audacity to propose that Anarchists should be punished by flogging. Now he is winning unenviable distinction as the champion of the death penalty for all those who are unfortunate enough to fall thrice into the merciful hands of our Christian justice.

Brutality, arrogance and stupidity are the family virtues of the Buonapartes. The American descendant, though monarchically illegitimate, is no more humane than his European kin. Indeed, a worthy representative of our plutocracy!

But does Secretary Bonaparte take himself seriously? For, if his suggestions were to be carried out, and the *real* criminals executed, would not Bonaparte and his caste prove the first victims?

* * *

At the recent dedication of the McKinley monument at Canton, Ohio, the President again let loose a speech upon a long-suffering public.

Roosevelt's speeches strongly remind one of Teddy bears: they all look alike. Of course, the Strenuous One is always sure of an audience: man's love of the circus is proverbial. But not even Bonaparte could have invented a more inhumane punishment than the forced reading of the President's speeches.

* * *

Alice Roosevelt and her husband have recently been running wild in Arizona. Boarding a train, on the homestretch, the couple informed the sleeping-car agent that they wished to get a drawing-room. When the train pulled in, the agent interviewed the Pullman conductor. He had only one drawing-room in his cars, and that was occupied by two wealthy Russians. After a consultation the Russians were approached and were told that the daughter of the President was traveling and wished to have the drawing-room. They regretted, somewhat testily, that they could not oblige even so exalted a personage.

Arguments were used without avail and another consultation was held. The Russians were then informed

840514017

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 295-302 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 8 (Oct. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

that they must give way. They protested angrily and created an uproar in the cars, but finally they and their baggage were forcibly moved out to some unoccupied berths, and the Longworths were placed in possession of the drawing-room.

The trouble with "those ignorant foreigners" is that, coming from benighted Russia, they cannot "appreciate the spirit of our free institutions."

* * *

'Tis not so very long ago that radicals—yea, even some Anarchists—could be counted among the admirers of Yellow Hearst. "He means well," was the verdict of these naïve people. "Just read Brisbane's editorials," they argued. "Hearst is the right man!"

Suddenly came the disillusion. At the Jamestown Exposition, where Willie was the chief attraction on Labor Day, the mask fell. Mark Hanna himself could not have championed capitalism more enthusiastically. "I speak in defense of honestly gotten wealth," "The capitalist deserves his just profit"—that was the refrain of the labor champion's song.

Yes, Willie, "honest profit" is more euphonious than the old stock phrases of "thieving scoundrels," "public robbers," and the like. But this is so sudden.

The former radical admirers of Hearst are aghast. For William has spoken; but, lo and behold! the sheep stands revealed as—no, not a wolf—only a parrot.

* * *

Two shining Marxian lights, W. J. Ghent and M. Oppenheimer, have recently issued a pamphlet, entitled "The Red Flag."

Speaking of the emblem of universal brotherhood, the authors relieve their feelings in this manner:

"The Red Flag is not the emblem of Anarchy. No doubt, Anarchists sometimes use this flag. But it is not the only thing which Anarchists appropriate in use to themselves, and their occasional appropriation of this emblem is something for which the Socialists cannot rightly be blamed. There is, as all sensible men know, not the slightest similarity between Socialism and Anarchism. Between capitalism in its unmitigated form and Anarchism, there is a close and easily observable relationship. But Socialism is equally the enemy of both. Anarchism and capitalism stand equally for social chaos. But Socialism stands eternally for social order."

Is *Socialism* the enemy of Anarchism, or are our enemies merely *Socialists?* If the former is the case, so much the worse for Socialism. There was a time when Socialism, the ideal of brotherhood and liberty, was *not* the enemy of Anarchism. But since Socialism has come to mean concentrated authority and parliamentarism of the lowest order, it *is* the enemy of Anarchism and the foe of *all* liberty.

"Anarchism stands for social chaos." This declaration sounds familiarly capitalistic. Of course, our Socialistic brothers would not stoop to willful misrepresentation à la Hearst. In charity we ascribe their transgressions to mere stupidity.

* * *

The third annual convention of the Industrial Workers of the World has recently taken place at Chicago.

Among the various questions discussed, the main point at issue was: Should the I. W. W., as an organization, participate in politics? The Anarchists present strenuously opposed all suggestions of a politico-parliamentary character, insisting that the battle of labor must be fought exclusively on the economic field. Our comrade Caminita, speaking for the Anarchists, made an eloquent plea for direct action, demonstrating in the most lucid manner the dangers lurking in the ballot box, as well as in all authoritarian policies. He ably championed revolutionary economic battle methods.

Unfortunately, the majority of the delegates were opposed to Caminita's suggestions. It was decided to make no changes in the second paragraph of the I. W. W. preamble, to the effect that the liberation of the proletariat must be accomplished by both political and economic means.

* * *

Our comrades, who have aided so actively in the organization and efforts of the I. W. W., will soon have to decide whether they shall remain, as members of the organization, a mere appendage of the Socialist Labor Party, or whether they should act independently, on their own initiative.

* * *

A word about the practical lessons taught by the propaganda of direct action.

The strike of the longshoremen at Antwerp, Holland, is being broken by scabs shipped from German and Eng-

349

840514017

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].— pp. 295-302 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 8 (Oct. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

lish ports. It is a highly instructive fact that not a single Frenchman is to be found among the strike-breakers.

The trade unions of England and the Social Democratic organizations of Germany are rich, strong and well disciplined. How does it happen that they would not, or could not, prevent the shipping of scabs from the ports of their respective countries into Antwerp?

The answer is very simple: they lack the spirit of solidarity.

The propaganda of direct action and the General Strike, which our French comrades have been earnestly carrying on during the last decade, has produced beneficent practical results. It has developed a strong feeling of solidarity among the workers of France and has made them conscious of the identity of interests of international labor. They have learned to realize this basic fact—not as a mere theoretical proposition—but as a living, practical factor.

Hence the intelligent, praiseworthy attitude of the French longshoremen during this important strike at Antwerp. It is time the German and English workingmen should realize the educational value of the direct action and General Strike propaganda, in its application to the practical solution of the labor problem.

* * *

How utterly insignificant are all party politics when compared to that grand spectacle, the Russian Revolution! Irrepressible and unconquerable is this momentous uprising of a mighty people: repeatedly defeated and apparently mastered, it is resurrected again and again, ever rising with renewed vigor, growing stronger by defeat.

Is it possible to eradicate this spirit, this unquenchable thirst for liberty? No! The most hardened pessimist must be taught by it to learn and to hope.

The liberation of the Russian people is no mere dream. Renewed defeats, protracted exhaustion and apparent death may return. But so will also new uprisings, successively growing in strength and determination, and finally assuming proportions beyond the resources of the decayed Tsarism.

The deeds of valor and self-sacrifice we read about in history make the blood course faster in our veins and fill us with admiration. But grander and more prodigious than any deed of the past is the heroic example of our own time.

Wonderful, indeed, are the possibilities of a people inspired by liberty and brotherhood.

* * *

The recent assassination of M. Borodulin, Superintendent of the political prison at Akatui, Transbaikalia, has made another Torquemada harmless. Borodulin was one of the jailers and torturers of Mlle. Spiridonova, the valiant revolutionist who killed M. Luchenovsky, Chief of the Secret Police of Tambov.

After her arrest Mlle. Spiridonova was brutally maltreated and outraged by her captors. Three of the latter, a police officer named Zhanoff, a Cossack officer Abramoff, and another officer Metus, have been assassinated for the part they took in abusing and torturing the young woman.

The hand of the avenging revolutionary angel is swift and sure: Borodulin is the fourth who forfeited his life for torturing Mlle. Spiridonova.

Sic semper tyrannis!

* * *

The capitalistic policy of suppression and exploitation has attained its highest triumph in the colonies. India, once rich and beautiful, has been laid waste by the greed and tyranny of Great Britain.

That the natives are driven to rebellion by their foreign oppressors, is quite natural. Just now much-suffering India is in a state of ferment, one uprising fast following another.

Little news reaches the outside world as to the true conditions in India; but it is evident from the meagre, censored accounts that things are far more serious than the official circles of England are willing to admit.

The spirit of liberty and independence is abroad in all the colonies. Not only India is endeavoring to break the yoke of the foreign oppressor. The Malays are up in arms against Holland. The Moors are defending the remnants of their independence against the encroachment of the French government. The Koreans are bravely

350

840514017

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 295-302 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 8 (Oct. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

struggling against the Japanese autocracy, and our own colonies are far from "pacified."

The natives, everywhere, are striving to shake off the yoke of the foreign masters. May success crown their efforts! But Liberty will not triumph till *all* oppression —both foreign and domestic—is a thing of the past.

* * *

Conservative literary circles of France religiously believe that the best traditions of the 17th century have been preserved—in custom, language and literature—in the French-speaking part of Canada.

It is not long since the academician Vicomte de Vogüé, addressing a Canadian statesman, exclaimed: "We could learn much from you! Our language, for instance. You, Canadians, have preserved it in all its purity and beauty!"

De Vogüé's academical predecessor, Marmien, who had traveled much in Canada, even believed that he had discovered there the Atticism of *le grand siècle.*

Comrade R. de Marmande, in a recent contribution to *Mercure de France,* exposes these flatteries, which—on the lips of the French politicians—are but self-flattery.

Our comrade, describing the true condition of Canadian life and literature, leaves no doubt that the situation is anything but a healthy one.

Every free expression is mercilessly suppressed by the double censorship: the moral one of the State and the still more dangerous religious one of the all-powerful clergy. Only in Canada could it happen that a publisher, under clerical pressure, should have to burn the works of Voltaire.

On the other hand, the Canadian government encourages the re-publication at home of such French books as have been approved by the censorship. Native authors are thus directly discouraged and every free expression discountenanced.

As to the alleged language purity of French-Canadian literature, Marmande quotes native authors to prove their inanity of expression and empty romanticism.

The literature of Canada but mirrors her life. Both will be infused with originality and strength only when the all-deadening curse of religion will have been lifted from our neighbor.

McKINLEY'S ASSASSINATION FROM THE ANARCHIST STANDPOINT

By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

SIX years have passed since William McKinley met his doom at Buffalo and the return stroke of justice took the life of his slayer, Leon Czolgosz. The wild rage that stormed through the brains of the people, following that revolver shot, turning them into temporary madmen, incapable of seeing, hearing, or thinking correctly, has spent itself. Figures are beginning to appear in their true relative proportions, and there is some likelihood that sane words will be sanely listened to. Instead of the wild and savage threats, "Brand the Anarchists with hot iron," "Boil in oil," "Hang to the first lamp-post," "Scourge and shackle," "Deport to a desert island," which were the stock phrases during the first few weeks following the tragedy, and were but the froth of the upheaved primitive barbarity of civilized men, torn loose and raging like an unreasoning beast, we now hear an occasional serious inquiry: "But what have the Anarchists to say about it? Was Czolgosz really an Anarchist? Did he say he was? And what has Anarchism to do with assassination altogether?"

To those who wish to know what the Anarchists have to say, these words are addressed. We have to say that *nat Anarchism, but the state af saciety which creates men of pawer and greed and the victims af power and greed,* is responsible for the death of both McKinley and Czolgosz. Anarchism has this much to do with assassination, that as it teaches the possibility of a society in which the needs of life may be fully supplied for all, and in which the opportunities for complete development of mind and body shall be the heritage of all; as it teaches that the present unjust organization of the production and distribution of wealth must finally be completely destroyed, and replaced by a system which will insure to each the liberty to work, without first seeking a master to whom he must surrender a tithe of his product, which will guarantee his liberty of access to the sources and means of production; as it teaches that all this is possible without the exhaustion of body and mind which is

351

840514018

The Emma Goldman Papers

The International Anarchist Congress / Emma Goldman.— pp. 307-319 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 8 (Oct. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

they need "corroborative evidence." All that we really know of Czolgosz is his revolver shot and his dying words: "I killed the President because he was the enemy of the people, the good, working people." All between is blank. What he really said, if he said anything, remains in the secret papers of the Buffalo Police Department and the Auburn prison. If we are to judge inferentially, considering his absolutely indifferent behavior at his "trial," he never said anything at all. He was utterly at their mercy, and had they been able to twist or torture any word of his into a "conspiracy," they would have done it. Hence it is most probable he said nothing.

Was he a normal or an abnormal being? In full possession of his senses, or of a disturbed or weak mentality? Again we do not know. All manner of fables arose immediately after his act as to his boyhood's career; people knew him in his childhood as evil, stupid, cruel; even some knew him who had heard him talk about assassinating the President years before; other legends contradicted these; all were equally unreliable. His indifference at the "trial" may have been that of a strong man enduring a farce, or of a clouded and non-realizing mind. His last words were the words of a naïve and devoted soul, a soul quite young, quite unselfish, and quite forlorn. If martyrdom is insisted upon, which was the martyr, the man who had had the good of life, who was past middle years, who had received reward and distinction to satiety, who had ordered others killed without once jeopardizing his own life, and to whom death came more easily than to millions who die of long want and slow tortures of disease, or this young strong soul which struck its own blow and paid with its own life, so capable of the utterest devotion, so embittered and ruined in its youth, so hopeless, so wasted, so cast out of the heart of pity, so altogether alone in its last agony? This was the greater tragedy—a tragedy bound to be repeated over and over, until "the good working people" (in truth they are not so good) learn that the earth is theirs and the fullness thereof, and that there is no need for any one to enslave himself to another. This Anarchism teaches, and this the future will realize, though many martyrdoms lie between.

THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS

Report by EMMA GOLDMAN.

AN International Congress! The suspicious mind will at once conjure up horrors of majority rule, of politicians and platforms—platforms carefully devised to appeal to the stupid, and politicians who will make it appear that the stupid themselves have chosen their programs. The majority has but to be made to believe that it enjoys sovereignty and the power of decision, and it will cheerfully seal its own degradation.

However, the International Anarchist Congress at Amsterdam had none of that. The eighty delegates who had come from monarchies and republics did not assemble to get up a catechism. Their purpose was to crystallize—out of the contrast of temperaments, theories and opinions—harmonious and concerted action. Of such contrasts there were many, occasionally bursting out at one another like bomb-shells, the Latin temperament readily bubbling over, often threatening to destroy the dearly cherished German sense of "order." But after the delegates had come into comradely touch with one another, a quieter atmosphere made itself felt, uniting all in a sincere desire to co-operate in every way possible to make the Congress a success.

Enrico Malatesta, the senior of the Congress, full of youthful spirit, his eyes glowing with the divine fire for the revolutionizing of mind and body, was one of the most interesting figures. His enthusiasm for the cause, together with his sweet personality, produce an exquisitely harmonious character, the influence of which is both soothing and inspiring.

Pierre Monatte, a representative of the "Confédération du Travail" (Revolutionary Trade Unions of France), an agitator of great force, thoroughly versed in the literature of the economic and anti-militarist movements, simple and unassuming, full of the spirit of solidarity and true comradeship. Together with such men as Pouget, Delesalle, Greffulheus, he is building up a tremendous economic force, the "Confédération Générale du Travail," of which MOTHER EARTH will have more to say in a later issue.

352

840514018

The Emma Goldman Papers

The International Anarchist Congress / Emma Goldman.– pp. 307-319 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 8 (Oct. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

R. de Marmande, *revolutionaire* and true *bohême*, jovial, full of esprit, with a keen sense of humor. He refuses to see in the Mother of Freedom—Revolution—a black-robed nun, walking about in penitence and despair over the sins of mankind. Revolution, to him, is the great liberator, the joy-bearer.

Henri Feiss-Amoré, the Belgian, was one of the most typical Frenchmen at the Congress: impatient, hot-headed and impulsive, yet polite and chivalrous; he necessarily proved a failure in everything that required system and self-control.

Broutchoux, a power in the mining regions of France, belongs to the type of workingman who has helped to make revolutionary history,—intelligent, daring and uncompromising. He is beloved by his fellow-workers and hated by all authoritarian parties.

Dunois, from Switzerland, and Chapelier, a Belgian, furnished much human document—the former too democratic to appreciate the real value of the individual; the latter, too sectarian for a universal movement. Chapelier's internationalism lies in Esperanto. No doubt, much could have been gained at the Congress had all the delegates known Esperanto, as the interpretations from the French, Dutch and German consumed a tremendous amount of time. But to believe that an arbitrary, mechanical language can ever replace anything that has grown out of the soil, the life and the customs of a people, is to be sectarian indeed.

Another of the delegates was Luigi Fabri, from Italy, well known through his writings on Anarchism and his affiliation with Mollinari's *L'Università Popolare.*

Dr. Friedeberg, the German delegate, is an ex-member of the Social Democratic Party, which he represented as Alderman in the city of Berlin. In that capacity he has had ample opportunity to learn the uselessness of parliamentarism, which indueed him to turn to Anarchism. Dr. Friedeberg is now one of the foremost champions of the General Strike, direct action and anti-militarism. Though he is indicted for high treason—a very serious offense in the land of the Kaiser—he was completely wrapped up in the work of the Congress, unconcerned as to what the future may bring him.

Two Bohemian comrades, Vohryzek and Knotek, were very interesting delegates. Vohryzek, alert and ever ready with suggestions and resolutions, is a fanatical admirer of the achievements of his country, without the slightest sense of relative proportion. His friend, Knotek, was quite a contrast. He never spoke once during the entire session, yet one could not fail to perceive the artistic, dreamy and refined temperament. I regret that time did not permit me to see more of Comrade Knotek.

Then there was R. Rocker, editor of the *Workers' Friend* and *Germinal*, Jewish papers published in London. German by birth, he has acquired the Yiddish language, and through his able pen he is doing much to bring light and hope into the gloomy existence of the Jewish proletariat in England. He has acted as an impetus to the idealism, the earnestness and studiousness of the young Yiddish element, both in England and America. But one of his greatest merits is that he has made accessible to the Jewish reading public the revolutionary literature of the world.

There were many other delegates, who, for lack of space, cannot be discussed here; but they added much interesting material on the growth of our ideas in their respective countries.

* * *

After a few preliminaries, the Congress began its real work Monday afternoon, August 26th. Reports were read from France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Russia, Servia, Bulgaria, Holland, England and the United States. The report on the American situation our readers will be able to follow in MOTHER EARTH. A résumé of the other reports will appear later.

The first subject for the consideration of the Congress was "Anarchism and Organization," with Dunois as speaker. The constant misrepresentation of Anarchism by its opponents has resulted in the widespread notion that Anarchism is merely destructive. That it is also constructive, our enemies carefully avoid stating.

In his opening remarks Dunois regrets that so little attention has hitherto been paid to the necessity of organization. "The individualistic notion, as expressed by Dr. Stockman in Ibsen's 'Enemy of the People,'

840514018

The Emma Goldman Papers

The International Anarchist Congress / Emma Goldman.– pp. 307-319 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 8 (Oct. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

that the strongest is he who stands alone, has been very detrimental to the Anarchist movement. This statement has no relation to Anarchism, since Stockman merely voiced the egoistic notion of the bourgeoisie." After a lengthy discourse on similar lines the speaker proposed the following resolution to the Congress: "Anarchism and organization are not antagonistic; on the contrary, the common material interests of the workers as well as the mutual interests in ideas necessitate federated organizations."

In opposition to Dunois' conception, the Dutch comrade Croiset spoke of the individualistic phase of Anarchism—not in the sense, however, of private property, mutual banking, contracts and a voluntary police force—but of the importance of the individual in society. He is not opposed to organization, on principle. But, believing egoism the main-spring of all our desires and actions, he holds that organization can be founded only on purely individual interests. "Egoists may combine to more successfully carry out some mutual project. But organization, not based on individual interests, is in danger of developing into an arbitrary and authoritarian factor."

Max Baginski and myself spoke in favor of organization, laying stress on the fact that it is always the self-conscious, free individualities which decide the character and influence of an organization. We further illustrated our point by the following paper on "The Relation of Anarchism to Organization," read by Max Baginski:

"The charge that Anarchism is destructive rather than constructive, and that, therefore, Anarchism is opposed to organization, is one of the many falsehoods spread by our opponents. They confound our present social institutions with organization; therefore they fail to understand how we can oppose the former and yet favor the latter. The fact, however, is that the two are not identical.

"The STATE is commonly regarded as the highest form of organization. But is it in reality a true organization? Is it not rather an arbitrary institution, cunningly imposed upon the masses?

"INDUSTRY, too, is called an organization; yet nothing is farther from the truth. Industry is the ceaseless piracy of the rich against the poor.

"We are asked to believe that the ARMY is an organization, but a close investigation will show that it is nothing else than a cruel instrument of blind force.

"The PUBLIC SCHOOL! The colleges and other institutions of learning, are they not models of organization, offering the people fine opportunities for instruction? Far from it. The school, more than any other institution, is a veritable barrack, where the human mind is drilled and manipulated into submission to various social and moral spooks, and thus fitted to continue our system of exploitation and oppression.

"Organization, as *we* understand it, however, is a different thing. It is based, primarily, on freedom. It is the natural and voluntary grouping of energies for the achievement of results beneficial to humanity; results which should endow life with meaning, worth and beauty.

"It is the harmony of organic growth which produces variety of color and form, the complete whole we admire in the flower. Analogously will the organized activity of free human beings, endowed with the spirit of solidarity, result in the perfection of social harmony, which we call Anarchism. In fact, Anarchism alone makes non-authoritarian organization of common interests possible, since it abolishes the existing antagonism between individuals and classes.

"Under present conditions the antagonism of economic and social interests results in relentless war among the social units, and creates an insurmountable obstacle in the way of a co-operative commonwealth.

"There is a mistaken notion that organization does not foster individual freedom; that, on the contrary, it means the decay of individuality. In reality, however, the true function of organization is to aid the development and growth of the personality.

"Just as the animal cells, by mutual co-operation, express their latent powers in the formation of the complete organism, so does the individuality, by co-operative effort with other individualities, attain its highest form of development.

"An organization, in the true sense, cannot result from the combination of mere nonentities. It must be composed of self-conscious, intelligent individualities. In-

840514018

The Emma Goldman Papers

The International Anarchist Congress / Emma Goldman.— pp. 307-319 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 8 (Oct. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

deed, the total of the possibilities and activities of an organization is represented in the expression of individual energies.

"It therefore logically follows that the greater the number of strong, self-conscious personalities in an organization, the less danger of stagnation and the more intense its life-element.

"Anarchism asserts the possibility of an organization without discipline, fear or punishment, and without the pressure of poverty: a new social organism, which will make an end to the terrible struggle for the means of existence,—the savage struggle which undermines the finest qualities in man and ever widens the social abyss. In short, Anarchism strives towards a social organization which will establish well-being for all.

"The germ of such an organization can be found in that form of trades unionism which has done away with centralization, bureaucracy and discipline, and which favors independent and direct action on the part of its members."

* * *

Malatesta, discussing the various attitudes towards organization, finds the difference not so much in principle as in the method of expression. "One is apt to lay too great stress on some particular pet phase, whereas in reality all the speakers are agreed as to the necessity of organization. I, too, can see little in the position of Dr. Stockman. Were he a worker in some factory, at the mercy of poverty and exploitation, he would soon descend from his lofty pedestal."

Baginski and myself opposed the opinion expressed by Dunois and Malatesta, that Ibsen represented, in his art, the attitude of the egoistic bourgeoisie. Anarchism does not mean Kropotkin *or* Ibsen: it embraces both. While Kropotkin has explained the social conditions which lead to a collective revolution, Ibsen has portrayed, in a masterly manner, the psychological effects which culminate in the revolt of the human soul,—the revolt of the individuality. Nothing would prove more disastrous to our ideas, were we unable to unite the external, the physical, and the internal, the psychological, motives of rebellion against the existing institutions.

Vohryzek agreed with us, adding: "Stirner is not opposed to organization; on the contrary, a close study of 'The Ego and his Own' will show that Stirner saw in the organization of free individuals a lofty aim of human endeavor."

Cornelissen, of Holland, took exception to the views of the American delegates. "Individual liberty is desirable, yet a limit must be set as to how far it is admissible; it must not be allowed to become injurious to the movement, as a whole."

After several others had spoken, Dunois consented to accept my amendment to his resolution, to the effect that collective activity in no way denies individual action; that, on the contrary, they complete each other. In this form the resolution was accepted by the Congress.

The evening sessions, lasting until midnight, were turned into public meetings wherein reports of the day's work and some of the speeches were interpreted into the Dutch language.

* * *

Wednesday afternoon's session was of a private nature, to which the press was not admitted. Incidentally, I wish to say a few words in regard to the Amsterdam press. Coming from the land of yellow journals, it was refreshing to read Dutch papers. All the important publications, even those of the most extreme conservative type, had correct and honest reports; not a word of misrepresentation or sensationalism. When I think of what our New York papers would have made of the Congress, I am grateful to Fate that in "free" America, with its "free" immigration laws, an Anarchistic Congress is out of the question. That the New York papers would bring some sensational and blood-curdling news was to be expected; thus they reported, for instance, that Malatesta and I had advised a "reign of terror." Poor, dull brain of our penny-a-liners that must forever invent a "story"!

* * *

The formation of an Anarchist International Federation was thoroughly discussed and finally agreed upon. The International is to be composed of groups and federations, as well as of individual comrades who wish

355

840514018

The Emma Goldman Papers

The International Anarchist Congress / Emma Goldman. – pp. 307-319 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 8 (Oct. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

to join. The groups, federations and individual members are to retain their full autonomy. A Bureau of Correspondence, consisting of five members, has been chosen, the purpose of which is to bring about closer communication and greater solidarity between the groups of various countries; also to keep them posted on the current events of the movement. Individual comrades, desiring to become members of the International, must be identified by their organization, the Bureau, or some comrade known to the Bureau. The expenses of the Bureau are to be defrayed by contributions of the groups and comrades belonging to the International.

Various views were expressed as to the merits of a Bureau, some of the delegates being apprehensive of the resurrection of the General Council of the International —an authoritarian clique, full of national and international intrigue and gossip. The fact that such irreproachable characters as Malatesta, Rocker, etc., have been chosen as members is safe guarantee, however, that the new Bureau will have a different character. The American delegates were in favor of a Bulletin, which should furnish all countries with data on the growth of our ideas. However, those who preferred the Bureau hope that such a Bulletin may be issued as soon as money will be forthcoming.

* * *

Syndicalism was discussed by Pierre Monatte, from whose paper I quote a few paragraphs: "Syndicalism is the arena where the proletariat can gather for the battle, whose final object is the overthrow of the present economic and social institutions. There are various means, of course, but the most effective ones have proven to be *sabotage* (the despoiling of property and material), direct action and the General Strike. All these means, in contradistinction to the old authoritarian and political methods, have already caused a great deal of consternation among the enemy. It is to be regretted that many Anarchists still cling to the tradition of the old political revolution. No wonder they often despair of the means of realizing their ideals. Syndicalism, however, organizes the proletariat into a revolutionary phalanx giving the workingman confidence in himself, in his own power. Syndicalism, imbued with the true spirit of International-

ism, also propagates anti-militarism, anti-political and anti-parliamentary action, seeing in all these dangerous obstacles in the way of human liberation."

These remarks, followed by an interesting discussion, left the impression that the keeping aloof, in the past, from the trade union movement has been a mistake. The destructive, as well as the constructive, forces for a new life come from the working people. It, therefore, behooves us to keep in close contact with the latter. There was little diversity of opinion on this point. The various speakers merely considered whether syndicalism is to be looked upon as an aim or as a means. Malatesta was particularly brilliant in his remarks anent this question. "I, too, regret that most of the comrades isolated themselves from the trades union movement; but there would be still more cause for regret were they to go to the other extreme and dissolve in the present syndicalist agitation. To regenerate society, more is required than the battle on the economic field. Direct action and the General Strike are to be hailed as glorious weapons in the present struggle; but to assume that they will bring about a Social Revolution, as we conceive the latter, is to be guilty of great *naïvité*. Such a revolution goes far beyond every class interest, its aim is the liberation of man in all phases of life. Therefore, our methods must never become one-sided. It may be impossible and, in fact, inadvisable for *all* workingmen to join the General Strike—railroad men, sailors, carmen and others, holding the means of transportation in their hands, may serve the cause of labor infinitely more by carrying the necessities of life to their striking brothers. Statistics prove that a city like London has provisions only for three months. What would become of the strikers after three months, if the railroad employees, too, were to join them?"

Malatesta has in view, particularly, periods of a great uprising or an insurrection. So far as ordinary strikes, however, are concerned he will probably agree with me that, if those employed in transportation were to join the strikers, the question at issue could be settled long before the supply of any large city would give out.

The subject closed with two propositions. One, signed by Monatte, Nacht, Dunois and Marmande, was to the

840514018

The Emma Goldman Papers

The International Anarchist Congress / Emma Goldman. – pp. 307-319 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 8 (Oct. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

effect that they see in syndicalism and in the material interests of the proletariat the principal basis of revolutionary activity.

The second, signed by Malatesta, myself and others, explained that revolutionary trade unionism and the General Strike are only means and can in no way replace the Social Revolution. It also expressed the conviction that the capitalistic régime can be abolished only through an insurrection and expropriation, and that our battle must be directed against all authoritarian forces.

As the first resolution was merely an addition to the second, both were accepted by the Congress. So also was the following declaration as to "Individual and Collective Terror," signed by Max Baginski and myself:

"We recommend that the International Anarchist Congress declare itself in favor of the right of rebellion on the part of the individual, as well as on that of the masses.

"We hold that most terroristic acts, especially those directed against representatives of the State and the plutocracy, must be considered from a psychological viewpoint. They are the results of the profound impression made upon the psychology of the individual by the terrible pressure of our social injustice.

"As a rule, only the noblest, most sensitive and tender spirits are subject to such deep impressions, which manifest themselves in internal and external revolt. Thus viewed, terroristic acts can justly be characterized as the socio-psychological consequences of an unbearable system; as such, these acts, together with their causes and motives, must be understood, rather than praised or condemned.

"During revolutionary periods, such as the present one in Russia, for instance, terrorism—apart from its psychological character—serves a twofold purpose: it undermines the very foundation of tyranny, and kindles in the timid the divine fire of revolt. Especially is this the case when terroristic activity is directed against the most brutal and hated agents of despotism.

"The Congress, indorsing this resolution, manifests its understanding for the act of the individual rebel, as well as its solidaric feeling with collective insurrection."

The paper on "The General Strike and the Political Strike," by Dr. Friedeberg, was an able critique of the Social Democratic notions in regard to the merely political General Strike. The speaker stated that the latter was being advised merely to infuse new life into the anemic condition of the political activity of that party. A résumé of Dr. Friedeberg's resolution follows:

"The class struggle and the economical liberation of the proletariat are not identical with the ideas and aims of Anarchism. The latter extend beyond the class aims and stand for the complete material and psychological regeneration of human individuality. Anarchism sees in the abolition of class régime and economic depcndence the first step towards a free society. It cannot, however, employ those means of combat which are contradictory to itself and its purposes. Anarchism, therefore, refuses to recognize parliamentary action, conservative trade unionism and the right of the majority to dictate to or coerce the minority."

* * *

"Anarchism and Anti-Militarism" was referred to the anti-militaristic Congress that had been arranged by comrade Domela Nieuwenhuis. The opening session, Friday afternoon, August 29th, was attended by all the delegates of the International Anarchist Congress. Interesting reports were read as to the growth of anti-militarism in various countries. Switzerland furnished the most gratifying results, seventy men having refused military service. The delegates expressed their solidarity with all those imprisoned for such heroism. Pierre Ramus and R. de Marmande spoke on "Anarchism and Anti-Militarism." All agreed on the necessity of a vigorous agitation among soldiers and militiamen, urging them to refuse obedience when ordered to shoot strikers. Also to impress upon the workingman the necessity of abstaining, as much as possible, from the manufacture of all articles of wholesale slaughter. A letter of greeting from Dutch soldiers, also one of sympathy from Ferrer—recently rescued from the clutches of the Spanish authorities—were read.

* * *

Saturday, August 30th, the last day of our own Con-

840514018

The Emma Goldman Papers

The International Anarchist Congress / Emma Goldman.— pp. 307-319 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 8 (Oct. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

gress, was taken up by a paper on co-operative societies in Holland, by comrade Samson; a paper on co-education, by Leon Clement, read by Marmande; an exposition of Esperanto, by Emile Chapelier, and a paper on Alcoholism, by a Christian Anarchist. As time was limited and the delegates worn out, the subjects were not discussed. A letter of greeting was received from comrade Yvetôt, now serving four years for syndicalistic activity. In reply, a letter of solidarity was sent to Yvetôt and his fellow-sufferers, of the following contents:

"The Congress declares that the French government acts toward the workingmen as brutally and severely as all other governments of the world. We, therefore, send our brotherly greetings to Yvetôt, Marck, Levy, Bousquet, Corton, Loubot, Berthet, Clementine Delmotte and Gabrielle Petit (who are now in prison). At the same time we express our sympathy and solidarity with all the champions of liberty, suffering under the capitalistic régime. We urge that the International Bureau consider it one of its first steps to defend and assist all these."

A resolution in behalf of Russia, signed by Rogdaeff, Zabregneff, Cornelissen, Baginski, Munjitsch, Fabri, Malatesta and myself, was enthusiastically accepted by the Congress. It follows:

"Considering that with the development of the people of Russia the proletariat of the cities and country will never be satisfied with mere political liberties, it is their aim to free themselves from economical as well as political bondage, and to employ in their struggle such means as have been propagated by the Anarchists for a considerable time. They can not expect anything from above, and they must, therefore, conquer their rights by direct action.

"The Russian revolution is not only of local or national importance, but the near future of the international proletariat depends on it. The bourgeoisie of the new and the old worlds co-operate to defend their privileges and to postpone the abolition of their régime. They furnish moral and material support to the government of the Tsar, even supplying it with ammunition for the destruction of the Russian people.

"We therefore urge that the proletariat of all countries should inaugurate an energetic activity, opposing capitalist, monarchical, republican, democratic and constitutional government. It is in the interest of all workingmen to refuse any compromise in their attitude toward the Russian Revolution. Never, under any circumstances, ought they to be willing to assist any foreign power in its attempt to crush the revolt. If during a strike in Russia a General Strike cannot be declared in the corresponding industries in other countries, the proletariat should resort to such means which would spoil or injure the material sent to the Russian government, refusing to carry arms or other sinews of war into Russia.

"The Congress recommends to all comrades the necessity of furthering Anarchism in Russia and the Russian Revolution."

Two Christian Anarchists, who seemed to think that the régime of the Tsar can be met with Bible texts, refused to vote.

The Congress closed with a few warm and expressive remarks by Malatesta, and the singing of the "Internationale."

The delegates were in no way molested by the authorities at Amsterdam, except for a few Dutch detectives, who were occasionally following some of us.

I may mention that on the 2d of September, the day when Queen Wilhelmina came to Amsterdam, Baginski and I were supposed to have been watched very carefully. As if Anarchists were engaged in the slaughter of geese!

Whatever may come of the work or the resolutions of the Congress, it has undoubtedly brought about a closer international feeling and proven to the world that the Anarchist movement can no longer be treated as the "pastime of a few cranks," but that it is a wide-spread, earnest endeavor to wage war against all power and oppression.

358

890206003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] "Can't Keep Me Out," Cries Red Emma / Emma Goldman. – p. 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The World. –(Oct. 8, 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

GRILL HARRIMAN AT U. P. MEETING.

Dependent Stockholders Will Ask Pertinent Questions and Demand Replies.

BASED ON THE RECENT DISCOVERIES BY FISH.

Interrogations The World Has Repeatedly Made Will Also Be Put on Records.

(Special to The World.)

SALT LAKE CITY, Oct. 7.—On the eve of the annual meeting of Union Pacific stockholders omens appear that the session to-morrow will not be the cut-and-dried affair that E. H. Harriman intended. There are likely to be embarrassing moments for the financier's representatives who are here to execute his orders.

There is no doubt that they will dominate the voting, but they will not prove strong enough to prevent independent shareholders from asking certain questions, to which they will demand answers. These shareholders will insist, and if any attempt is made to ignore them or try them down they will fight for their rights.

Who will ask the questions could not be learned, but all are agreed as to the nature of the interrogation.

"Why should Mr. Harriman at this time be recorded as paying 175 for Illinois Central stock to the Union Pacific when he could have purchased the same for 135 on the open market?" will be the first. Others will be:

"If it is in the nature of a restitution for the stock he sold his associates unloaded on the Union Pacific at 175 though purchased at 135, why does he not take back the 12,000 shares, the number he sold?"

"If, as the books purport to show, he paid $2,000,000 for the 20,000 shares, what has become of the money?"

"Has the money or any part payment for the stock or has there been another juggle?"

"Who received the payment, and in what form was it made?"

"What is there to show that there was a payment of any kind except the bare mention of the transfer on Sept. 21?"

"There is a mention of a distribution of 1,000 shares to thirty persons on the same date, to lawyers, officials, employees and others. Who took over those shares in the first instance? Who paid for them, if they were paid for? What was the motive for this distribution?"

"Did Mr. Harriman buy of the good-will of the men to whom he distributed?"

"Where is payment for the 1,000 shares shown? How soon after Oct. 15 will the shares go back?"

"If there was no money consideration for the transfer why was the Union Pacific thus deprived of the ownership of the securities, at present valued at 175, but the money received by the transaction?"

These questions and others to be sent January made by Stockholders Fish and J. W. Gates, both of the Union Pacific directorate, and also by a number of the minority stockholders who have been interested with Mr. Fish in the opposition to the Harriman interests.

ROGERS TO STAY ON U. P. BOARD.

[illegible]

FISH WAY FOR UNION PACIFIC HARRIMAN STOCK.

[illegible]

'CAN'T KEEP ME OUT,' CRIES RED EMMA.

Miss Goldman Doesn't Believe that American Immigration Officials Will Try To.

(Copyright, 1907, by the Press Publishing Company, New York World.)

(Special Cable Despatch to The World.)

LONDON, Oct. 7.—Emma Goldman, high priestess of anarchy, has arrived in England, and to-night she regaled an audience of London anarchists with a violent harangue of the sort with which New York is familiar.

The World correspondent asked her what she will do if, as is intimated by report the American Immigration authorities decide to refuse her permission to land in New York.

"They can't keep me out," she exclaimed. "I have been twenty-three years in America. My father is an American citizen, and I don't believe the immigration authorities would be foolish enough to try."

At any rate there will be no opportunity to test the question for some time, for Miss Goldman will remain in England several months, addressing meetings in the chief towns.

She has just completed a tour of the principal cities of Europe after attending the Anarchist Congress at Amsterdam.

"Of all the countries in Europe," she reports, "France is the furthest advanced in the progress of the anarchist movement. England is a good second. I have great hopes that America will lead them all.

"American workmen, particularly in the West, are growing tired of law-abiding trade unionism, and are realizing that they must meet force with force. The trial of Moyer, Heywood and Pettibone in Idaho, woke them up there. It was merely an attempt to crush a union, and acquittal was due not to the fact that the judge and jury were convinced of their innocence, but to the fact Western miners knew how to handle dynamite. The authorities knew that their own skins would be in danger if they hanged Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

"The American people have had a rude awakening from the idea of personal immunity to everything. They are beginning to realize that the tyranny of a democratic majority is more and more than [illegible] Lowly Czar.

"I have seen [illegible] in Europe, but in New York and Chicago. Nowhere have I seen the [illegible] as there. I have seen a [illegible] anxiety [illegible] in America.

"America [illegible] greed of the world. [illegible] from [illegible] the [illegible]. The fate [illegible] to me [illegible] to [illegible]."

HUGE SEAS HAMMERED STEAMSHIP ST. PAUL.

After Thrilling Voyage She Runs Into Southampton Harbor 24 Hours Late.

SOUTHAMPTON, Oct. 7.—The American liner St. Paul, which left New York [illegible] four hours late.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

900719000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Types, ideas and decisions from the Anarchist congress. In Yiddish] Tipen, Ideen un Beschliese funden Anarchistishen Kongres / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* Freie Arbeiter Stimme [New York]. —(Oct. 12, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

טיפען, אידעען און בעשליסע פון דעם אַנאַרכיסטישען קאָנגרעס

פון עממא גאלדמאן.

(שלום).

כיטופיג נאכדעם אז איך האב נעזעהאלטען א פרויאקטיסטיק צו דעם קאנגרעס אין פרעסע, כיטפענדיג מיין דעם לאנד פון נעלע צייטונגען. איז עס נעווען א שווערע טאר פאר מיר צו לייענען דיא שלעכטיגע צייטונגען. די אלע וויכטיגע צייטונגען, אפילו די עקסט קאנסערוואטיווע, האבען נעווידמעט ריזיגער אכטונג דיא קאנגרעס פון ערהליכע ריפארמיסטען און סתם ליבעראלע. דאבען האבען זיא נעפונען פיל גוטעס אין דיא בעשלוסע פון דעם קאנגרעס, אבער אויך פיל שלעכטעס. דיא ערהליכע ריפארמיסטען האבען זיא נעפונען פיל גוטעס אין דיא בעשלוסע פון דעם קאנגרעס, אבער אויך פיל שלעכטעס. דיא ליבעראלע האבען זיא נעפונען פיל גוטעס אין דיא בעשלוסע פון דעם קאנגרעס, אבער אויך פיל שלעכטעס. דיא סתם

900719000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Types, ideas and decisions from the Anarchist congress. In Yiddish] Tipen, Ideen un Beschliese funden Anarchistishen Kongres / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 28 cm. *In* Freie Arbeiter Stimme [New York]. —(Oct. 12, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

The Emma Goldman Papers
840514019
Artists-Revolutionists / E[mma] G[oldman]. – pp. 357-359 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 9 (Nov. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ADVERTISEMENTS

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF
EUGENICS

The only publication in the English language devoted to the important subject of race culture. It urges the importance of better quality rather than greater number of children. It demands the right of woman to control her own person. You must be interested in it if you are interested in the welfare of the human race.

Among the contributors are THEODORE SCHROEDER, attorney for the Free Speech League and associate editor of the *Arena*; EDGAR L. LARKIN, director Lowe Observatory; DR. E. B. FOOTE, JR., MARGARET GRANT, author of "Child of Love"; HULDA L. POTTER-LOOMIS, REV. SIDNEY HOLMES, E. C. WALKER, GEORGE BEDBOROUGH, of London; PAUL ROBIN, editor *Regeneration*, Paris.

M. FLORENCE JOHNSON conducts a department devoted to Culture, physical and mental; there is a Young People's Department, edited by a school girl, the editor's granddaughter. There are poems, stories, reviews, comments on current events, etc.

Standard magazine size; 64 pages and cover. Issued monthly; $1.00 a year; 10c. a copy. Order of your newsdealer or of the editor and publisher, **M. HARMAN**
800 Fulton Street, CHICAGO, ILL.

CLARENCE S. DARROW

says things which are misunderstood, distorted and resented by the ignorant, and denied by the selfish and designing, but the men of brains and heart know that he speaks words of wisdom and of truth.

READ HIS BOOKS.

AN EYE FOR AN EYE.—A story of the crime of society against a criminal $1.50

RESIST NOT EVIL.—An arraignment of the doctrine of force and punishment .....75c.

A PERSIAN PEARL.—A volume of essays each one of which is a living, throbbing thing.....$1.50

FARMINGTON.—An idyl of boyhood seen through the eyes of a man; said to be Darrow's own life story.....$1.50

THE OPEN SHOP.—A thorough discussion and defense for the closed shop..10c. each, 85c. a doz.

CRIME AND CRIMINALS.—An address delivered to prisoners in the Chicago County Jail.
10c. each, 85c. a doz.

Any of the above sent postpaid on receipt of price.
Circulars of above and other books, for stamp.

SAMUEL A. BLOCH,
284 D. KINZIE STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

SPECIAL PRICES on keys in large quantities, for clubs, etc. If you want to supply the members of your club with keys, send me sample. If you have none I'll supply suitable Yale key and as many duplicates as you wish. Key checks stamped for 15 cents.
A. I. TASK, Locksmith, 51 Ward St., Brockton, Mass.

READ
The Demonstrator
A bimonthly published in the interest of revolutionary propaganda methods
50 CENTS PER YEAR
ADDRESS:
Home, Lakebay P. O., Wash.

JOSEPH ROSENBERG
...Custom Tailor...
310 East 89th Street
1st & 2d Aves., N. Y.

10c. A COPY $1 A YEAR

MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature

Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Proprietor, 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. II NOVEMBER, 1907 No. 9

ARTISTS—REVOLUTIONISTS

(Anent our new cover design.)

THE illustrator of our new cover is a French artist who has consecrated his art to the revolutionary proletariat. The readers will find his signature under his dedication to the American comrades.

About two weeks ago the Paris police confiscated "La Voix du Peuple," the principal organ of the Confédération du Travail, placing the editor under arrest. The issue which served as pretext for the outrage was entirely devoted to anti-militarism. The illustration on the front page, drawn by Grandjouan, represents the home-coming of the soldier.

With a few masterful strokes the artist portrays the soldier returning from the strike region of Narbonne, where he helped to "restore order," with bayonet and rifle.

His mother confronts him with the indignant cry, "Ah, it is you who had fired on the people!" She spits in his face. Back of her stands the father, enraged at the perfidy of his son and threatening him with his clenched fist.

"La Voix du Peuple" is by no means the only revolutionary sheet that benefits by the ideas and art of Grandjouan. There is hardly a radical publication in France that he does not contribute to. Especially forceful are his drawings for "Temps Nouveaux," an Anarchist weekly, published by our Paris comrades.

840514019

The Emma Goldman Papers

Artists-Revolutionists / E[mma] G[oldman]. – pp. 357-359 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 9 (Nov. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

With Steinlen, the foremost French artist, who so realistically depicts social misery, Grandjouan contributes to "L'assiette du Beurre," each issue of the journal being devoted to some special subject. The last number I saw in Paris represents "Men of Order": streaming with blood there stand the judge, the priest, the politician, the procurer, Thiers—the butcher of the Commune—and even the ex-Communard himself. The latter, fat and satisfied, cries: "I, too, stand for order. I am now a man of property."

Comrade Grandjouan is now at work on a series of designs that will prove of tremendous artistic and revolutionary effect. The drawings are to illustrate the characteristics of the various types of workingmen, portraying the whole gamut of labor.

A large array of French artists of note can be mentioned who are working along the same lines as Grandjouan. Their pen and pencil give to the world what Aristide Bruant has given in the street songs of the tramp, outcast and prostitute. Such are Steinlen, Delaunoy, Herman Paul, Zola, Mirbeau, Richepin, Charpentier, Rictus, etc. "Indeed, there is not an artist of consequence who is not also a revolutionist," said Grandjouan during our conversation.

This brought up to my mind our own artists of importance who, while not artistically to be compared with their French colleagues, are far superior to the latter in their money-getting genius. No one can accuse them of ever jumping the line or the limit set for them by the political shade of the newspaper or party they work for. They sketch whatever is ordered, whatever will be approved by the moral standard of the average citizen and his virtuous wife. To be sure, the carricatures are funny, sometimes; but the Lord forbid that they should ever become caustic or cutting. It is nothing but shallow society satire to relieve the dull monotony of five-o'clock teas. The sphere of social and economic chasms is never approached; or, if at all, it is to expose the "impudent pretensions of the common people" to the good things of life.

That the artist must serve the highest bidder is an American axiom. Practicality is our most essential trait.

Surely, one could not expect our artists to be so idealistic as to serve art.

Only in politics is the artist still allowed some latitude; but even there partisan interests dictate his policy.

Mr. Brisbane writes what Hearst pays for. Mr. Opper receives his ideas ready made, to be illustrated in the reliable stereotyped manner. Should Mr. Hearst turn a political somersault, his journalists and caricaturists will follow suit.

During the 16 to 1 campaign Homer Davenport served the Bryan party, McKinley and Mark Hanna faring wretchedly at his hands. The most zealous devotion to free silver Mr. Davenport displayed in his caricature of the gold plank, with John Most and Mark Hanna at each end. During the last presidential campaign the same ardent silver artist drank nectar at the gardens of the Republican Party. The reward in the form of a fifteen thousand dollar check was large enough to induce any American newspaper artist to degrade his art.

Therein lies the fundamental difference between France and America. Delaunoy, Yossot, Herman Paul, Toulouse de Loutrec and Grandjouan are idealists, responsive to the efforts of oppressed humanity; therefore their art gains in originality, strength and beauty. With us, most artists are matter-of-fact men, practical people; thus their creative faculties become stultified, and their work commonplace.

* * *

Our new cover hardly needs an explanation. For the benefit of those who might wonder, I would say:

The mother of humanity, the Earth, lies fettered by the tyranny of capital. A wire fence, guarded by sword and revolver, separates her from her children. Behind the fence stands the Master of the Earth, the capitalist. At every attempt of humanity to approach their mother, he sternly points to the law.

Our magazine shall continue to wage war against tyranny and government. Its bugle call shall ever be, "A free Earth for a free people!"

E. G.

840514020
The Emma Goldman Papers
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 360-366 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 9 (Nov. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

The October issue of the *Miners' Magazine,* dealing with the Haymarket tragedy, which culminated in the crime of 1887, writes:

"After twenty years the men whom prejudice convicted and judicially murdered are being looked upon as the brave pioneers who were 'blazing the trail' towards the summit of economic freedom. It is no wonder that the monument of the policemen was removed. Capitalism is anxious that labor shall forget the infamy of that conspiracy that murdered under forms of law.

"When another twenty years shall have passed away the labor army of Chicago will assemble around the graves of the victims of capitalist hate, and from the lips of eloquence will stream a tribute to the brave men whose energies and efforts were consecrated to the downtrodden and oppressed."

The blackest page in the history of American labor was stamped by its silent approval of the crime of 1887. But we are happy to witness the awakening of the conscience of the masses that will at a later day do full justice to the martyrs in the cause of liberty.

* * *

It is reported from Cleveland that the temporary injunction restraining the national and local officers of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union and its members from engaging in strikes or boycotts against the members of the Typothetæ has been made permanent by Justice Thompson of the United States Circuit Court.

This injunction is unusually sweeping. It not only restrains the union and its local and national officers from engaging in strikes or boycotts against the members of the Typothetæ, but it also restrains the union from taking a referendum vote, which had been started, on the question of ordering a General Strike, prohibits the union from levying assessments for strike purposes and restrains the organizers from organizing for the purpose of extending the strike.

In other words, the action of the Federal court practically deprives the Pressmen's Union of all the fundamental rights inherent in the very fact of its existence,

and annihilates with one sweep the very purpose of its being.

This injunction is a valuable document. We advise all workingmen to study it. Even the simplest intelligence could not fail to comprehend the true purport as summed up in the finding of the court. It is but too evident that the capitalist class is determined to use all the forces at their command—the government and courts which they own—to destroy the power of organized labor by paralyzing the activities of the unions.

Will the workingmen of America supinely see their last hope, the united effort, suppressed? Or will they, like men of spirit and independence, *demand* their rights —plutocratic court decisions notwithstanding—by virtue of their being the sole creators of the nation's wealth.

Rally around the flag of the General Strike and force your exploiters to beg quarter.

* * *

The Washington authorities are making strenuous efforts to improve the condition of the Filipinos. An edict has been issued to the local government to suppress all gambling, bringing home to the native the biblical injunction that it is better the body should perish that the soul may be saved.

Yet, fearing that the precious soul may suffer from the avoirdupois of its tenement, the body, our government has built a high tariff fence against Philippine products, which means the hunger cure for the "pacified" islands.

* * *

The *N. Y. Sun* laments the "very serious condition of affairs" in our regular army. Continuing, it says: "Not only are men deserting in formidable numbers, but as a rule good men neither enlist nor re-enlist. Although we need with each succeeding year an increase of our standing military force, each year it becomes more and more difficult to maintain even the establishment we had twelve months before."

And why should we "need with each succeeding year an increase of our standing military force"? What external enemies have the American people? Or does the *Sun,* perhaps, have in mind an *internal* enemy, whom the government of the rich must be in readiness to subdue?

840514020

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman]. – pp. 360-366 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 9 (Nov. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Whatever enemies the government may have—that is, those interested in keeping intact the system of national and international robbery—the American *people* have no quarrel with the peoples of any other country and will have none if the government will quit interfering with the affairs of the people of this or other countries.

The American *people* have but *one* enemy, the plutocratic parasite sucking the nation's blood. But the people need no increase of the army. When the time comes, they will take care of their own interests.

As to the *Sun's* lament over decreased enlistment and increased desertion from the army, it is fortunately a circumstance to rejoice over. It evidences the fact that the American citizen has not yet fallen a victim to the corrupting jingoism of the *Sun* which ever claims for an increased army. It proves that the average citizen values his manhood above "governmental policy," and that he abhors the thought of turning professional murderer at the behest of a uniformed ruffian.

May the time come soon when every rational man will look upon war as what it is, wanton murder, and will not merely passively discourage it by his refusal to enlist, but will actively demand the abolition of that barbaric machine of slaughter, the army and navy.

* * *

According to the second monthly report of the Public Service Commission, fifty-six persons were killed and one hundred and fifty-two seriously injured by the steam railways and underground, elevated and surface street car lines in Greater New York during the one month of September.

The first report of the Commission, covering the last twenty-six days of August, showed forty-two persons killed and one hundred and forty-seven seriously injured. Taking the eight weeks covered by the two reports this means twelve or thirteen persons killed and nearly ninety injured every week.

Is this wholesale slaughter an unavoidable incident of rapid transit, as the company's officials would have us believe? Berlin, Paris and London statistics prove, however, that transportation in those cities is carried on at a far lesser sacrifice of life than with us.

The lack of adequate equipment, the overworking of

employees and the company's absolute disregard of the safety of either passenger or pedestrian are responsible for the murderous record.

An educated public opinion would speedily curb the greediness of the transit companies and reduce the sacrifice of life to a minimum, by holding the traction magnates personally responsible for their criminal negligence.

* * *

In England, that classic land of conservative trade unionism, the railway companies refuse to recognize the organization of their employees. The latter's proposal to arbitrate their demands and grievances was scornfully rejected. "We have nothing to arbitrate," said the employers. "We care nothing about your unions."

The employers of England, like the American breed, have gradually come to believe that trade unions have a right to exist only in so far as they enable the exploiters to make greater profits and to keep in check the "impudent pretensions" of labor. According to them, unions should serve as a kind of preventative against higher wages and shorter hours; they should also inculcate in their members the lesson that "the rich and poor you must always have among you," a God-ordained institution, based on a system of perfect economics. Is it any wonder, then, that the exploiters are so sorely disappointed when the workingmen persist—*in spite* of conservative trade unionism—in their attempts to lighten their heavy burdens.

The scornful attitude of the railway companies of Great Britain may lead to a General Strike of all the railway employees in the kingdom. After all, 'tis the only answer the labor organizations can give to the challenge of their exploiters.

* * *

We mourn the loss of two old and faithful soldiers of liberty, Sam Mainwaring and Fermín Salvochea. The former died in London, on the twenty-ninth of September; the latter, one of the most prominent Anarchists of Spain, died at Cadiz.

We shall pay our deceased comrades a deserved tribute in our next issue.

* * *

840514020
The Emma Goldman Papers
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].— pp. 360-366 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 9 (Nov. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The "Confédération Générale du Travail" of France has resolved to form an International Trade Union Bureau; the labor organization of all countries, favoring revolutionary ideas and methods along syndicalistic lines, are invited to join.

Thus far the following organizations have signified their desire to co-operate: The Labor Federation of Roman Switzerland, the Labor Unions of the Netherlands, the Italian Syndicalists, the Trades Union League of Germany and various labor organizations of England.

* * *

An apparently insignificant newspaper item will often reveal the depths of our social misery, unmasking the glittering pretensions of an impotent civilization.

It was recently reported that Valentine Cantral, a young French girl, was sentenced to six months for destroying a picture in the Louvre. Without work or money, she preferred arrest to starvation. Asked for an explanation, she told the judge: "Since I was nine years old I have worked with mamma as a seamstress. Even getting up early, I could only earn fifteen cents a day. How do you expect me to live on fifteen cents a day? It is society that is guilty—the society which condemned me to starvation."

The friendless, hungry girl instinctively felt that she was not a criminal; that there was something wrong with a society which condemned her to starve,—her, that was so willing to work.

She felt all this and in her desperation she spoke out. Dangerous doctrine! No wonder the Cerberus of our perfect society condemned her to prison.

But if he had a spark of humanity in his crooked soul, he must have felt like a guilty criminal before the nobility of the poor girl, who said, simply: "I regret my act because I have learned that the man who painted the picture, like me, also suffered poverty and hardships."

It is characteristic of the capitalistic mind, that all the pathos of the poor girl's fate merely called forth the newspaper comment that "it is feared the girl will have imitators among the miscreants in search of notoriety."

Indeed, the underdogs, the exploited and oppressed are ever the miscreants, the undesirables.

* * *

With the October issue, our London contemporary, *Freedom*, celebrated its twenty-first anniversary. We congratulate our English comrades on their brave and persistent battle with indifference and financial difficulties.

The October number contains timely articles by Peter Kropotkin and other able contributors, reviewing the past two decades of the labor movement in general and the Anarchist agitation in particular.

* * *

"The third Duma is conservative," triumphantly cries the official Russian press. The journalistic Cossacks seem, however, to leave the revolutionists out of their calculations. The latter will become more active in proportion to the pressure of reaction. The recent assassination of Gen. Maximoffsky, Director of Russian Prisons, is the latest token of that noble self-sacrifice and devotion to liberty that will know no abatement till the savage autocracy is a thing of the past.

Mlle. Ragozinnikova, who joyfully gave her life to free her beloved country from the brutal torturer of political prisoners — Gen. Maximoffsky — beautifully typifies the noble spirit of young Russia, that has consecrated all its energies, yea, its very life, to the service of freedom.

Mlle. Ragozinnikova, whose father is a teacher in the Imperial Conservatory of Music, has long been active in the revolutionary movement of her country. She was an indefatigable and fearless worker. Her devotion and personal courage are the more remarkable in view of the fact that she was well known to the authorities, her portrait in the police gallery being marked "dangerous suspect." In spite of that, however, she presented herself at the weekly reception of Gen. Maximoffsky, demanding an interview. She quietly remained in the crowded anteroom for three hours, unrecognized by the officials. When she was finally admitted to the General's presence, she drew a revolver and relieved the world from a most cruel, inhuman torturer.

The Tsar's bloodhounds quickly devoured the noble victim. But the wondrous spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to ideals, typified by this martyr of liberty, shall finally triumph over all obstacles, suppression and tyranny.

* * *

840514020
The Emma Goldman Papers
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 360-366 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 9 (Nov. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The good, faithful subjects of the Fatherland stand aghast at the recent revelations concerning the noble-born entourage of the German court, whose shining centre is the Kaiser *himself*. It appears that his Majesty's most intimate friends have a strong penchant for the charms of—their own sex.

"Public opinion" feels dutifully outraged. How immoral to allow one's self to be so vulgarly exposed.

Maximilian Harden—who is less euphoniously known as Herr Wittkowski and whose life-work it is to guard the purity of the monarchy—could not master his moral indignation. In his magazine, *Die Zukunft*, he severely and persistently denounced the illustrious pillars of the throne—prompted by his great love for the Fatherland, of course.

Religion, morality and *das deutsche Gemüth*, so simple and trustful, have sustained a terrible shock. What shall become of the good people's confidence in their government, when its chiefs are unmasked as immoralists!

Something must be quickly done to restore the weakening faith of the terrified herd. We learn that the first practical steps in that direction already have been taken. The authorities lost no time in initiating a campaign of persecution against the Berlin Anarchists. The public must be given fresh proof of the untiring zeal and devotion of the police and government. That will pour oil on the troubled waters.

* * *

TO OUR READERS

DEAR FRIENDS:

MOTHER EARTH has not yet proven a paying venture. Those of us who were familiar with the bitter struggle of every outspoken, radical paper knew that MOTHER EARTH would not be exempt from the same fate.

In the July issue we brought a detailed account of receipts and expenditures; also the balance of the Sustaining Fund then amounting to $372.66, which—if we had not been confronted by the summer—would have been something of a capital.

In no country is there such apathy, such indifference and inactivity during the summer months as in America.

I cannot quite account for it (though the heat may have something to do with it), unless it be that radicalism, at best, is by many considered a convenience or sport, but not a necessity. At any rate, the net receipts of the magazine for July, August, September and October amounted to less than $120. The expenditures for the same period came to nearly $700, that is, MOTHER EARTH suffered a monthly deficit of about $145.

Some might consider such a state of affairs discouraging; we do not. We feel that MOTHER EARTH has kept her colors flying in spite of all obstacles. Uncompromising, fearless, barely known, with no sensational advertising lists, no schemes and inducements to buy shares or stock, MOTHER EARTH—which has not dabbled in all sorts of lukewarm reform and oily liberalism, yet was able to weather the storm for nineteen months—must surely possess staying powers which will sooner or later carry her to safe port.

That it may be sooner we appeal to you, friends, for co-operation and assistance.

We reopen the MOTHER EARTH Sustaining Fund, hoping that all those who like the little fighter will contribute at their earliest convenience.

There are many ways of aiding the magazine. For instance, by increasing its circulation: purchasing several copies monthly for missionary work; trying to secure new subscribers, and calling on one's newsdealer for the magazine.

As the magazine will now have a special labor department, our readers who are members of unions could aid our work by circulating the magazine among their fellow workers.

The first part of the coming year I shall begin a tour, for which extensive preparations are now being made in the West. Groups, unions and societies between New York and Denver wishing me to lecture before them will please communicate with me at once, in order that meetings may be arranged more systematically.

In the next issue I shall bring a complete list of subjects that I am now preparing. I shall endeavor to make my tour an educational and financial success, to furnish the sinews of war for MOTHER EARTH. Meanwhile, comrades, it is for you to help with the Sustaining Fund.

The Emma Goldman Papers
840514021
"La Ruche" / Emma Goldman.– pp. 388-394 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 9 (Nov. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

cated in a convent, joined the ranks of freethinkers when still in her teens, and developed—by way of Individualism—into one of the staunchest and most uncompromising workers in the cause of Anarchist Communism.

We are hopeful of the future of the American movement.

* * *

Appended is a list of Anarchist publications in America:

MOTHER EARTH (English). Monthly. New York.

LIBERTY (English). Individualist. Monthly. New York.

THE DEMONSTRATOR (English). Weekly. Home, Washington.

FREIHEIT (German). Weekly. New York.

DAS FREIE WORT (German). Monthly. New York.

ARBEITER ZEITUNG (German). Daily. Chicago.

FACKEL (Sunday), VORBOTE (Weekly). Editions of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*.

VOLNE LISTY (Bohemian). Weekly. New York.

QUESTIONE SOCIALE (Italian). Weekly. Paterson, N. J.

CRONACA SOVVERSIVA (Italian). Weekly. Barre, Vermont.

FREIE ARBEITER STIMME (Yiddish). Weekly. New York.

* * *

"LA RUCHE"

(The Beehive.)

By Emma Goldman.

THE rearing of children—whether in the sense of training or in the sense of free unfoldment—is still causing much dispute. The tendency of the times is to produce uniform and average types. Spontaneity and originality are considered out of date and useless. In fact, the less creative man is, the better his chances in every vocation of life.

The division of labor has never before reached such height, nor has man ever before been so much degraded

to a mere machine. The spirit of an Emerson or a Goethe is rare indeed, and impractical for our daily life. The most lamentable quality of modern man is his great capacity for adjustment. His activities are mechanical; his work, instead of liberating him, is riveting his chains still deeper into his flesh. The iron necessity of eking out a living imposes such occupations which are remunerative, though in no way related to his nature or inclinations. The question is not as to what could give the greatest satisfaction or joy; rather is it what gain, what material results can accrue therefrom.

The same spirit actuates the ideals of our times in the rearing and educating of the child. Most parents see in the school, the college and university the medium of profitable positions. They look upon education as a good investment, eagerly awaiting the time when they and their children will reap the dividends.

The idea that the rearing of the child—whether boy or girl—implies a consideration of the *individual* tendencies, has vanished from the horizon of parents and educators of to-day. No wonder they fail to grasp the importance of free unfoldment and growth.

* * *

An attempt to give the child an opportunity for unhampered development is being made in France by Sebastian Faure. The latter became widely known during the high tide of the Dreyfuss campaign. Together with Emile Zola, Anatole France, and Octave Mirbeau, Sebastian Faure fought the corrupt nationalistic and militaristic cliques which were endeavoring to use the Dreyfuss affair to further their own reactionary aims, mindful of Dr. Johnson's remark, that patriotism is the resource of knaves.

Faure is considered the most formidable foe of the reactionists, because of his remarkable oratorical ability. But Faure's particular forte is his opposition to religion and churchism, with which, as an ex-priest, he is thoroughly familiar. Faure might be compared to Robert Ingersoll, except that the ideas of the former are much broader and higher. He did not stop at free thought; but, as Anarchist and educator he is equally uncompromising in his opposition to economic and social iniquities. Faure is a practical idealist—one that applies his theories

840514021
The Emma Goldman Papers
"La Ruche" / Emma Goldman.— pp. 388-394 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 2, no. 9 (Nov. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

of a happier future to the immediate regeneration of society.

* * *

"La Ruche" is an hour's journey from Paris; it is situated on the outskirts of a village named Rambouillet, a former stronghold of French nobility and now owned by the government, serving as a summer resort of the President.

Two years ago comrade Faure bought the land on which he has built his "Beehive." In that comparatively short time he succeeded to transform the former wild, uncultivated country into a blooming spot, having all the appearances of a prosperous and well-kept farm. A large, square court, enclosed by three buildings, and a broad path leading to the garden and orchards, greet the eye of the visitor. The garden, kept as only a Frenchman knows how, furnishes a large variety of vegetables for the "Hive." Faure is not a faddist; but he believes that fresh vegetables contain more nutrition than meat; the latter is therefore served but once a week at "La Ruche." Nor do they lack fresh vegetables in the winter time, for the large greenhouse is well stocked. Almost anybody would be tempted to turn vegetarian at the sight of the inviting, artistically grouped garden patches. Added to them are an orchard and a flower garden, which further enhance the beauty of "La Ruche."

Sebastian Faure is of the opinion that if the child is subjected to contradictory influences, its development suffers in consequence. Only when the material needs, the hygiene of the home and intellectual environment are harmonious, can the child grow into a healthy, free being.

I had read of "La Ruche" when it was first founded. On my arrival in Paris I wrote comrade Faure that I should very much like to see his venture in operation. I soon received his kind invitation to visit the place, of which I gladly took advantage in the company of a friend.

At the station of Rambouillet we were met by a little woman, the housekeeper and general manager of "La Ruche," who was accompanied by a young girl of about twelve years, very pretty and healthy-looking. After half an hour's ride through the beautiful country, we reached the "Beehive." On the way I was struck with the affectionate relations between my hostess and her little companion, sweet and tender as chums. I soon learned that the same atmosphere prevailed in the entire place.

Comrade Faure, whom I had previously met in 1900, greeted us with simple cordiality, and knowing that we had come to see and to learn, he lost no time in showing us through the place—a rare treat, not easily forgotten.

The cleanliness and beauty of the "Hive" filled us with admiration. Most wonderful of all, however, proved the dormitory and lavatory of children, furnished in the plainest conceivable manner and yet producing a remarkably bright and cheerful effect. The latter was due to the hand-painted wall paper—a labor of love by some of the ablest artists of France. Flowers, plants, birds and animals were grouped in harmonious colors, thus quickening the imagination of the children more effectively than a hundred lessons.

Co-education is still forbidden by the lawmakers of France. It is owing, however, to the great popularity of Faure that the government does not interfere with him, who not only propagates joint education, but also maintains it at "La Ruche." There the boys and girls mingle freely together in class-room, workshop and gymnasium..

The schoolroom lacked the usual awe-inspiring appearance—the children rocking in their chairs, listening to their instructor whom they seemed to regard as one of their own number, telling them an interesting story. Never before had I seen such spontaneous joy as on that September afternoon, when Sebastian Faure led us into the classroom and—with the most serious face—introduced the "American comrades to the comrades of 'La Ruche'," addressing each little tot as Mlle. Janette or Monsieur Henri. No one could remain in doubt as to the affection the children bore Faure.

Naturally, we were very anxious to hear the views of Faure himself, as to his novel undertaking. Among other things he said:

"I have taken twenty-four children of both sexes, mostly orphans or those whose parents are too poor to pay. They are clothed, housed and educated at my expense. Till their twelfth year they will receive a sound elementary education; between the age of twelve and

840514021
The Emma Goldman Papers
"La Ruche" / Emma Goldman. – pp. 388-394 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 9 (Nov. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

fifteen—their studies still continuing—they are to be taught some trade, in keeping with their individual dispositions and abilities. After that they are at liberty to leave 'La Ruche' to begin life in the outside world, with the assurance that they may at any time return to 'The Hive,' where they shall be received with open arms and welcomed as parents do their beloved children. Then, if they wish to work at our place, they may do so under the following conditions: One-third of the product to cover the expenses of his or her maintenance, another third to go towards the general fund set aside for accommodating new children, and the last third to be devoted to the personal use of the child, as he or she may see fit.

"The health of the children who are now in my care is perfect. Pure air, nutritious food, physical exercise in the open, long walks, observation of hygienic rules, the short and interesting method of instruction and, above all, our affectionate understanding and care of the children have produced admirable physical and mental results.

"It would be unjust to claim that the children have accomplished wonders; yet, considering that they belong to the average, having had no previous opportunities, the results are gratifying indeed. The most important thing they have acquired—a rare trait with ordinary school children—is the love of study, the desire to know, to be informed. They have learned a new method of work—one that quickens the memory and stimulates the imagination. We make a particular effort to awaken the child's interest in his surroundings, to make him realize the importance of observation, investigation and reflection, so that when the children reach maturity, they should not be deaf and blind to the things about them. Our children never accept anything in blind faith, without inquiry as to why and wherefore; nor do they feel satisfied until their questions are thoroughly answered. Thus their minds are free from doubts and fear resultant from incomplete or untruthful replies; it is the latter which warp the growth of the child and create a lack of confidence in himself and those about him."

I asked comrade Faure what the relations of the children were among themselves and how they treated each other.

Faure replied: "It is surprising how frank, kind and

affectionate the children are to each other. The harmony between themselves and the adults at 'La Ruche' is highly encouraging. We should feel at fault were the children to fear or honor us merely because we are their elders. We leave nothing undone to gain their confidence and love; that accomplished, understanding will replace duty; confidence, fear; and affection, sternness.

"No one has yet fully realized the wealth of sympathy, kindness and generosity hidden in the soul of the child. The effort of every true educator should be to unlock that treasure—to stimulate the child's impulses and call forth the best and noblest tendencies. What greater reward can there be for one whose life-work is to watch over the growth of the human plant, than to see its nature unfold its petals and to observe it develop into a true individuality. My comrades at 'The Beehive' look for no grander reward, and it is due to them and their efforts, even more than my own, that our human garden promises to bear beautiful fruit."

Referring to the subject of history and the prevailing old methods of instruction, I asked comrade Faure how that subject is being taught at "The Hive."

He replied, simply: "We explain to our children that true history is yet to be written—the story of those who have died unknown in the effort to aid humanity to greater achievement."

The comrades associated with Sebastian Faure are so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the place that everything continues in the same harmonious way, though he, himself, is absent the greater part of the year on lecture tours. The latter serve the double purpose of education and raising funds for "La Ruche," forty thousand francs having been raised during the two years of "The Hive's" existence. Comrade Faure hopes to earn this winter a sufficient sum to liquidate the amount still due on "La Ruche." That done, the venture will become self-supporting, enabling Faure to enlarge his family.

Our visit to "La Ruche" was most interesting and instructive, and we regretted that time did not permit us to prolong our visit.

We were driven to the station by the friend who had met us on our arrival. She proved to be not only a kind

840514021
The Emma Goldman Papers
"La Ruche" / Emma Goldman.– pp. 388-394 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 9 (Nov. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

and lovable person, but also a highly intelligent woman with great independence of character. Being too early for our train, we were asked to have a drive through the famous Rambouillet woods, passing the palace where the French President, M. Fallières, was spending the summer.

How forcibly the place contrasted with "La Ruche"! The latter, an attempt at a new life, new human beings, new habits. Rambouillet, representing the decayed pillars of old and tottering institutions. What a contrast!

Sebastian Faure calls his attempt a work of "education and solidarity." May it prosper and serve as a noble example for others to follow. In a world of sham, hypocrisy and misery, is there any grander work than the rearing of new men and women?

* * *

"THE BIRDS"—CHILDREN'S NURSERY

SUCH is the name of the first institution to be established for the taking care, nursing and rearing of children of radical mothers—mothers who are compelled to work for a living and to provide for their children. It was easy, exceedingly easy, for Anarchist and Socialist speakers to rant against the slavery of marriage and to advise the young to remain independent, at least from the bondage of matrimony. But when the speakers were taken seriously, and the consequences of such "independence" were to be faced, then the young and inexperienced mother found herself forsaken, especially if she had character enough not to be dominated by the so-called father of the child. Neither did she find much sympathy among the comrades; the spirit of solidarity, which she had heard hailed so often as a particular virtue of her radical co-workers, found no application in her case, although she was willing to pay for the aid to be rendered. Thus she was forced to take refuge in bourgeois institutions, which she was taught to hate and shun like poison.

Tragedies of this kind there have been many, and many of us could not help but feel ashamed of the lack of fraternal feeling and mutual aid among ourselves, and all of us ought to rejoice that comrade Noémie Racovici

and other children's friends have taken the initiative to found a nursery for the children of radical working women. But the initiators are poor themselves, and so ask for the co-operation of all those who believe that much could be done to make life more pleasant and more comfortable right here and now, without waiting for the "day of judgment"—the Social Revolution.

The intention is to make the nursery self-supporting, but a little material help is needed for the beginning, and so a concert and ball has been arranged, the proceeds of which are to be used for the benefit of the projected nursery.

The ball takes place November 22, 8 p. m., at Apollo Hall, Clinton street, and I hope that all those radicals who believe in self-help will encourage the undertaking by their presence.*

A. ISAAK.

* * *

TRADE UNIONISM AND ANARCHISM

(A Letter to a Brother Unionist.)

Dear Friend and Brother:

In your letter, just to hand, you ask me if I know what Anarchism has to do with trade unionism. You write that many members of your local union are professed Anarchists; that these men are deeply interested in strengthening the union, that they are active and alert, and are possessed of more than ordinary enthusiasm in furthering the cause of unionism. You seem at a loss to understand this, and ask me if I can give you an explanation of it.

If I were to say that trade unionism and Anarchism are both striving to solve the same problem, it would not be sufficient. You would still want to know how they can be reconciled in their propagandas. So, in order to understand their relation to one another, it is necessary to understand each in its relation to the problem that

* We heartily favor the project of a nursery for the children of radical mothers. We regret, however, that the founders of the nursery have arranged their ball for the same date on which the MOTHER EARTH semi-annual reunion is to take place. It was very thoughtless, to say the least.—Ed.

371

880824005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman's Lecture / Emma Goldman.– p. 68 ; 28 cm.
In Freedom [London]. –(Nov. 1907).
Obtained from the Center for Research Libraries, Chicago.

Freedom

JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

GER, 127 Ossulston Street, N.W.

NOTES.

hundreds and maimed to thousands, while their work entails a nervous and physical strain which is rewarded by wages that in many cases are shameful and in the best of cases are inadequate, as wages always are. The great British public has been told of all this year after year. Has it cared? Not much. Has it called indignation meetings against the conduct of the directors? Not once. It has simply been indifferent. Very well then, no public in the world, British or other, has any right to consideration from men who slave under such conditions. Let them learn by hard experience how much they owe to those who day by day risk life and limb for their convenience.

EMMA GOLDMAN'S LECTURE.

An eager, expectant audience filled the Holborn Town Hall on October 7 to hear our comrade Emma Goldman lecture on "The Labour Struggle in America." A charge of sixpence for admission did not deter them. The gallery, which was free, was filled some time before the lecture was to begin. At the Press table quite a crowd of reporters were waiting. Prompt as the clock chimed 8 the chairman, John Turner, led the way on to the platform, followed by our comrade. A word or two of introduction, in which it was pointed out that few people were better qualified to speak on the subject of the American Labour Movement than our comrade, as she had just completed a tour of the States before leaving for the Anarchist Congress at Amsterdam, and the lecturer was on her feet. For about an hour she held her audience interested. Starting by saying that America not only attracted the emigrants from Europe who desired political freedom, but almost entirely those who went there for material gain, she pointed out that almost the entire outlook was a sordid one. The only exception was the Russian refugee fleeing from the Black Hundreds, the pogroms, as well as the tortures of the cowardly and bloody Czardom.

The growth of the American Federation of Labour was dealt with, and the recent scholy alliance of it with the Trust bosses, through the Civic Federation, touched on. Then the more robust spirit of the Western States was pointed out, and the revolutionary attitude of the Western Federation of Miners portrayed. The explanation of the non-conviction of Haywood was for life and startling. "It was openly said," that the State authorities had not got the human machine ready to carry out the wishes of the mining and other capitalists of that part of America. They had the judges, the lawyers, the policemen, the gaolers, the executioners, all ready to do their foul deeds as they did it in Chicago in 1887. The reason Haywood was acquitted was that the jury knew right well that the Western Miners thoroughly understood how to handle and use dynamite."

The American workers, who were very quick, were beginning to show dissatisfaction with the tactics of Gompers and Mitchell. If the Industrial Workers of the World had kept out of politics, it might have become a powerful body. Any new organisation to succeed must certainly do so. Once the real solidarity of Labour was understood, and the General Strike made a principle of economic warfare, the Labour Struggle in America would sweep everything before it.

At the close of the lecture a large number of questions were asked, and splendidly answered by our comrade. It is very satisfactory to report that there was a surplus after paying all expenses.

As it was announced that other lectures would probably be given by Emma Goldman in London and the provinces, a word of explanation is necessary to the many applicants for her services. It seems that the publication of *Mother Earth*, and other matters in America, made it imperative for her to return after a few days' rest. This was not known till the receipt of the U.S. mail. Disappointment at this is tempered by the pleasure at the success of the Amsterdam Congress, and the anticipation of the revival of Anarchist propaganda.

COMMUNIST CLUB, 107 CHARLOTTE STREET,
FITZROY SQUARE, W.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

372

880511050

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. In Italian] Resoconto generale del Congresso Anarchico di Amsterdam / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — 26 cm. *In* Il Pensiero [Rome]. — no. 20-21 (Nov. 1, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archivio Famiglia Berneri, Pistoia, Italy.

PENSIERO, RIVISTA QUINDICINALE DI SOCIOLOGIA, ARTE E LETTERATURA ANNO V, 1 NOVEMBRE 1907, N. 20-21

Resoconto generale del Congresso Anarchico di Amsterdam

24-31 Agosto 1907

Ricevimento dei delegati.

(24 AGOSTO)

Il 24 agosto a sera in una riunione privata si festeggiò l'arrivo dei delegati anarchici, venuti da tutte le parti d'Europa e dall'America. Fu una festa tutta intima e cordiale, di cui però non posso dare resoconto, non avendovi assistito, e non ossendomi curato di domandarne troppo. La sua scarsa importanza per ciò che riguarda il congresso, me ne assolve.

Del resto molti delegati, specialmente francesi e italiani, non erano ancora giunti.

Il compagno olandese Samaon disse alcune parole di saluto ai convenuti.

L'apertura del Congresso Comizio d'inaugurazione.

(25 AGOSTO)

Nel pomeriggio di domenica 25 agosto la grande sala terrena e il giardino attiguo del teatro « Plancius » di Amstordam (Plantage Kerklaan 61) contenevano circa duemila persone, per assistere all'apertura del Congresso Anarchico Internazionale.

Eran presenti un continuo di congressisti, delegati di gruppi e federazioni o aderenti individualmente. Altri congressisti, poi, giunsero l'indomani ed il 27 successivo. Molto numerosi erano i tedeschi e gli olandesi; era presente una discreta rappresentanza francese, belga, russa, boema, italiana e inglese. Rappresentata da molti compagni era la colonia anarchica straniera di Londra, fra cui alcuni italiani; ed erano presenti delegati, benchè in minor numero, venuti dagli Stati Uniti, dalla Polonia, dalla Bulgaria, dalla Serbia, dalla Svezia e dalla Rumenia.

Erano attesi anche F. Tarrida del Marmol, delegato di molti gruppi di Spagna, e il compagno cinese Tsanmin: ma il primo fu impedito di partire per Amsterdam da questioni più urgenti, ed il secondo fu trattenuto a Parigi dalla malattia della sua sposa. Il rappresentante della Repubblica Argentina Aristide Ceccarelli non era ancora giunto, ma giunse il posdomani insieme ad altri rappresentanti d'Italia, di Francia e di altri paesi.

Le organizzazioni anarchiche rappresentate regolarmente, e aderenti al Congresso erano: *Federazione dei Comunisti Libertari* di Olanda, *Federazione Comunisti Libertari* del Belgio, *Federazione Anarchica tedesca* di Germania, *Federazione Anarchica* di Boemia, *Federazione degli anarchici di lingua ebrea* di Londra, *Federazione socialista anarchica* della Svizzera Francese, *Federazione socialista anarchica del Lazio* (Italia), alcuni Gruppi anarchici di Parigi e del Passo di Calais, qualche sindacato operaio della Boemia o della Repubblica Argentina, ed altri gruppi di Austria, Stati Uniti, Russia, Inghilterra, ecc.

Per ciò che riguarda l'Italia, oltre la *Federazione Socialista Anarchica del Lazio*, eran rappresentati parecchi gruppi di Ancona, ed altri di italiani residenti a Buenos Aires, a Paterson, Filadelfia, New York, Tampa, Londra. Errico Malatesta era stato delegato dal precedente *Congresso Anarchico Italiano* del giugno, in Roma.

Adesioni e rappresentanze eran pervenute o pervennero poi da moltissime redazioni dei giornali anarchici di tutto il mondo; al completo quella della stampa anarchica tedesca; di quella italiana eran rappresentati: la rivista *Il Pensiero* di Roma, *La Gioventù Libertaria* di Roma, *La Vita Operaia* di Ancona, *La Questione Sociale* di Paterson, *Il Risveglio* di Ginevra.

Vanno contate fra le adesioni, anche quelle pervenute in iscritto o per telegrafo, da altri paesi ove i compagni non han potuto sopperire alle spese per l'invio d'un rappresentante, come per esempio il Brasile, il Portogallo, l'Egitto, la Galizia, Cuba.

Era aspettato anche il compagno *John Turner* (membro influente dello *Trades-Unions* d'Inghiltorra); ma sapemmo che non sarebbe potuto venire, perchè trattenuto da un congresso corporativo a Stoccarda.

Parecchie donne sono fra i congressisti, specialmente olandesi, russe o tedesche. Molto festeggiata è la compagna Emma Goldmann, redattrice della rivista *Mother Earth* (New York), venuta appositamente dagli Stati Uniti.

La folla, naturalmente olandese nella maggior parte, di tutto il comizio aspetta l'inizio dei discorsi cantando inni rivoluzionari, specialmente *l'Internazionale*.

Sale alla tribuna il dott. *R. Friedeberg* di Berlino, un recente fuoriscito dal partito socialista tedesco, che sopratutto critica la forza apparente dalla social-democrazia tedesca, che ha adottato come metodo unico di lotta il parlamentarismo, cui bisogna opporre l'azione diretta e la propaganda dello sciopero generale rivoluzionario.

E. Malatesta saluta i compagni olandesi, e svolge il concetto che gli anarchici e i rivoluzionarii in genere devono contare unicamente sulle proprio forze per l'emancipazione di tutti gli oppressi e per lo sviluppo del progresso, il quale non può essere reale se non quando saranno caduti per forza di popolo tutte le dominazioni politiche, economiche e religiose.

R. De Marmande, francese, evoca il fallimento completo della conferenza diplomatica della pace all'Aia e del congresso social-democratico internazionale a Stoccarda. Solo gli anarchici e i sindacalisti sono una forza viva, padrona dell'avvenire, come lo provano le persecuzioni che contro essi si scatenano nella borghese Repubblica Francese, con danno di tutta la classe operaia. Nel momento attuale un congresso anarchico era necessario per la chiarezza delle idee e per stabilire fra i libertari un accordo internazionale.

Pierre Ramus, di Londra, parla anche egli del Congresso di Stoccarda, a cui il congresso di Amsterdam suona ammonimento. La causa della rivolnzione è stata disertata dai socialisti, mentre gli anarchici le son restati fedeli. Ripeto una frase oltraggiosa contro l'anarchismo del deputato olandese P. J. Troelstra, per rovesciarne i termini, e finisce il suo discorso al grido di: Viva l'anarchia!

Rogdaeff russo, parla sopratutto della rivoluzione che scuote il suo paese e della parte che vi prendono gli anarchici. I gruppi anarchici in Russia cercano in tutti i modi che la rivoluzione non sia deviata dai politicanti, che vorrebbero una rivoluzione a scartamento ridotto solo per avere un governo costituzionale. Gli anarchici in Russia cercano di attuare la rivoluzione nel campo economico, e ci riescono; prova ne è che i metodi degli anarchici sono apprezzati e messi in opera in Russia non dagli anarchici soltanto. Finisce, assicurando i lavoratori rivoluzionari di tutti i paesi della solidarietà completa da parte dei rivoluzionari di Russia.

Emma Goldmann (Stati Uniti), narra i progressi dell'anarchismo nell'America del Nord. Le nostre idee vi guadagnano sempre più piede. Critica anche lei la democrazia borghese o quella socialista, che sono un pericolo per il proletariato. Si augura che dal congresso possa uscire qualche cosa di buono per la causa rivoluzionaria, per la libertà, per l'anarchia.

E. Chapelier, del Belgio, non farà una conferenza, e spera che anche il congresso anarchico sfugga al doppio pericolo di essere una serie di inutili conferenze, oppure un qualche cosa di burocratico. Si scaglia contro il militarismo, e contro lo spirito militaresco dominante nei partiti autoritarii.

Peter Munjits, della Serbia, narra le condizioni miserande dei paesi Balcanici; specialmente della Macedonia. In Serbia c'è anche una social-democrazia piuttosto forte, ma che non è di alcuna utilità al proletariato. Saluta il sorgere dell'Internazionale Libertaria.

Karel Vohryzek, della Boemia, si augura anch'egli che il sorgere della nuova Internazionale sia presto un fatto compiuto.

Paul Frauböse, di Berlino dice che gli anarchici di Germania han voluto organizzarsi nella Federazione Anarchica Tedesca, perchè nell'organizzazione han veduto un mezzo di più per combattere energicamente la borghesia. Perciò egli e i suoi amici sono favorevoli all'idea dell'Internazionale libertaria.

Chr. Cornelissen, olandese, chiude il comizio, felicitandosi che l'Olanda libertaria sia la prima ad ospitare un congresso di anarchici, indipendente dalla social-democrazia. Ricorda un episodio dell'antica Internazionale, raccontato da Guillaume, e cioè il ricevimento in Olanda di altri congressisti, al congresso dell'Aia nel 1872, quando i seguaci di Bakounine s'incontrarono la prima volta coi socialisti di Amsterdam. Fin da allora Guillaume notò lo spirito olandese refrattario alle velleità centralizzatrici. L'oratore si augura che anche ora i congressisti, dal contatto con i compagni olandesi, riportino la medesima impressione.

— Si toglie la seduta, che è rimandata all'indomani, in cui cominceranno le discussioni.

Il Congresso — Una mozione d'ordine — Rapporti sul movimento anarchico internazionale.

(26 AGOSTO)

Seduta antimeridiana.

La seduta si apre alle 9 del mattino. E' nominato presidente, per regolare la discussione, il compagno *Henri Fuss-Amoré*, del Belgio.

Si passano in rassegna per nazionalità i congressisti, rappresentanti di gruppi o aderenti individualmente, per evitare che si intromettano fra essi persone non conosciute o sospette.

F. Domelà Nieuwenhuis solleva un incidente. Egli dice che il prossimo 30 agosto deve tenersi in Amsterdam un Congresso Antimilitarista; e propone perciò ai compagni che la parte dell'ordine del giorno che riguarda l'antimilitarismo sia discussa, tutti insieme, al Congresso Antimilitarista, con cui il 30 il Congresso Anarchico dovrebbe fondersi.

Friedeberg, Ramus, Baginski, Goldmann appoggiano la proposta di Domela.

Malatesta si oppone, dicendo che, o al congresso antimilitarista interverranno tutti anarchici, e allora è inutile fare un congreso a parte; oppure, come è preveduto, ci saranno anche elementi non anarchici, e allora gli anarchici devono prima fra loro intendersi e discutere su che cosa intendono per antimilitarismo, e poi, se mai, andare al congresso antimilitarista a sostenere le idee anarchiche sulla questione. Egli propone semplicemente il passaggio all'ordine del giorno.

De Marmande, Thonar, Chapelier ed altri si associano a Malatesta.

La discussione si fa un po' vivace, ma poi il passaggio all'ordine del giorno è approvato con 37 voti contro 33 e una ventina di astensioni.

***

Seduta pomeridiana

— Nella seduta pomeridiana, dalle 14 allo 20, si fa lettura dei rapporti inviati. Alcuni ne son fatti brevemente a viva voce, altri ne sono distribuiti, stampati in giornali o in opuscoli (1).

Georges Thonar di Liegi espone la situazione del movimento nostro nel Belgio. Vi esiste una organizzazione. *La Federazione Comunista Libertaria*, fondata dal 1905, per propagare le idee comuniste anarchiche con tutti i mezzi orali e scritti. Questa organizzazione che unisce la maggior parte dei militanti anarchici del Belgio, è costituita da sezioni in cui si ritrovano i compagni d'una stessa città o d'una stessa regione. Ogni membro è autonomo nella sezione, ogni sezione è autonoma nella federazione. Le idee della federazione sono esposte in una dichiarazione di principii adottata all'unanimità al congresso anarchico belga di Charleroi nel 1904. I gruppi più attivi sono quelli di Liegi, Court S. Etienne, Flemolle, Charleroi e qualche altro.

La stampa vi è un po' irregolare; ma in cambio di giornali ci pubblicano parecchi opuscoli di propaganda.

Oltre la *Federazione*, esisto una colonia libertaria a Boitsfort che pubblica un piccolo giornale (*Le Communiste*); si pubblica anche ad Anversa una rivista anarchica in lingua fiamminga (*Ontwaking*).

Vohryzek (Boemia): Il movimento anarchico ceco è, ad eccezione forse di quello francese e spagnuolo, il più diffuso. Parte dei compagni erano in principio contro ogni organizzazione, ma le idee in proposito si sono schiarite a favore dell'organizzazione, che esisto ora da non meno di quattro anni. In questo momento disponiamo di otto fogli, che si pubblicano quasi tutti regolarmente. Tra altri abbiamo il *Komuna* e *Der arme Teufel* (Il povero Diavolo). Quest'ultimo ha una tiratura di 12.000 copie e si rivolge a la gran massa. Causa la difficoltà di trovare dei traduttori per la nostra lingua, all'estero si sa ben poco di noi. La maggior influenza la esercitiamo fra i minatori e i tessitori della Boemia settentrionale, ciò che riesce qualche volta sgradevole ai socialisti. Che facciamo una propaganda intensa è dimostrato puro dal fatto, che abbiamo pubblicato finora una trentina di opuscoli: fra altro « Der soziale Generalstreik » (Lo sciopero generale sociale) in 50.000 copie. Quasi tutti gli opuscoli sono esauriti e dobbiamo quindi pensare alla ristampa.

Samson, olandese, fa notare l'attività della "Federazione comunista libertaria„ dell'Olanda, per cui iniziativa il congresso si è fatto. L'organo della federazione è il giornale *De Vrije Communist*; e a cura della stessa è stato pubblicato ultimamente un almanacco illustrato di propaganda, da cui può desumersi, per le notizie che vi son raccolte, tutta l'attività degli anarchici olandesi. Oltre al giornale suddetto, si pubblicano in Olanda altri sette periodici anarchici, ed uno sindacalista. Ad Amsterdam poi esce un giornale quotidiano, *Het Volksdagblad*, con forti tendenze anarchiche e sindacaliste. Fra i sindacati operai olandesi ce ne sono molti in mezzo a cui le idee anarchiche godono pronunciata simpatia. I sindacati dell'Aja da quando si sono separati dai parlamentaristi sono cresciuti in potenza.

Ci sono poi in Olanda anche dei gruppi di anarchici

(1) Fra questi si distribuì il rapporto su *l'Organizzazione Anarchica*, in italiano, del compagno Luigi Fabbri (che giunse l'indomani), per conto di alcuni gruppi di Roma e degli Stati Uniti.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880511050

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. In Italian] Resoconto generale del Congresso Anarchico di Amsterdam / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — 26 cm. *In* Il Pensiero [Rome]. — no. 20-21 (Nov. 1, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archivio Famigtia Berneri, Pistoia, Italy.

umanitari-cristiani, ma questi non hanno influenza nel movimento. *(Risa nell'assemblea).*

Rijnders, olandese, fa qualche osservazione al rapporto di Samsou, completandolo, aggiungendo altro notizio sul movimento che si esplica anche fuori della Federazioue.

Amedée Dunois, delegato della « Federazioue Socialista Anarchica » della Svizzera francese espone la situazione del movimento libertario nella regione romanda, che fu culla dell'anarchismo, con la Federazione del Ginra.

La Federazione della Svizzera romanda è sorta il 9 decembre 1906 iu un congreseo tenuto all'uopo. Esea ha fatto couoscere pubblicamente i suoi propositi con un manifesto ai lavoratori, in cui ei contiene uoa dichiarazioue di priucipii (copie di questo manifestn furon distribuite fra i congressisti). Adesioni sono perveuut» da quasi tutti i cantoui di lingua francese: Vaud, Neuchâtel, Ginra bernese, Valais, Giuevra. Per organo della Federazione è stato scelto *Il Risveglio* che ei pubblica a metà in lingua francese, e a metà in italiano, in Ginevra.

Da un po' di tempo la Svizzera francese conta un serio movimeuto sindacalieta rivolnzionerio, a cui prendono parto attiva i noetri compagni. Esso ha per organo *La Voix du Peuple* di Losanna, redatto a guisa dell'altro dello stesso nome di Parigi. Inutile dire che questo movimento sindacalista è osteggiato accanitamento dai social-democratici, epecialmente di lingna tedesca.

I compagni anarchici dei gruppi organizzati iu Svizzera aderiscono all'idea di una Internazionale Libertaria.

Max Baginski di New York, a proposito della Repubblica degli Stati Uniti d'America, nota che la lotta di classe è più vivace che mai nelle repubbliche borghesi. Perciò gli anarchici vi dovrebbero epiegare una maggiore attività. L'oratore fa un rapido cenno dello sviluppo dell'anarchismo dal 1833 in poi, parlando della tragedia di Chicago del 1886-87, dell'opera di varii compagni propagandisti, fra cui Emma Goldmann, Alessandro Berkmann, Giovanni Most. Accenna anche all'attività del gruppo della *Questione Sociale* di Paterson, e iu genere dei compagni italiani. A proposito di Czolgosz, ne magnifica l'atto, che qualifica « una esplosione dell'anima oppressa ». Ricorda che l'attentato contro Mac Kinloy segnò il puuto di partenza d'un nuovo movimento rivoluzionario, e d'una orientazione eignificativa dei lavoratori verso l'azione diretta, e lo eciopero generale.

Emma Goldmann si diffoude sopratutto a parlare del movimento attuale anarchico negli Stati Uniti, che è costituito da compagni di molte uazionalità, tedeschi, russi, italiani e per fino armeni e giapponesi. I giapponesi, che abbondano sopratutto iu California, uostrano speciali simpatie per le dottrine anarchiche. Gli anarchici ebrei sono organizzati in federazione in modo stabile; essi hanno raccolto molto danaro in America per la rivolnzione russa. Negli Stati Uniti si pubblicano presentemente tredici giornali anarchici, di cui qnattro in lingua inglese (compreso *Liberty*, l'organo individnalista del Tucker), cinque in lingua tedesca, uno in czeco, uno in ebraico, e dne in italinno: La *Questione Sociale* di Paterson e la *Cronaca Sovversiva* di Barre. Accenuando al movimento operaio, nota che la classe operaia comincia a orientarsi verso il sindacalismo, contro il vecchio tradnnionismo; e porta ad esempio la *Western Federation of Miners* e le sue lotte contro i capitalisti e il governo del Colorado, durante gli nltimi scioperi, in cui l'azione diretta fu cosi energicamente esercitata. La gioventù americana delle classi medie è poi in special modo portata verso le dottrine anarchiche.

Pierre Ramus di Londra, ma delegato anche dai compagni di Vienna dice brevemento le ragioni per cui il movimeuto anarchico di lingna tedesca una volta fiorente nella capitale austriaca si è andato pressochè estiugnendo. Ciò è stato per due canse: la perseccuzioue poliziesca e le calunnie della dèmocrazia sociale. E' a deplorarsi però anche il fatto che gli attacchi degli anarchici contro la democrazia sociale uon sempre hanno avuto moventi onesti.

Per qneeta ragione l'appellativo di « Socialismo libertario » è etato compromesso agli occhi della massa per opera d'individui che tutto sono fuorchè socialisti liberari. Aggiungesi poi che tutti i compagni capaci di scrivere e parlare per la causa sono tostn espulsi da Vienna, e ei avrà uu'idea dello etato del movimeuto. Torna nondimeno grato di rilevare un nascente risveglio del movimento per opera di alcnni attivi compagni i quali si propougoao di dáro in breve alla luco un organo quindicinale rispecchiante le nostre idee.

— Il presidente comunica che sono giunti da Ginevra (Svizzera) e da Essen (Germania) anguri telegrafici.

Si è deciso poi di continuare a trattare l'ordine del giorno del Congresso, per quanto sarà possibile, nelle assemblee serali perchè le discussioni del Congresso sono ralleutate di molto a causa delle traduzioni che si debbon fare sempre iu tre lingne: olandese, francese e tedesco.

***

Seduta notturna

Rudolf Lange, di Berlino, espone che in Germania si pubblicano 4 giornali anarchici, dei quali 3 settimanali ed uno mensile.

Oltro di ciò esiste ancora una rivista mensile a Berlino « Die freie Geuceration » (La gener. zione libera). Gli altri giornali sono: « Der freie Arbeiter », (L'operaio libero) settimanale, a Berlino, « Der Revolutionär » (Il Rivoluzionario) settimanale, a Berlino, « Dio Erkenntuis » (La coscienza), settimanale, a Mannheim, e « Der Anarchist » (L'anarchico) mensile, a Berlino. Poi il movimento anarchico in Germania dispone di una qnantità considerevole di opnscoli, che è molto utile. I compagni in Germania fanno parte quasi tutti della Federazione anarchica, e c'è la sicura speranza, che anche gli altri vi entreranno fra poco.

Schapiro (Russia): Si può dire che in Rnseia esistono una cinquantina di associazioni, in parte molto variabili e fluttuanti. Le condizioni sono tali che talvolta occorre sciogliere un gruppo per rifondarlo poco tempo dopo. Perfino nell'esercito ci sono dei gruppi anarchici.

Munijts (Serbia). Abbiamo tentato parecchie volte di pubblicare un giornale regolare anarchico, ma le uostre condizioni finanziarie molto difficili ci costringevano sempre a smettere l'impresa.

Nondimeno penseremo di far un altro tentativo, sicuri oramai di essere iu qualche modo appoggiati dai compagni di tutti gli altri paesi.

Malatesta (Italia): Il uostro movimento è forte nell'Italia settentrionale e centrale, meno sviluppato nel Sud. Il socialismo italinno è propriamente sul modello germanico ed è per ciò escluso che possa esercitare una grande influenza sugli operai, perchè il proletariato italiano ebbe sempre una inclinazione maggiore per l'azione rivolnzionaria.

Karl Walter di Londra per ciò che riguarda l'Inghilterra nou dà notizie troppo confortanti. Un vero o proprio movimento anarchico non si può dire ci sia. Ma l'attività dei piccoli gruppi anarchici esistenti è molta, o la loro influenza in rapporto al numero dei propri membri è considerevole. Gli anarchici operai son quasi tutti iscritti nelle Trades-Unions, ma vi esercitano poca influenza, all'infuori di qualcnno. Non esiste in Inghilterra neppure un movimento sindacalista rivoluzionario; eolo in questi ultimi tempi si è cercato fare qualche cosa in questo senso, e il giornale *Voice of Labor* redatto da compagni ne è l'interprete. A Londra si pubblica un altro gloruale anarchico, il *Freedom*, che tira 2000 esemplari. Esiste anche una piccola Federazione anarchica di otto gruppi.

— Dopo aver dato lettnra a varii telegrammi e lettere di adesione pervenute dall'Italia e dall'Inghilterra, la seduta è tolta. — Si decide che per risparmio di epesa e di tempo non ei pubblichi il bollettino quotidiano del congresso.

Discussione sull'Organizzazione Anarchica.

(27 AGOSTO)

Seduta antimeridiana.

Alle 9 si apre la seduta. Presiede *Lange Rudolf*, direttore del *Der Anarchist* di Berlino.

Per accordi presi, si pospone l'ordine, del giorno e si comincia a discutere il tema « anarchismo e organizzazione ». Ha la parola il relatore.

Amedée Dunois: Non è lontano il tempo in cui la maggioranza dei nostri compagni orano nemici ad ogni idea di organizzazione, e i compagni che ne avessero trattato sarebbero stati tacciati di mone retrograde e autoritario. Era il tempo in cui gli anarchici se ne stavano isolati gli uni dagli altri o più isolati ancora dalla classe operaia. L'anarchismo poteva apparire allora come lo sviluppo massimo del vecchio individualismo borghese. L'azione individnale, l'iniziativa individuale dovevano bastare a tutto: ei applaudiva il *Nemico del Popolo*, che dicbiarava che l'uomo isolato è il più forte di tutti.

Si dimenticava allora una cosa: che le idee di Ibsen non furono mai quelle di un rivoluzionario nel nostro senso della parola, ma di un moralista che vnol fondare una *élite* intellettuale e morale in seno stesso alla vecchia società.

Si trascuravano allora generalmente le questioni concreto dolla vita economica; e alcuni giungevano fino a negare il fenomeno della lotta di classe, per cui la società attuale si divideva solo per l'antagonismo delle varie opinioni; cosicchè la propaganda anarchica non aveva altro scopo che quello di proparar l'individuo alla discussione teorica. Questa tendenza potè essere utile come protesta contro l'opportunismo degli autoritari o dei social democratici. Benchè, anche noi combattere i social democratici qualche volta ci sia proceduto un po' troppo settariamente, a distruggere tutto ciò che quelli facevano, ed inalzare tutto ciò che quelli combattevano.

Così è avvenuto che molti anarchici perdettero di vista il carattere essenzialmente pratico e operaio del socialismo in generale o dell'anarchismo in particolare.

Così è avvenuto che gli anarchici sono ritornati indietro verso quell'idealismo filosofico che Marx ha così ben combattuto nel Manifesto dei Comunisti. Questo stato d'animo ha prodotto in gran parte l'assenza di un movimento a archico organico e coerente.

Ma da un po' di tempo il movimento ha preso un'altra piega. In Inghilterra, nel Belgio, in Olanda, in Germania, in Boemia, nella Svizzera ed in Italia sono sorte piccole organizzazioni permanenti; e anche in Francia il bisogno di organizzarsi comincia a farsi sentire. Questa evoluzione si deve allo stato di spirito e alle tendenze pratiche degli anarchici da circa otto anni a questa parte.

La partecipazione degli anarchici al movimento operaio ha tolta la distanza che li seperava dalla realtà vivente. Una prova ne è l'azione anarchica in seno al movimento sindacale ed antimilitarista.

Ciò ha avuto anche un altro risultato: l'anarchismo teorico ei è anch'esso ritempratn al contatto della realtà, fonte eterna di pensiero. L'anarchismo non è più solo per noi una concezione generale del mondo, un ideale d'esistenza, una ribellione dello spirito contro tutto ciò che è laido, impuro e bestiale nella vita; ora è innanzi tutto una teoria rivoluzionaria, un programma concreto di distruzione o di ricostruzione sociale. Dunque, è dal punto di vista dell'anarchismo rivoluzionario che bisogna giudicare la questione dell'organizzazione anarchica.

Gli avversari dell'organizzazione sono di due specie. I primi sono gli individualisti, che rieelgono a Rousseau, dicendo che la società é un male, essendo sempre una limitazione dell'indipendenza dell'individuo. Ma storicamente, teoricamente e logicamente l'anarchismo non è affatto l'individualismo in questo senso. Storicamente l'anarchia è lo evilnppo del socialism, prodottosi in seno all'Internazionale Teoricamente anarchia significa *società organizzata senza autorità politiche*. L'anarchismo non è individualista, ma federalista; io definisi l'anerchismo come il federnlismo integrale, l'estensione universale dell'idea di libero contratto. Che cos'è dunque l'organizzazione degli anarchici se non una libera federazione basata sulla completa autonomia dei suoi membri?

Gli altri avversari dell'organizzazione sono i partigiani dell'orgnnizzazione operaia, fondata sull'identità degli interessi, ma ostili ad ogni organizzazione fondata su identità di aspirazioni e di sentimenti. Essi obiettano che il campo d'azione degli anarchici è troppo limitato e tende a separare i militanti dal popolo facendone degli ideologi.

A me sembra che le obiezioni degli uni e degli altri non intacchino punto l'idea dell'organizzazione. Ai primi rispondiamo che col mescolarci all'azione e con l'organizzarci non rinunciamo alla nostra funzione di educatori e di ribelli contro ogni autorità esteriore; ai secondi osserviamo che noi vogliamo costituire, non una chiesnola separata dal proletariato militante, ma anzi la sua frazione più avanzata, più audace e più emancipata, unita sempre a lui, con lui solidale, a combattere nelle sue file la stessa battaglia, a difenderlo dei snoi nemici esterni ed interni. In altri termini noi vorremmo fornire al proletariato moderno ciò che di per se stesso non avrebbe: uno scopo finale e dei mezzi d'azione, per conferire all'azione sindacale rivoluzionaria il massimo di forza e di continuità.

Di più i gruppi anarchici debbono esercitare anche una funzione loro propria. Mi spiego. La rivoluzione sociale, sia sciopero generale che insurrezione armata, sarà opera della massa; ma poichè ogni movimento di masse ha bisogno di atti, che per il loro carattere specifico non possono essere fatti che da un piccolo nnmero più ardito e sicuro, saranno gli anarchici organizzati che costituiranno questa minoranza di azione rivoluzionaria. In ogni quartiere, comune, provincia, i nostri gruppi formeranno, in periodo rivoluzionario tante piccole organizzazioni di combattimento, destinate a compiere fatti speciali o delicati a cui la gran massa è quasi sempre inabile. Del resto anche in seno al movimento operaio odierno gli anarchici organizzati potrebbero influire potentemente come speciali gruppi di azione, che senza compromettere le organizzazioni sindacali generali, le aintassero nei momenti di crisi in cui c'è bisogno di azione e di sacrificio.

Infine, l'obiettivo regolare e continuo dei nostri gruppi, quello che dovrebbe dare il carattere all'insieme delle nostre organizzazioni, è di fare la propaganda anarchica secondo le uostre proprie concezioni teoriche, i nostri metodi di azione diretta e di federalismo integrale, da cui risulti un movimento specificamente anarchico. Questo movimento, nei suoi gruppi o federazioni di gruppi, potrebbe svolgere, attorno un programma pratico e concreto, con tutti i compagni che sono d'accordo con noi, un'azione comune, concertata e coordinata.

Non entro qui nei particolari; poichè il nome, la forma, gli organi e il programma dell'organizzazione uostra dovranno essere discussi in una seduta a parte.

Georges Thonar, per una dichiarazione: Iori nella discussione sull'ordine da tenersi nel congresso, a proposito della proposta Domela, si è deciso con una votazione di fare in un modo piuttosto che in un altro. Io ho voteto, ma desidero dire che il metodo del votare non mi sembra compatibile con un congresso anarchico; e se ieri non ho agito coerentemente a questa mia persuasione, è stato solo perchè si trattava d'una questione senza importanza sostanziale, su cui occorreva chiudere la troppo lunga discussione.

Errico Malatesta: Ciò che dico Thonar è veramente

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

374

88051050

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. In Italian] Resoconto generale del Congresso Anarchico di Amsterdam / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — 26 cm. *In* Il Pensiero [Rome]. —no. 20-21 (Nov. 1, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archivio Famiglia Berneri, Pistoia, Italy.

una questione che rientra nell'argomento dell'organizzazione, e può essere trattata in proposito dell'organizzazione.

Pierre Monatte: Un voto come quello di cui parla Thonar non ha nulla di antiautoritario. E' impossibile paragonare un voto su una questione procedurale, all'azione elettorale e al sistema parlamentare di governo. Anche nei sindacati si suole spesso ricorrere a forme di votazione, ma io non ci vedo incoerenza alcuna con la idea anarchica.

Alcuni vedono in tante cose, anche le più secondarie, delle questioni di principio e, incapaci di comprendere lo spirito dell'antiparlamentarismo, le vedono solo nel fatto di mettere un pezzo di carta in un'urna o di levare la mano.

Christian Cornelissen: Il voto non si impone alla opinione delle minoranze; esso serve soltanto a farci orientare.

Robert De Marmande: Se noi non ci mettiamo d'accordo nell'accettare il voto sulle varie questioni, non potremo capire quali siano le opinioni del congresso, e delle varie correnti del congresso. Quindi bisogna ricorrervi.

***

Seduta pomeridiana.

Croiset, olandese: Bisogna vedere anzitutto che cos'è secondo noi l'anarchia. Noi vogliamo una società nella quale sia garantita all'individuo tutta la sua libertà, in cui gli uomini vivano tutta la loro vita. Quando diciamo questo, intendiamo dire che ognuno viva la vita propria il più completamente possibile, e non quella degli altri. La mia divisa è io, io io... e *poi* gli altri.

Gl'individui debbono unirsi solo quando da soli non potrebbero raggiungere lo scopo. Ma l'unione non deve diventare coazione. Non è quindi l'individuo fatto per la società, ma la società per l'individuo.

L'anarchia tende a mettere l'individuo in grado di sviluppare tutta la sua personalità; e poichè l'organizzazione tende a limitare la libertà individuale, l'anarchia è contraria ad ogni organizzazione permanente. Gli anarchici per diventare pratici, si sono ricongiliati con l'organizzazione; ma una volta su questa via, si finisce con l'autorità, come i socialdemocratici.

Dobbiamo dunque tornare alla purezza delle idee che vale più di tutta la pratica.

Siegfried Nacht, austriaco: Non si occupa di ciò che ha detto Croiset; ma vuol piuttosto dire dei rapporti fra i sindacalisti anarchici e il sindacalismo. Dobbiamo curare l'organizzazione operaia, e accanto a questa si debbono formare gruppi speciali di preparazione rivoluzionaria.

Il sindacalismo ha una missione sua propria: la conquista della potenza economica da parte degli operai. Questa è anche l'aspirazione degli anarchici, ma ciò non si può ottenere con i gruppi di propaganda. Al popolo non possiamo rivolgerci con troppa teoria, ma piuttosto con l'azione; poichè nulla può rendere rivoluzionario tanto quanto l'azione.

I metodi dello sciopero generale e dell'azione diretta attraggono momentaneamente le masse. Queste formano, per dir così, la fanteria, mentre i gruppi anarchici tecnici rappresentano l'artiglieria.

Georges Thonar: Comunismo e individualismo, nel concetto anarchico, sono inseparabili; l'organizzazione è utile allo sviluppo dell'anarchismo, e non è punto in contradizione con le sue basi teoriche. L'organizzazione è un metodo, non una teoria; ed è coerente con l'anarchismo, a seconda che sia adoperato in modo autoritario o in modo libertario.

L'organizzazione non era necessaria, quando il movimento era fatto da poche persone, ma ora che gli anarchici son cresciuti di numero, essa diventa indispensabile. E l'organizzazione è utile non solo per la propaganda teorica, ma anche e sopratutto per l'azione.

Anche il sindacalismo è utile; ma le unioni operaie non sono società anarchiche, e quindi in seno ad esse non possiamo sviluppare tutta l'attività voluta dal programma anarchico, cosa solo possibile, noi gruppi e federazioni anarchiche, che abbiano però a base la pratica costante del rispetto alla libertà e all'iniziativa individuale.

Karel Vohryzek: Io parlo come individualista per l'organizzazione. Niuno può negare, logicamente, che gli anarchici possano organizzarsi. Lo stesso individualismo non contradice affatto l'idea di organizzazione. Non è il caso di dire: o Stirner o Kropotkine; ma bensì: Kropotkine e Stirner nel tempo stesso, i quali esprimono due facce della stessa idea. Per esempio, Max Stirner non ha detto mai una parola sola contro l'organizzazione, mentre ha scritto tutto un capitolo a suo favore, laddove parla dell'associazione degli egoisti.

La nostra organizzazione non avendo nessun potere esecutivo, non può essere in contradizione con l'anarchia. Gli interessi economici del proletariato li patrociniamo in seno ai sindacati; ma per tutto il resto noi anarchici dobbiamo avere una organizzazione propria, su basi libertarie.

Emma Goldmann: Anche io sono favorevole all'organizzazione, ma mi preoccupa il timore che questa debba diventare esclusivista.

Dunois ha parlato degli eccessi dell'individualismo, ma, essi hanno a che fare con il vero individualismo, come gli eccessi del comunismo col comunismo. Ho esposto le mie opinioni in un rapporto di cui la conclusione è che con l'organizzazione si corre il pericolo di assorbire la personalità dell'individuo. Una organizzazione anarchica è solo possibile, quando rispetti tutte le iniziative individuali e le lasci liberamente svolgere.

L'Internazionale anarchica potrà sorgere solo se abbia a base questo principio essenziale dell'anarchia: l'autonomia.

Pierre Ramus: Per essendo favorevole all'organizzazione ed a tutte le aspirazioni del nostro movimento che ad esse tendono, non mi pare che gli argomenti enunciati dal relatore Dunois abbiano la voluta portata. Noi dobbiamo sforzarci a rimanere nella direttiva dei principi dell'anarchismo quali vennero esposti dal compagno Croiset, pur organizzando in pari tempo sistematicamente il nostro movimento. Insomma, l'iniziativa individuale deve trovare il suo terreno nella forza collettiva, e questa la sua espressione nell'iniziativa individuale. Per ciò non dobbiamo intaccare i nostri principi fondamentali e credere che stiamo creando qualcosa di nuovo. In realtà non rappresentiamo che l'evoluzione di coloro i quali, nella vecchia Internazionale, seguivano Bakounine; e tutto ciò che dobbiamo fare è di dare un più grande impulso a queste tendenze, favorendo la organizzazione laddove essa ancora non esiste.

Scopo della novella Internazionale non dev'essere di costituire una forza ausiliaria del sindacalismo rivoluzionario; essa deve perseguire unicamente la diffusione dell'anarchismo nella sua interezza.

***

Seduta notturna

Nella seduta notturna, pubblica, alle ore 20 1/2, *Samson* in olandese riassume le discussioni della giornata. Poi la discussione continua.

Errico Malatesta: La discussione fatta fin qui mi ha dato l'impressione che si tratti di una questione di parole, ma che nella sostanza tutti siano d'accordo.

Gli anarchici sono tutti individualisti, ma non tutti gli individualisti sono anarchici. Vi sono infatti due specie di individualisti: gli uni che rivendicano il pieno sviluppo della libera personalità di ogni individuo, di tutti gli individui; gli altri che vogliono far dominare la loro sola individualità. Un'individualista di quest'ultima specie è anche lo czar di tutte le Russie.

Dire che l'uomo isolato è il più forte di tutti, è un non senso; lo stesso eroe di Ibsen, il dottor Stockmann, non era in realtà un isolato, poichè aveva anche lui bisogno di tutta la organizzazione sociale esteriore, di tutte le forze agenti intorno a sè. L'uomo isolato è nell'assoluta impossibilità di fare la più piccola cosa utile; anzi egli ha più degli altri bisogno di un padrone, mentre è proprio nell'accordo libero con altri che l'uomo trova modo di sviluppare tutte le sue facoltà e di diventare veramente libero. L'individuo non può essere forte insomma che in collaborazione con altri individui, e cioè come facente parte di una comunità.

Se si vuol lavorare in modo pratico, si deve constatare sempre di nuova di essere costretti a ricercare la collaborazione di altri individui, non appena la nostra attività vuol prendere una certa estensione ed importanza. Naturalmente l'organizzazione degli individui in gruppi e dei gruppi fra loro devo lasciare completa autonomia a quelli e a questi. Però non è a credere che la mancanza di organizzazione significhi una maggiore garanzia di autonomia per gli anarchici. Spesso il contrario è vero. Per esempio ci sono dei giornali nostri in Francia che rifiutano le loro colonne a certi anarchici, solo perchè le idee di questi, la loro prosa o anche la persona non sono in rapporto con lo spirito di quei giornali. In tal modo la redazione di tali giornali esercita una vera e propria autorità che limita la libertà di pensiero dei compagni. Questo non avverrebbe se ci fossero delle organizzazioni che garantissero nei propri giornali libertà completa di esposizione a tutte le idee.

Certo quando si parla di autorità bisogna sapersi intendere: c'è una autorità che è creata e mantenuta con la coazione, con la forza organizzata dei governi e del capitalismo, ed è contra questa che vogliamo ribellarci per eliminarla. C'è poi una autorità morale, che è conseguenza dell'esperienza, dell'intelligenza e di altri meriti intrinseci di qualche individualità superiore; e a questa forma di autorità neppure un anarchico saprebbe opporsi.

Gli uni dunque han torto di credere che gli organizzatori vogliano una autorità, come gli altri han torto di credere che gli individualisti vogliano l'isolamento.

In fondo la contesa attuale fra individualisti e organizzatori è questione di parole e dipende molto dal credere gli uni a proposito degli altri quello che gli altri non sono. In fondo non si può essere disorganizzati che quando non si fa nulla o si fa solo quel poco cui basta l'iniziativa di uno solo o di pochi. Una prova di ciò è che gli individualisti quando fanno qualche cosa si organizzano meglio degli organizzatori; mentre quegli organizzatori che limitano la loro attività a predicare l'organizzazione, sono molto più disorganizzati degli individualisti. Così nei gruppi che fan vanto della massima autonomia individuale spesso ci sono più residui di autoritarismo che fra i gruppi che propagano l'organizzazione.

La verità è che fra gli anarchici che vogliono abbattere i governi e il capitalismo e sono rivoluzionari sul serio, nella sostanza si è tutti d'accordo. Una prova l'ho io nel fatto che dall'Italia mi scrivono di esser d'accordo con le mie idee tanto quelli che si dicono a favore, come molti che si dicono contrari a l'organizzazione. Eppure tutti conoscono le mie idee. In sostanza ripeto noi siamo tutti d'accordo; e sarebbe bene che trovassimo il modo di metterci al lavoro, per esercitare una effettiva influenza sugli avvenimenti; e che non avvenga più, come ultimamente, che per strappare un innocente ai suoi torturatori, si debba aspettare l'opera di altri partiti. Così Ferrer non dovrebbe oggi la sua liberazione ai massoni e ai liberi pensatori di spirito borghese, se gli anarchici uniti in una forte Internazionale, avessero potuto da se stessi organizzare la protesta in tutti i paesi e strapparlo con le proprie forze dalle mani del governo spagnuolo.

L'organizzazione internazionale anarchica può essere utile tanto per il movimento di preparazione rivoluzionaria, di lotta contro la reazione e di propaganda, quanto per le circostanze future (1).

Il voto sull'organizzazione. " L'Internazionale Anarchica "

(28 AGOSTO).

Seduta antimeridiana.

Dopo la traduzione in tedesco e olandese del discorso di Malatesta della sera precedente, e che la presidenza, a cui è confermato il compagno Lange di Berlino, ha comunicato adesioni pervenute, — fra cui quella del compagno cinese Tsumin e da un gruppo di congressisti del congresso internazionale Esperantista di Cambridge (Inghilterra) — si riprende la discussione sull'organizzazione.

Max Baginski (Stati Uniti): E' un errore il credere che l'individualismo neghi l'organizzazione. All'opposto, i due termini sono inseparabili. Individualismo significa più che altro emancipazione interiore dell'individuo, la organizzazione è la unione di individui coscienti in vista di un dato scopo da raggiungere e di un bisogno da sodisfare. Ma non si dimentichi mai che qualsiasi organizzazione rivoluzionaria ha bisogno di forti e coscienti individualità.

Amedée Dunois: Io credo che ormai la discussione teorica sia stata abbastanza esaurita, e mi pare sarebbe il momento di venire a una risoluzione pratica. E' inutile far più ormai della metafisica e della filosofia. Quello che si poteva dire è stato già detto; propongo per ciò un ordine del giorno. (*Legge l'ordine del giorno, che riportiamo più sotto, e lo deposita alla presidenza*).

Christian Cornelissen: Il concetto dell'individuo è relativo. L'individualità in sè non esiste, poichè ciascuna vione limitata da altre individualità. Gli individualisti dimenticano questi limiti; e l'organizzazione è il miglior modo di renderne consapevole l'individuo, perchè possa armonizzare la sua personalità con i diritti delle personalità altrui.

Broutchoux (Francia): Nella mia vita di lotta in mezzo agli operai minatori del Passo di Calais, ho potuto convincermi che l'organizzazione è fra l'altro, il mezzo più efficace per impedire il feticismo di cui suol circondarsi il nome di alcuni agitatori, e l'assunzione da parte di certe individualità di una pericolosa autorità sugli altri. Voi saprete, per esempio, che nel Passo di Calais v'è una forte organizzazione rivoluzionaria di minatori; ebbene, in mezzo a questa niuno ha autorità qualsiasi; mentre sono gli avversari o i disorganizzati che credono il contrario e vedono nei segretari sindacali qualche cosa come una autorità costituita.

G. Rijnders (Olanda): Non sono neppur io contrario all'organizzazione. Del resto tutti gli anarchici in fondo le sono favorevoli. Tutto sta però nella specie di organizzazione che si vuole adottare, la quale deve evitare il personalismo. In Olanda per esempio c'è una Federazione che non sodisfa tutti; vero è che chi non ne è sodisfatto non ci entra.

Emile Chapelier (Belgio): Bisogna che i discorsi sieno meno lunghi e dican più cose. Del resto dopo il discorso detto da Malatesta ieri sera, così esauriente, mi pare ci sia poco altro da aggiungere. Quando si parla di autorità e libertà bisogna intendersi su ciò che significa la parola « autorità ». Certo, finchè vi saranno uomini d'ingegno, scrittori, oratori, ecc. questi eserciteranno sempre una certa autorità. Ma l'autorità che dobbiamo evitare fra noi è quella che deriva dal fatto, che alcuni segnono ciecamente questo o quello. E per evitare que-

(1) Ho ricostruito il discorso Malatesta su appunti presi da altri, poichè io, essendomi recato a una riunione privata di sindacalisti, non ho assistito a questa seduta notturna.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

375

880511050

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. In Italian] Resoconto generale del Congresso Anarchico di Amsterdam / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — 26 cm. *In* Il Pensiero [Rome]. — no. 20-21 (Nov. 1, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archivio Famiglia Berneri, Pistoia, Italy.

sta specie di autorità, ci vuole una organizzazione senza capi e senza comitati centrali.

Emma Goldmann: Io sono d'accordo, come ho detto, per l'organizzazione. Solo vorrei che nell'ordine del giorno Dunois si includesse il concetto della legittimità dell'azione individuale accanto a quella collettiva. Presento quindi un emendamento all'ordine del giorno Dunois. (*Legge l'emendamento, che Dunois accetta; e che ripetiamo più sotto*).

Samson (Olanda): Qui in Olanda esiste una « Federazione Comunista Libertaria », di cui io faccio parte. Se molti compagni non vi aderiscono è più che altro per questioni personali; non però perchè la sua organizzazione contenga nulla di poco libertario. Noi non escludiamo nessuno dall'organizzazione. Nessuno è contrario a che gli individualisti entrino nell'organizzazione. Sta a loro entrarci o no. Comunque, non bisogna nascondersi che ci saran sempre dei malcontenti entro questa o quella organizzazione. Ma gli anarchici sono dei malcontenti per natura, e non bisogna dunque impensierirsi troppo delle loro critiche.

Karel Vohryzek: Per maggiore chiarezza propongo insieme a Malatesta una aggiunta esplicativa all'ordine del giorno Donois. (*Legge la sua aggiunta, che riferiamo qui appresso*).

— Si vicne al voto degli ordini del giorno.

Ordine del giorno Dunois-Goldmann, d'indole teorica, sull' « Organizzazione »:

Gli anarchici riuniti a Congresso in Amsterdam, considerando che le idee di anarchia e di organizzazione, lungi dall'essere incompatibili, come qualche volta si è voluto dire, si completano e si chiariscono a vicenda, il principio stesso dell'anarchia consistendo nella libera organizzazione dei produttori;

considerando che, **come l'azione collettiva non potrebbe supplire alla mancanza dell'azione individuale** (*), *l'azione individuale non potrebbe supplire alla mancanza dell'azione collettiva e del movimento concertato;*

considerando che l'organizzazione delle forze militanti assicurerebbe alla propaganda una nuova via e non potrebbe che facilitare la penetrazione nella classe operaia delle idee di federalismo e di rivoluzione;

considerando che l'organizzazione operaia, fondata su l'identità degli interessi non esclude un'altra organizzazione fondata sull'identità delle aspirazioni e delle idee;

sono del parere che i compagni di tutti i paesi mettano all'ordine del giorno la creazione dei gruppi anarchici e la federazione dei gruppi già costituiti.

Aggiunta esplicativa proposta da Vohryzek e Malatesta:

La federazione anarchica è una organizzazione internazionale di gruppi e di individui, in cui nessuno può imporre la sua volontà e menomare l'iniziativa altrui; essa ha lo scopo concreto nella società presente di trasformare tutte le condizioni morali ed economiche, e, in questo senso, essa impiega per la lotta necessaria tutti i mezzi adeguati all'idea anarchica.

Questo ordine del giorno fu votato, per la prima parte (Dunois-Goldmann) da 46 congressisti, e la seconda parte (Vohzyzek-Malatesta) da 48. Alla controprova nessuno votò contro, il che significa che l'ordine del giorno era stato votato ad unanimità. Fu anche domandato che coloro che intendevano astenersi da ogni voto in proposito lo dichiarassero, ma nessuno rispose all'appello. (1).

Si passò quindi al voto della mozione presentata da Ramus.

Ordine del giorno proposto da Pierre Ramus su l'organizzazione:

Il congresso anarchico di Amsterdam propone ai gruppi di tutti i paesi di unirsi in federazioni locali, regionali e secondo le diverse divisioni geografiche.

Dichiariamo che la nostra proposta è ispirata ai principii stessi dell'anarchismo, poichè non intravediamo la possibilità dell'esplicazione dell'iniziativa e dell'attività individuale fuori che nell'unione la quale, costituita come noi la proponiamo, può soltanto dare il terreno pratico per la libera espansione dell'individualità di ciascuno.

L'organizzazione federativa è la forma di organizzazione militante che più conviene al proletariato anarchico. Essa comprende i gruppi esistenti in un tutto organico, che si accresce con l'adesione di nuovi gruppi. Essa è antiautoritaria, non ammette alcun potere legislativo centrale le cui decisioni avessero un carattere obbligatorio per i diversi gruppi e individui, perchè riconoscono a questi il diritto di svolgersi liberamente nel nostro movimento comune, e di agire nel senso anarchico ed economico senza alcuna imposizione e impedimento reciproco. La federazione non esclude alcun gruppo anarchico, e ciascun gruppo è libero di ritirarsi e di rientrare nel possesso collettivo dei fondi versati, quando lo giudicasse necessario.

Raccomandiamo inoltre ai compagni di aggrupparsi secondo i bisogni e le necessità del loro movimento rispettivo, ma anche di non perdere di vista che la forza del movimento anarchico tanto nazionale che internazionale dipende dalla sua costituzione su basi internazionali, i mezzi d'emancipazione non potendo derivare che dall'azione concertata internazionalmente.

Compagni di tutti i paesi, organizzatevi in gruppi autonomi, e unitevi in una federazione internazionale: l'Internazionale Anarchica.

(*) La frase in neretto è l'emendamento di Emma Goldmann.

(1) Notiamo ora, per norma dei lettori, anche a proposito delle votazioni successive, che le votazioni, come fu dichiarato in principio del congresso, sulle questioni teoriche avevano un valore semplicemente consultivo e statistico, e non deliberativo. Esse non impegnano che i compagni che le hanno approvate e che le approveranno in seguito, e solo fino a quando essi restano della medesima opinione. E ciò vale anche per le deliberazioni d'indole pratica.

Qualche compagno ci lagnò in congresso che molti non si erassero di votare, considerando la loro astensione come mancanza di precisione di idee. Ma non era così; qualche compagno non votava, talvolta, perchè pur essendo d'accordo in massima col concetto espresso dall'ordine del giorno, la sua forma letteraria non gli sembrava abbastanza chiara (alcuni fecero delle dichiarazioni in questo senso, ed io stesso mi sono astenuto qualche volta per questa ragione) ma ciò non toglieva che si fosse di pieno accordo. Si pensi che eravamo là persone di tutte le lingue e di tutti i paesi, e non sempre era facile esprimersi bene o capir bene tutto e tutti; e il timore di cadere in equivoco faceva sì che ora gli uni ora gli altri si astenessero.

Ma quanto sopra vale per una piccola minoranza; molti spesso non si curavano di alzar la mano perchè l'accordo era così evidente che non ci sarebbe stato neppur bisogno di far votazioni. Per il valore statistico dei voti, dato quanto ho detto fin qui, bisogna aver presente, più che quelli a favore di ciascun ordine del giorno, quelli contrari, i quali veramente rappresentano una opinione contraria e molto diversa.

Queste ordine del giorno è approvato da 13 congressisti. Altri 17 votano contro; ma parecchi di questi ultimi dichiarano di votar contro, perchè non lo ritengono che una ripetizione dell'ordine del giorno votato in antecedenza, o perchè non sembra loro troppo chiaro.

E così è esaurita la questione riguardante l'organizzazione anarchica, dal punto di vista teorico. Restano ora da prendere le risoluzioni d'indole pratica.

***

Seduta pomeridiana.

E' questa una seduta privata. La stampa è stata avvertita che non deveva intervenire. E' ammesso, per eccezione, ad assistere alla riunione l'amico Fritz Kater, un socialista rivoluzionario tedesco, presidente della *Unione libera dei Sindacati di Germania.* Viene fatto l'appello per nazionalità per vedere che sieno presenti soltanto i congressisti.

La commissione organizzatrice del Congresso comunica la nota delle spese fatte e delle somme ricevute, e fa notare che c'è un deficit di circa 250 lire. Dopo breve discussione, si decide che i congressisti versino in fin di seduta quello che possono, come contribuzione propria, e che poi si faccia appello ai compagni delle singole nazioni, perchè il deficit sia possibilmente coperto prima della metà di ottobre. Il segretario del congresso diramerà a tal uopo una comunicazione ai giornali anarchici di tutti i paesi.

Emma Goldmann: Chiedo che si entri subito in discussione per la costituzione dell'organizzazione, per poter esaurire prima delle sei l'argomento.

— Poichè si decise al Congresso che le discussioni di questa seduta, per ragioni varie interessanti i compagni di alcune nazionalità, non fossero rese di pubblica ragione così dettagliatamente come per le altre sedute, mi limiterò a dare ai lettori un sunto anche più breve del dibattito.

Si è discusso a lungo, ed anche con vivacità (non mai però scompagnata dalla massima cordialità), prima sugli scopi pratici dell'Internazionale anarchica, poiodi dei suoi mezzi di azione e di comunicazione. Affacciata l'idea della costituzione di un Ufficio o Commissione di corrispondenza o di archivio, si è discusso anche dei limiti e delle mansioni di questo organo di comunicazione internazionale fra gli anarchici.

Alla discussione han preso parte gran numero di congressisti: Thonar, Fuss-Amoré - Chapelier (Belgio), Malatesta e Fabbri (Italia), Ceccarelli (Repubblica Argentina), Menette, Marmande e Broutchoux (Francia), Walter, Wilquet e Ramus (Inghilterra) Baginski e Goldmann (Stati Uniti), Nacht (Austria), Cornelissen e Samson (Olanda), Zielinska e Rodgaeff (Russia), Vohryzek (Boemia), Lange e Friedeberg (Germania). Dirò solo un breve cenno limitatamente alla parte riguardante le modalità di organizzazione.

Thonar propose che i compagni o i groppi d'ogni nazione si federino, e che le federazioni nazionali aderiscano all'Internazionale; il modo di stare in relazione avrebbe dovuto essere, secondo lui, lo scambio di indirizzi di persone sicure. *Malatesta* fece osservare che questo, se è possibile per i paesi più liberali, lo è meno per i paesi più polizieschi; e che bisognava che i compagni d'ogni nazione potessero regolarsi a loro modo, autonomamente.

Lange propose la nomina di un « Bureau » internazionale di cinque membri residenti a Londra, incaricato di fare da intermediario fra i gruppi delle varie nazioni per lo scambio di iniziative, o di costituire un archivio internazionale del movimento.

Avendo qualche altro (mi sembra *Thonar*) proposto che per ogni paese i compagni nominassero dei corrispondenti speciali in un determinato numero, e che per le adesioni personali si stabilisse che queste si dovessero raccogliere per l'intermezzo delle federazioni nazionali costituite, *Fabbri* fece osservare ciò non esser possibile nè logico, poichè chi aderisce personalmente e non appartiene ad alcun gruppo, avrà le sue ragioni per non appartenervi, e si rifiuterà di aderire per la trafila di un gruppo o federazione cui non vuole appartenere.

Nacht osserva la necessità d'un ufficio internazionale per coordinare le agitazioni d'indole generale che occorresse sollevare fra il pubblico di tutti i paesi. *Emma Goldmann* dice che, invece di costituire un Ufficio Internazionale, sarebbe molto meglio la pubblicazione di un Bollettino internazionale, che ne facesse le veci; se questa proposta fosse approvata, i compagni di America si impegnerebbero a farne le spese. *Cornelissen* obietta che il Bollettino si dovrà fare, ma che le farà l'Ufficio Internazionale.

Altri osservano che la redazione di un Bollettino, essendo impersonale o non avendo un impegno definito potrebbe fare troppo a suo modo, e offrirebbe un pericolo di autoritarismo più del « Bureau » medesimo.

A un certo momento si sospende la seduta, per dar modo ai diversi gruppi di intendersi e formulare ordini del giorno che non ripetano tutti la stessa cosa. Dopo poco due ordini del giorno si trovano formulati, d'indole diversa; il primo per la costituzione di un « Bureau » internazionale, il secondo per la fondazione di un Bollettino che faccia da organo di corrispondenza.

I due ordini del giorno sono messi in votazione.

Ordine del giorno di costituzione dell'*Internazionale Anarchica*, proposto da Vohryzek, Marmande, Friedeberg, Lange, Nacht, Fabbri, Fuss-Amoré, Broutchoux, Samson.

Gli anarchici (federazioni e gruppi rappresentati, e individui) riuniti al congresso di Amsterdam, dichiarano costituita la « Internazionale Anarchica ».

Essa è formata delle organizzazioni già esistenti, dei gruppi e dei compagni isolati che aderiranno ulteriormente.

Gli individui, gruppi e federazioni restano autonomi.

E' istituito un ufficio internazionale, che sarà composto di cinque delegati. Questo ufficio ha il compito di creare degli archivi anarchici internazionali accessibili ai compagni.

Esso entra in rapporti con gli anarchici dei diversi paesi, sia direttamente sia per intermezzo di tre compagni scelti dalle federazioni e dai gruppi dei paesi interessati.

Per far parte dell'Internazionale a titolo individuale, i compagni devono essere stati prima identificati, sia da una organizzazione, sia dall'Ufficio, sia anche da compagni conosciuti da questo.

Le spese di ufficio, archivio ecc. saranno coperte dalle federazioni, grappi e individui aderenti.

Quest'ordine del giorno raccoglie 43 voti a favore e soltanto 6 contro.

Ordine del giorno sulla costituzione dell'Internazionale Libertaria, proposto da Max Baginski, Emma Goldmann e Pierre Ramus:

Il congresso internazionale anarchico dichiara costituita l'Internazionale. Questa è esente da qualsiasi ufficio centrale. La sua funzione è mantenuta

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

376

880511050

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. In Italian] Resoconto generale del Congresso Anarchico di Amsterdam / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — 26 cm. *In* Il Pensiero [Rome]. —no. 20-21 (Nov. 1, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archivio Famiglia Berneri, Pistoia, Italy.

nel modo seguente: le federazioni, gruppi o movimenti a tendenza anarchica di ogni paese eleggono individualmente o collettivamente due corrispondenti, i cui nomi e indirizzi saranno pubblicati in ogni numero dei periodici anarchici internazionali. Questi corrispondenti si terranno, conformemente alle istruzioni dei loro gruppi o federazioni, in contatto costante con tutti i corrispondenti degli altri paesi. Si decide la pubblicazione di un Bollettino internazionale.

Approvato dai soli proponenti, e da un olandese.

— Così la costituzione dell' « Internazionale Anarchica » è approvata. Anche la piccola minoranza dissidente sulla modalità di organizzazione, è concorde con la maggioranza nell'idea di far sorgere il fascio internazionale di tutte le forze libertarie (1). La risoluzione presa mette la gioia in tutti i cuori dei convenuti, che fra il più grande entusiasmo intuonano a gran voce l'inno dell'*Internazionale*.

Debout! les damnés de la terre!
Debout! les forçats de la faim!
. . . . . .
C'est la lutte finale, — Groupons-nous, et demain
L'Internationale — Sera le genre humain.

E' un momento che resterà memorabile nella storia dell'anarchia.

La seduta, durata più di cinque ore è tolta.

Sindacalismo e Sciopero Generale

Seduta notturna (28 agosto)

La seduta notturna, pubblica, si apre alle 9 pomeridiane. Un compagno olandese fa nella sua lingua agli intervenuti non congressisti un breve riassunto delle discussioni del giorno, annunziando la costituzione dell'« Internazionale Libertaria », applaudita.

Poi si apre la discussione sui *Rapporti fra il sindacalismo e l'anarchismo.*

Ha la parola il relatore sull'argomento Pierre Monatte, di Parigi, uno dei membri più attivi o influenti della *Confédération générale du travail* di Francia.

Pierre Monatte: Indubbiamente fra il sindacalismo e l'anarchismo v'è più che una relazione fra due teorie diverse. Quello e questo hanno piuttosto delle idee comuni, specialmente quelle riguardanti la costituzione economica attuale, e le altre sulla base delle quali patrociniamo l'abolizione completa del capitalismo e del salariato per mezzo della rivoluzione sociale. Al sindacalismo spetta il merito però di aver richiamato l'anarchismo a un concetto più operaio della questione sociale; come d'altra parte all'anarchismo spetta il merito maggiore di aver richiamato il movimento operaio sopra una via più rivoluzionaria e meno autoritaria.

Qui non credo sia il caso di presentare un'esposizione teorica di quello che è il sindacalismo rivoluzionario. Ormai i fatti s'incaricano da se stessi di mostrarcelo: esso è la protesta spontanea, diretta, di una classe asservita ed oppressa contro un regime che la schiaccia. In realtà il sindacalismo rivoluzionario non porta nel movimento delle idee nuove. Esse potrebbe essere detto l'anarchismo degli operai, poichè in fondo non è altra cosa che il risultato di uno spostamento dell'anarchismo, trasportato dai proletari stessi, dalle altezze astratte ove si muoveva in Francia una quindicina d'anni fa, sul terreno reale della vita e della lotta operaia. Col sindacalismo rivoluzionario l'anarchismo ha cessato di essere un vasto sistema ideologico soltanto, elaborato da pensatori geniali, per divenire anche una filosofia concreta dei lavoratori ribelli. Esso è la migliore espressione proletaria della lotta di classe in azione.

Il sindacalismo, benchè la parola non si adoperasse ancora, esistova già in seno all'Internazionale, da dopo la Comune di Parigi. Del resto il medesimo *Considerando* del primo proclama dell'Internazionale « che l'emancipazione dei lavoratori devo essere opera dei lavoratori stessi » è il postulato principale del sindacalismo. Le idee di autonomia e di discentramento su cui è basata la costituzione della *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro* di Francia orano patrocinate dai nostri compagni della frazione libertaria dell'Internazionale; e molte idee sullo Otto Ore e sullo Sciopero Generale si trovano nei deliberati e nelle discussioni di congressi Internazionalisti tenuti dalle federazioni che accettavano le idee e i metodi di Bakounine. Come si vede, fin dall'origine, le idee sindacaliste erano intimamente legate con le idee dell'anarchismo.

Dopo la reazione che seguì la Comune, un primo congresso operaio si ebbe a Parigi nel 1876, ma senza reale importanza. Nei congressi di Marsiglia (1879) e dell'Havre (1880), cominciarono le prime discordie fra gli antiparlamentari anarchici, e gli autoritari che volevano indirizzare le organizzazioni operaie verso la conquista dei pubblici poteri. Avvenuta la separazione dagli anarchici, i congressi successivi, sotto il nome di *operai*, non erano che congressi socialisti autoritari. Il campo operaio si suddivise così fra le tante scuole che dividono il partito socialista in Francia, e non acquistò un'importanza sua propria che quando divenne autonomo da tutti i partiti politici e quando gli anarchici, coasci che la filosofia non basta a fare la rivoluzione e che bisogna mescolarsi alla vita reale, presero parte con forza straordinaria al movimento sindacale.

Da quando si erano separati dai socialisti, gli anarchici s'erano isolati nella torre d'avorio della teoria e della propaganda puramente morale e dottrinaria; perciò la loro azione, quando all'azione ricorrevano, era bensì energica, ma aveva un carattere quasi esclusivo di dimostrazione col fatto dei loro sentimenti di rivolta contro la borghesia o lo stato. Presto s'accorsero che c'era bisogno anche di un'azione più coordinata che li legasse alla vita reale e al movimento sociale. Così, poco per volta, dal 1894 in poi gli anarchici cominciarono la loro opera di penetrazione nelle unioni operaie, predicata prima di tutti e praticata da Fernando Pelloutier. Subito dopo di lui, altri si misero sulla stessa via, fra cui Emilio Pouget, Tortelier, ecc. e tutti noi che oggi numerosi partecipiamo al lavoro di organizzazione dei sindacati di mestiere in Francia.

Fu nel 1894 che il congresso di Nantes della Federazione delle Borse del Lavoro votò a grande maggioranza lo Sciopero Generale Rivoluzionario, condannato poco prima da un congresso socialista. Fu il primo screzio fra le unioni operaie e il partito politico socialista. L'anno dopo (1895) il congresso di Limoges a gran maggioranza decise che « le unioni sindacali *devono tenersi al di fuori di tutte le scuole politiche* ». Gli altri congressi sindacali di Tours 1896, Tolosa 1897, Rennes 1898, Parigi 1900 ribadirono sempre più il divorzio da tutte le scuole politiche del socialismo. In quello di Tolosa del 1897 fu approvato ad unanimità il rapporto dell'anarchico Delesalle sul *sabotage* e il boicottaggio. Nel 1900 a Parigi fu

(1) Per provare come la minoranza rimanesse d'accordo lo stesso con la maggioranza, dirò subito che alle adunanze successive per la costituzione dell'ufficio internazionale, anche la minoranza prese parte ai lavori. Non solo, ma Emma Goldmann, che di questa minoranza fu portavoce, così spiega la sua solidarietà con il Congresso anche in questa questione (*Mother Earth*, di New York, n. 8 di ottobre. Resoconto del Congresso di Amsterdam): « Qualche congressista temendo il ripetersi degli inconvenienti del Consiglio Generale della vecchia Internazionale, che divenne una cricca di intriganti e di calunniatori, era contrario all'istituzione di un Ufficio Internazionale. Ma il fatto che ne sono stati scelti come membri caratteri irreprensibili come Malatesta, Rocker ecc., è salvaguardia sufficiente per farci ritenere che il « Bureau » avrà un carattere tutto diverso. »

decisa la creazione di un giornale confederale, il *Voix du Peuple*, che è ora diretto dal nostro compagno Emilio Pouget. Allora gli elementi anarchici e rivoluzionari affluirono ancor più numerosi in seno al movimento sindacale.

In quel tempo la Confederazione Generale del Lavoro riuniva soltanto le Federazioni di mestiere, mentre che esisteva anche una Federazione delle Borse del Lavoro. In principio queste due organizzazioni non erano molto concordi, poichè la prima aveva un indirizzo più riformista, e la seconda più rivoluzionario. Ma col predominare anche in quella degli elementi rivoluzionari, la situazione cambiò; le relazioni divennero più strette, e il Congresso di Montpellier nel 1902 proclamava necessaria la fusione delle due organizzazioni. Infatti essa in quello stesso Congresso fu realizzata, e dopo d'allora la Confederazione Generale del Lavoro di Francia comprende tanto le Federazioni di mestiere quanto le Borse di Lavoro.

Da allora la Confederazione Generale del Lavoro di Francia rappresenta veramente tutta la classe operaia organizzata della Repubblica; vi sono organizzati, cioè, fuori dell'influenza d'ogni scuola politica, tutti i lavoratori coscienti della lotta che bisogna fare per giungere alla scomparsa del salariato e del padronato.

Anche nel sindacalismo ci sono gli elementi più moderati e riformisti, che non vorrebbero dare all'organizzazione operaia un carattere rivoluzionario; essi si preoccupano solo dei miglioramenti immediati, e non si curano degli scopi ultimi che sono la fine della divisione di classe e lo sciopero generale rivoluzionario espropriatore. Ma essi sono in minoranza e non rispecchiano l'indirizzo generale della Confederazione del Lavoro. Le armi di cui la classe operaia francese si serve sono, come è noto, lo sciopero, il boicottaggio, il *sabotage*, lo sciopero generale, la propaganda antimilitarista, ecc. tutte varie forme dall'azione diretta.

Lo sciopero generale economico ed espropriatore sarà la forma nuova, che rivestirà la rivoluzione sociale avvenire; esso è eminentemente nella direttiva dei principii anarchici, poichè non aspetta di essere dichiarato e comandato dall'alto, ma dove scaturire dal basso, dall'iniziativa individuale o collettiva dei rivoluzionari. I quali non intendono con esso rovesciare un governo per sostituirvene un altro, ma abolire ogni dominio ed ogni sopraffazione.

La organizzazione interna della Confederazione Generale del Lavoro ha anche essa un andamento molto libertario. La Federazione delle Unioni di mestiere e quella delle Borse del Lavoro, come ciascun Sindacato e ciascuna Borsa del Lavoro, come anche ciascun individuo che vi appartiene sono autonomi, senza autorità che imponga loro una cosa o l'altra. Lo stesso Comitato Confederale non è un organismo direttivo, ma solo un centro esecutivo della volontà dei consociati, incaricato di coordinare la propaganda d'indole generale che interessa l'insieme della classe operaia, ma che non ha alcuna autorità sugli organizzati. E' questo discentramento federalista che fa la potenza della Confederazione del Lavoro. Anche per i movimenti, scioperi, ecc. la decisione viene presa direttamente dal sindacato interessato, e il Comitato non fa che eseguire ed aiutare il movimento con la sua attività. Che cosa è questo se non i principii federalisti dell'anarchismo, in azione fra la classe operaia?

I lavoratori organizzati nella Confederazione sono più di 400,000, di cui moltissimi sono anarchici e la maggioranza simpatizza con le idee anarchiche più che con quelle di qualsiasi altro partito. Lo spirito che si sviluppa dalle nostre organizzazioni e dall'esercizio dell'azione diretta, è un'ammirevole scuola di coscienza, di volontà e di energia, ottimo mezzo per preparare i lavoratori a fare da sè la propria emancipazione da ogni autorità politica ed economica, per giungere alla rivoluzione sociale e all'anarchia.

(29 AGOSTO)

Seduta antimeridiana

Presiede sempre *Rudolf Lange*. Dopo che si è fatta la traduzione in olandese e tedesco del discorso di Monatte della sera prima, *Lange* e *Friedeberg* comunicano all'assemblea che tutti i giornali inglesi, belgi, olandesi, francesi e tedeschi parlano del congresso anarchico, e gli unici a tacere sono gli organi social-democratici; specialmente il *Vorwarts* di Berlino viene indicato, come quello che invece dà i più ampi resoconti del borghese e buffonesco congresso per la pace dell'Aia.

Malatesta osserva che invece di lagnarsi di questa cosa, bisogna esserne lieti. Una volta gli organi social-democratici parlavano spesso di noi, ma per dirne male e calunniarci. Ora tacciono: è già un progresso! (*Risa nell'assemblea*).

P. Monatte sorge a dire una parola in difesa dell'*Humanité* di Parigi (il noto giornale di Jaurès). Questo giornale non ha un corrispondente apposito ad Amsterdam, e quindi non può pubblicare resoconti, come i giornali borghesi che hanno un servizio telegrafico speciale; ma, è certo, che se avesse un corrispondente, pubblicherebbe i nostri resoconti.

Errico Malatesta propone che la discussione sui due temi « Sindacalismo e Anarchismo » e « Sciopero generale e sciopero politico » sieno trattati insieme, perchè riflettenti all'incirca gli stessi problemi.

Rodgaeff (Russia), parla in russo, facendo il suo rapporto sulla « Rivoluzione russa ». Benchè il russo non sia fra le lingue ammesse per parlare al congresso, e benchè il tema non sia quello in discussione, si lascia all'oratore la parola. Del resto, essendo la rivoluzione in Russia una serie di scioperi e scioperi generali insurrezionali, all'incirca come sarebbero nel desiderio di noi anarchici, questo rapporto può essere benissimo una dimostrazione col fatto di come si può mettere in opera il nostro metodo rivoluzionario nella futura lotta economica espropriatrice. Malgrado pochi comprendano il russo, tutti ascoltano con grande simpatia l'oratore, che nei gesti e nello sguardo mostra un ardore straordinario. Dalla traduzione fatta poi, abbiamo appreso che il Rodgaeff narrava le gesta rivoluzionarie degli anarchici russi, le loro sofferenze e il loro martirio.

Gli anarchici in Russia han preso parte al movimento per dirigerlo sempre più verso la rivoluzione sociale, senza per ciò voler aiutare alcun partito di governo, per quanto democratico voglia esso dirsi. Essi han preso parte agli scioperi generali del 1905, ed han fatto il loro dovere, sia sulle barricate collettivamente, sia isolatamente con gli atti terroristi. Specialmente han preso parte attiva agli scioperi generali del 1905 a Bielostok, a Ekaterinoslaw, a Jitomir, e a quello insurrezionale di Mosca, ariando sè o gli altri di bombe che lanciarono sulle truppe e la polizia. Nella Georgia gli anarchici dettero all'insurrezione il carattere di espropriazione, e poi insegnarono ai contadini a organizzare la produzione su basi comuniste. Nel 1906, dopo lo scioglimento della Duma, in agosto, il popolo di Sveaborg insorse e gli anarchici presero parte al movimento. Il capo dell'insurrezione, però, il social-democratico Kokk, trovò che i rivoluzionari « si spingevano troppo » e si ritirò, cedendo il posto all'operaio anarchico Lonoto. Dappertutto poi gli anarchici, con le armi alla mano, difesero gli ebrei contro i massacratori, e nella lotta molti di loro perirono, uccisi dalle bande nere.

L'oratore pone termine al suo dire col raccontare di una quantità di atti terroristi compiuti dai nostri compagni russi.

Siegfried Nacht solleva un incidente. Egli rende noto al congresso di aver *sorpreso* la sera prima, durante la seduta pubblica, il compagno Croiset mentre dava ai giornalisti borghesi notizie dettagliate della seduta privata precedente, malgrado che qualcuno ne l'avesse sconsigliato.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

377

880511050

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. In Italian] Resoconto generale del Congresso Anarchico di Amsterdam / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – 26 cm. *In* Il Pensiero [Rome]. – no. 20-21 (Nov. 1, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archivio Famiglia Berneri, Pistoia, Italy.

La notizia solleva del chiasso. In Austria e Germania specialmente, alcune notizie pnpalate potrebbero nnocere a qualche compagno.

Croiset domanda la parola; il congresso lo ascolta in silenzio; egli parla con vigore, in olandese prima, e traducendo da se stesso poi il proprio discorso in francese e tedesco. Eccone un breve sunto:

Croiset: Confesso di aver fatto quello di cui parla Nacht, e dico subito che me ne dispiace; e riconosco essere stata sventatezza la mia. Voi poteto trattarmi da sciocco, da ragazzo, ed io accetterò il rimprovero. Ma ora che ho detto questo, protesto anche energicamente contro il modo di esprimersi di Nacht, che dice di avermi *sorpreso*, ecc. La parola *sorprendere* è offensiva, poichè si « sorprende » solo chi sta facendo di nascosto una cosa cattiva; meutre in davo le informazioni ai giornalisti in pubblica riuuione, in mezzo a molti compagni che mi circondavano. Del resto dobbo anche dire che le notizie che ho date non le credo dannoso, anche perchè non bo fatto che nomi di persone che non possono essere compromesse. Oltre a ciò i giornalisti con cui parlavo sono persone stimabili che non propalerebbero ciò che loro paresse dannoso a qualcuno.

Errico Malatesta propone, per chiudere l'incidente, che il Congresso, deplorando la leggerezza di Croiset, passi all'ordine del giorno.

La maggioranza, approva; mentre una minoranza, pur biasimando il Croisst, pensa che la deliberazione sia un po' troppo dura.

Il presidente legge le adesinni al Congresso di parecchi gruppi di diverse nazioni, fra cui alcuni di Ancona.

***

Seduta pomeridiana.

Emma Goldmann presenta al Congresso quest'ordino del giorno sulla rivoluzione russa, che è firmato anche da Rogdaeff, Zabregneff, Cornelissen, Baginski, Mnujits, Fabbri e Malatesta:

« *Considerando che per l'evoluzione del popolo russo, il proletariato delle città e delle campagne non sarà soddisfatto con vacue libertà politiche, ma che suo scopo deve essere di liberare se stesso dalla schiavitù politica ed economica, e di impiegare all'uopo tutti quei mezzi di lotta che sono propagati dagli anarchici da gran tempo, il Congresso afferma che il popolo russo non può aspettar nulla dall'alto, ma solo conquistare i diritti con l'azione diretta.*

La rivoluzione russa ha importanza non solo locale e nazionale, ma il prossimo futuro del proletariato internazionale dipende da lei; tanto vero che la borghesia del nuovo e vecchio mondo coopera a difendere i privilegi dello czar, e fornisce al suo governo una base morale e materiale soccorrendola finanziariamente nella lotta contro il popolo russo.

« *Il congresso perciò incita il proletariato di tutti i paesi ad opporsi con una energica attività ai governi capitalistici, monarchici, repubblicani, democratici e costituzionali, e nell'interesse di tutta la classe operaia a rifiutare ogni solidarietà in questa complicità dei loro governi col governo russo. Se durante qualche sciopero in Russia, uno sciopero generale non potrà essere dichiarato nelle corrispondenti industrie in altre nazioni, il proletariato deve adoperarsi per impedire che sia inviato del materiale da guerra al governo russo, disiruggerlo o rovinarlo, e rifiutarsi in ogni modo di prendere le armi o cooperare in qualsiasi modo per una guerra in Russia.*

« *Il Congresso ricorda a tutti i compagni la necessità di aiutare l'anarchismo in Russia e l'opera dei nostri compagni in seno alla rivoluzione russa* ».

Quest'ordine del giorno è approvato per acclamazione.

— Si riprende la discussione sul sindacalismo e lo sciopero generale.

Christian Cornelissen: Come anarchici noi possiamo pienamento accettare il rapporto di Monatte sul sindacalismo francese. Ma questo rapporto è on po' incompleto per noi come anarchici; poiche è nostro dovere di dire anche che noi possiamo sostenere il sindacalismo e l'azione diretta solo come mezzo rivoluzionario e purchè servano veramente alla trasformazione della società in una società comunista e libertaria. Non dimentichiamo che l'azione diretta non è sempre rivoluzionaria; essa può essere adoperata anche per scopi conservatori e reazionari. Per esempio, i lavoratori in diamanti di Amsterdam u di Anversa hanno migliorato la loro situazione per mezzo dell'azione diretta s non parlamentare. Ma attualmente, in segnito alla loro lotta diretta, hanno fatto del loro mestiere una casta chiusa, erigendogli intorno come una muraglia cinese, restringendo il numero degli apprendisti e mettendo dogli ostacoli a che gli ex lavoranti in diamanti possano ritornare al loro vecchio mestiere. Noi non possiamo certo approvare il loro operato.

Si tratta di un fenomeno di carattore generale. In Inghilterra e negli Stati Uniti le *trades-unions* sorte in virtù dell'azione diretta e che con l'azione diretta hanno creato ai propri affiliati una situazione privilegiata, impediscono di lavorare agli stranieri, spesso anche quando questi sono organizzati. Così quando gli operai tipografi in Fraocia o in Svizzera si rifiutano di lavorare insieme con le donne, non possiamo approvarli. Se attualmente si minaccia una guerra tra gli Stati Uniti e il Giappone, noa dimentichiamo che la causa us risalirà nun ni capitalisti e ai borghesi americani; questi auzi avrebbero più piacere di sfruttare gli operai giapponesi cha quelli americani. No, saranno i lavoratori privilegiati sotericaoi che avranno cagionato la guerra, per essersi opposti alla importazione della mano d'opera giapponese.

Noi dobbiamo combattore anche certe forme di azione diretta che sono dirette contro l'introduzione delle macchine, come della *linotype* nelle tipografie ecc.

Mi riserbo di formulare queste mie id o in nua mozione che dica qoali forme di sindacalismo e di azione diretta noi possiamo sostenere come anarchici. (*Vedi la prima parte dell'ordine del giorno firmato da Cornelissen oltre che da Malatesta, Marmande ecc.*).

Errico Malatesta; In dirò qui solo quella parte dal mio pensiero che non collima precisamente con quello degli oratori sindacalisti che mi hanno preceduto, e specialmente con Monatte, dal qnale ho in proposito idee parecchio diverse. Se dovessi parlare per propagnnda in mezzo a un pubblico vasto di avversari e indifferenti, allora ripeterei naturalmente molte cose dette dagli altri con le quali sono d'accordo. Farle qui, nel corso di una discussione fra compagni, sarebbe una ripetizione inutile. Poichè io criticherò molti aspetti del sindacalismo, non mi si prenda per un avversario dell'organizzazione e dell'azione sindacale. Tacerò di ciò su cui son d'accordo con gli altri e mi limiterò a dire i punti del mio disaccordo.(1)

La conclusione di tutto il discorso di Monatto è che il sindacalismo di per se stesso è sufficiente cosàe mezzo per compiere la rivoluzione, che, per un usare una frase corrente, «il sindacalismo basta a se stesso ». Ora, questo assolutamente non è vero. Il sindacalismo, o meglio il movimento sindacale, ha trovato in me sempre un fautore (ma un fautore non incondizionato) poichè ho veduto in esso un terreno efficace di agitazione rivnluzionaria ed un mezzo por noi di mantenerci in contatto

(1) Malatesta col suo discorso seppe così avvincere la nostra attenzione, che a qnasi tutti di noi fu impossibile prendere degli appunti. Riferisco qui dunque qnasi a memoria sulla scorta di noto prese dopo e su sunti molto sommari di giornali francesi, tedeschi e inglesi. Errico Malatesta ha accennato allo cose detto nel suo discorso nell'articolo che abbiamo riprodotto come prefazione a questo resoconto. Rimandiamo ad esso per maggior chiarezza i lettori. Qui specialmente ci sofferniamo su qnalche cosa che per brevità Malatesta ha omesso nel suo articolo, del qnale riportiamo appena qualche brano.

con la folla e con quella parte della massa operaia che più è suscettibile di lasciarsi convincere e influenzare dalla nostra propaganda. Tanto poco io sono un avversario del movimento sindacale, e della partecipazione attiva ed esso degli anarchici, che sono stato fra i primi ad incitare i nostri compagni a uscire dall'isolamento in cui s'erano racchiusi gli anarchici dopo la fine dell'Internazionale. Parecchi anzi che a me oggi pare esagerino nel loro zelo sindacalista, trascnrando l'anarchismo integrale, sono stati conviati proprio da me a ritornare sulla via che Monatte e i sindacalisti credono nuova e invece non è altro che quella tracciata dai primi anarchici in seno all'Internazionale.

Diro perciò che noi vogliamo partecipare al movimento sindacale per gli scopi della nostra propaganda e per poter più efficacemente spingere il popolo verso la rivoluzione espropriatrice, non significa che si debba per esso dimentioare l'anarchia e cessare di essere anarchici oltre che in teoria anche nell'azione. Il movimento sindacale non è che un mezzo, ottimo certamente, ma che noi non dobbiamo scambiare per il fine della rivoluzione, e che non ci deve far dimenticare tutte le altre concezioni dell'anarchismo e tutti gli altri mezzi di propaganda e di agitazione. I sindacalisti invece tendono a scambiare il mezzo per il fine e la parte per il tutto; e ciò fa sì che per molti il sindacalismo diventi una teoria nuova che minaccia di sostituirsi all'anarchismo.

Il sindacalismo fine a se stesso, nnche se si dice rivoluzionario, non può non finire col diventare na movimento legalitario e conservatore, non avendo altro scopo che il miglioramento delle condizioni del lavoro entro i limiti imposti dalla borghesia antoritaria. Anche le grandi unioni operaio del Nord America e degli Stati Uniti hanno comiuciato con l'essere rivoluzionarie nei loro metodi s con l'inalzare la bandiera più radicale; ma sono rimaste tali finchè erano deboli, e non appena sono divenute potenti o han fatto ai loro affiliati una condizione privilegiata a paragons di quella di altri operai sono divenute sempre più conservatrici, corporazioni chiuse in antagonismo con altri proletari anche più oltre contro i padroni.

Ripeto: gli anarchici devono stare nei sindacati non solo per fare la propaganda oggi, e domani per avere degli organismi prooti a prendere in mano l'organizzazione della produzione tolta ai padroni, ma anche per reagire contro il particolarismo che è un frntto inevitabile e dannoso delle unioni operaie fatte per difendere interessi particolari.

I sindacalisti sono condotti a questo errore da un concetto troppo unilaterale intorno alla lotta di classe, secondo cui gli interessi degli operai sono solidali o che basta che gli operai si mettano a difendere i propri interessi perchè siano condotti a difendere fatalmente gli interessi di tutta la propria classe contro la borghesia sfruttatrice. E' un errore: poichè ci sono lotte di interessi anche fra alcune categorie di operai ed altre; e qualche volta avviene che gli interessi di una categoria siano più vicini a quelli di una data categoria di padroni che di un'altra di operai. Questo quando le unioni operaie non guardino che ai loro propri interessi immediati e particolari. Cornelissen prima di me ha accennato a qualche esempio in proposito, in Olanda e negli Stati Uniti. Ciò produce uno stato d'animo pericoloso fra gli operai, i quali per esempio nelle lotte per i miglioramenti o negli scioperi si scagliano con maggior violenza contro i krumiri e li odiano di più, benchè questi siano degli sfrottati come loro qnasi sempre anche più di graziati, che non contro la polizia e i padroni contro cui sarebbe più logico lo scagliarsi, poichè sono questi i veri nemici o l'impedimento vero che ne impedisce di mettere in pratica l'nguaglianza sociale.

Dunque è « solamente in vista d'una trasformazione completa della società che l'operaio può sentirsi solidale con l'operaio, l'oppresso solidale con l'oppresso; ed è compito degli anarchici il tener sempre vivo il fuoco dell'ideale e procurare di orientare più che possibile tutto il movimento verso le conquiste dell'avvenire, verso la rivoluzione, anche, ove occorra, a detrimento dei piccoli vantaggi che può ottenere oggi qualche frazione della classe operaia, e che, del resto, non si ottengono il più sovente che a spese di altri lavoratori e del pubblico consumatore » (1).

Una cosa che ho notato è il danno che porta al nostro movimento l'assnnzione da parte dei compagni, specialmente dei migliori e più attivi, delle cariche nelle organizzazioni operaie, sopratutto delle cariche a pagamento. Regola generale: un anarchico che accetta per stipendio e permanentemeate uno di questi posti è perduto per la propaganda e non di rado come anarchico. E' inutile che io stia qui a ricordarvi esempi di compagni carissimi che si sono esauriti o sono scomparsi di mezzo a noi appunto perchè divenuti funzionari delle organizzazioni operaie, costretti spesso a fare cose in contradizione con le proprie idee, oppure a trascinare il sindacato per una via che è in opposizione con le ideo degli organizzati. Insomma io richiamo la vostra attenzione sul paragone che si può fare fra il funzionarismo nel movimento operaio e il parlamentarismo politico.

Ed ora veniamo allo sciopero generale. Noi dobbiamo accettare e propagare l'idea dello sciopero generale come un mezzo assai agevole per cominciare la rivoluzione, ma non dobbiamn crearci l'illusione che lo sciopero generale potrà rimpiazzare la lotta armata contro le forze dello Stato.

« E' stato detto sovente che con lo sciopero gli operai potranno affamare i borghesi e costringerli a cedere. Non saprei immaginare una più grande assurdità. Gli operai sarebbern già da gran tempo morti di fame prima che i borghesi, i quali dispongono di tutti i prodotti accumulati, comincino a soffrire seriamente.

« L'operaio, che nulla possiede, non ricevendo più il suo salario dovrà a viva forza impadronirsi dei prodotti; troverà i gendarmi, i soldati, i borghesi stessi che vorranno impedirglielo; s la questione si dovrà ben tostn risolvere a colpi di fucile, di bombe, ecc. La vittoria resterà a chi saprà essere più forte. Prepariamoci dunque a questa lotta necessaria anzichè limitarci a predicare lo sciopero generale come una specie di panacea che dovrà risolvere tutte le difficoltà. Per conseguenza, anche come modo di cominciare la rivoluzione, lo sciopero generale non potrà essere impiegato che in maniera assai relativa.

« I servizi d'alimentazione, ivi compresi naturalmente quelli dei trasporti delle derrate alimentari, non ammettono una lunga interruzione: bisogna dunque rivoluzionariamente impadronirsi dei mezzi per assicurare l'approvigionamento anche prima che lo sciopero si sia per se stesso svolto in insurrezione ».

La scienza ormai mette a servizio di tutti i mezzi più energici rivoluzionari, come del resto ne ha già dati di formidabili in mano alla reazione. Il concetto dello sciopero passivo, con le braccia incrociate, condurrebbe invece inevitabilmente ad una sconfitta. Più che smettere completamente di lavorare, si tratta per gli operai di cominciare a lavorare per sè; senza di che, come ho detto, presto i prodotti verrebbero a mancare, e ciò anche se si fosse bastanza energici da impadronirsi di tutti i prodotti accumulati in mano della borghesia nel momento della rivoluzione. C'è un opuscolo di propaganda, pubblicato parecchi anni fa, che ha fatto molto male alla causa rivoluzionaria: *I prodotti della terra e dell'industria*, il qnale con una statistica che non starò qui a confutare, pretendeva dimostrare che i prodotti accumulati, se passati tutti nelle mani dei consumatori, basterebbero non so per quanti mesi od anni a farli vivere senza

(1) Son virgolati i brani tolti all'articolo del Malatesta, riportato in prefazione a questo resoconto.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

378

880511050

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. In Italian] Resoconto generale del Congresso Anarchico di Amsterdam / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — 26 cm. *In* Il Pensiero [Rome]. — no. 20-21 (Nov. 1, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archivio Famiglia Berneri, Pistoia, Italy.

preoccupazioni. Ora questo è falso. Kropotkine dimostra che a Londra per esempio, si morirebbe di fame dopo tre mesi, se d'un tratto uno sciopero generale tagliasso tutte lo comunicazioni e sospendesse il lavoro.

Supponiamo, per esempio che lo sciopero generale scòppi in un dato centro; dopo qualche giorno gli operai saranno costretti o a riprendere il lavoro, o a cambiare lo sciopero in insurrezione; in questo ultimo caso, dovranno riattivare certi servizi pubblici e di alimentazione, per evitare che la fame prima o poi riconduca il popolo a piegarsi alla reazione. Naturalmente io qui non ho accennato, per ciò che riguarda i possibili movimenti rivoluzionari, che a quanto sta in relazione coi temi da noi trattati del sindacalismo e dello sciopero generale.

Concludendo: come già un tempo mi lamentavo che i compagni si isolassero dal movimento delle unioni di mestiere, ora trovo deplorevole che molti giungano all'estremo opposto e si lascino completamonto assòrbire dal movimento sindacalista. L'organizzazione operaia, lo sciopero, lo scioporo generale, l'azione diretta, il boicottaggio, il *sabotage*, l'insurrezione ecc. sono tutti mezzi preziosi, ma sempre quando siano manifestazioni dirette a scopi anarchici. La rivoluzione che noi preconizziamo va al di là dell'interesse di singole classi; essa vuol giungere alla liberazione completa o integrale dell'umanità da tutte le schiavitù politiche, economiche o morali. Perciò il nostro metodo non può essere unilaterale. Ecco perchè il sindacalismo che è un metodo, ottimo per le forze operaie che mette a nostra disposizione, non può essere l'unico mezzo e tanto meno sostituirsi al nostro scopo vero e completo che è l'anarchia.

— Dopo la traduzione in tedesco del discorso Malatesta si sospende la seduta, e si rimanda alla seduta pubblica della notte la traduzione in olandese e la continuazione della discussione.

***

Seduta notturna.

Alle 9 pom. si traduce in olandese il discorso di Malatesta. Poi prosegue la discussione:

Friedeberg: Dopo quello che ha detto Malatesta, non credo di dover aggiungere altro, essendo io all'incirca della stessa opinione. L'anarchismo è un'idea che vuole l'emancipazione di tutti, e non di una classe soltanto: non può quindi essere tutto racchiuso nella questione operaia. Mi riservo di presentare una mozione sull'argomento.

Fuss-Amorè: Malatesta ha parlato di noi sindacalisti rivoluzionari, come se non ci curassimo dell'anarchia. Questo non è esatto. Noi siamo sindacalisti rivoluzionari ma anche anarchici; e nelle organizzazioni sindacaliste vediamo, oltre che un mezzo rivoluzionario, anche gli organismi più adatti ad assumere all'indomani della rivoluzione la gestione della produzione. Richiamo l'attenzione dei compagni su questo aspetto del sindacalismo.

Samson: A proposito del *sabotage* osservo che non mi sembra un'arma troppo utile e buona per noi anarchici. Mentre da un lato mi pare che esso abbia un'influenza poco simpatica per l'educazione della classe operaia, d'altra parte lo credo poco applicabile e poco fecondo di risultati.

Broutchoux: I minatori organizzati del Passo di Calais, hanno un sindacato, al quale io appartengo, di essenza essenzialmente rivoluzionaria. Questo sindacato ha sostenuto gli scioperi più energici accompagnati da atti violenti di propaganda col fatto. Io sono per la lotta violenta, e non per un sindacalismo di circostanza, che si manifesta solo quando l'occasione di agire è passata, e che non vuole e non sa dirigere i suoi attacchi con uno scopo deliberatamento rivoluzionario. Per ciò che riguarda le organizzazioni dei minatori del Passo di Calais, i fatti sono dei più significanti in senso rivoluzionario, e non sembrano giustificare i timori del compagno Malatesta.

Yohryzek: Mi riservo di presentare una mozione sullo sciopero generale politico, che noi anarchici dobbiamo disapprovare come tale, quando ha in vista la conquista dei poteri pubblici; ma al quale dobbiamo partecipare per essere in grado di spingere i sindacati a daro allo sciopero un carattere economico o rivoluzionario.

Ramus: Il punto di vista estremo di Malatesta è pienamente giustificato dal punto di vista estremo di Monatte, il quale, nel suo rapporto, ha sostenuto il modo di vedere sindacalista puro e semplice.

Bisogna che non perdiamo di vista il fatto che lo sciopero generale, il sindacalismo od i suoi mezzi non possono costituire che altrettanti metodi dell'anarchismo il quale, come scopo finale li abbraccia tutti, mentro nel sindacalismo non è sempre racchinso l'anarchismo.

Tutto il valore del sindacalismo, da noi tutti sempre ammesso, sta nel fatto ch'esso si contrappone alla tattica parlamentarista. Ma, allo stesso modo che lo sciopero generale non si può considerare come un surrogato della qualità distruttive o costruttivo della rivoluzione sociale, anche il sindacalismo è insufficiente per sè stesso a risolvere la questione sociale, e l'anarchismo avendogli fornito tutte le sue armi, bisogna ch'ei sia totalmente perveso anche della filosofia e dell'ideale dell'anarchismo. Noi siamo innanzitutto anarchici e subordinatamente e solo come tali siamo anche sindacalisti, mai vice-versa.

Monatte: Malatesta si è fatto qui l'eco dei vecchi militanti dell'anarchismo, a fondo un po' blanquista.

Ma se noi sindacalisti anarchici ci diciamo rivoluzionari, è perchè lo siamo in realtà e non subordiniamo l'anarchia o la rivoluzione a nessun'altro scopo. Solo, perchè i tempi sono cambiati, concepiamo il movimento e la rivoluzione un po' diversamente. Lo sciopero generale ci sembra chiamato a daro una forma più possibile alla rivolnzione, che nei tempi moderni non può più essere fatta con i metodi quarantottisti. Se in passato la pratica ancora poco organica del sindacalismo ha dato luogo ad errori o deviazioni, l'esperienza ora ci impedirà di cadere negli stessi falli. E gli anarchici sopratutto possono contribuire ad evitarli.

Thonar: Credo che fra le opinioni di Malatesta e quelle di Monatte non ci sia che una differenza di apprezzamento, e non una differenza troppo sostanziale, fino al punto di dividere il campo anarchico.

— E' passata la mezzanotte, e si decide, l'indomani di passare ai voti, potendo ormai considerarsi esauritissima la discussione.

Il voto sul sindacalismo. L'antimilitarismo

(30 AGOSTO)

Seduta antimeridiana.

Aristide Ceccarelli: dice poche parole sul movimento sindacalista nella Répubblica Argentina. Quelli che si dicono sindacalisti laggiù sono in fondo dei parlamentaristi; e gli unici a fare un lavoro serio in senso rivoluzionario e libertario nei sindacati sono gli anarchici. Le organizzazioni operaio della *Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina* hanno quasi tutto un indirizzo libertario, e molte fanno vera e propria propaganda anarchica. L'ultimo congresso operaio, dette di Unificazione, ha a grande maggioranza approvata una raccomandazione ai sindacati di aiutare la propaganda del comunismo anarchico.

L'oratore descrive le condizioni pessime dei lavoratori nell'Argentina, e per mandato ricevuto dai compagni di laggiù, propone al congresso un ordine del giorno invitante i compagni a fare una assidua propaganda per impedire l'emigrazione in quel paese, ove manca sempre più por la classe operaia il pane e la libertà.

Malatesta ed altri osservano che la questione meriterebbe una discussiono apposita, cosa che non si può fare ora, poichè si deve ultimare la discussione incominciata sul sindacalismo.

Si decide il passaggio all'ordine del giorno, e si passa alla votazione delle mozioni presentate sul sindacalismo e lo sciopero generale.

Ordine del giorno firmato Wilquet, Malatesta, Emma Goldmann, Vohryzek, Marmânde, Cornelissen, Rogdaeff, Knotek:

Il Congresso anarchico internazionale considera i sindacati allo stesso tempo come organizzazioni di battaglia nella lotta delle classi per il miglioramento delle condizioni del lavoro, e come unioni di produttori che possono servire alla trasformazione della società capitalista in una società comunista anarchica.

Così il Congresso, pur ammettendo l'eventuale necessità della creazione di gruppi sindacalisti rivoluzionarii speciali, raccomanda ai compagni di sostenere le organizzazioni sindacali generali in cui hanno accesso tutti gli operai dello stesso mestiere.

Ma il Congresso considera funzione degli anarchici il costituire in queste organizzazioni l'elemento rivoluzionario, e il propagare e sostenere solo quelle forme e manifestazioni di azione diretta (scioperi, boicottaggio, sabottaggio ecc.) che hanno in se stesse un carattere rivoluzionario e tendono alla trasformazione della società.

Gli anarchici considerano il movimento sindacalista e lo sciopero generale come potenti mezzi rivoluzionarii, ma non come sostituti della rivoluzione. Raccomandano d'altra parte ai compagni, nel caso della proclamazione d'uno sciopero generale per la conquista del potere, di aderire allo sciopero ma cercando nel tempo stesso di spingere con la propria influenza i sindacati a far valere le proprie rivendicazioni economiche.

Gli anarchici pensano che la distruzione della società capitalista ed autoritaria può realizzarsi soltanto mediante l'insurrezione armata e l'espropriazione violenta, e che l'impiego dello sciopero più o meno generale e il movimento sindacalista non devono far obliare i mezzi più diretti di lotta contro la forza militare dei governi.

Quest'ordine del giorno che congloba le mozioni di Cornelissen, Vohryzek e Malatesta, è approvato con 33 voti contro 10.

Mozione R. Friedeberg:

La lotta di classe e l'emancipazione economica del proletariato non sono identiche alle idee e tendenze dell'anarchismo.

L'anarchismo ha per scopo la completa emancipazione economica e psichica della personalità umana.

L'anarchismo tende a una società priva di autorità, e non a creare una nuova autorità, quella della maggioranza contro la minoranza.

L'anarchismo vede nella soppressione dell'autorità delle classi, nella scomparsa delle ineguaglianze economiche, un punto di passaggio assolutamente necessario e fondamentale per poter giungere al suo scopo finale. Ma gli anarchici non possono accettare quei mezzi proposti per l'emancipazione del proletariato che, nella loro azione, sieno in contraddizione con le idee anarchiche e debbano inevitabilmente allontanarli dal vero scopo dell'anarchismo.

Essi rifiutano quindi di praticare la lotta secondo i metodi del socialismo marxista per mezzo del parlamentarismo o di un sistema rappresentativo, e per mezzo di un movimento sindacale esclusivamente corporativo, che abbia cioè per scopo esclusivo il miglioramento economico del proletariato, — tutti mezzi che implicano come conseguenza l'autorità d'una nuova burocrazia, superiorità intellettuale diplomata o no, e l'oppressione della minoranza da parte della maggioranza.

Il Congresso anarchico-comunista respinge quindi lo sciopero generale per la conquista del potere, ma riconosce l'utilità dello sciopero generale economico e rivoluzionario, come il mezzo adatto a distruggere la struttura economica presente e liberare la classe operaia dalla schiavitù del salariato.

Per arrivare a questo sciopero generale è necessario che le organizzazioni sindacaliste sieno imbevute delle idee dell'anarchismo, e volte a distruggere con un sciopero generale rivoluzionario la dominazione di classe e ad aprire la via verso lo scopo dell'anarchismo. — la realizzazione d'una società senza autorità.

Quest'ordine del giorno è stato approvato con 36 voti contro 6 (1).

Ordine del giorno Dunois, Monatte, Fuss-Amorè, Nacht, Zielinska, Fabbri, Walter:

Gli anarchici riuniti in Congresso considerando,

che il regime economico e giuridico attuale è caratterizzato dallo sfruttamento e dall'asservimento della massa dei produttori, e determina fra questi ed i beneficiarii del regime attuale un antagonismo d'interessi assolutamente irreduttibili che determina la lotta di classe;

che l'organizzazione sindacale solidarizzando le resistenze e le ribellioni sul terreno economico senza preoccupazioni dottrinarie, è l'organo specifico e fondamentale di questa lotta del proletariato contro la borghesia e contro tutte le istituzioni borghesi;

che è necessario che uno spirito rivoluzionario sempre più audace orienti gli sforzi dell'organizzazione sindacale verso l'espropriazione capitalista e la soppresssione di ogni potere;

che l'espropriazione e la presa di possesso collettiva degli strumenti e dei prodotti del lavoro non potendo essere compito che dei lavoratori stessi, il sindacato è destinato a trasformarsi in associazione produttrice ed è quindi nella società attuale il germe vivente della società futura;

invitano i compagni di tutti i paesi, senza perder di vista che l'azione anarchica non è tutta intera contenuta nell'orbita dell'organizzazione di mestiere, a partecipare attivamente al movimento autonomo della classe operaia e a svilappare nelle organizzazioni sindacali le idee di rivolta, d'iniziativa individuale e di solidarietà che sono l'essenza stessa dell'anarchismo.

Quest'ordine del giorno è approvato con 28 voti contro 7.

(1) Chi scrive s'è astenuto dal votare questa mozione, perchè la riteneva, specie nel primo capoverso, poco chiara, o per lo meno bisognevole d'una più lunga spiegazione. L'accenno al marxismo richiedova anche esso una maggiore spiegazione. Più che un'ordine del giorno questa mozione può considerarsi una dichiarazione di principii, tanto per la forma che per la sostanza.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

379

880511050

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. In Italian] Resoconto generale del Congresso Anarchico di Amsterdam / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — 26 cm. *In* Il Pensiero [Rome]. — no. 20-21 (Nov. 1, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archivio Famiglia Berneri, Pistoia, Italy.

Malatesta chiede la parola per una spiegazione: — Si sono delineate in questo congresso, a proposito di sindacalismo, due correnti di idee, quella che s'è espressa con l'ordine del giorno firmato anche da me, e l'altra con l'ordine del giorno Dunois, Monatte ecc. Ora il congresso ha votato, con poca differenza, a maggioranza, tutte e due le mozioni. Questo significa che gli ordini del giorno non sono riusciti ad esprimere precisa la differenza fra le due correnti, e che queste due correnti non sono ancora giunte a delinearsi nettamente in modo da costituire una divisione sostanziale fra noi.

Ordine del giorno sullo sciopero generale, proposto da Dunois, Monatte, Fuss-Amorè, Nacht, Zielinska:

Gli anarchici riuniti a congresso, dichiarano di considerare lo sciopero generale espropriatore come un notevole stimolante dell'organizzazione e dello spirito di ribellione nella società attuale, e come la forma con cui può giungersi all'emancipazione integrale del proletariato;

lo sciopero generale non può essere confuso con lo sciopero generale politico, che non è altro che un tentativo di politicanti per stornare lo sciopero generale dai suoi fini economici e rivoluzionarii.

Con scioperi generalizzati per località, per regioni, per professioni intere, si solleverà progressivamente la classe operaia e la si trascinerà verso lo sciopero generale espropriatore, che comprenderà la distruzione della società attuale e l'espropriazione dei mezzi di produzione e dei prodotti.

Quest'ordine del giorno raccoglie 25 voti (1).

Ordine del giorno sul terrorismo individuale e collettivo nella lotta contro la borghesia, presentato da Emma Goldmann e Max Baginski:

Il Congresso Internazionale Anarchico di Amsterdam, riconosce, tanto all'individuo come alla massa il diritto alla ribellione nel suo senso più ampio. In generale gli atti di rivolta e gli attacchi energici contro i rappresentanti dello Stato, della plutocrazia ecc. sono psicologicamente il risultato delle impressioni subite sotto la pressione terribile della ingiustizia sociale che ci opprime.

Si può stabilire una regola, che sono appunto i caratteri più delicati e più simpatici quelli su cui le impressioni, spingenti alla ribellione interna od esterna, agiscono più profondamente.

Sotto questo punto di vista, gli atti di rivolta sono le conseguenze socio-psicologiche di un presente insopportabile; e sono soggetti ad essere più o meno ammirati, a seconda del grado di comprensione dei loro motivi interni od esterni.

Nel corso di un qualsiasi periodo rivoluzionario, come in Russia, bisogna anche avere in considerazione quali atti di rivolta sieno un'attacco più diretto contro la base della tirannide, poichè dall'audacia della loro esecuzione proviene l'entusiasmo che dà la possibilità di continuare l'opera di liberazione. Questa possibilità è soprattutto data dal fatto, che gli attentati abbiano luogo contro i più brutali istrumenti o rappresentanti del despotismo.

Il congresso riconosce, con l'accettazione di questa dichiarazione, dal punto di vista morale come do quello dell'atto stesso come propaganda, la sua adesione agli atti individuali di rivolta ed esprime la sua solidarietà con l'azione insurrezionale delle masse.

Data lettura a quest'ordine del giorno, *Malatesta* propone che esso sia votato piuttosto come una dichiarazione di principio, e non come mozione; ciò data la sua forma, e anche per non essere in rapporto diretto con la questione del sindacalismo. *Emma Goldmann* e *Baginski* accettano.

Messa ai voti, la dichiarazione di principii suddetta è approvata all'unanimità.

La discussione sul sindacalismo o lo sciopero generale è terminata.

***

E' all'ordine del giorno ora il tema: *L'Antimilitarismo come tattica dell'anarchismo.* (Relatori R. de Marmande e P. Ramus).

Friedeberg, stante l'ora tarda a che è già cominciato in mattinata in una sala attigua il « Congresso Internazionale antimilitarista » (1), propone che il Congresso Anarchico, per questa questione, si fonda con quello.

Malatesta è d'accordo, purchè però prima il Congresso anarchico dica in una risoluzione il suo punto di vista, che poi i suoi delegati sosterranno in quello antimilitarista. Del resto non c'è bisogno di discussione, poichè gli anarchici non possono che essere completamente d'accordo su questa questione.

Marmande: E' del parere di Malatesta e propone che egli e Ramus, relatori su l'antimilitarismo, facciano il loro rapporto al congresso antimilitarista.

Cornelissen: Sarebbe di parere che una vera e propria discussione si facesse invece nel congresso anarchico; poichè dopo il congresso socialdemocratico di Stoccarda ove l'antimilitarismo è stato esaurito e combattuto bisogna che si sappia che gli anarchici non hanno sfuggita la discussione.

Malatesta: Si oppone energicamente poichè il tempo manca, e preme di recarsi al congresso antimilitarista dove si potranno fare tutte le discussioni che si vogliono. Propone un ordine del giorno, il quale poi dovrebbe essere sostenuto da Marmande e Ramus nel congresso antimilitarista.

Il congresso approva la proposta di Malatesta, Friedeberg e Marmande. Si passa alla votazione dell'ordine del giorno Malatesta, cui appongono la loro firma anche altri. E' approvato all'unanimità.

Ordine del giorno Nieuwenhuis, Malatesta, Marmande, Thonar, Cornelissen e Ramus:

Gli anarchici, volendo la liberazione integrale dell'umanità e la libertà completa dell'individuo, sono naturalmente nemici dichiarati di ogni specie di forza ormata nelle mani dello Stato (esercito, gendarmeria, polizia, magistratura ecc.)

Incoraggiano i compagni, secondo le circostanze ed il proprio temperamento, e con tutti i mezzi, alla rivolta individuale, al rifiuto isolato e collettivo del servizio militare, alla disobbedienza passiva od altiva, ed allo sciopero militare per la distruzione radicale degli strumenti di dominazione.

Esprimono la speranza che tutti i popoli interessati risponderanno ad ogni dichiarazione di guerra con l'insurrezione.

E dichiarano di pensare che gli anarchici daranno l'esempio.

***

Seduta pomeridiana

Nel pomeriggio gli anarchici assistono in massa al congresso antimilitarista, di cui diamo una breve relazione a parte.

L'alcoolismo, L'Associazione produttiva e l'anarchismo, L'educazione integrale, L'Esperanto. — Chiusura del congresso.

Seduta notturna (30 Agosto)

La seduta, diciamo così, ufficiale del congresso è poco numerosa. I delegati sono suddivisi fra il congresso antimilitarista che dura ancora, ed un'adunanza privata dei sindacalisti.

Van Rees (Olanda): Fa un breve rapporto contro l'alcoolismo, in cui sostiene che gli anarchici sono interessati a combattere l'uso dell'alcool, anche nella forma più moderate.

Si decida di rimandare la discussione all'indomani.

Samson: Legge un rapporto breve ma interessante sull' « Associazione produttiva e l'anarchismo ». Sostiene le forme di associazione cooperativa, e le colonia libertarie, come mezzi utili di rifornimento per la classe operaia in tempo di rivoluzione, come complamanto dell'organizzazione sindacale, e come inizio di una organizzazione della società in senso libertario.

— Purtroppo la mancanza di tempo e l'assenza di molti delegati occupati altrove impedisce la discussione. Veramente ormai il congresso che dura da ben sei giorni è stanco e non ascolta più con troppa attenzione gli oratori. Si rimanda anche per quest'argomento dell'Associazione produttiva la prosecuzione della discussione al giorno dopo.

***

(31 AGOSTO)

Seduta antimeridiana

Il congresso è adunato in seduta privata pel disbrigo di affari di interna organizzazione, per prendere cioè le ultime disposizioni sull' « Internazionale Anarchica ». Presiede *E. Malatesta.*

Beylie e *Broutchoux* presentano questo ordine del giorno di solidarietà coi sindacalisti e anarchici francesi condannati per propaganda antimilitarista:

Il congresso constata che il governo della Repubblica Francese agisce contro i lavoratori allo stesso modo come tutti i governi han sempre agito.

Manda un fraterno saluto ai compagni Yvetot, Marck, Levy, Bousquet, Cortot, Soruhot, Berthet, Clementine Delmoth, Labriolle, Petit, ai dodici antimilitaristi che ora si trovano in prigione a Parigi e a tutti i compagni reclusi nelle prigioni della repubblica.

Il congresso invia nello stesso tempo il suo migliore saluto a tutti i difensori della libertà chiusi nelle bastiglie borghesi del mondo intero, e invita l'Ufficio Internazionale, come suo primo atto, a organizzare la difesa e l'aiuto per gli amici prigionieri. (Approvato per acclamazione).

Alla discussione che segue, che non è tale da poter interessare il pubblico, partecipano Thonar, Lange, Schapiro, Wilquet, Goldmann, Baginski, Ceccarelli, Frigario, Vohryzek, Chapeliar a qualche altro.

Si stabilisca che l'Ufficio Internazionale di corrispondenza e di archivio debba essere a Londra, o sia composto dai compagni *A. Schapiro, J. Wilquet, R. Rocher, J. Turner* ed *E. Malatesta.*

Si discute poi sul prossimo congresso. Si propongono dai vari congressisti varie località; ma si conclude col lasciare all'Ufficio Internazionale di fare in seguito ai compagni una proposta possibile. Si decide che il prossimo congresso si tenga fra due anni.

***

Seduta pomeridiana

Presiede *Emma Goldmann*

L'assemblea si presenta piuttosto stanca. Siamo alla fine. Sull' *Educazione integrale dell'infanzia* doveva riferire il compagno Léon Clément di Parigi; ma egli non è potuto venire ed ha inviato un lungo rapporto a Marmande il quale lo riassume brevemente. Il congresso approva che questo rapporto sia al più presto pubblicato, ma non si discute e non si prende alcuna risoluzione.

Sulla *Rivoluzione in Russia* si è già inteso, durante la discussione sul sindacalismo, il rapporto di Rogdaeff, e si è approvato già un'ordine del giorno.

P. Ramus rinuncia a svolgere il suo tema sulla *Letteratura moderna e l'Anarchismo*; lo stesso fa *G. Rijnders* per la questione *Anarchismo e Religione.* Essendo per terminare il tempo stabilito per il congresso non ci sarebbe tempo di discutere.

Sulla questione dell'*Alcoolismo* è stata presentata questa lunga risoluzione dall'olandese *J. Van Rees:*

Ordine del giorno sull'alcoolismo, proposto da Van Rees, olandese, con una aggiunta di Chapelier, belga:

1° L'alcoolismo è un'insieme di fenomeni sociali caratterizzati dall'abitudine degli uomini alle bevande alcooliche.

2° Benchè soltanto l'uso smodato del bere con le sue funeste conseguenze vada sotto il nome di alcoolismo, pure anche l'uso moderato delle bibite alcooliche costituisce un fenomeno speciale dell'alcoolismo.

3° Questo alcoolismo generale, e cioè l'alcoolismo moderato che ci rende condiscendenti verso l'abitudine di bere moderatamente, è molto più pericoloso e più inguaribile della stessa intemperanza.

4° L'alcoolismo costituendo una minaccia per i progressi già acquisiti dall'umanità e per il progresso futuro, è necessario che ogni uomo d'intelletto e di cuore smetta l'abitudine di bere.

5° L'anarchismo vuol dire concezione di una vita che ha respinto ogni credenza nella necessità di una autorità esteriore per gli uomini normali.

6° L'influenza che ha l'abitudine « alcoolica » sulle idee e sul modo di vivere degli individui, esercita precisamente una di quelle autorità esteriori che gli anarchici disapprovano.

7° Così l'alcoolismo, oltre ad essere uno dei più grandi flagelli dell'umanità intera, è anche sopratutto una forma di autoritarismo, contrario per conseguenza all'idea anarchica che vuole la liberazione dell'intelletto e della coscienza da ogni autorità esteriore.

8° Gli anarchici, nemici di ogni misura legislativa, sono anche più di tutti gli altri socialisti

(1) La nota alla mozione Friedeberg vale anche per questa. Del resto, tanto l'una che l'altra furono presentate per semplice lettura senza che i congressisti prima ne avessero preso visione a fosse stato possibile discuterle. Moltissimi, fra cui il sottoscritto, si sono astenuti dal votare anche questo ordine del giorno. Del resto quelli che hanno maggiore importanza sono il primo (Malatesta ecc.) e il terzo (Dunois, Monatte ecc.)

(1) Di questo congresso, e della altre adunanze speciali, daremo cenno a parte. La mattina del 30 il Congresso Antimilitarista dedicò le sue sedute limitatamente alle sezioni olandesi dell'Alleanza Internazionale Antimilitarista.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

380

880511050

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. In Italian] Resoconto generale del Congresso Anarchico di Amsterdam / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — 26 cm. *In* Il Pensiero [Rome]. — no. 20-21 (Nov. 1, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archivio Famiglia Berneri, Pistoia, Italy.

tenuti a combattere l'alcoolismo con mezzi puramente individuali.

9° La propaganda di ogni idea socialista e anarchica è enormemente intralciata da l'alcoolismo smodato o moderato.

10° La società futura anarchica, o sarà nemica di tutte le bevande intossicanti o non sarà anarchica.

Aggiunta Chapelier:

1° L'alcoolismo è, a causa della demoralizzazione che provoca, uno dei più potenti sostegni della società capitalista.

2° I governi sono incapaci di combattere l'alcoolismo e sono del resto interessati ad incoraggiarlo, perchè lo spaccio dell'alcool giova loro ad aumentare le entrate.

La maggior parte dei congressisti si oppone alla discussione per mancanza di tempo. Parecchi sono d'opinione che si debba raccomandare un uso moderato delle bevande alcooliche, ma i più sono ben lungi dal condividere le opinioni estremo del relatore, espresse nella sua mozione. Qualcuno osserva che l'argomento sarebbe più adatto per un congresso sanitario che per un congresso rivoluzionario. Perciò si passa all'ordine del giorno, senza votare la mozione.

Ci sarebbe da discutere il tema: *L'Anarchismo come vita e attività individuale*; ma sono assenti, non intervenuti al congresso, i relatori *E. Armand* e *Mauricius* di Parigi. Il congresso passa oltre senza trattare l'argomento.

All'incirca la stessa cosa avviene per il tema *l'Associazione produttiva e l'Anarchia*, di cui si dovrebbe seguitare la discussione incominciata la sera prima. *E. Chapelier* uno dei relatori rinuncia alla parola; l'altro relatore *Samson* distribuisce al congresso copia poligrafata di questa mozione:

Ordine del giorno Samson sull'associazione produttrice:

Il Congresso internazionale anarchico di Amsterdam è di parere che l'associazione per la produzione, tanto separata che unita al movimento sindacale rivoluzionario, può accordarsi e sorreggersi con l'ideale di una società anarchica.

Sarebbe vantaggioso per la classe operaia che, tanto prima che dopo lo sciopero generale, una quantità di associazioni di produzione potessero venire in aiuto, forti dell'esperienza, a tutta la classe emancipata, organizzando la produzione e lo scambio su una base nettamente anticapitalista ed antiparassitaria.

Il congresso è di parere altresì che nel momento attuale le organizzazioni sindacali rivoluzionarie, come pure tutta la classe operaia, possano trarre un utile dall'applicazione dell'associazione di produzione.

Però, non essendoci più tempo di discutere, si passa all'ordine del giorno senza votare neppure su questa mozione; la quale rimane solo come espressione dell'opinione dei relatori.

E. Chapelier dice poche parole sul tema: *La Lingua internazionale e gli Anarchici* di cui è relatore per conto della colonia di Boitsfort e della rivista in lingua Esperanto *Internacia Socia Revuo*. Mancando il tempo egli rinuncia a fare una vera e propria relazione. Propone però al congresso che come linea di massima approvi il seguente ordine del giorno accettato anche da Malatesta e Rogdaeff:

Ordine del giorno sull'*Esperanto*, proposto da Chapelier, Malatesta e Rogdaeff:

Il congresso comunista anarchico internazionale di Amsterdam, considerando:

1° Che la molteplicità delle lingue costituisce delle frontiere intellettuali e morali ed è quindi un'intralcio alla propaganda delle idee rivoluzionarie;

2° che anche durante le sue discussioni ha potuto costatare che le difficoltà e le inesattezze fatali di traduzione gli hanno fatto perdere almeno i tre quarti del tempo;

3° che l'impiego di una lingua comune faciliterebbe lo scambio delle comunicazioni dell'Internazionale libertaria;

4° che nessuna lingua vivente riunisce le condizioni necessarie di facilità, di neutralità e di flessibilità;

5° che fra tutte le lingue artificiali l'Esperanto è la sola che possa essere seriamente impiegata e che sembri poterlo essere con successo;

fa voti che tutti gli anarchici o per lo meno tutti i militanti studino l'Esperanto, e che in un'avvenire prossimo i nostri congressi internazionali possano farsi in una lingua internazionale.

Amedée Dunois, Robert de Marmande e *Fuss-Amoré* si oppongono alla votazione, dicendo che il congresso è ben lungi dall'avere un'idea chiara sulla questione, e che del resto un congresso anarchico non è il più adatto per discuterla.

E. Chapelier osserva che [illegible] dovrà fare il suo rapporto, per mostrare come [illegible]sto sia una lingua non solo facile, ma tale da [illegible]le relazioni internazionali dei rivoluzionari [illegible]ne è tutt'altro che futile e inadatta in questo [illegible]. Del resto egli è delegato di numerosi gruppi di [illegible]antisti, e non può permettere che si passi sotto silenzio un problema per discutere il quale è intervenuto al congresso.

E. Malatesta riconosce, pure essendo un cultore della lingua Esperanto, non potersi votare l'ordine del giorno senza discussione, dal momento che non c'è unanimità. Ma poichè manca il tempo per discutere propone al congresso di votare quest'altra mozione, in sostituzione della prima:

Il congresso fa voti che tutti gli anarchici studino il problema di una lingua internazionale.

Il congresso approva, senza che alcuno si dichiari contrario, questo secondo ordine del giorno: mentre non si vota sul primo.

Emma Goldmann, dichiara che essendo esaurito l'ordine del giorno delle discussioni, il congresso è chiuso. L'ordine del giorno da discutersi era forse troppo carico di temi, e perciò quelli di secondaria importanza rimasti per ultimo non si son potuti discutere; ciò che si farà in un congresso susseguente. Invita Errico Malatesta a dire qualche parola di saluto ai congressisti, per chiudere così definitivamente le discussioni.

Errico Malatesta: Compagni, il nostro congresso è finito. Prima che le sedute cominciassero i giornali borghesi di tutti i colori annunciando queste nostre riunioni, facevano la previsione che esse sarebbero state piene di confusione e tumultuose, e sarebbero finite col portare la discordia fra noi. Ebbene questo non si è avverato affatto. Malgrado le difficoltà delle lingue, malgrado che il nostro congresso non avesse avuto quella preparazione materiale che rende più facile l'ordine negli altri congressi, pure il nostro è riuscito uno dei più ordinati che si potesse desiderare; sfatando così le male profezie dei nemici e superando la stessa speranza di molti di noi. Si è detto che il congresso avrebbe provocata una scissione fra gli anarchici; invece, per quanto le nostre opinioni differiscono in molti punti, pure nelle cose principali ci è stato sempre l'accordo. Nè poteva essere diversamente, poichè tutti siamo d'accordo nel volere la stessa cosa: la liberazione dell'umanità da tutte le forme dell'oppressione capitalistica e statale, per mezzo della rivoluzione. Noi pensiamo che il congresso porterà i suoi frutti; ma per questo bisogna che tutti noi, ritornando ai nostri paesi non ci addormentiamo sugli allori di questa odierna manifestazione. Mettiamoci tutti al lavoro!

— Fra il più grande entusiasmo, e al canto dell'*Internazionale*, quest'ultima seduta del congresso anarchico si scioglie. Si odono in tutte le lingue grida di *viva l'anarchia* e *viva la rivoluzione sociale!*

***

Nella serata, nella grande sala del Plancius, si tenne un comizio pubblico di propaganda anarchica di fronte a più di duemila olandesi. Parlarono P. Ramus, C. Cornelissen, E. Chapelier, Samson, Fuss-Amoré, P. Monatte, Munjits, Oerter, Frauböse, Ludwig.

Le altre riunioni

Il Congresso Antimilitarista.

Il congresso antimilitarista, indetto per cura dell'« Alleanza Internazionale Antimilitarista » si aprì la mattina del 30 agosto.

La seduta antimeridiana fu dedicata completamente alle sezioni olandesi; le riunioni internazionali cominciarono nel pomeriggio dello stesso giorno, alle ore 15.

Presiedeva Vorhyzek, delegato della Federazione anarchica boema.

Eran presenti anche dei socialisti sindacalisti e rivoluzionari francesi, tedeschi e olandesi. Noto anche madama Sorgue.

Portavoce delle idee del congresso anarchico parlò applauditissimo Roberto de Marmande di Parigi, che fece la storia del movimento antimilitarista in Francia, parlando del voltafaccia di Briand, delle persecuzioni subite dai nostri amici per parte del governo repubblicano, ed infine elogiando ed illustrando la propaganda fatta dal nostro amico Gustavo Hervè. Finì col presentare l'ordine del giorno degli anarchici, approvato all'unanimità.

Per la Germania parlarono il dott. Friedorberg, e un altro di cui non ricordo il nome; per la Russia il Rodgaeff, per l'Olanda lo stesso Domela Nieuwenhuis ed il Croiset, per l'Inghilterra Pierre Ramus, per gli Stati Uniti Emma Goldmann, per la Francia oltre il Marmande anche la signora Sorgue; e così altri per altre nazioni, che qui sarebbe inutile enumerare. Aristide Ceccarelli vi rappresentava la Repubblica Argentina. Luigi Fabbri per l'Italia o a nome specialmente della « Sezione Italiana » dell'Alleanza e del giornale *La Pace*, fece un rapporto sul movimento antimilitarista italiano, parlando della *Pace*, dell'azione esplicata dai gruppi antimilitaristi, di anarchici e di socialisti, e anche un po' sulla necessità di intensificare questa azione, — oggi un po' troppo circoscritta.

Domela, nel tradurre in tedesco o olandese il discorso di Fabbri ebbe parole di elogio entusiastico per la *Pace* e per la propaganda del Bartalini. La signora Sorgue pure parlò del movimento italiano che disse di aver conosciuto da vicino, e accennò a un progetto appunto abbozzato in Italia del boicottaggio in tempo di guerra, da parte dei lavoratori del mare, di tutte le navi delle nazioni belligeranti.

A lungo si è discusso sulla opportunità e utilità o meno, di consigliare la diserzione oppure la ribellione ai coscritti. Vari erano i pareri, ma tutti, come capirete, tali che è inutile che i nostri lettori nemici sappiano.

Infatti questa discussione è stata proseguita a porte chiuse l'indomani, con esclusione dei giornalisti.

In seduta privata il 31 agosto, si sono discusse anche parecchie questioni d'indole interna, sull'azione pratica, sul modo di raccogliere mezzi finanziarii, ecc.

Benchè io scriva per un giornale non borghese, pure non cesso per ciò di fare opera giornalistica. E poichè, come giornalista ero escluso dal congresso, e vi partecipavo come congressista, — così mi consentirete di non scendere a particolari sulle discussioni fatte e le decisioni prese nelle sedute private dell'ultimo giorno.

Solo, sono autorizzato a dire che il comitato esecutivo della *Alleanza Internazionale Antimilitarista* non sarà più da ora in poi composto di soli olandesi, ma di francesi e olandesi insieme; e dovo essere nominato dai compagni delle sezioni delle due nazionalità.

E' stato deliberato anche di scegliere per ogni nazione un corrispondente speciale; dietro proposta di Fabbri, è stato scelto per l'Italia Ezio Bartalini di Genova.

Il congresso si è chiuso con entusiasmo al grido di « Viva l'Internazionale Antimilitarista! ».

Le riunioni sindacaliste

Profittando della presenza al congresso anarchico di Amstordam di un gran numero di militanti sindacalisti di quasi tutti i paesi d'Europa, il *Nationaal Arbeiders-Secretariat* (Segretariato nazionale dei lavoratori) di Olanda li aveva invitati ad una rinnione nella sua sede la sera del 27 agosto, per intendersi con essi sulla necessità di stabilire rapporti internazionali fra tutte le organizzazioni sindacaliste rivoluzionarie.

Era presente, venuto a tale scopo, Fritz Kater, socialista, presidente dell'*Unione libera dei Sindacati tedeschi*; Vohryzek e Knotok della *Federazione ceca di tutti i mestieri* avevano avuto egualmente incarico dalle organizzazioni sindacali boeme di entrare in rapporto con gli altri sindacalisti degli altri paesi.

Monatte della *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro* di Francia, Broutchoux dell'« *Federazione dei Minatori* del Passo di Calais, Henri Fuss-Amoré della *Federazione del Lavoro* del Belgio, Amédée Dunois della *Federazione delle Unioni operaie* della Svizzera francese, Karl Walter della *Unione degli operai industriali per l'Azione diretta* di Inghilterra, Aristide Ceccarelli rappresentante di un Sindacato operaio della Repubblica Argentina, presero tutti parte attiva alla discussione, insieme ad altri sindacalisti non operai, come Cornelissen, la Goldmann, Friedeberg, Fabbri ecc.

Ciascuno fece una relazione sul movimento sindacalista del proprio paese. Interessante fu specialmente ciò che disse il Anter per l'« Unione libera dei Sindacati tedeschi » la quale intende rifiutare ogni adesione e collaborazione all'organizzazione centralizzata diretta dai politicanti della social democrazia. Questa fortissima organizzazione tedesca, a cui aderiscono attualmente quindici federazioni di mestiere e sedici organizzazioni locali (Camere o Borse del lavoro), il cui organo centrale ha una tiratura di più che sedicimila copie, si è vista ultimamente esclusa dall'ufficio sindacale internazionale.

Monatte disse che anche le relazioni fra la Confederazione del Lavoro francese e l'Ufficio Internazionale sono molto tese, poichè quest'ultimo si rifiuta di mettere all'ordine del giorno dei congressi internazionali lo sciopero generale, l'antimilitarismo ecc.

Opinione generale fu di costituire un nuovo ufficio internazionale completamente sindacalista e rivoluzionario.

Si discusse a lungo, ma si riconobbe che il far ciò sarebbe stato prematuro, anche perchè la maggior parte dei compagni presenti non avevano avuto alcun mandato in proposito dalle loro organizzazioni. Però ciascuno dei militanti s'impegnò di inviare al più presto al *Segretariato nazionale dei lavoratori* d'Olanda un rapporto sulla situazione sindacale del proprio paese. I rapporti saranno pubblicati prima in olandese nel giornale quotidiano sin-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

381

88051050

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. In Italian] Resoconto generale del Congresso Anarchico di Amsterdam / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — 26 cm. *In* Il Pensiero [Rome]. — no. 20-21 (Nov. 1, 1907).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Archivio Famiglia Berneri, Pistoia, Italy.

dacalista di Amsterdam il *Volksdagblad*; poi saranno tradotti e pubblicati in tedesco, inglese e francese.

***

Il 30 agosto a sera si tenne la seconda riunione. Dopo molto discutere fu deciso la creazione di un bollettino internazionale sindacalista, di cui si affidò la redazione al compagno Christian Cornelissen. Questo bollettino raccoglierà dai giornali corporativi di tutti i paesi le notizie più importanti, riceverà le corrispondenze dai varj militanti, e trasmetterà questo materiale agli organi centrali delle diverse organizzazioni operaie aderenti alla tattica sindacalista.

Le prime spese di questo ufficio internazionale saranno coperte dai sindacati rivoluzionari di Germania, Boemia e Olanda, i quali avevano dato ai loro delegati un mandato speciale in proposito.

Altre misure d'indole interna e speciale furono adottate, che non è il caso di rendere di pubblica ragione, onde evitare che qualche gesuita della social democrazia possa mettere i bastoni fra le ruote alla nuova iniziativa.

Comunicazioni importanti.

L'INTERNAZIONALE ANARCHICA

Il congresso anarchico di Amsterdam ha creduto utile di creare un organo di comunicazione fra i compagni dei diversi paesi ed ha nominato, a questo scopo, un' Ufficio Internazionale di Corrispondenza.

Questo ufficio non ha altro scopo che quello di facilitare le relazioni fra i compagni che fossero nell'impossibilità di corrispondere direttamente e di trasmettere a tutti gli interessati le notizie e le proposte che gli fossero comunicate.

L'ufficio è incaricato altresì di costituire degli archivi del movimento anarchico che saranno a disposizione di tutti i compagni.

Per adempiere a quest'incarico, l'Ufficio Internazionale si rivolge a tutti gli anarchici e li prega ad inviargli almeno due copie di tutte le pubblicazioni interessanti il movimento.

L'Ufficio Internazionale apre nel tempo stesso una sottoscrizione per coprire il deficit lasciato dal congresso di Amsterdam e per provvedere alle spese del proprio funzionamento.

L'ufficio pubblicherà prossimamente le risoluzioni adottate dal congresso e prega i diversi gruppi o federazioni di fargli sapere il numero di copie che ne desiderano.

Il Segretario
A. Schapiro.

Indirizzare le comunicazioni, sottoscrizioni, pubblicazioni, giornali ecc. al compagno *A. Schapiro. 163, Jubilee Street, London E.* (Inghilterra).

IL BOLLETTINO SINDACALISTA

Il *Bollettino Internazionale del movimento Sindacalista* esce settimanalmente a Parigi, secondo fu deciso in seduta privata dei sindacalisti ad Amsterdam. Suo scopo è di informare i sindacalisti rivoluzionari sul movimento internazionale sindacale. E' necessario che tutti gli organi sindacalisti e corporativi di tutte le tendenze e di tutte le lingue sieno inviati al segretario di redazione: *C. Cornelissen 5, rue de la Vallée du Bois, Clamart (Seine) Francia.* I compagni, i gruppi e i sindacati che volessero attirar l'attenzione specialmente su qualche notizia o articolo, sono pregati di segnare in lapis bleu i brani di giornale interessanti.

La redazione, che vuol essere di carattere collettivo, accetterà con piacere tutto le critiche e i consigli che le si vorranno dare; e riceverà con piacere tutte le comunicazioni e notizie che i compagni vorranno inviarle.

I compagni sono particolarmente pregati di inviare al più presto possibile al suddetto, tutti gli indirizzi dei *Centri Nazionali* del movimento sindacale. Questi indirizzi saranno pubblicati nel bollettino.

C. Cornelissen

PER LE SPESE DEL CONGRESSO

Gli organizzatori del congresso internazionale anarchico di Amsterdam pregano caldamente i compagni di aiutarli a colmare il deficit delle spese del congresso, che somma a circa 260 franchi. Ciascuno invii il suo piccolo obolo al cassiere *F. L. Bruijn Kepplerstraat 170, Den Haag. — L'Aia. — (Olanda).*

PEI COMPAONI ITALIANI

Per l'Italia, in attesa che si costituisca regolarmente l' « Alleanza Anarchica » decisa al Congresso nazionale di Roma, i compagni che aderiscono alle idee ed al lavoro del congresso di Amsterdam, e vogliono contribuire alle spese dell' Ufficio Internazionale o a colmare il deficit delle spese pel congresso di Amsterdam, — quando non volessero rivolgersi direttamente agli indirizzi segnati nei comunicati surriferiti, — possono anche rivolgersi al compagno *Luigi Fabbri, Casella postale n. 142, Roma.*

Il rappresentante di alcuni gruppi italiani al Congresso di Amsterdam.

Agli amici CHE CI HANNO SCRITTO rimproverandoci il ritardo con cui esce questo fascicolo rispondiamo che ci era materialmente impossibile farlo uscire prima, poichè prima non è stato possibile al suo compilatore e a chi lo ha aiutato per compietare il RESOCONTO DEL CONGRESSO DI AMSTERDAM avere tutte le mozioni e le risoluzioni in regola. Colpa quindi non ne hanno i compilatori e tanto meno gli editori.

I lettori quindi ci abbiano per iscusati.

ORTOLANI FEDERICO, *gerente-responsabile*

Tipografia Roma - Via del Babuino 173.

Per avere copia del presente fascicolo rivolgersi

per l'Italia a:

l'Amministrazione del " Pensiero „ Via Giovanni Lanza n. 108 - Roma (L. 0.40).

per gli Stati Uniti alla:

" Libreria Sociologica „ 3 Mill street. Paterson N. J. (Soldi dieci).

382

890123012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Direct Action as the Logical Tactic of Anarchism / Emma Goldman.– 24 cm. *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." –(Nov. 19, 1907).

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Boston, Nov. 19, 1907.

Commissioner of Immigration,

Boston, Mass.

Sir:

Pursuant toyour verbal instructions I proceeded last night to Paine Memorial Hall on Appleton St. to listen to a lecture Delivered by Emma Goldman. The lecture was announced totake place at 7.30, but it did not commence until 8.40. There was no one on the platform tointroduce the speaker. Miss Emma Goldman stepped on the platform at 8.40 and promptly began by saying that she was well enpugh known to the audience to need any introductions.

There was a murmur of disappointment in the Hall when it was found that she was to ledture in English, as at least one third of the people assembled could not understand the English language.

There were about 200 people in the Hall (about a dozen of them were women), all belonging to the foreigh element. A young Russian who was sitting next to me tcld me that he was only six months in this country, and felt confident that Miss Goldman would not speak in English, from fear of the Police. He was therefore greatly disappointed when he found that the lecture was tobe in English.

77

Shortly before the lecture began a young man distributed a leaflet entitled "The Assassination of McKanley from an Anarchas-

213

890123012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Direct Action as the Logical Tactic of Anarchism / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Nov. 19, 1907).

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

tic stand point" (appended to this report as Ex. A.) and a card announcing the Annual Anarchistic Ball, known as the "Baueren Ball" (The Peasants Ball), which is totake place on the 3rd of January. (Ex. B).

Not having a note-book with me I did not take notes, but will try to give a digest of the lecture last night.

The lecturer after making the statement mentioned before, that introductions were superfluous inher case, went right on tosay that the subject for her lecture would be "Direct Action as the logical tactic of Anarchism". Christianity-she said-, as wellas the Government of the United States, have failed by employing methods which were not in harmony with the underlying principles or ideas. Anarchism in order to succeed must work out its policy by direct action and not to prepare and delay thereby the achievement aimed at. We cannot expect toaccomplish to-morrow, what we don't begin to do to-day.

She then went on to criticise the tactics of the trade unionism in this country. "They-she said-delay matters by preparing for a strike and negotiating with their masters; by putting it up to arbitration; giving the employers time toprepare themselves for a strike, instead of employing direct action, and that is to strike at once without waiting for to-morrow. The trade unions in France have accomplished more in a few days than the trade unions have in this country for te last 20 years. The strike of the Elect-

214

890123012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Direct Action as the Logical Tactic of Anarchism / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Nov. 19, 1907).

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

ricians inParis was won in 24 hours, because they resorted to direct action. They didn't say to their employers: "We are going tostrike six months hence. Prepare yourselves", but enveloped the entire city in darkness striking at once."

She then scored the Public School system in this country. She said, that the children here are taught old and work out and decayed ideas; taught tobow dwn toauthority, to be law abiding; they are killing the individuality of the child, by teaching false history; submission to government, etc. She related the most modern school as introduced by a wellknown French Anarchist, Sebastian Faure, where children don(t have to gothrough the humdrum methods of discipline, where the child's mind is allowed tobe developed intonormality. She said, that this new system isbeing greatly propagated through the European countries.

She then took upthe matter of voting and abjured allthose whoare radically inclined from going to vote. She said" Refrain from voting. By going tovote you acknowledge yourself tobe a weakling unable to manage your own affairs; you give the power into the hands of unscrupulous legislators, be they Republicans, Democrats or Social Democrats, to get the best of you. Try and train the people to shun the Army, or militarism in any form. Let them see that when they are increasing the Army and Navy in this country, it is not for the purpose, as given out, tofight for your country;

890123012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Direct Action as the Logical Tactic of Anarchism / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Nov. 19, 1907).

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

but for the purpose of shooting your poor and down trodden brethern down in case of a strike. It is to protect Capital and nothing else. It is not tofight the External Enemy, but to crush down the Internal Enemy. Enlistment in the Army is not compulsory in this country, stillthere are enough fools here who voluntarily allow themselves to be trained as murderers.

Some of the startling statements she made were:

"A Revolution in this country is bound tocome and not in the very remote future".

"Law abiding citizens, who believe in Government, Law and Order, are as a rule men with very little brains".

"It is not wrong for people in time of a strike to destroy their own products".

Outside of these statements, one could easily perceive that great precaution was used by her in couching her statements. While it was easily understood what she meant by "Direct Action", it was left tothe public toconjecture, as tothe real meaning of it. When after the meeting was over she invited the audience toask questions and the question was put to her, as towhat she meant by direct action, she gave an evasive answer.

She wound up her lecture by taking up the Institution of marriage, and ridiculed the idea of having the State or Chur[illegible] anything todo with such private affairs. " I have yet-she said-tofind a man who really believes in the sanctity of marriage;

216

890123012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Direct Action as the Logical Tactic of Anarchism / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Nov. 19, 1907).

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

but man expects woman to believe in the sanctity of married life. Donot allow any one to meddle in your love affairs. Neither priest, minister, Rabbi or Justice has anything tosay in matters of such a private nature."

Among those who participated in the debate at the close of the lecture was a Russian Leth; an Armenian; a Russian Jew and one who spoke with a strong English accent.

I tried very hard tofind out as tohow Miss Goldman gained entrance tothis country, but there was no one who could throw any light upon it.

I may add, that contrary toexpectations, the meeting was of an extremely orderly nature. There seemed to be even a damped air of apathy, but that may be due to the fact that as I said, at least a third of the audience could not follow the lecture in English.

The meeting closed at 10.30 with the announcement by Miss Goldman that copies of the November issue of "Mother Earth", could be procured at the door, at 10 cents a copy. Mother Earth is an Anarchistic magazine (Monthly) published by Emma Goldman. I procured a cpy of it, but had no time as yet toperuse it.

Respectfully,

Louis J. Domas

Interpreter.

840514022
The Emma Goldman Papers
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].— pp. 419-426 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 2, no. 10 (Dec. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

I hear them call, and every sun-kissed sail
Dipping across the swollen twilight tide
Draws forth my life on crimson quest. They call!
The birds can answer with their screaming flight,
The clouds obey and float into the sun,
Or trail across the moon like midnight prayers.
All nature answers but the soul of man,
Who longs but cannot leave his lazy gods.

Awake! away! the voices call to you,
To wander and become a throbbing part
Of all sweet things life yields the hungry years;
To feel earth's pulse in cyclic rhythm beat
Beneath her sacred dust, each grain a heart,
The passionate heart of some wild wayfarer
In quest of peace, he found, if found at all,
In that last sunless, starless sleep of death;

To climb the heights above life's noise and fret,
With rapt prophetic eye behold the earth,—
The warm, the welcome, patient earth of man,
Scarred by his toil, made scarred by his blood;
To sit at eve and watch the lights leap forth,
And burn and fade and flicker into gloom,
In shadowy towns whose sad chimes voice the hush
Of honied twilight golden in its grief;

To clutch life in her naked strength and know
A deeper sense of vital common things;
To take the rough and smooth with equal faith,
Content with little and not proud with much;
To nurse your heart upon the hill's wild breast,
Beating in unison with better things,
Till it become the harbor of the dreams
And aspirations of time's wisest souls,—

The spirits of the mighty dead whose feet
Have kissed the stony highways of the world,
Divine outcasts, forgotten or betrayed,
Careless af life's rewards, who wend their way
With cosmic disregard and starry faith,—
Companions brave whose lonely muttered prayers
Become the battle hymns that nations sing
When whirlwind-like they shatter thrones and creeds.

The forests whisper and the rivers plead:
"All palaces are prisons to the free,
Whose hopes o'erleap life's fetters, and whose hearts
Beat yearning toward that nameless goal where suns
And seas melt in a golden dream, and love,
Grown strong with tears and wiser through the years,
Alone upon the silent verge of night,
Looks out and sees the vision of the stars."

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

We doubt whether it were possible twenty years ago for a high officer of the army to suggest the introduction into this country of the outrageous European system of conscription, or compulsory military service. Under no previous régime, not even under that of the plutocratic President McKinley, would anybody have dared to insult the nation by such a suggestion as was recently made officially to the War Department.

Indeed, you shall know the tree by its fruit. An impartial examination of Roosevelt's administration clearly establishes this all-important fact: the anti-social spirit of imperialism and militarism has found its most determined exponent in the Rough Rider. The last vestiges of American liberty are being summarily annihilated, and if the people do not at once take a determined stand against the encroachments of militarism, they will soon find themselves bound hand and foot.

It has been well said that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. Where are the liberty-loving Americans to raise their voice in a thunderous protest against this no less humiliating than dangerous suggestion of converting the citizen into a professional murderer, whenever the White House clique will deem conscription timely? The first step in that direction has already been made. There is a law on the national statute books, according to which every citizen between eighteen and forty-five years of age can be made a soldier and impressed into service at any time. That is the so-called Dick Military law, passed by Congress and signed by the President in a quiet, sneaking manner. Not one man in a thousand is aware of the existence of this outrageous statute; but the people will

840514022
The Emma Goldman Papers
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 419-426 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 10 (Dec. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

quickly realize its sinister meaning once the law is put into operation. But then it may be too late. The time for a mighty protest is *now*—let the people as one man raise their voice against this systematic, Jesuit-like undermining of the spirit of liberty.

The matter concerns the nation as a whole. But the working class especially must realize the dire peril threatening organized labor from this spectre of imperialism and militarism. We sound the warning note to you, workingmen of America: the capitalist class is forging these new chains for labor. Awake and act—or it may soon be too late!

* * *

The experience of past generations echoes and re-echoes this one great lesson of all history: the persistence of the ideal. Prison and scaffold, guillotine and garrotte—how miserably impotent are they all to stifle the human aspirations towards liberty and joy! Persecution but serves to accentuate the ideal, to strengthen its votaries in their devotion and self-sacrifice.

The plutocracy of America is probably beginning to realize this eternal truth. Twenty years ago they successfully strangled, they thought, the voice of Anarchism. But lo! the blood of the martyrs has proven the seed of the Church. Out of the silent graves have grown, hundredfold, the crimson blossoms, and the winds of time have carried the fructifying pollen far and wide—Anarchy lives!

It were too much, however, to expect the police providence of New York to appreciate the lessons of history. Their vision does not transcend the station blotter; their interest is absorbed in the question of graft. But even graft is conditioned by a certain kind of zeal. It is necessary to remind the people, now and then, of the protecting activity of the Department. And it is equally necessary to improve the opportunity of impressing upon the people the liberty which we enjoy in the United States—hence a mass-meeting is prohibited and the majesty of the law once more vindicated by the big stick.

But nothing equals the arbitrariness and brutality of the police like their stupidity. Brute force made it impossible for us to hold the announced mass meeting at Manhattan Lyceum, in commemoration of the men

judicially strangled in 1887. But fortunately the Anarchists and their sympathizers possess more wit than police captains. *The meeting was held*, though in a different place. And although the police decreed, with transcendent wisdom, that *no English should be spoken* in a public meeting in New York, their orders were ignored, while the bluecoats were admonished to listen to the English speeches that they might for once in their lives hear the truth and profit thereby,—if possible for them.

But it is time to call a halt to the dictatorial proceedings of the New York Police Department which even invades our ballrooms and strives with all might to create trouble.* This "arm of the law" is a common disturber of the public peace. We hereby serve notice on Commissioner Bingham to call off his bloodhounds, the uniformed loafers, and we demand him to protect the public peace against the police ruffians.

* * *

This year's convention of the American Federation of Labor had a golden opportunity. It could have gone down in history as an epoch-making factor in the movement of organized labor. For many are the problems, many and serious indeed, that face the workingman and are awaiting intelligent and courageous solution. Unfortunately, however, it cannot be truthfully said that the convention will prove a milestone in the economic emancipation of labor.

We note with satisfaction, however, that the convention defeated the resolution in favor of government ownership of railways. It is to be hoped that the objection to the resolution was based on a thorough understanding of the true mission of government, as the servant of the capitalist class.

The arguments against the resolution were to the effect that if the railways were owned and operated by the government, all the railway workers would be govern-

* Enraged by the perfect, really Anarchist order that prevailed in the ballroom, the police vented their spite by arresting comrade J. Edelson, absolutely without provocation, at 2 A. M. as he was about to leave the hall. A young lady, protesting against the clubbing of Edelson, was also arrested. Both were fined.

389

840514022

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].— pp. 419-426 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 10 (Dec. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ment employees; then any organized attempt on their part to improve the conditions of labor by the strike or similar action would be construed as a seditious movement against the government and would be suppressed, as has been done in various European countries.

These are sound arguments. We trust that back of them is the realization that government and its ally, capitalism, are the eternal enemies of labor. Once this is thoroughly understood by the rank and file, and fearlessly acted upon, an important step will have been taken on the road to complete industrial emancipation.

We sincerely regret that the convention failed to officially honor the solemnity of the day on which it assembled. Had the delegates forgotten that it was the twentieth anniversary of the judicial murder of the martyrs of Chicago? Or perchance did they lack the courage of publicly bearing witness to their solidarity with those victims of capitalism?

In what cause did the Chicago Anarchists die? Were they not the foremost champions of labor? Had they not offered up their precious lives on the altar of the oppressed? Had they not suffered death in the very attempt to better the conditions of American labor?

The martyrs of 1887 forfeited their lives because of their courageous and intelligent devotion to the cause of the workingman. *It was they who inaugurated the eight-hour movement in this country.* They demanded, and taught the workingman to demand, more human conditions for the producers of all wealth. For this they died. Shall labor, then, which now enjoys the fruits of those noble men's lives and deaths, fail to appreciate their devotion and sacrifice? Shall the great central body of organized labor of America play the rôle of a Judas?

Reverently may we honor the memory of our noble dead.

* * *

A recent issue of the *American Industries*, the official organ of the National Manufacturers' Association, makes some very serious charges against Samuel Gompers and other labor officials of national reputation.

Mr. Gompers is charged with getting big private commissions on the great amount of printing given out by the A. F. of L., with being in various partnerships for the issuing of official labor publications (in this case a facsimile of an alleged receipt, given by him for his share of profits in such a private undertaking, is printed), with being interested in schemes whereby enormous commissions are paid out to advertising agents for the *American Federationist* with the suggestion that out of it he gets thousands of dollars of graft, with selling printing privileges in connection with the souvenirs that were formerly gotten out and putting the money in his pocket, and with being guilty of many other offenses, in his private and official capacity.

It has been argued in some quarters that, as the charges emanate from an unscrupulous and malevolent source, they could not be dignified by a denial. But such an argument is entirely fallacious. The allegations against Mr. Gompers are far too serious and the charges too specific to be ignored. As the official representative of an important labor body, Samuel Gompers owes it both to himself and to the American workingmen at large to clear himself entirely and absolutely of the charges made against him. The question of his honesty and integrity is at stake—he must *demand* an immediate and searching investigation by impartial persons.

We trust that Mr. Gompers will face the charges squarely, for the sake of the American labor movement.

We fondly hope that the good name of Mr. Gompers will soon be cleared. We offer our services as impartial investigators.

* * *

In a recent communication to the press a certain reverend gentleman takes pains to prove that the occupation of brakeman is more than twice as dangerous as the murderer's.

He supports his claim by figures. During the year 1904, out of 106,734 trainmen employed on the railways of the United States 3,632 were killed. During the same year 8,482 murders and homicides were committed in this country, for which crimes 116 persons were executed. In other words, during the year in question one brakeman in about thirty met his death, and one murderer in about seventy-three. Thus the brakeman's occupation is more than twice as dangerous as the murderer's.

840514022

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 419-426 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 10 (Dec. 1907).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The reverend is quite right. He might have added that not only brakemen, but workmen in scores of other trades and occupations are as brutally and recklessly sacrificed to the Moloch of greed. But what is the clergyman's remedy? He says:

"In view of the above facts, was I not right in urging upon the recent Diocesan Convention that to infuse a modicum of theistic morals into the teaching of the public schools would do no harm?"

Does the reverend idiot mean that by "infusing theistic morals" the brakeman would be saved from the crushing wheels? Or is he concerned only with saving the soul?

At the risk of shocking our sky-pilot we suggest that it would do no harm to infuse a modicum of respect for human life into the gold-dust heart of the capitalist and—a grain of sense into reverend heads.

* * *

Some parsons want to force religious instruction—especially their own particular brand—into the curriculum of our public schools. But why should Jewish or Mohammedan citizens be forced to pay for the Christian instruction of their children? And besides, what connection is there between education and religious instruction? Do they not mutually exclude each other?

The citizens who have the welfare of their children at heart will not permit the public schools to be converted into hot-beds of idolatry and jingoism.

* * *

A rather sensible question was asked by one of the participants at the Presbyterian Brotherhood, recently in session at Cincinnati, O. "How may one be a Christian and at the same time earn a living?" was the query. "I do not see how a man can be a Christian working for concerns which practically force him to steal and lie," argued the questioner.

We welcome most heartily this very unusual Christian display of honesty and common sense. The press dispatches report that "the debate was stopped by the operation of the two-minute rule." We regret that the brethren lacked the courage to go on record on this important question. Evidently they clearly realized the "danger" of such questions. For if a Christian is synonymous with an honest man, then how can a follower

of the Nazarene rob, steal and take advantage of the misfortune or needs of his fellow man?

But it were dangerous for divine and earthly parasitism to allow this question to be discussed. Has it not been said that the camel could as easily pass through the eye of a needle as a rich man land in heaven? An Oriental allegory which in modern speech has crystallized into the truism—property is theft.

* * *

The Pittsburg Railways Company, operating all the street car lines in that city, has served notice on its employees that it will rigidly enforce the rule against the use of cigarettes or liquor while the men are either *off* or *on duty*.

Of course, this is a free country. But even the plantation "nigger" was never such an abject slave in antebellum days as the American workingman is to-day, when his economic masters dare to commit such rape upon the manhood of labor.

* * *

We read in the press that—

"The Queen of Spain has not forgotten the dastardly act of the Anarchists on her wedding day. So when the visit to England was arranged she despatched her beloved baby two days ahead, safely and surreptitiously in the care of nurses and detectives. Then she and the King brought with them another baby, and it was only when Kensington Palace was reached that the devoted mother again clasped her own infant in her arms.

"Had the King and Queen been blown up with the substitute baby, the real one would have had a poor chance of recognition. It is easy to imagine the Carlist onslaught on such a pretender. But a mother's love did not concern itself with this. All she wanted was to safeguard her child.

"As a sidelight on this story it may be mentioned that the baby which accompanied the royal couple was constantly on show in Paris and was extensively photographed there in its nurse's arms when the party stopped there en route for England. Nobody there seemed to think it was a bogus prince."

It would be interesting to know whether the great "mother's love" paused to consider the feelings of that other mother whose baby she wilfully exposed to the danger of being blown up.

It is just such cruel and inhuman indifference to the lives of the "subjects" that may have prompted "the dastardly act of the Anarchists." "Dastardly," indeed,

391

840514022
The Emma Goldman Papers
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].— pp. 419-426 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 10 (Dec. 1907).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

when one thinks of a Morales, intelligent, brilliant, beautiful, with all the ease possible at his command, yet cheerfully laying down his life to avenge the crimes and brutalities committed by royal parasites upon the people of Spain.

Morales dastardly; and the Queen an "affectionate, loving mother," quite willing to sacrifice—not one, but thousands of innocent babes to save her "prince."

* * *

The idolatry of the golden calf has produced a goodly crop of evils. The spirit of commercialism has created and is fostering many forms of prostitution. But the most despicable prostitute—because the most corrupting and fatal in his wide influence—is the man who sells his pen for filthy lucre—the literary time-server, the deifier of the rich and powerful.

The author of the recently published "Ethics in Action" is making a bold bid as the heavyweight of the literary tenderloin. His pretended moral philosophy is a wild eulogy of Diaz, the Perfidious, the executioner of Mexico, the jailer of liberty, the torturer of helpless innocents. "The character of Porfirio Diaz," says this ethical author, "will serve as an example and a model of the virtues for the youth of the country"!

Well does the world know the character of Perfidious Diaz. Has he not throttled every free expression in Mexico? Has he not faithfully aided the home exploiters to press out the last drop of blood from widows and orphans? Has he not reduced labor to the last extremity, and steadily encouraged peonage, enslaving the country for the benefit of the ring of masters? Has he not thrown men and women by the hundreds into the prisons? Has he not ordered men to be tortured into alleged confessions? Has he not proven himself a Mexican Tsar, the hangman of his country?

There are naive people who believe that the province of literature is to emphasize what is beautiful and noble, to inspire mankind with the ideal, and by truthfully picturing the pettiness and sordidness of our lives to cultivate in us the ambition for better and higher things. In fine, literature means truth, real and possible—can one imagine a more pitiful, degraded sight than the literary prostitute?

CHRISTMAS ADVENTURES OF JESUS

SEVERAL weeks before the Christmas holidays Christ decided to descend on earth in human form, in order to inspect his work of salvation.

The first place he came to was Golgotha. He recognized it, as well as the entire neighborhood of Jerusalem, by the poverty and filth prevailing there. Those places had changed little during the two thousand years of Christianity's reign.

The heathens had disappeared; the Romans were not in evidence. Turks, Christians and Jews had taken their place; the disciples of Mahomed and of the Nazarene were bickering over the exclusive possession of the Holy Sepulcher.

"How anxious they are about me," thought Christ, deeply moved. But, upon closer inspection, he found that the monks and dervishes were quarreling because each side wanted to monopolize the legend of the angels for business purposes.

"Thus I serve these people as an advertisement to attract the gullible; how peculiar the success of my vicarious atonement!"

Then Christ asked to be told about the various religions.

He was shown a bottle containing the blood-drops of Gethsemane—the blood that man's fear had made him shed through the treachery of Judas Iscariot.

"Blood of *my* bleeding?" thought Jesus, gazing wonderingly at the strange-looking contents of the bottle. He soon learned that it was the blood of a sheep—a parallel to Christ, who was led to the block, the victim of calculating greed.

Then he was shown nails, the very ones with which he was crucified.

"How vicious to preserve these horrible things," thought Christ. He was mistaken, however; the nails he saw were of American manufacture, furnished to the foreign markets at lower prices than at home. They were probably a gift to the pious hucksters of Jerusalem by an American priest—no doubt, a disciple of Archbishop Ireland.

Among other things Christ saw the sacred head band-

840514023

The Emma Goldman Papers

Reply / Emma Goldman. – pp. 447-449 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 10 (Dec. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

well as of the aims, remote and immediate, of Anarchist work—which should be *binding* on every one who chooses voluntarily to declare himself a member of the organization, and for whose political acts the party is morally responsible to the public.

Federalist principles and autonomous home-rule should be the basis of the general organization of the party, allowing free scope to each local group to do its local work, except in matters of general importance, when it should be expected to follow the decision of the party—to which every group gives its voluntary allegiance and from which it may at any time secede at will. And

(3) That the Anarchist Congress declare for pacific methods of propaganda generally (emphasizing the broad distinction between the Anarchist movement proper and the trade union or syndicalist movements with which Anarchists are in very strong sympathy), and specifically *—for the participation in the political life of the people.* Not, indeed, with any view of ultimately seizing the political power and decreeing the Anarchist society, but by taking advantage of the political issues of the day, or by creating new issues, solely to spread decentralizing principles of government and to counteract the manifest tendencies of State Socialism.

Since our work is primarily educational in character, and since the great social transformation contemplated by Anarchism can never be realized except through the process of evolution, it is clear that our office is that of the educator and not of the chastiser, that of the teacher, not of the hangman. The tyrant may be conspired against and removed; the despotic brood may be eradicated by the bomb of the patriot, but you cannot remove "the tyranny of the majority" by firearms. Our method of work must, therefore, be the evolutional method—superceding the old forms of life by the introduction of new ones—which is itself a process of incessant struggle between the forces of liberation and the forces of oppression. But the arena where the Anarchist battle may be fought and won is too extensive to be confined within the narrow limits of trade unionism; it must needs embrace the wide field of the social and political life of the people at large.

DR. J. A. MARYSON.

REPLY

Since Dr. Maryson wanted the Amsterdam Congress to act on his resolutions, it seems strange that he failed to submit them to the Congress, instead of sending them to MOTHER EARTH four months later.

Needless to say, our magazine will always maintain "the liberal principle of 'hear the other side.'" But as the majority of delegates to the Amsterdam Congress do not read English, it will do Dr. Maryson but poor service to have his resolutions in MOTHER EARTH.

True, the Doctor's resolutions were discussed at a small meeting (not at a representative conference) shortly before I left for Europe. But even there few of the comrades could see the logic of the resolutions or agree with Maryson's proposals.

It was suggested that I take them to the Congress. But as I was—and still am—absolutely opposed to them, I could not consistently represent the Doctor's views. Knowing that a five-cent stamp could carry Dr. Maryson's paper to the Congress, I did not wish to take it along.

* * *

I hold that the Doctor's position is illogical and contradictory.

"The Anarchist Congress is to adopt a resolution declaring in explicit and unmistakable terms its abhorrence of the practice of assassination for the purpose of protest—the so-called propaganda by deed."

Well and good. But Doctor Maryson wants such acts "clearly distinguished from acts of tyrannicide, *in specific cases,* and from acts of resistance to oppression generally." That is, he wanted the Congress to exercise the power of decision as to what constitutes "tyrannicide, acts of resistance to oppression or acts purporting to avenge crying wrongs." The former, Dr. Maryson himself thinks, "nowadays may need to be encouraged rather than discouraged."

The doctor may be able to reconcile such inconsistency with his conception of Anarchism, but to expect it from an Anarchist Congress is, to say the least, very naïve.

I do not think that I mistake the conception of freedom or the judgment of the Amsterdam delegates when

393

840514023

The Emma Goldman Papers

Reply / Emma Goldman.– pp. 447-449 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 10 (Dec. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

I venture to say that not one of them would have assumed the right to decide when "the practice of assassination" is "for the purpose of protest," or when it is "tyrannicide," or "an act of resistance to oppression generally."

My contention is supported by the fact that the Congress *unanimously* accepted the suggestion of the American delegates that "the Congress declare itself in favor of the right of rebellion on the part of the *individual*, as well as on that of the masses; that all terrorist acts be considered from a psychological standpoint, being the result of the impression made on the individual by the terrible pressure of our social injustice."*

The second resolution of the Doctor was acted upon by the Congress, though the latter did not have the benefit of Mr. Maryson's suggestions. The International, based upon sectional, national and international relations, was formed. But the delegates were probably too Anarchistic to make their declarations "binding" for those willing to join the organization.

The third point was also touched upon, but hardly to the satisfaction of Doctor Maryson. The Congress has indeed discussed "specific methods," such as the participation of Anarchists in the syndicalist and anti-militarist agitation. As to "participation in the political life of the people," I am glad to say that herein, too, the delegates were too Anarchistic and too well aware of the corrupting influence of politics to advise such participation. Of course, Dr. Maryson does not want Anarchists to participate in politics "with any view of ultimately seizing the political power and decreeing the Anarchist society." Nor did the Social Democrats aim at that when they originally urged participation in politics. They, too, looked upon it as a means "of taking advantage of the political issues," etc. Where they have landed every one knows who is at all acquainted with the Social Democratic movement. Or does Dr. Maryson want us to believe that he, as Prime Minister à la MM. Millerand, Clemenceau and Briand, would act differently?

A political party, to be successful, must become *centralized*. Yet the Doctor would have us participate in

*See Amsterdam Report, in October M. E.

politics "for the purpose of spreading *decentralizing* principles of government."

Indeed, we cannot "remove the tyranny of the majority by fire-arms." Nor by anything else, dear Doctor, if we are to become a political party.

"Our methods of work must be the evolutional method, superceding the old forms of life by the introduction of new ones." Exactly. But what are those new forms of life? Surely not participation in politics, which means the continuation of government, hence the *conserving of old forms*. Do not the new forms of life rather consist in the attempt to practically apply the ideas of Anarchism right now,—that we should not, for instance, try to enrich ourselves at the expense of others; nor seek the protection of government and hold government positions; nor to benighten our children in the public schools, cater to public opinion, tyrannize over and dictate to others, and bow to the existing standards of morality. It seems to me that *these* are the *new* forms of life, and that they will take the place of the old not by preaching or voting, but by living them.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

THE NECESSITY FOR TERRORISM IN RUSSIA

By KELLOGG DURLAND.

TERRORISM, in Russia, is a phase of warfare essential to the side of the people because of the peculiar circumstances under which the revolution is being conducted. The terrorist bears the same relation to the general movement that the skirmisher or the sharpshooter bears to a regular army.

It is not true that the Russian people "set an example" of murder and assassination. The arch murderers and wholesale assassins of Russia are to be found in the clique surrounding Nicholas II. and lesser minions in the police and military service throughout the country.

I know of no more cruel or absurd judgment than that so often passed in America condemning terroristic activity. Such censure is invariably based on profound and deplorable ignorance. Terrorism does not precipitate "rivers of blood." It dams these rivers, which have already been started by the officials of the government.

840514024

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anent My Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman. – pp. 473-474 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 10 (Dec. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

before a court of might, which to me is synonymous with the highest injustice. I do not speak to impress the Court, but to propagate our ideas, as I know that what I say here will be carried to the people at large."

Comrade Sophus Rasmussen, editor of *Skorpionen,* who had suffered much persecution at the hands of the police, was recently exiled to Sweden, owing to the expected visit to Denmark of the Tsar's mother.

As the presence of Rasmussen was vital to the continuation of his publication, our comrade returned home after a few days' absence. Unfortunately, the police got wind of his presence. His arrest was ordered, but Rasmussen resisted, killing one police officer and then committing suicide. Another noble victim added to the long list of governmental cruelty and persecution.

ARGENTINE.

Our contemporary, *La Protesta,* is still in the field in spite of all governmental attempts at suppression, and our movement is growing in spite of all persecution.

One of the most, if not the most, magnificent of strikes has recently terminated. The railway traffic of the whole republic was almost paralyzed, and it was a strike of pure solidarity on the part of all the railways but one.

The Argentine Great Western, which runs about eighty leagues from Mendoza in the Andes to the City of San Luis, refused to accede to the demands of the engine drivers. So they struck, and as the government and the other railway companies helped that one every way they could, the engine drivers of all the others also struck work, thus bringing the manager of the Great Western to his senses. Prices went up in the city of Buenos Ayres enormously. Meat and bread were already very scarce when the men's committee agreed to accept arbitration on a very favorable basis. There is a very extensive web of rails in this country (19 railways).

MEXICO.

The régime of Dictator Diaz is daily growing more outrageous. Recently the government adopted a new method of throttling labor organizations and making strikes impossible. The government declared that labor leaders and agitators advocating strikes will be deported to the island of Las Ores Marias, the Mexican Devil's Island.

A CORRECTION

Owing to a perhaps natural misunderstanding, it was stated in the American report to the Amsterdam Congress that I am a worker in the cause of Anarchist Communism. The report should have said Anarchism, simply, as I am not now, and never have been at any time, a Communist. I was for several years an individualist, but becoming convinced that a number of the fundamental propositions of individualistic economy would result in the destruction of equal liberty, I relinquished those beliefs. In doing so, however, I did not accept the proposed economy of Communism, which in some respects would entail the same result, destruction of equal freedom; always, of course, in my opinion, which I very willingly admit should not be weighed by others as of equal value with the opinions of those who make economy a thorough study, but which must, nevertheless, remain supreme with me. I am an Anarchist, simply, without economic label attached.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

❦ ❦ ❦

ANENT MY LECTURE TOUR

Before starting on my next Western lecture tour, I will visit the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut, lecturing at

Brockton, Mass., December 8, 2 P. M.;
Lawrence, Mass., December 9, 8 P. M.;
Haverhill, Mass., December 10, 8 P. M.;
Lowell, Mass., December 11, 8 P. M., at Odd Fellows' Hall, 84 Middlesex Street;
Wooster, Mass., December 12, 8 P. M.;
Boston, Mass., December 13, 8 P. M.;
New Britain, Conn., December 15, 2 P. M., at Turner Hall, Arch Street;
Hartford, Conn., December 15, 8 P. M.;
Waterbury, Conn., December 16, 8 P. M.

Beginning January 5, 1908, I will tour the State of New York, opening with two lectures at Utica, January 5th, 2 P. M. and 8 P. M., at Turner Hall; Syracuse, January 6th and 7th; Rochester, January 8th to 12th (inclusive); Albany, January 13th and 14th.

395

840514024

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anent My Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman. – pp. 473-474 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 10 (Dec. 1907).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

I am also booked to lecture at Philadelphia, January 24th and 25th; Baltimore, January 26th; Washington, D. C., January 27th.

On February 13th, I shall begin my Western tour via Montreal, London (Ontario), Toronto and Cleveland, where dates have already been arranged for. I hope to hear soon from other cities along the line.

My subjects are as follows:

1. The Crisis: Its cause and remedy.
2. The Relation of Anarchism to Trade Unionism.
3. Direct Action as the logical Tactics of Anarchism.
4. Syndicalism—a New Phase of the Labor Struggle.
5. Woman under Anarchism.

I expect to add two or more subjects later on.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

P. S.—All my mail is to be addressed, as heretofore, to 210 E. 13th street, New York.

* * *

MOTHER EARTH SUSTAINING FUND

Mr. Link, Winipeg, Conn	$1.00
Mr. Scheck	1.50
Radical Library Social, Philadelphia	5.00
R. L. Feldman, Baltimore	.50
Dr. L. M. Robinson, Brooklyn	2.00
K. Wirth, Los Angeles	1.40
B. Frank, Boston	5.00
Mr. Goldstein, Boston	5.00
Mr. Paris, Boston	1.00
Mr. Frank, Boston	1.00
Mr. Rubon, Boston	50
Miss Eisenberg, Boston	.50
Mr. Feingold, Boston	.50
Mr. Segol, Boston	.25
Mr. Struser, Boston	.25
Mr. Lechter, Boston	.25
Mr. Solenman, Boston	.25
Mr. Star, Boston	.25
Mr. Sax, Boston	.25
Mr. Leviton, Boston	.25
Mr. Birck, Boston	.25

Mr. F. S.	.25
Mr. Bloch, Boston	.25
Mr. Goldberg, Boston	.25
Mr. Cohen, Boston	.25
Mr. Ross, Boston	.25
Mr. Schneck, Boston	.25
Mr. Gebel, Boston	.10
J. Olsen, Chicago	2.00
Bruno Lehman, New York	1.00
M. Celio, New York	.25
Collection, Nov. 11th, San Francisco	9.50
Social Science Club, San Francisco	7.55
I. Perlmutter, San Francisco	.50
Mr. Pogermansky, New York	1.00
Mr. Burginsky, New York	1.00
Mr. Bloom, Albany	1.00
W. M. Strond, Montreal, Can	.50
	$52.80
Profit M. E. Reunion	115.00
	$167.80

* * *

NOTES

The paper read at the Amsterdam Congress on the "Situation in America," and the report of the proceedings at the Congress itself, are excellent propaganda material. We therefore offer the September, October and November issues of MOTHER EARTH—which contain the reports referred to—for the nominal sum of 10 cents per set of three numbers. We urge our readers to send in their orders at once.

* * *

We take occasion to call the attention of all those interested in radical literature that we have made arrangements to take subscriptions to MOTHER EARTH and "Eugenics" at the yearly price of $1.75 for both magazines. As the regular subscription price of "Eugenics" is now $1.50, we advise all sympathizers to take advantage of this offer.

396

890123010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Trade Unionism / Emma Goldman.– 24 cm. *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." –(Dec. 12, 1907).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Boston, Dec. 12, 1907.

Commissioner of Immigration,

Boston, Mass.

Sir:

Pursuant to your instructions I proceeded to Lowell, Mass., last night and attended a lecture given by Emma Goldman at the Odd Fellows Hall, #84 Middlesex St. The lecture was given in English and the subject was "TradeUnionism". Inmany respects it was a repetition of the lecture she gave here in Boston at Paine's Memorial Hall several weeks ago, a report of which I submitted to you at the time. "Direct Action by Trade Unions" was mainly what she advocated

I shallattempt to give the substance of her lecture in brief.

241

"Conservative trade unionism, the way it is carried on in thi country, consists of a body of certain workingmen of a certain trade getting together and organizing for the purpose of getting a few minutes less labor and a few pennies more pay. They will get together and discuss the advisability of a strike and then confer with their employers. They willgive their employers sufficient time tp prepare for the strike, while they themselves remain entir ly unprepared for it.

124

Just take the Printers Strike for instance in New York. The printers in the different publishing houses in New York gave their employers notice that within four months they have decided to go out on a strike. The publishers at once proceeded to inform their

890123010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Trade Unionism / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Dec. 12, 1907).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

contributors and urged them tosend material four months in advance and the most ardent among the printers, who got up the strike, worked overtime to get the stuff out and the reby preparing their employers for the strike, and naturally killed allprospects of ever winning that strike.

"I had the good fortune to be present in San Francisco when the Carmen strike broke out. For a month before they struck the employers were informed that on a certain day at a certain time they would go out on a strike if their grievances were not adjusted. The employers at once sent for enough blacklegs or scabs, who were quietly stored away tobe used on the occasion. Then on one morning at two oc'lock when every body was in bed and street cars were not needed, the workmen took the cars tothe sheds, left them in proper order and good shape, and then the strike was declared on. The following morning the cars were out as usual and manned by the scabs wo were brought over by the Company for the emergency. In addition to that when it was found that these scabs were not through in their work, and one of the cars was stuck in middle of the street thereby blockading traffic, the president of the Carmen's Union, who had not done any workhimself for over five years and was receiving a good salary, paid by the hard eraned money of the poor carmen, boarded that car and took it tote station. How could they win the strike this way?--Just think how easily they could have won, if instead the carmen decided to strike on the spur of the moment,at

(146)

890123010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Trade Unionism / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Dec. 12, 1907).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

a busy time of the day, left the cars on the tracks, and refused to move them a step further unless they were granted their just demands the employers would have to come to terms".

"The Electricians strike in Paris illustrates the wisdom of drect action ~~of a str~~ in a strike. They struck at a time when the streets of Paris were gay with allsorts of festivities; when the fashionable ladies wre out in their automobils; when all the fashionable restaurants were brilliantly lighted; when the theatres were filled to the doors. All of a sudden the entire city was enveloped in darkness, and naturally the strike had to be settled at once, without any more ado. It also showed these gay and fashionable people, who take everything as theirdue that back of these Electric Lights there is a force they never dreamt of, and never took the trouble to consider.

"Another great error of the Trade Unions nowadays, inthis country, is that every branch of trade looks out for its own interests only. There should be no such think as the Union of the Textile Workers; the Shoemakers Union; The Bakers Union. There should be an international brotherhood of workingmen, and when they are to strike they should strike all at once and together. Just imagine two millions and a half of the American Federation of Labor going out on a strike, without any notice to employers, how quickly a settlement would be feached at, as it is not so easy to replace two millions and a half of workingmen all at once.

(47)

890123010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Trade Unionism / Emma Goldman.– 24 cm. *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." –(Dec. 12, 1907).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

"Mind you, that in my personal opinion, even if you bring the eight hour law, around and get a few more pennies for your labor, that is far from bringing around the millenium, as long as there is somebody to direct you to work, even four hours a day or even four ~~months~~ minutes a day. But I am speaking to-night from a trad unionists point of view, and I will simply tell you that conservative trade unionism has had its day and served its purpose. A new method of action must be adopted to vanquish capital.

"Conservative Trade Unionism believed that there is a felationship existing between capital and labor, in spite of the fact that big brother "Capital" tramples under feet poor weak sister "Labor". They th refore tried to get their demands settled in a lawful way and their managers wee law abiding citizens and desirable citizens, who were dined and "wined" at the White House, and declared by Teddy tobe in avery respect desirable citizens, wholook for peace and quiet. I tellyou friends, the law is the friend of the capitalist and never had any frie ndly feeling for the poor downtrodden laborer. An eminent Lawyer of New York once said that there are more laws on the Statute Books then one could observe even in a life lasting three hundred years. But laws are not made for the purpose of being observed. They are made tobe held out as scarecrows tothe poor in case they get restless and cease tobe law abiding citizens. At the point of the bayonet and supported by law the poor are quickly hushed and everything assumes a peaceful mien.

890123010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Trade Unionism / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Dec. 12, 1907).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

"You are being taught in your Sunday Schools that there is a Supreme Being, who supervises everything on earth, and that there must be rich and poor; that it is in the order of things to have and employer and an employee.)) Voltaire very wisely said: "If there is a supreme being and could not manage any better than he did in these many years, it is hight time that he be deposed from his throne of rule". The Church is always with the rich and the successful. They preach to you about loyalty to your country. Whose country? The Country of the Rockefellers, the Morgans, the Astors and the Vanderbilts? It is about time you woke up and see the absurdity of allthese myths. We are cavilized and losing our sense of hearing and seeing. The savage indian put is ear to the earth and can hear the hoofs, and the sound of his enemy coming on miles distant but you hear not nor do you see beycnd your noses.

"Another essential thing for the Trade Unionists is to organize the body of "unemployed", as they are doing now abroad. Get them together and greet them as your brothers and promise toshare with them while they are out of work, so that they could not be used by your enemies the capitalists as scabs in case of a strike.

"Why shpuld the workmen be under moral obligations tonotify his employer when he wants tostrike? Does your mill owner ever thinkof notifying you whenhe intends tolockycu out for an indefinite period?

(149)

890123010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Trade Unionism / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Dec. 12, 1907).

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

"Theed is a panic to take place, although our authorities the tools of the rich are trying to hush it up, even appealing to the Church to appease the people. But is bound to come. Now, let me tellyou , no man, woman or child has any right to go h ungry or go without shelter as long as there are mansions and house enough shelter all of us, and the warehouses are full.

" I know this is high treason you will day. It is criminal to lay hands on private property. But whose property is it? Does it belong the man who produced it or to the one who appropriates what others have produced? Who ix the thief, you who are demanding what is yours, or the one whotakes away from you what belongs toyou. I am not telling you tosteal, I am merely telling you to help yourselves towhat by every right belongs toyou.

"I will sumup my lecture by these three points:

a)There must he an international union of workmen and act in Harmony.

b)Direct Action in case of a strike without notice to employers.

c)Organization of the unemployed with the motto: "No body willstarve while the warehouses are full, of all earthly goods.

"If the trade unions adopt this method they will bring around a salvation,not the salvation into heaven, but the salvation of man-

254

50

402

890123010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Trade Unionism / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Dec. 12, 1907).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

kind on earth".

oOo

There were about two hundred pepple present at the lecture and as allof them understood English, there was a great deal of enthusiasm displayed by the audience, which was evidenced by the frequent ~~enthusiasm~~ applause. As at her lecture in Boston, the lecturer was very cautious in coaching her sentiments. When she mentioned the word "undesirable citizens", which she did frequently it was with great emphasis, and the audience seemed to understand whom she was referring to. She made brief mention of the Haymarket affair, saying that thir idea of trade unionism was the same as outlined by her.

At the close of the lecture she announced that she had several copies of the "Mother Earth", which could be had for ten cents a cppy, or a dollar a year by subscription. She called special attention to the frontispiece on the cover of the magazine, a drawing by some great French Artist, representing mother earth chained and fettered and kept guard over by Capital with a revolver in one hand and ;aw in the other thus driving the people, the children of the earth from their "mother earth".

Respectfully,

Interpreter.

403

890123009

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Revolutionary Spirit in Modern Drama / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." — (Dec. 14, 1907).

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Boston, Dec. 14, 1907.

Commissioner of Immigration,

Boston, Mass.

Sir:

Following your instructions, I proceeded last night to #15 Leverett St., to listen to a lecture given by Emma Goldman at that place. At about 8.45 the speaker was introduced by a man, whose name I learned is Shoub, a member of the "Group of Anarchists" of this city. The speaker then apologized for her inability to lecture in Yiddish, as her Yiddish was not fluent enough for that but that she would endeavor to use a plain German so that she c uld be understood by the audience.

The subjedt for last night's lecture was "The Revolutionary Spirit in the Modern Drama".

"It is commonly thought-she said-that the Revolutionaspirit pervades only through the masses of laborers, factory hands, prisoners of Siberia, or those who suffer oppression at the hands of the tyrannic autocrats. Very few stop to realize that the modern drama ~~dam~~ and out higher literature are full of the spirit of rebellion. The short time allotted to me to-night will not allow me to enumerate allthe different plays of that nature, but I willtry to depict a few.

"Gorki's play "Na-Dnie" (At the bottom) presents two grand

153

890123009

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Revolutionary Spirit in Modern Drama / Emma Goldman. – 24 cm *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." – (Dec. 14, 1907).

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

characters. that of old Luka,--a grand old man, who is a friend of allwho suffer, allwho are downtroden; who sympathizes withthe degraded prostitute and petty criminal,fully understanding that they are the victims of the fouldsy stems of the present Society. Then, these is the character of Nastasia, an ignorant girl, who is mistreated by her brother,brought up amidst vice and immorality, --in spite of allthat she comes out pure and homest; ijnstead of being bitter and vengeful she is sympathetic and compassionate with all suferers of mankind, and in her own crud way she understands that there is smething wrong in the present state of affairs, and her spirit cries out: Rebellion against society.

"There is another play, "The Jews", by Chirikov. Nachman, the hero of the play, rebels against Russian Tyranny, not because he is himself oppressed but because his nation is trampled under the feet of the autocratic Czar. He is told that the Jew must wait until there is a universal emancipation. Nachman ridicules that idea. He says the Jew has suffered long enough; he has been beaten and maltreated and he must get up and rebel, even with weapons in his hands demand justice.

"Tchikov is another one of the Russian playwrights, who endowed his plays with the spirit of rebellion. Tchicov is termed in Russia "The Modern Turgeniev". In his play "Tchaika" he takes up a new field. He does not dal with the poor peasant but with the ~~so-called~~ "Middle Class".

405

890123009

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Revolutionary Spirit in Modern Drama / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." — (Dec. 14, 1907).

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

"The principal characters of that play are a Jourhalist and a Poet, an Idealist. The Journalist discovered that this is not an age of ideals; that in order to make use of his pen for remunerative purposes he must strip himself bare of any ideal, and suit the taste of the publisher and the editor, who cater to the Men in Power. The Poet,made the same dicovery, but unlike the Jourhalist, chose toremain loyal tohis conscience and his ideals. In spite of the protestations of his friend the Journalist that he is lacking in experience in practical life, he refuses to give up his ideals and prostitute himself by selling out to the Reigning Power. He struggled on and when he found that he could not win out he ended his life with a bullet through his brains.

"Some people ridicule this idea; they say if you beat your head against a thickwall, you are bound to crush your head without affecting the wallany. But, I say, every head crushed against the wallcounts, and the time will come when these heads crushed against the wall, and the precious blood besprinkling it, will crash own that thickwallof darkness; the thick wall of tyranny, the thick wall of despotism. People say what did t his fool gain by ending his own life. Nay, my friends, it only proves that in the foul atmosphere of the present corrupt Society it is impossible for a man of pure and idealistic tendencies to live.

"We will now enter the Scandinavian Drama.

153

890123009

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Revolutionary Spirit in Modern Drama / Emma Goldman.– 24 cm *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." – (Dec. 14, 1907).

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

"It was said that Ibsen threw more bombs into the present system of social life, than a hundred men could have done.

"Nora of the"Dolls House", after living with her husband eight years and bringing him three children, wakes up one day and leaves him. Not because she was ill-treated; not because she was beaten. She was provided with every luxury by her husband; elegant dresses beautiful home, etc. Sheleaves her husband because she woke up to the realization of the fact that she lived with her husband for eight years and found that she was living with s stranger. That their ideas were far apart; that her husband loved her not as a companion; not as a fellow associate,but for material reasons,--pleasures of the flesh, and nothing higher than that. She was his puppet, his plaything. She rebelled against it and refusd to live any more with a man whowas a perfect stranger to her.

"In the "Ghosts", Ibsen portrays a woman who had the misfortune to marry a man whois afflicted wi th loathsome diseases, and being afraid that her offspring might suffer by it, goes to Pastor Mondes. She pleads with him, and shows him how dstasteful her life would be with the man whom the Law and Church bound her to. Tge Pastor,what cares he for the suffering of humanity; he is devoid of any feeling for a tortured fellow being, he knows his duty towards GOD, and points out to her her duty to her husband, no matter what her feelings are.She febels against it but finally submits to the moralizing of

259

156

890123009

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Revolutionary Spirit in Modern Drama / Emma Goldman.– 24 cm *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." – (Dec. 14, 1907).

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

the "spiritual adviser", and is recompensed for her yeare of martyrdom, finding after long years of agony and torture, that the sins of the father are visited on her beloved son, in spite of all precautions she took.

"In the modern German Drama, Gerhard Happtman, in his strong play the "Weavers", describes the sufferings of the poor proletariat, the starved and uner paid weavers, and when a spirit of discontent began topervade among them, the bombastic employer, surrounded by all kinds of comfort and luxury; smoking expensive cigars, laughed to scorn these poor ignorant "animals". But he finally found that it was a metter of more gravity than he ever thought and ultimately found it expedient to submit to the just demands of the poor weavers.

"Of the American Drama I will just mention "Mrs. Warren's Profession", by Bernard M. Shaw.

"Mrs.Warren who conducted several houses of ill fame, reared her daughter, surrounding her with everything she desired, giving her the best of education, and the best of moral training, but she was brought up in absolute ignorance of the mode of life led by her mother and the source of her income. When she discovered that she became very despondent and ran away from home, refusing to benefit by money made through prostitution. A friend of hers, when told by her the reason for her desertion of her mother's home, said to her:"Your mother's money is not any more tainted than all the money there is in the world. There is a mill owner employing

890123009

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Revolutionary Spirit in Modern Drama / Emma Goldman.– 24 cm *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." – (Dec. 14, 1907).

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

six hundred girls paying them $3 a week. Do you mean to say that these girls are able to live on this miserly salary? They are forced to prostitution. The owner of the Department Stores is doing the same. Carnegie with allhis libraries he gave to the people who have not the time to read the books inthose libraries, produced more prostitution than your mother did. And finally, whose money was it that enriched your mother, and paid or your education? Your mothers numerous establishments were patronized by cannons of the Church, by Pillars of Society, by representatives of the Army and by representatives of every walk in life.

The Hallwas crowded to the doors by Yiddish speaking people, but owing to the fact that the lecture was given in German, instead of Yiddish, as it was announced, there was a spirit of discontent, and I heard murmurs of regret by many people there, saying that they could not follow her.

At the end of the lecture Miss Goldman invited the audience/ audience to ask her questions and that she woukd endeavor to answer them. But save for a few very silly questions asked by a couple of young men, who it could be easily perceived could not follow the trend of hee lecture,none cared to ask any questions. She scored the women present for the lackof interest displayed by them, by not coming forward and debate with her upon questions paramount to their own welfare, but after waiting a considerable length of time,for answers

409

890123009

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Revolutionary Spirit in Modern Drama / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm *In* Louis J. Domas, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." — (Dec. 14, 1907).

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

which failed to come forth, the meeting was closed.

Respectfully

Louis J. Domas

Interpreter.

410

890123008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture. Misconceptions About Anarchism] / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* F.W.C. Maasch, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Dec. 24, 1907).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER
NEW YORK, N. Y.

December 24, 1907.

Hon. Robert Watchorn,
Commissioner of Immigration,
Ellis Island, N. Y. H.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that pursuant to your verbal instructions, I proceeded to Paterson, N. J., on the 7:21 p.m. December 23, 1907, train from Rutherford, arriving at the first-named place at 7:57 p.m. A police officer at the Station directed me to the Paterson Police Headquarters on Washington Street, where I presented your letter. The police stated that they had no knowledge of an anarchist meeting at 184 Main Street. The Chief of Police was not there, but the Acting Captain promptly detailed two plain clothes men to accompany me to the place indicated. The hall was on the top floor of the building over The New York Dental Parlors. To avoid attracting attention, I went up ahead and had the officers follow a little while afterward. I found about five hundred men, women and children in the hall, Hebrews predominating. A number of Italians were also present. Two men seated at a table near the door were collecting money from members, but no admission fee was charged.

Emma Goldman began her address about 8:30 o'clock p.m., and spoke continuously until 9:45. She stated the subject of her ad-

262

(162)

890123008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture. Misconceptions About Anarchism] / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* F.W.C. Maasch, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Dec. 24, 1907).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Anarchism does not stand for what the newspapers tell you it stands for, namely, bomb throwing, and the free use of dynamite and daggers. Such a conception of anarchism arose and exists only in the shallow brains of newspaper editors. Anarchism does not aim at the destruction of life and property. I stand here to-night to advocate no such practices. I advocate the same principles that Thoreau, Emerson, Stuart Mills, and many other great thinkers advocated. The majority of people who denounce anarchism and the anarchists have never taken the trouble to investigate what these terms really mean. It is fashionable to be against the anarchists, so they condemn them without a hearing. Now what does anarchism really stand for? It stands for the universal brotherhood of man, for the emancipation and complete freedom of the individual. As we look at the present state of society, we cannot help but notice that something is radically wrong. Why? Because we notice unwholesome and distressing abnormalities. On the one hand we notice people like John D. Rockefeller, with his uncounted millions, gained by the defraudation of his fellow men and the relentless crushing of every competitor. On the other hand we see men like Tschaikowsky, who is even now in the hands of the Czar's minions, because he dared to speak and to act in the interests of the common people. These two men are types of the two extremes in society as it is constituted at the present day. Rockefeller has amassed great wealth by reaping the profits of the hard labor of others. He represents the individualistic principle carried to excess. He is a man who thinks first, last and always of himself. Tschaikowsky on the other hand lives

890123008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture. Misconceptions About Anarchism] / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* F.W.C. Maasch, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Dec. 24, 1907).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

...to be bettering the condition of his fellowmen. He teaches them what is their right, teaches them how to help themselves and each other, and in this way works for the betterment of society in his own country and the world at large.

Some people will tell you that the anarchists want to destroy all property rights and divide up everything equally. Nothing was ever more erroneous than this. I myself do not want any such division. You do not want it either. What we anarchists demand is this: Each man is entitled to, and should be protected in the enjoyment of the fruits of his own individual labors - no more, and no less. If one man by his greater ability accumulates greater possessions than another - well and good, - there is nothing objectionable in that to the anarchists. But when a man reaches out his hand in greed to grasp the profits and earnings of his fellow men, and appropriates to his own use the results of the labor of another, or of ten, or fifteen, or a hundred, or of thousands of others, and thereby causes them to lose their share of this world's legitimate pleasures, the anarchist is aroused to action. Just what that action will be depends upon his personal disposition and character entirely.

The claim is made that anarchists are opposed to all forms of government. That may be true or it may not be true. If government really does the people good, by all means let us have government. But does the government really do all that is claimed for it? It is claimed that the government protects our property. Does it? What the government really protects is the property of the rich. It does not protect your property, because you have

890123008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture. Misconceptions About Anarchism] / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* F.W.C. Maasch, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Dec. 24, 1907).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

[illegible] When there is a great strike, does the Government protect the workingmen? No, indeed. The Government in such a case sends out its militia or its regular army to protect the very people who are responsible for the strike through their selfishness. Was not this what happened in the mining districts of Nevada? They tell us we cannot get along without laws. But who knows all the laws? A noted lawyer said not so long ago that at the present time there were so many laws on the statute books that no man could possibly live long enough to learn them all. And all these laws were not made for your protection, mind you. They were made for the protection of the fellow that robs you. We are told that these laws guarantee to us our freedom and our equality. That is the same old lullaby that has been repeated over and over again to us. Every Fourth of July something like this is sung to us, and to the unthinking masses it is a lullaby that puts them to sleep for the rest of the year. We are told that America is the most civilized country in the world, while Russia is uncivilized and barbarian. Is this really so? Can any of you who have watched events in this country, I will not say for the past twenty-five, or twenty, or ten years, - let us say for the past five years only,-can you truthfully say that America, with its laws favoring the rich and persecuting the poor is really so far advanced? I tell you Russia has done more during the past five years to advance the world in science, literature and art, and general civilization than America has in twenty-five.

It is said that the Government educates our children. Does it? What is education? True education is a training that leads

414

890123008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture. Misconceptions About Anarchism] / Emma Goldman.– 24 cm. *In* F.W.C. Maasch, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." –(Dec. 24, 1907).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

the individual the power to help himself and others. Your children are not given this kind of an education. When they are taught history, for instance, they are told about a few emporers, kings and presidents who waged war on neighboring or distant countries, and they are taught that the greatest of these is the one who holds the record for the largest number of deaths through the wanton slaughtering of so-called Christian warfare. Does such instruction instill good principles and build up pure character? It is as Carlyle says regarding two rulers, too cowardly to do their own fighting, who force a lot of young men into uniforms, stick guns into their hands and then turn them upon each other like so many savage beasts. And this they label patriotism! These are the prinoiples the Government instills into the minds of your children. They are taught to allow themselves to be led like sheep to the slaughter, simply because some official orders it. President Roosevelt has a big stick and a little brains, very little brains, but then - he has a big stick. As long as people will not make use of their own brains, they will always be easy marks for men with big sticks. The idea that we need the Government to preserve order has been repeated so often that the unthinking accept it as absolutely true; and even when they reach the point where they believe that they themselves can get along without the policeman and his club, they still cling to the idea that the other fellow needs such restraining power. In this same class are the majority of reformers. Such people will do many things for their fellow men: They will give them soup-kitchens, free lectures and libraries, sewing

(160)

415

890123008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture. Misconceptions About Anarchism] / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* F.W.C. Maasch, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Dec. 24, 1907).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

is, get off the other fellow's back and give him a chance to plan and work out his own life. They want to exercise control in return for their gifts. You know the old fable in the Bible about Adam and Eve. How God placed them in a garden and told them not to eat of the tree of knowledge, and when they did, he kicked them out of heaven. This is exactly what our Governments do. As soon as we strive after real knowledge, the kind that is not taught in their schools, they will kick us out too. The Government strives to suppress crime by imprisonment and execution. Do you know that it taxes you over a million dollars a year for the maintenance of prisons? And yet these prisons contain only people who have been foolish enough to steal small sums of money or articles of little value. Most of these prisoners have been forced by the existing economic conditions to commit the offences for which they have been arrested. The real thieves, the men who do their stealing on a large scale, under the mantle of business operations, they go free; and not only do they go free, but the laws actually protect and legalize their robberies. I think the man who steals my pocketbook is a harmless person compared to the man who steals my chances of employment and ruins the possibilities of my making a living for myself and my family.

(167)

268

Anarchism has no set rules. Its precepts and its methods vary according to the age, the temperament and the surroundings of its followers, but there is one principle it teaches which is fundamental, and that is the imperative duty of direct action of the individual. For instance, take the matter of eighty cent gas.

416

890123008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture. Misconceptions About Anarchism] / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* F.W.C. Maasch, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Dec. 24, 1907).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

[illegible]ngly happy. But it is one of those problems which can only be solved by the direct action of each individual consumer. The law will not help you. That has been proven by the fact that the Supreme Court has declared the eighty cent law unconstitutional How can you achieve the desired end? Very easily. When the collector comes with his bill made out at the one dollar rate, pay him only eighty cents, and if he protests, politely throw him downstairs. If all of you did that the gas company would soon come to the conclusion that eighty cents is all it can expect. The real trouble is that you think you cannot get along without the gas company, when the fact is, the gas company cannot get along without you. You have convinced your mind that the company is really very kind because it does not ask $1.25, and is letting you off easy at a dollar. The same principle holds true in regard to carfare. If you all boarded street cars and when the conductor came around for the fare paid him only two or three cents, he would have to accept that ot nothing; and you would be justified in doing this, because you know that the company would be making great profit even at the lower fare. Just so, in every department of life, direct action by the individual will solve all the problems that come up. I believe with Nietzshe that the time has come for a trans-valuation of things. In the past we have been taught to regard many worthless and harmful things as necessary and benificent. I tell you friends, the time has come for a transvaluation, that is, for a rs-consideration of the value of things, and to this end each of you must do his share by his

269

890123008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture. Misconceptions About Anarchism] / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* F.W.C. Maasch, "[Report to] Commissioner of Immigration." —(Dec. 24, 1907).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

you. You will know that you have comrades striving for the same results as yourself, helping you by their example, but not interfering with your personal efforts. Some people say the world is not ready for anarohism, that it must first pass through many preparatory stages, but I tell you, if the prinoiple is right at all, it is as right now as it ever was, or ever will be. Study these great principles and apply them in your own lives - now. That is all, friends. I thank you for your attention."

Miss Goldman was the only speaker of the evening. After her speech the persons in the hall gathered in groups to discuss her remarks. As I was about to leave the hall I found that two more plain clothes men had been detailed for my protection. The Paterson police were prompt and courteous in taking up this matter, which was unexpectedly brought to their attention.

One of the two men first detailed accompanied me to within two blocks of the railroad depot. I boarded the 10:14 train for Rutherford.

Respectfully submitted,

F.W.C. Maasch.
Clerk-Stenographer.

270

169

890815002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty / Emma Goldman.– New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908?]. – 10 p. ; 21 × 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Library, California State University, Hayward.

CAL STATE HAYWARD LIBRARY

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW

Foilure to return books on the dote due will result in ossessment of overdue fees.

DUE JAN 2 6 1983



HX 545 G4

3 0050 00033 4424

419

890815002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908?].— 10 p. ; 21 × 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Library, California State University, Hayward.

MOTHER EARTH

A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature

10c. per Copy $1.00 per Year

Publisher EMMA GOLDMAN
Editor ALEXANDER BERKMAN
210 EAST 13th STREET, NEW YORK

PATRIOTISM:

A MENACE TO LIBERTY

BY

EMMA GOLDMAN

PRICE, 10 CENTS

PUBLISHED BY
THE MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
210 EAST 13th STREET, NEW YORK

CALIFORNIA STATE COLLEGE
AT HAYWARD
LIBRARY

420

890815002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908?]. — 10 p. ; 21 × 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Library, California State University, Hayward.

HX
545
G4

CALIFORNIA STATE COLLEGE
AT HAYWARD
LIBRARY

PATRIOTISM:

A MENACE TO LIBERTY

WHAT is Patriotism? Is it the love of one's birthplace, the place of childhood's recollections and hopes, dreams and aspirations? Is it the place where, in childlike naïveté, we would watch the flecting clouds and wonder why we, too, could not run so swiftly? The place where we would count the milliard glittering stars, terror-stricken lest each one "an eye should be," piercing the very depths of our little souls? Is it the place where we would listen to the music of the birds, and long to have wings to fly, even like they, to distant lands? Or the place where we would sit at mother's knee, enraptured by wonderful tales of great deeds and conquests? In short, is it love for the spot, every inch representing dear and precious recollections of a happy, joyous, and playful childhood?

If that were Patriotism, few American men of to-day could be called upon to be patriotic, since the place of play has been turned into factory, mill, and mine, while deafening sounds of machinery have replaced the music of the birds. Nor can we longer hear the tales of great deeds, for the stories our mothers tell to-day are but those of sorrow, tears, and grief.

What, then, is Patriotism? "Patriotism, sir, is the last resort of scoundrels," said Dr. Johnson. Leo Tolstoy, the greatest living anti-patriot, defines Patriotism as the principle that will justify the training of wholesale murderers; a trade that requires better equipment for the exercise of man-killing than the making of such necessities of life as shoes, clothing, and houses; a trade that guarantees better returns and greater glory than that of the average workingman.

Gustave Hervé, another great anti-patriot, justly calls Patriotism a superstition,—one far more injurious, brutal,

421

890815002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908?].— 10 p. ; 21 × 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Library, California State University, Hayward.

and inhumane than religion. The superstition of religion originated in man's inability to explain natural phenomena. That is, when primitive man heard thunder or saw the lightning, he could not account for either, and therefore concluded that back of them must be a force greater than himself. Equally so, he saw a supernatural force in the rain, or in the various other changes in nature. Patriotism, on the other hand, is a superstition artificially created and maintained through a network of lies and falsehoods; a superstiton that robs man of his self-respect and dignity, and increases his arrogance and conceit.

Indeed, conceit, arrogance, and egotism are the essentials of Patriotism. Let me illustrate. Patriotism assumes that our globe is divided into little specks, each one surrounded by an iron gate. Those who have had the fortune of being born on some particular speck, consider themselves better, nobler, grander, more intelligent than the living beings inhabiting any other speck. It is, therefore, the duty of everyone living on that chosen spot to fight, kill, and die in the attempt to impose his superiority upon all the others.

The inhabitants of the other specks reason in like manner, of course, with the result that, from early infancy, the mind of the child is poisoned with blood-curdling stories about the Germans, the French, the Italians, Russians, etc. When the child has reached manhood, he is thoroughly saturated with the belief that he is chosen by the Lord himself to defend *his* country against the attack or invasion of any foreigner. It is for that purpose that we are clamoring for a greater army and navy, more battleships and ammunition. It is for that purpose that America has within a short time spent four hundred million dollars. Just think of it—four hundred million dollars taken from the produce of *the people*. For surely it is not the rich who contribute to Patriotism. They are cosmopolitans, perfectly at home in every land. We in America know well the truth of this. Are not our rich Americans Frenchmen in France, Germans in Germany, or Englishmen in England? And do they not squander with cosmopolitan grace fortunes coined by American factory children and cotton slaves? Yes, theirs is the Patriotism that will make it possible to send mes-

sages of condolence to a despot like the Russian Tsar, when any mishap befalls him, as President Roosevelt did in the name of *his* people, when Sergius was punished by the Russian Revolutionists.

It is a Patriotism that will assist the arch-murderer, Diaz, in destroying thousands of lives in Mexico, or that will even aid in arresting Mexican revolutionists on American soil and keep them incarcerated in American prisons, without the slightest cause or reason.

But, then, Patriotism is not for those who represent wealth and power. It is good enough for the people. It reminds one of the historic wisdom of Frederick the Great, the bosom friend of Voltaire, who said, "Religion is a fraud, but it must be maintained for the masses."

That Patriotism is rather a costly institution, no one will doubt after reading the following statistics:

The progressive increase of the expenditures for the leading armies and navies of the world during the last quarter of a century is a fact of such gravity as to startle every thoughtful student of economic problems. It may be briefly indicated by dividing the time from 1881 to 1905 into five-year periods, and noting the disbursements of several great nations for army and navy purposes during the first and last of those periods. From the first to the last of the periods noted the expenditures of Great Britain increased from $2,101,848,936 to $4,143,226,885, those of France from $3,324,500,000 to $3,455,109,900, those of Germany from $725,000,200 to $2,700,375,600, those of the United States from $1,275,500,750 to $2,650,-900,450, those of Russia from $1,900,975,500 to $5,250,-445,100, those of Italy from $1,600,975,750 to $1,755,500,-100, and those of Japan from $182,900,500 to $700,-925,475.

The military expenditures of each of the nations mentioned increased in each of the five-year periods under review. During the entire interval from 1881 to 1905 Great Britain's outlay for her army increased fourfold, that of the United States was tripled, Russia's was doubled, that of Germany increased 35 per cent., that of France about 15 per cent., and that of Japan nearly 500 per cent. If we compare the expenditures of these nations upon their armies with their total expenditures for

422

890815002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908?]. — 10 p. ; 21 × 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Library, California State University, Hayward.

all the twenty-five years ending with 1905, the proportion rose as follows:

In Great Britain from 20 per cent. to 37; in the United States from 15 to 23; in France from 16 to 18; in Italy from 12 to 15; in Japan from 12 to 14. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the proportion in Germany decreased from about 58 per cent. to 25, the decrease being due to the enormous increase in the imperial expenditures for other purposes, the fact being that the army expenditures for the period of 1901-5 were higher than for any five-year period preceding. Statistics show that the countries in which army expenditures are greatest in proportion to the total national revenues are Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy, in the order named.

The showing as to the cost of great navies is equally impressive. During the twenty-five years ended with 1905 naval expenditures increased approximately as follows: Great Britain, 300 per cent.; France, 60 per cent.; Germany, 600 per cent.; the United States, 525 per cent.; Russia, 300 per cent.; Italy, 250 per cent., and Japan, 700 per cent. With the exception of Great Britain, the United States spends more for naval purposes than any other nation, and this expenditure bears also a larger proportion to the entire national disbursements than that of any other power. In the period 1881-5, the expenditure for the United States Navy was $6.20 out of each $100 appropriated for all national purposes; the amount rose to $6.60 for the next five-year period, to $8.10 for the next, to $11.70 for the next, and to $16.40 for 1901-5. It is morally certain that the outlay for the current period of five years will show a still further increase.

The rising cost of militarism may be still further illustrated by computing it as a per capita tax on population. From the first to the last of the five-year periods taken as the basis for the comparisons here given it has risen as follows: In Great Britain, from $18.47 to $52.50; in France, from $19.66 to $23.62; in Germany, from $10.17 to $15.51; in the United States, from $5.62 to $13.64; in Russia, from $6.14 to $8.37; in Italy, from $9.59 to $11.24, and in Japan from 86 cents to $3.11.

It is in connection with this rough estimate of cost per capita that the economic burden of militarism is most

appreciable. The irresistible conclusion from available data is that the increase of expenditure for army and navy purposes is rapidly surpassing the growth of population in each of the countries considered in the present calculation. In other words, a continuation of the increased demands of militarism threatens each of those nations with a progressive exhaustion both of men and resources.

The awful waste that Patriotism necessitates ought to be sufficient to cure the man of even average intelligence from this disease. Yet Patriotism demands still more. The people are urged to be patriotic and for that luxury they pay, not only by supporting their "defenders," but even by sacrificing their own children. Patriotism requires allegiance to the flag, which means obedience and readiness to kill father, mother, brother, sister.

The usual contention is that we need a standing army to protect the country from foreign invasion. Every intelligent man and woman knows, however, that this is a myth maintained to frighten and coërce the foolish. The governments of the world, knowing each other's interests, do not invade each other. They have learned that they can gain much more by international arbitration of disputes than by war and conquest. Indeed, as Carlyle said, "War is a quarrel between two thieves, too cowardly to fight their own battle; therefore they take boys from one village and another village, stick them into uniforms, equip them with guns, and let them loose like wild beasts against each other."

It does not require much wisdom to trace every war back to a similar cause. Let us take our own Spanish-American war, supposedly a great and patriotic event in the history of the United States. How our hearts burned with indignation against the atrocious Spaniards! True, our indignation did not flare up spontaneously. It was nurtured by months of newspaper agitation, and long after Butcher Weyler had killed off many noble Cubans and outraged many Cuban women. Still, in justice to the American nation be it said, it did grow indignant and was willing to fight, and that it fought bravely. But when the smoke was over, the wounded buried, and the cost of the war came back to the people in an increase of the price of commodities and rent,—that is, when we

423

890815002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908?].— 10 p. ; 21 × 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Library, California State University, Hayward.

sobered up from our patriotic spree, it suddenly dawned on us that the cause of the Spanish-American war was the consideration of the price of sugar; or, to be more explicit, that the lives, blood, and money of the American people were used to protect the interests of American capitalists, which were threatened by the Spanish government. That this is not an exaggeration, but is based on absolute facts and figures, is best proved by the attitude of the American government to Cuban labor. When Cuba was firmly in the clutches of the United States, the very soldiers sent to liberate Cuba were ordered to shoot Cuban workingmen during the great cigarmakers' strike, which took place shortly after the war.

Nor do we stand alone in waging war for such causes. The curtain is beginning to be lifted on the motives of the terrible Russo-Japanese war, which cost so much blood and tears. And we see again that back of the fierce Moloch of war stands the still fiercer god of Commercialism. Kuropatkin, the Russian Minister of War during the Russo-Japanese struggle, has revealed the true secret behind the latter. The Tsar and his Grand Dukes, having invested money in Corean concessions, the war was forced for the sole reason of speedily accumulating large fortunes.

The contention that a standing army and navy are the best security of peace is about as logical as the claim that the most peaceful citizen is he who goes about heavily armed. The experience of every-day life fully proves that the armed individual is invariably anxious to try his strength. The same is historically true of governments. Really peaceful countries do not waste life and energy in war preparations, with the result that peace is maintained.

However, the clamor for an increased army and navy is not due to any foreign danger. It is owing to the dread of the growing discontent of the masses and of the international spirit among the workers. It is to meet the internal enemy that the Powers of various countries are preparing themselves; an enemy, who, once awakened to consciousness, will prove more dangerous than any foreign invader.

The Powers that have for centuries been engaged in enslaving the masses have made a thorough study of

their psychology. They know that the people at large are like children whose despair, sorrow, and tears can be turned into joy with a little toy. And the more gorgeously the toy is dressed, the louder the colors, the more it will appeal to the million-headed child.

An army and navy represent the people's toys. To make them more attractive and acceptable, hundreds of thousands of dollars are being spent for the display of these toys. That was the purpose of the American government in equipping a fleet and sending it along the Pacific Coast, that every American citizen should be made to feel the pride and glory of the United States. The city of San Francisco spent one hundred thousand dollars for the entertainment of the fleet; Los Angeles, sixty thousand; Seattle and Tacoma, about one hundred thousand. To entertain the fleet, did I say? To dine and wine a few superior officers, while the "brave boys" had to mutiny to get sufficient food. Yes, two hundred and sixty thousand dollars were spent on fireworks, theater parties, and revelries at a time when men, women, and children through the breadth and length of the country were starving in the streets; when thousands of unemployed were ready to sell their labor at any price.

Two hundred and sixty thousand dollars! What could not have been accomplished with such an enormous sum? But instead of bread and shelter, the children of those cities were taken to see the fleet, that it may remain, as one of the newspapers said, "a lasting memory for the child."

A wonderful thing to remember, is it not? The implements of civilized slaughter. If the mind of the child is to be poisoned with such memories, what hope is there for a true realization of human brotherhood?

We Americans claim to be a peace-loving people. We hate bloodshed; we are opposed to violence. Yet we go into spasms of joy over the possibility of projecting dynamite bombs from flying machines upon helpless citizens. We are ready to hang, electrocute, or lynch any one, who, from economic necessity, will risk his own life in the attempt upon that of some industrial magnate. Yet our hearts swell with pride at the thought that America is becoming the most powerful nation on earth, and that

424

890815002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908?].— 10 p. ; 21 × 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Library, California State University, Hayward.

it will eventually plant her iron foot on the necks of all other nations.

Such is the logic of Patriotism.

With all the evil results that Patriotism is fraught with for the average man, it is as nothing compared with the insult and injury that Patriotism heaps upon the soldier himself,—that poor, deluded victim of superstition and ignorance. He, the saviour of his country, the protector of his nation,—what has Patriotism in store for him? A life of slavish submission, vice, and perversion during peace; a life of danger, exposure, and death during war.

While on my late lecture tour in San Francisco, I visited the Presidio, the most beautiful spot overlooking the Bay and Golden Gate Park. Its purpose should have been playgrounds for children, gardens and music for the recreation of the weary. Instead it is made ugly, dull, and gray by barracks,—barracks, wherein the rich would not allow their dogs to dwell. In these miserable shanties soldiers are herded like cattle; here they waste their young days, polishing the boots and brass buttons of their superior officers. Here, too, I saw the distinction of classes: sturdy sons of a free republic, drawn up in line like convicts, saluting every passing shrimp of a lieutenant. American equality, degrading manhood and elevating the uniform.

Barrack life further tends to develop tendencies of sexual perversion. It is gradually producing along this line results similar to European military conditions. Havelock Ellis, the noted writer on sex psychology, has made a thorough study of the subject. I quote: "Some of the barracks are great centers of male prostitution. . . . The number of soldiers who prostitute themselves is greater than we are willing to believe. It is no exaggeration to say that in certain regiments the presumption is in favor of the venality of the majority of the men. . . . On summer evenings, Hyde Park and the neighborhood of Albert Gate, are full of guardsmen and others plying a lively trade and with little disguise, in uniform or out. . . . In most cases the proceeds form a comfortable addition to Tommy Atkins' pocket money."

To what extent this perversion has eaten its way into the army and navy can best be judged from the fact that special houses exist for this form of prostitution. The

practice is not limited to England; it is universal. "Soldiers are no less sought after in France than in England or in Germany, and special houses for military prostitution exist both in Paris and the garrison towns."

Had Mr. Havelock Ellis included America in his investigations of sex perversion, he would have found that the same conditions prevail in our army and navy as in those of other countries. The growth of the standing army inevitably adds to the spread of sex perversion; the barracks are the incubators.

Aside from the sexual effects of barrack life, it also tends to unfit the soldier for useful labor after leaving the army. Men, skilled in a trade, seldom enter the army or navy, but even they, after a military experience, find themselves totally unfitted for their former occupations. Having acquired habits of idleness and a taste for excitement and adventure, no peaceful pursuit can content them. Released from the army, they can turn to no useful work. But it is usually the social riffraff, discharged prisoners and the like, whom either the struggle for life or their own inclination drives into the ranks. These, their military term over, again turn to their former life of crime, more brutalized and degraded than before. It is a well-known fact that in our prisons there is a goodly number of ex-soldiers; while on the other hand, the army and navy are to a great extent supplied with ex-convicts.

Of all the evil results I have just described, it seems to me none so detrimental to human integrity as the spirit Patriotism has produced in the case of Private William Buwalda, now serving a term of three years in military prison. Because he foolishly believed that one can be a soldier and exercise his rights as a man at the same time, the military authorities punished him severely. True, he had served his country fifteen years, during which time his record was unimpeachable. According to Gen. Funston, who reduced Buwalda's sentence to three years, "the first duty of an officer or an enlisted man is unquestioned obedience and loyalty to the government, and it makes no difference whether he approves of that government or not." Thus Funston stamps the true character of allegiance. According to him, entrance into the army abrogates the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

425

890815002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908?].— 10 p. ; 21 × 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Library, California State University, Hayward.

What a strange development of Patriotism that turns a thinking being into a loyal machine!

In justification of this most outrageous sentence of Buwalda, Gen. Funston tells the American people that the soldier's action was "a serious crime equal to treason." Now, what did this "terrible crime" really consist of? Simply in this: Wm. Buwalda was one of fifteen hundred people who attended a public meeting in San Francisco; and, oh, horrors, he shook hands with the speaker, Emma Goldman. A terrible crime, indeed, which the General calls "a great military offense, infinitely worse than desertion."

Can there be a greater indictment against Patriotism than the one that will brand a man a criminal, throw him into prison, and rob him of the results of fifteen years of faithful service?

Buwalda has given to his country the best years of his life and his very manhood. But all that was as nothing. Patriotism is inexorable and, like all insatiable monsters, demands all or nothing. It does not admit that a soldier is also a human being, who has a right to his own feelings and opinions, his own inclinations and ideas. No, Patriotism can not admit of that. That is the lesson which Buwalda was made to learn; made to learn at a rather costly, though not at a useless, price. When he returns to freedom, he will have lost his position in the army, but he will have regained his self-respect. After all, that is worth three years of imprisonment.

A writer on the military conditions of America, in a recent aricle, commented on the power of the military man over the civilian in Germany. He said, among other things, that if our Republic had no other meaning than to guarantee all citizens equal rights, it would have just cause for existence. I am convinced that the writer was not in Colorado during the patriotic régime of General Bell. He probably would have changed his mind had he seen how, in the name of Patriotism and the Republic, men were thrown into bull-pens, dragged about, driven across the border, and subjected to all kinds of indignities. Nor is that Colorado incident the only one in the growth of military power in the United States. There is hardly a strike where troops and militia do not come

to the rescue of those in power, and where they do not act as arrogantly and brutally as do the men wearing the Kaiser's uniform. Then, too, we have the Dick military law. Has the writer forgotten that?

A great misfortune with most of our writers is that they are absolutely ignorant on current events, or that, lacking honesty, they will not speak of these matters. And so it has come to pass that the Dick military law was rushed through Congress with little discussion and still less publicity,—a law which gives the President the power to turn a peaceful citizen into a bloodthirsty man-killer, supposedly for the defense of the country, in reality for the protection of the interests of that particular party whose mouthpiece the President happens to be.

Our writer claims that militarism can never become such a power in America as abroad, since it is voluntary with us, while compulsory in the Old World. Two very important facts, however, the gentleman forgets to consider. First, that conscription has created in Europe a deep-seated hatred of militarism among all classes of society. Thousands of young recruits enlist under protest and, once in the army, they will use every possible means to desert. Second, that it is the compulsory feature of militarism which has created a tremendous anti-militarist movement, feared by European Powers far more than anything else. After all, the greatest bulwark of capitalism is militarism. The very moment the latter is undermined, capitalism would totter. True, we have no conscription; that is, men are not usually forced to enlist in the army, but we have developed a far more exacting and rigid force—necessity. Is it not a fact that during industrial depressions there is a tremendous increase in the number of enlistments? The trade of militarism may not be either lucrative or honorable, but it is better than tramping the country in search of work, standing in bread line, or sleeping in municipal lodging houses. After all, it means thirteen dollars per month, three meals a day, and a place to sleep. Yet even necessity is not sufficiently strong a factor to bring into the army an element of character and manhood. No wonder our military authorities complain of the "poor material" enlisting in the army and navy. This admission is a very encouraging sign. It proves that there is still enough of

426

890815002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908?].— 10 p. ; 21 × 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Library, California State University, Hayward.

the spirit of independence and love of liberty left in the average American to risk starvation rather than don the uniform.

Thinking men and women the world over are beginning to realize that Patriotism is too narrow and limited a conception to meet the necessities of our time. The centralization of power has brought into being an international feeling of solidarity among the oppressed nations of the world; a solidarity which represents a greater harmony of interests between the workingmen of America and his brothers abroad than between the American miner and his exploiting compatriot; a solidarity which fears not foreign invasion, because it is bringing all the workers to the point when they will say to their masters, "Go and do your own killing. We have done it long enough for you."

This solidarity is awakening the consciousness of even the soldiers, they, too, being flesh of the flesh of the great human family. A solidarity that has proven infallible more than once during past struggles, and which has been the impetus inducing the Parisian soldiers, during the Commune of 1871, to refuse to obey when ordered to shoot their brothers. It has given courage to the men who mutinied on Russian warships during recent years. It will eventually bring about the uprising of all the oppressed and downtrodden against their international exploiters.

The proletariat of Europe has realized the great force of that solidarity and has, as a result, inaugurated a war against Patriotism and its bloody spectre, militarism. Thousands of men fill the prisons of France, Germany, Russia, and the Scandinavian countries, because they dared to defy the ancient superstition. Nor is the movement limited to the working class; it has embraced representatives in all stations of life, its chief exponents being men and women prominent in art, science, and letters.

America will have to follow suit. The spirit of militarism has already permeated all walks of life. Indeed, I am convinced that militarism is growing a greater danger here than anywhere else, because of the many bribes capitalism holds out to those whom it wishes to destroy.

The beginning has already been made in the schools.

Evidently the government holds to the Jesuitical conception, "Give me the childish mind, and I will mould the man." Children are trained in military tactics, the glory of military achievements extolled in the curriculum, and the youthful minds perverted to suit the government. Further, the youth of the country is appealed to in glaring posters to join the army and navy. "A fine chance to see the world!" cries the governmental huckster. Thus innocent boys are morally shanghaied into Patriotism, and the military Moloch strides conquering through the nation.

The American workingman has suffered so much at the hands of the soldier, State and Federal, that he is quite justified in his disgust with, and his opposition to, the uniformed parasite. However, mere denunciation will not solve this great problem. What we need is a propaganda of education for the soldier: anti-patriotic literature that will enlighten him as to the real horrors of his trade; one that will awaken his consciousness to his true relation to the man to whose labor he owes his very existence.

It is precisely this that the authorities fear most. It is already high treason for a soldier to attend a radical meeting. No doubt, they will also stamp it high treason for a soldier to read a radical pamphlet. But, then, has not authority from time immemorial stamped every step of progress as treasonable? Those, however, who earnestly strive for social reconstruction can well afford to face all that; for it is probably even more important to carry the truth into the barracks than into the factory. When we have undermined the patriotic lie, we shall have cleared the path for that great structure wherein all nationalities shall be united into a universal brotherhood,—a truly FREE SOCIETY.

427

890815002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n, [1908?].— 10 p. ; 21 × 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Library, California State University, Hayward.

Books to be had through MOTHER EARTH

210 E. 13th ST., NEW YORK.

Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal. New Edition, 1907. By Peter Kropotkin..... 5c.

Fields, Factories, and Workshops. By Peter Kropotkin ..... 50c.

Conquest of Bread. By Peter Kropotkin..... $1.00

Memoirs of a Revolutionist. By Peter Kropotkin. Reduced to..... $1.60

Ideals of Russian Literature. By Peter Kropotkin.. $2.00

The State: Its Rôle in History. By Peter Kropotkin..... 10c.

The Wage System. By Peter Kropotkin..... 5c.

Anarchism Communism: Its Basis and Principles. By Peter Kropotkin..... 5c.

An Appeal to the Young. By Peter Kropotkin..... 5c.

Law and Authority. An Anarchist Essay. By Peter Kropotkin ..... 10c.

War. By Peter Kropotkin.....5c.

Mutual Aid. By Peter Kropotkin..... $2.00

History of the French Revolution. (An excellent work for students. It begins with a sketch of history of the earliest times; the decline of the ancient empires, the rise of the French monarchy, and traces the causes which made the Revolution inevitable. The philosophic conclusion is unsurpassed, and the position taken, laying a foundation for the philosophy of freedom, is bound to attract the attention of thinkers.) By C. L. James.....$1.00

16

SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM

PETER KROPOTKIN

...book, though scientific, is written ...popular style. Nobody who wishes ...well grounded in the philosophy of ...can afford to miss this book

Reduced to 15 Cents

Mother Earth Publishing Association

210 East 13th Street, New York

THE FOLLOWING PLAYS OF

HENRIK IBSEN

TO BE HAD THROUGH *MOTHER EARTH*

A Doll's House.....25c
...Pillars of Society.....25c
Ghosts.....25c
...Lady from the Sea.....25c
...Enemy of Society.....25c
...Wild Duck.....25c
...Young Men's League.....25c
...Builder.....50c
...Master Builder.....50c

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

428

890815002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty / Emma Goldman. New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908?]. – 10 p. ; 21 × 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Library, California State University, Hayward.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

900515000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Conversation avec Emma Goldman et le D. Friedeberg [Conversation with Emma Goldman and Dr. Friedeberg. In French] / Emma Goldman. – 42 cm. *In* La Guerre Sociale [Paris]. –[1908?].

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Votre enquête

...ève

...tre bien éclairé à Anvers, nous une pièce. Elle ...eigner exacte- ...lecteurs de la ...des journaux ...avec l'aplomb ...avelles per- ...n'est que logi- ...s'ouvre la voie

...CONFLIT

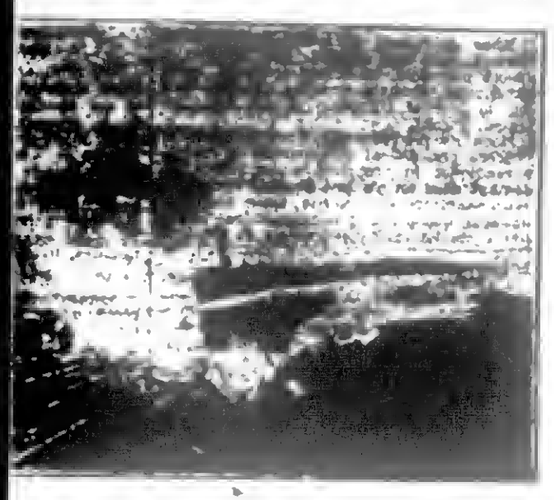
...t hier – tra- ...il des grèves ...était pour ob- ...de salaire d'un ...our. Le déchar- ...ur des bana- ...pacin les tra- ...l extrême com- ...el de certains ...sorte de peur- ...ni les dockers ...la touche au ...it des jurés

...le hameau (Vaudoit, droit pourvoi). Cette association vient de s'allier au parti socialiste et allons des moyens, disent-ils, à 0 fr. 0 francs par semaine en cas de maladie.

LES MOUVEMENTS DE RÉVOLTE

Poursuivant un long tour les événements survenus dernièrement sont trop encombrants. Nous ne mentionnerons que ceux dont la véracité nous est allouée et qui sont dignes de l'attention.

3 septembre. — A six heures du matin, trois tapissiers servant au transport des jeunes sont démolies à coup de tuiles et l'on y met le feu en pleine rue. Les habitants jettent des bidons de pétrole par la fenêtre pour activer les flammes. L'on passe plusieurs Anglais à tabac, de telle manière que les agents les arrachent des mains des dockers plutôt mourants que vivants. Voyant cela, tout un groupe d'Anglais demandent instamment à repartir. — Six voitures de boulangers sont pillées et l'on se partage le pain à la rue ; l'on fait de même avec les charrettes de charbon. —



...pris par notre corre...
ASPECT DE L'INCENDIE
...septembre, à 5 heures de l'après-midi

4 septembre. — Un bateliers ... à bout portant par un ... qui avait fait ... Le tireur réussit à ... heureusement en Hollande. Le ... n'en fut pas inquiété !

La grève éclate commence à sa...murer et désire rentrer chez elle.

5 septembre. — La journée se passe sans incidents. Au port travaillent quelques Chinois et les carrains anglais qu'on a rendus en remorquant au travail car on n'ose risquer le transport en voiture. Ces carrains ne cessent point le pied à terre que pour le lit où le garçon et dorment à bord du *Zeelerman*. La foule, très sympathique aux dockers, fête copieusement les grands bols d'Anglais à leur passage. Le garde civique va partir, trop gendarmes vont la remplacer.

Dès le début, en quelques jours fort nombreux ont donc été les événements qui ont marqué cette grève. Et pourtant, la grande masse des dockers n'est pas du tout éduquée, ni consciente. Elle n'est certes pas non plus fanatique, mais elle a une forte tendance à se laisser mener par les beaux parleurs et c'est ce qui la perdra sans doute.

La *Fédération maritime* risquera des millions dans cette lutte contre les dockers ; comme excuse elle affirme qu'elle combat une manœuvre politique qui aspirerait à faire du port d'Anvers une véritable forteresse socialiste où les ouvriers du syndicat dicteraient leurs lois et les armateurs n'auraient plus qu'à se soumettre.

Chose curieuse, c'est que ces armateurs sont, pour la plupart, des étrangers : le Stoomvaart est Allemand, l'Red Star est belge, la Ligne Wilson est suédoise, etc. La lutte contre l'étranger couvre cependant ce motif autrement plus noble : la question de nationalité. Le port d'Anvers devait être florissant et rapporter beaucoup d'argent.

Quoi qu'il en soit, les armateurs ... de la ... le tout ... avoir ... quatre ... pour ... la ... le ... gagner ... Fédération internationale ... dont les ... chefs socialistes sont les ... et indubitables et pour ...

...

Il semble [illegible] ... de la ... la religion de Marx dont ces pudibes hérauts antipatriotiques font ... la formule célèbre : « Travailleurs de tous pays, unissez-vous ! » La doctrine de reconstruction sociale de Gustave Hervé est ... une doctrine essentiellement ... l'État rallie toute ayant autre bien que l'État capitaliste des intérêts nationaux et des frontières à défendre au besoin par la force. Vaillant et Bebel sont ... dans la pure logique marxiste en répudiant les idées d'Hervé.

Le camarade Friedeberg ajoute :

— *Pour être conséquents, eux aussi avec leur idéal les travailleurs allemands antipatriotes devront sortir du Parti S. D. [illegible] l'antipatriotisme ne peut ... le Marxisme.*

Puis vient ...

Tandis qu'en [illegible] propagandistes libertaires de l'Allemagne ... dont le nombre va toujours croissant ... tend ... résultat ; j'ai compris que les membres de la ... n'étaient pas ... affranchis du dogme de la patrie qu'ils font ... à faire dans un parti, que pose en principe le ... entre ... le Vaterland.

Et l'anarchiste ajouta enfin par cette affirmation, qui réjouira nos amis :

— *Nous sommes persuadés que dans un avenir prochain les disciples d'Hervé seront aussi nombreux de notre côté du Rhin que ...*

***

Comme le socialisme l'anarchie a ses militantes, et j'ai eu la bonne fortune de pouvoir interviewer la plus célèbre d'entre elles : Emma Goldmann.

Les journaux nous ont souvent ... les exploits de cette ... pour ... quelquefois, ... un rôle important dans les ... de l'Amérique.

Emma Goldmann — race d'origine et naturalisée américaine — n'est pas seulement un écrivain de talent et une oratrice à la parole suggestive et entraînante : c'est encore, dans la force du terme, une femme d'action.

Même ... ses plus violentes de son pays d'adoption elle fut plusieurs fois emprisonnée et condamnée ; elle fut également arrêtée au moment de l'assassinat de Mac Kinley, sous l'inculpation de complicité dans l'attentat.

Le portrait physique de la redoutable anarchiste ? Trente-cinq ans ; petite et forte, avec de belles épaules et un cou puissant ; visage blanc et rose, au menton carré, menton de volonté ; derrière les verres du lorgnon, que retient une fine chaînette d'or, de grands yeux bleus brillant d'intelligence combative ; front large, où l'effort de l'attention creuse, entre les sourcils, une ride profonde ; front cerclé d'une superbe chevelure ondulée, d'un blond doré.

La compagnie [illegible] n'est pas l'antagonie d'une certaine coquetterie : elle porte la blouse à la mode, la blouse transparente, laissant le cou et l'avant-bras nus.

Notre camarade s'exprime à la ... et, la voix ... mais ... [illegible] ... nous ... nous ... sémantes.

Lorsque ... Emma Goldmann, bien que polyglotte, parle ... le français.

Voici donc la traduction de notre conversation.

...

— ... [illegible] ... *longtemps qu'elle ne pas orienté dans la voie ... dans, la mère ... la ... conscientes à ... résolument.*

Mme Goldmann ?

— *Vous ... Partisane à combattre, comme ... c'est l'esprit trade-unioniste, qui ... la plupart de nos ... notamment ... et principalement la ... Américaine fédération of labor.*

Celle-ci n'est pas autre chose qu'une ... de défense sociale. Ce qui démontre, d'ailleurs, combien peu lutte de classe est la Fédération of labor, ce sont les bons rapports qu'entretiennent ses dirigeants avec la Ploutocratie.

Ainsi, on voit fréquemment les Samuel Gompers et autres leaders de la grande union fédérale banqueter et sabler le champagne en compagnie des pires exploiteurs de la classe prolétarienne.

— Mais, fis-je observer, comment expliquez-vous alors la violence de vos grèves ?

Vivement :

— *Oh ! c'est bien simple. Chaque fois que les travailleurs recourent à l'action directe et collective, ils sont poussés, fatalement, à donner à cette action une forme effectivement révolutionnaire.*

Voilà pourquoi lorsque parmi les membres des syndicats trade-unionistes, se produit une agitation gréviste, cette agitation, en Amérique comme en Angleterre, évolue bientôt hors des limites du légalisme dans lesquelles s'efforcent de la maintenir les chefs.

— Tous ces leaders ouvriers ne sont point cependant hostiles aux moyens de lutte énergique ...

— *Il y a des exceptions. Les hommes à la tête de la Western Federation of Miners ont en effet prouvé qu'ils étaient capables de prendre de courageuses ... d'audacieuses initiatives. Ainsi les propriétaires des mines du Colorado prétendaient ... la paie des ouvriers aux heures réputées de 10 heures que des mineurs ... supprimer les éléments factieux. Brusquement ... de la Fédération éclatait porter un coup mortel à la redoutable ... par ... légalistes ... avec la tradition légaliste ... de la ... ouvrier ... de l'État de classe.*

Le Personnel de l'État de Colorado d'accord avec la justice ourdit le complot que vous savez, ce complot faillit aboutir à un crime judiciaire renouvelé des plus ... crimes judiciaires américains.

Les ... procédés employés pour perdre Moyer, Haywood et Pettibone soulevèrent une telle indignation parmi les travailleurs de l'Amérique entière que le pays se vit forcé d'accuser les fonctionnaires de la Miner - Fédération.

Interrogeant à nouveau :

— *Croyez-vous que la Western Federation of miners pourra devenir le centre d'un organisme fédéral vraiment syndicaliste ?*

— *Peut être ! En tout cas, nous, les libertaires, nous souhaitons ardemment ... se fonder dans l'Ouest une Confédération générale du Travail analogue à notre ... C. G. T.*

Du reste, les événements sont ... nos ... auxiliaires précieux : l'affaire Moyer Haywood, qui a montré quel sentiment de haine, de vengeance, la société capitaliste montrait à l'égard du prolétariat fera un tort énorme aux théories ... des ... de la collaboration des classes ; d'autre part, l'intervention de l'armée dans nos conflits du travail et du capital, provoquant des collisions meurtrières entre soldats et ouvriers, ... et servira puissamment la cause de l'antimilitarisme et de l'antipatriotisme.

Soyez persuadé que si Hervé venait donner des conférences dans le Nouveau Monde, il y serait accueilli avec enthousiasme, comme fut accueilli Kropotkine, lorsqu'il vint exposer devant le public américain la doctrine de l'Anarchie.

— Une dernière question : d'après vous, dans quelle partie des États-Unis ... sont les plus grandes possibilités révolutionnaires ?

La ... anarchiste ... une flamme dans ... yeux bleus, nous donne, en guise de conclusion la réponse suivante :

Dans les régions ... occidentales de l'Ouest, c'est là que ... brillera bientôt sans doute, la rouge étoile de la Révolution.

Sorgue.

...

— *D'abord, ... longtemps ... ne pas ... dans la voie ... dans, la mère ... la ... conscientes à ... résolument.*

Mme Goldmann ?

— *Vous ... Partisane à combattre, comme ... c'est l'esprit trade-unioniste, qui ... la plupart de nos ... notamment ... et principalement la ... Américaine fédération of labor.*

Celle-ci n'est pas autre chose qu'une ... de défense sociale. Ce qui démontre, d'ailleurs, combien peu lutte de classe est la Fédération of labor, ce sont les bons rapports qu'entretiennent ses dirigeants avec la Ploutocratie.

Ainsi, on voit fréquemment les Samuel Gompers et autres leaders de la grande union fédérale banqueter et sabler le champagne en compagnie des pires exploiteurs de la classe prolétarienne.

— Mais, fis-je observer, comment expliquez-vous alors la violence de vos grèves ?

Vivement :

— *Oh ! c'est bien simple. Chaque fois que les travailleurs recourent à l'action directe et collective, ils sont poussés, fatalement, à donner à cette action une forme effectivement révolutionnaire.*

Voilà pourquoi lorsque parmi les membres des syndicats trade-unionistes, se produit une agitation gréviste, cette agitation, en Amérique comme en Angleterre, évolue bientôt hors des limites du légalisme dans lesquelles s'efforcent de la maintenir les chefs.

— Tous ces leaders ouvriers ne sont point cependant hostiles aux moyens de lutte énergique ...

— *Il y a des exceptions. Les hommes à la tête de la Western Federation of Miners ont en effet prouvé qu'ils étaient capables de prendre de courageuses ... d'audacieuses initiatives. Ainsi les propriétaires des mines du Colorado prétendaient ... la paie des ouvriers aux heures réputées de 10 heures que des mineurs ... supprimer les éléments factieux. Brusquement ... de la Fédération éclatait porter un coup mortel à la redoutable ... par ... légalistes ... avec la tradition légaliste ... de la ... ouvrier ... de l'État de classe.*

Le Personnel de l'État de Colorado d'accord avec la justice ourdit le complot que vous savez, ce complot faillit aboutir à un crime judiciaire renouvelé des plus ... crimes judiciaires américains.

Les ... procédés employés pour perdre Moyer, Haywood et Pettibone soulevèrent une telle indignation parmi les travailleurs de l'Amérique entière que le pays se vit forcé d'accuser les fonctionnaires de la Miner - Fédération.

Interrogeant à nouveau :

— *Croyez-vous que la Western Federation of miners pourra devenir le centre d'un organisme fédéral vraiment syndicaliste ?*

— *Peut être ! En tout cas, nous, les libertaires, nous souhaitons ardemment ... se fonder dans l'Ouest une Confédération générale du Travail analogue à notre ... C. G. T.*

Du reste, les événements sont ... nos ... auxiliaires précieux : l'affaire Moyer Haywood, qui a montré quel sentiment de haine, de vengeance, la société capitaliste montrait à l'égard du prolétariat fera un tort énorme aux théories ... des ... de la collaboration des classes ; d'autre part, l'intervention de l'armée dans nos conflits du travail et du capital, provoquant des collisions meurtrières entre soldats et ouvriers, ... et servira puissamment la cause de l'antimilitarisme et de l'antipatriotisme.

Soyez persuadé que si Hervé venait donner des conférences dans le Nouveau Monde, il y serait accueilli avec enthousiasme, comme fut accueilli Kropotkine, lorsqu'il vint exposer devant le public américain la doctrine de l'Anarchie.

— Une dernière question : d'après vous, dans quelle partie des États-Unis ... sont les plus grandes possibilités révolutionnaires ?

La ... anarchiste ... une flamme dans ... yeux bleus, nous donne, en guise de conclusion la réponse suivante :

Dans les régions ... occidentales de l'Ouest, c'est là que ... brillera bientôt sans doute, la rouge étoile de la Révolution.

Sorgue.

...

D'autres part, Augagneur, subissant pour comble trop longtemps blâmé, Duchesne et son autre, furent eux aussi, frappés d'une mutation sévère directoriales et se virent congédiés à leur tour. La coupe étant pleine débordée. Une réunion du personnel se termina par le vote de la grève.

La grève

Depuis, c'est la grève. Elle est grève. Les journaux ont d'abord ouvert, pour voir d'ailleurs des ouvriers et la population, dans la tactique particulière de l'intelligence dans laquelle ils se trouvaient du fait même une grève. Ils sont vagues — trop prudents — ils craignent leur désir de poursuivre leurs revendications non violentes. Braves gens, s'imaginent-ils, tel Orphée qui charmait des sons de son pipeau les bêtes féroces, attendrir le patronat en jouant des airs de flûte. C'est, au contraire, en montrant les dents qu'ils amèneront leur exploiteur à composition et obtiendront la réintégration de leurs camarades.

Les « cognes » entrent en scène

Le calme des grévistes n'a pas empêché la R.G.F.M. de faire appel aux forces policières. Dimanche après-midi, les gendarmes se sont rués sur quelques grévistes, les ont bousculés et malmenés, sous prétexte de rétablir et de maintenir l'ordre qui n'était pas troublé. Une femme a été blessée.

Les « charpentiers à Clemenceau » vont-ils ... [illegible] ... de Buffalo Bill qui veille aux destinées de ... Tête-de-Mort qui veille aux destinées de ... [illegible] ... ?

Arrestations

En attendant, pour ne point faillir à ses habitudes, le Grand Pan qui a mis [illegible] ... à la disposition du parquet [illegible] ... ouvriers ou pouvant l'être. Plusieurs arrêtés, parmi lesquels Goupy ont été livrés au bloc. Pourquoi ? Tout bonnement [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ...

89061030

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Beautiful Ideal Emma Goldman.– Chicago : J.C. Hart, [1908?]. – 6 p. ; 17 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

89061 1030

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Beautiful Ideal / Emma Goldman.— Chicago : J.C. Hart, [1908?]. — 6 p. ; 17 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

—A—

Beautiful Ideal

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

The lecture which Emma Goldman was to have read before the Edelstadt Social, March 17th, 1908, at Workingmens' Hall, 12th & Waller Streets, Chicago. But was prevented by Captain Mahoney of Maxwell Street Station with a squad of about fifty police.

10 cents a copy, $5 a hundred.

432

890611030

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Beautiful Ideal / Emma Goldman.— Chicago : J.C. Hart, [1908?]. — 6 p. ; 17 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

INTRODUCTORY.

In fact and in truth Miss Goldman is a mild mannered little woman who would not kill a fly or a spider. On the contrary she teaches peace, harmony and brotherly love among all men regardless of race, creed or color.

We are publishing this little booklet so that she may have an impartial hearing before the public, as it is a well known fact that none of the newspapers will pretend to give her a hearing under any circumstances.

Respectfully,

THE PUBLISHERS.

All rights reserved under copyright.

ANARCHY

AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR

"To the popular mind anarchism stands for destruction; to the more enlightened it stands for an ideal—a beautiful but thoroughly impracticable ideal.

Anarchism does stand for the destruction of the institutions that have been and are keeping the human mind in bondage and that are robbing mankind of the right to the use of the necessities of life.

Viewed from the standpoint of cents and dollars, anarchism is truly impracticable, and those whose aim in life is wealth and power will do well to keep out of the anarchist movement. But measured by true value, namely, human character, integrity and real usefulness to society, anarchism is the most practical of all theories—a proposition which I shall attempt to prove.

"Anarchism is a theory of human development which lays no less stress than socialism upon the economic or materialistic aspect of social relations; but while granting that the cause of the immediate evil is an economic one we believe that the solution of the social question confronting us today must be wrought out from the equal consideration of the whole of our experience.

"To understand society as a whole it behooves the social student to analyze the separate atoms of society—namely, the individual and the motives that prompt every individual and every collective act. What are these motives?

"First, the individual instinct, standing for self-expression; second, the social in-

433

890611030

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Beautiful Ideal / Emma Goldman.— Chicago : J.C. Hart, [1908?]. — 6 p. ; 17 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

stinct, which inspires collective and social life. These instincts in their latent condition are never antagonistic to each other.

"On the contrary, they are dependent upon one another for their complete and normal development. Unfortunately, the organization of society is such that these instincts are being brought into constant antagonism.

"Indeed, the history of our experience in thought and action is the record of this strife within each individual and its reflection within each society.

"To better illustrate my point, let me give you two cases, representing the extreme development of individual and social instinct.

Take Russell Sage, for instance, a man whose individual instincts knew no bounds; a man who, to use a common proverb, did not even observe the ordinary honesty existing among thieves.

"I mean that his methods of accomplishing his aim, the accumulation of wealth, were so obscure, so unscrupulous, that even his own colleagues, had little regard for him.

"Indeed, it is safe to say that the instinct that prompted the actions of Russell Sage were so antisocial that every one of his steps resulted in crushing out human life and in bringing untold misery and poverty upon those whom his iron heel did not actually crush.

"Such a type of a man is possible only in a society based upon inequality, a society that is held together not by natural bonds, but by artificial and arbitrary methods.

"Again, let us take a type of human being with the social instinct developed to the extreme—Louise Michelle, the world-renowned anarchist, "Mother Louise," as she was called by every child of the gutter. Her love for man and beast knew no bounds.

"It mattered not whether it was a forlorn kitten or a homeless dog, or a shelterless human being—she gave to all, even the last crust of bread.

"Yet to satisfy her great soul she was compelled to deny her individual instinct to the extent of living in great and constant poverty, of exposing herself to many dangers, to imprisonment, and to the heat of New Caledonia, whither she had been sent with many other political prisoners after the Paris Commune of '71.

"Anarchists insist that conditions must be radically wrong, if human instincts develop to such extremes at the expense of each other.

"Anarchism in its scientific and philosophic calculations represents that force in human life which can harmonize and bring into unity the individual and social instincts of the individual and society.

"The greatest obstacle in the way of such harmonious blending, are property, or the monopoly of things—the denial of the right of others to their use, and authority—the government of man by man, embodied in majority rule, or the absolute disregard of individual life in the organization that for want of a better name stands for society.

"Therefore the first tendency of anarchism is to make good the dignity of the individual human being by freeing him from every kind of arbitrary restraint—economic, political, social.

"In so doing anarchism proposes to make apparent, in their true force the social bonds, which always have and always will knit men together and which are the actual basis of a real normal and sane society. The means of doing this rests with each man's latent qualities and his opportunities.

"I have already spoken of the coercive and arbitrary tendency of centralization in either the industrial or political life of a people, and I now wish to say a few

890611030

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Beautiful Ideal / Emma Goldman.– Chicago : J.C. Hart, [1908?]. – 6 p. ; 17 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

words of what seema to the anarchist the most dangerous side of centralization.

"Man has been degraded into a mere part of a machine and all that makes for spontaneity, for originality, for the power of initiative, has been either dulled or completely killed in him until he is but a living corpse, dragging out an aimless, spiritless and idealess existence.

"Man is here to be sacrificed upon the altar of things, heaps and heaps of things, that are as dark and dull as the human machines that have produced them.

"Yet how can we talk of social wealth when the production of that wealth can be attained only at the expense of human lives, thousands and thousands of human lives? And what are these lives worth without the power of initiative, of spontaneity?

"Anarchism holds that the simplest human life, if given opportunity and scope, is infinitely more important to society than all the scientific regulation and adjusting of social arrangements.

"For, in proportion as that simple life grows into a conscious, intelligent, well-rounded factor, recognizing its true relation to its fellow, regulations and forms will take care of themselves.

"Anarchists believe that organized authority, or the state, is necessary only in the interest of monopoly. They fail to see that it has at any time in the history of man promoted human welfare or aided in any way in the building of human character or human possibilities. Anarchism, therefore, aims at the simultaneous overthrow of monopoly and government.

"It is well to distinguish here between government as organized authority, whose purposes are realized at all times through the exercise of brute force—police clubs, state militias, the armies, and the navies of the world— and government in the sense of a spontaneously arising social order and happiness, whose immediate appearance among men awaits only, the disappearance of the world-enslaving and world-slaughtering forces of monopoly.

"The centralized method of production has necessitated a centralized form of government that is constantly increasing its power and forever prying into the minutest detail of human life.

"In fact, it is safe to say that man's whole life, from the cradle to the grave is under constant surveillance of authority.

I think that America illustrates this point perfectly. So long as this country was young, its people battling with the elements and striving for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, every man counted for something.

"People were more closely related to each other and the sense of comradeship and brotherhood was keener and deeper.

"But in proportion as America grew in wealth its method of governing became more centralized, more far-reaching, more contrary to the life and rights of man, until today he is suffered to drag along his wretched existence, not by 'the grace of God, but by the grace of a network of laws which he knows nothing about and which are absolutely foreign to his natural growth and development.

"With this in view, anarchism stands for voluntary productive and distributive associations, using a common capital and loosely federated into communities, eventually developing into communism in production and consumption, recognizing at all times, however, the right of the individual or a number of individuals to arrange their mode of work—in harmony with their taste or inclination.

"As to crimes and criminals, anarchists know, only too well that they are naught else but symptoms of an artificial social arrangement, enforced by authority. They will disappear to a large extent with the

890611030

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Beautiful Ideal / Emma Goldman.— Chicago : J.C. Hart, [1908?]. — 6 p. ; 17 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

destruction of their creators, namely, capitalism and government.

"Crime, resultant from a defective brain, can surely not be cured by brute force. But certainly modern medical methods and an increased sense of fraternity, aided by improved education, can accomplish more than prison bars, handcuffs, locksteps, or chains.

"The American methods proposed or employed to hound down anarchists have been practiced in European powers for nearly one hundred years and have been given up in despair.

"The truth can not be silenced by constant discoveries of 'anarchist plots,' or by designating every demented being as an anarchist, nor even by burning anarchist literature, or establishing a system of espionage, which invades the sanctity of individual privacy and makes the life of its victims an intolerable evil.

"There are thousands of people in this country who see in such methods the last desperate efforts of a dying age. The new, strong in thought and ideals, strong in human sympathy and fellowship is fast approaching, and when it arrives the present will be remembered as a nightmare, that humanity dreamed, rather than as an awful reality it actually lived."

J. C. Hart & Co., Printers,
269 Dearborn St.
Chicago.

MOTHER EARTH

A monthly magazine devoted to
Social Science and Literature
—Edited by—
Emma Goldman, 210 E. 13th St, N. Y. City.

10 cents a copy, $1 a year.

J. C. Hart & Co., Chicago Agents.
269 Dearborn St.

821022000

The Emma Goldman Papers

What I Believe / Emma Goldman. — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908]. — 10 p. ; 19 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library, Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

MOTHER EARTH

A Monthly Magazine
Devoted to Social
Science and Literature

10c. per Copy $1.00 per Year

Publisher EMMA GOLDMAN
Editor ALEXANDER BERKMAN
210 EAST 13th STREET, NEW YORK

What I Believe

BY

EMMA GOLDMAN

REPRINTED FROM THE NEW YORK WORLD OF JULY 19, 1908

Price, Five Cents

20

PUBLISHED BY
MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
210 EAST 13th STREET, NEW YORK

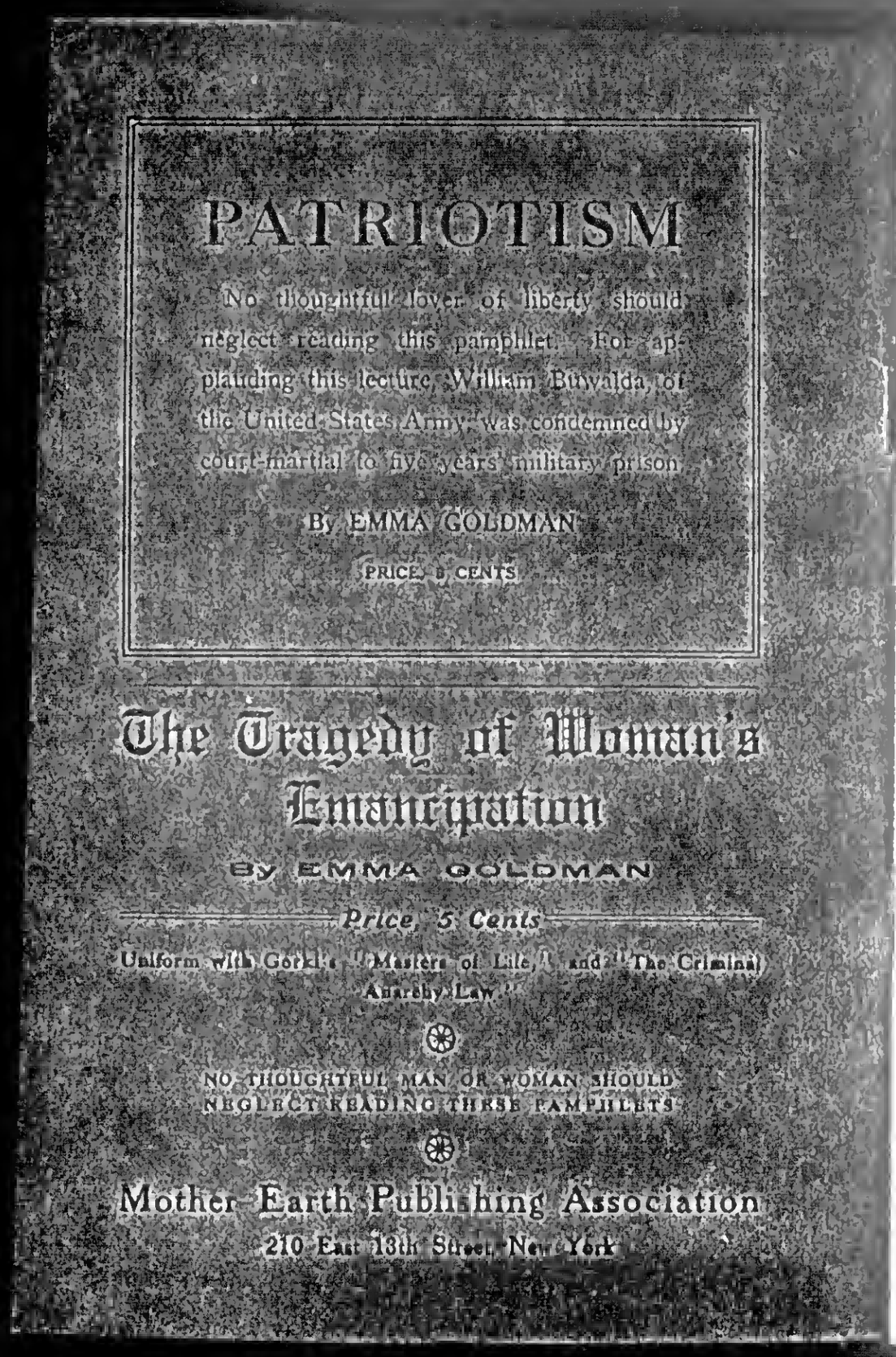
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

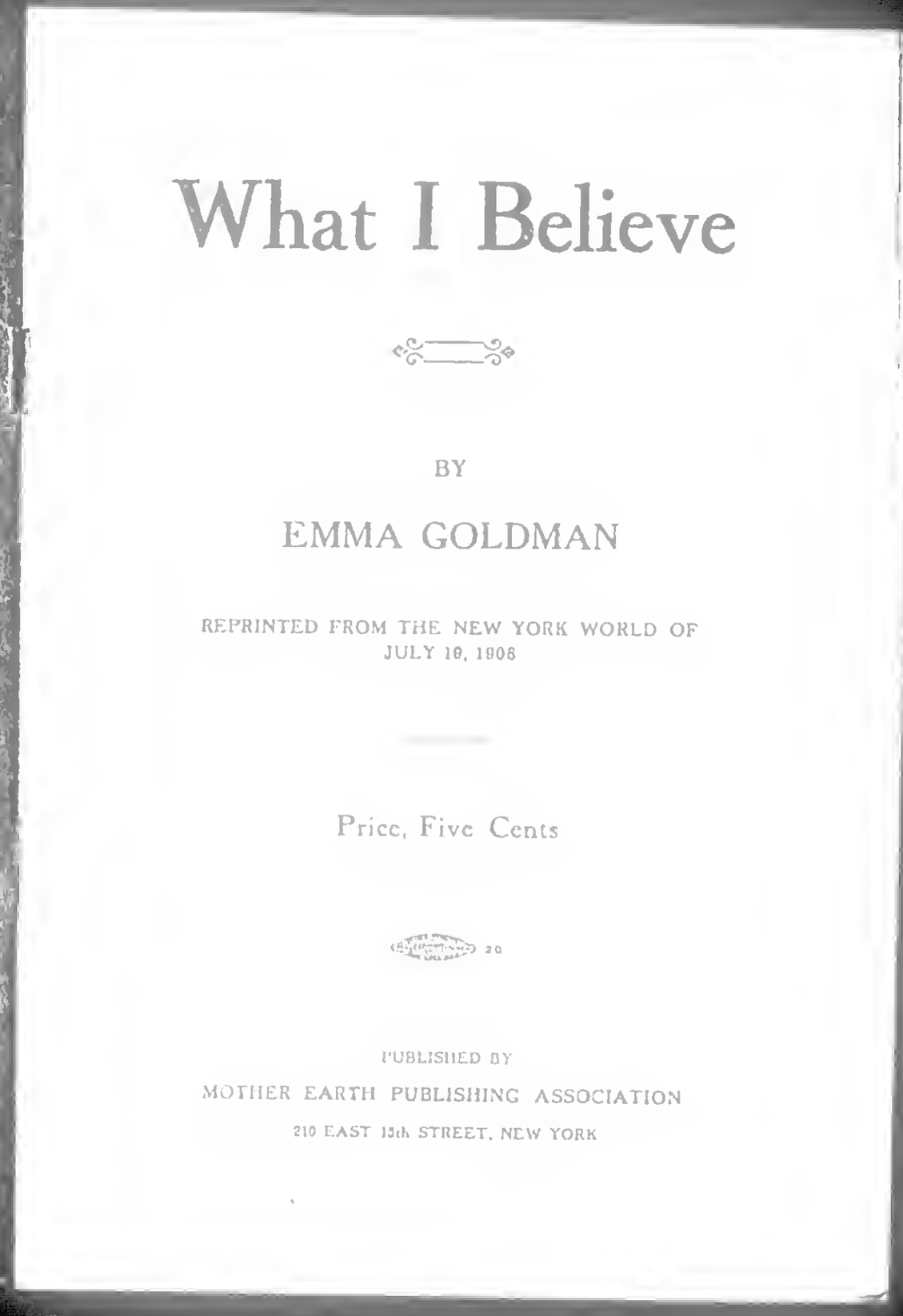
821022000

The Emma Goldman Papers

What I Believe / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908].— 10 p. ; 19 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.





821022000

The Emma Goldman Papers

What I Believe / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908].— 10 p. ; 19 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

WHAT I BELIEVE

"WHAT I believe" has many times been the target of hack writers. Such blood-curdling and incoherent stories have been circulated about me, it is no wonder that the average human being has palpitation of the heart at the very mention of the name Emma Goldman. It is too bad that we no longer live in the times when witches were burned at the stake or tortured to drive the evil spirit out of them. For, indeed, Emma Goldman is a witch! True, she does not eat little children, but she does many worse things. She manufactures bombs and gambles in crowned heads. R-r-r-r!

Such is the impression the public has of myself and my beliefs. It is therefore very much to the credit of *The World* that it gives its readers at least an opportunity to learn what my beliefs really are.

The student of the history of progressive thought is well aware that every idea in its early stages has been misrepresented, and the adherents of such ideas have been maligned and persecuted. One need not go back two thousand years to the time when those who believed in the gospel of Jesus were thrown into the arena or hunted into dungeons to realize how little great beliefs or earnest believers are understood. The history of progress is written in the blood of men and women who have dared to espouse an unpopular cause, as, for instance, the black man's right to his body, or woman's right to her soul. If, then, from time immemorial, the New has met with opposition and condemnation, why should my beliefs be exempt from a crown of thorns?

439

821022000

The Emma Goldman Papers

What I Believe / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908].— 10 p. ; 19 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

"What I believe" is a process rather than a finality. Finalities are for gods and governments, not for the human intellect. While it may be true that Herbert Spencer's formulation of liberty is the most important on the subject, as a political basis of society, yet life is something more than formulas. In the battle for freedom, as Ibsen has so well pointed out, it is the *struggle* for, not so much the attainment of, liberty, that develops all that is strongest, sturdiest and finest in human character.

Anarchism is not only a process, however, that marches on with "sombre steps," coloring all that is positive and constructive in organic development. It is a conspicuous protest of the most militant type. It is so absolutely uncompromising, insisting and permeating a force as to overcome the most stubborn assault and to withstand the criticism of those who really constitute the last trumpets of a decaying age.

Anarchists are by no means passive spectators in the theatre of social development; on the contrary, they have some very positive notions as regards aims and methods.

That I may make myself as clear as possible without using too much space, permit me to adopt the topical mode of treatment of "What I Believe":

I. As to Property.

"PROPERTY" means dominion over things and the denial to others of the use of those things. So long as production was not equal to the normal demand, institutional property may have had some raison d'être. One has only to consult economics, however, to know that the productivity of labor within the last few decades has increased so tremendously as to exceed normal demand a hundred-fold, and to make property not only a hindrance to human well-being, but an obstacle, a deadly barrier,

to all progress. It is the private dominion over things that condemns millions of people to be mere nonentities, living corpses without originality or power of initiative, human machines of flesh and blood, who pile up mountains of wealth for others and pay for it with a gray, dull and wretched existence for themselves. I believe that there can be no real wealth, social wealth, so long as it rests on human lives—young lives, old lives and lives in the making.

It is conceded by all radical thinkers that the fundamental cause of this terrible state of affairs is (1) that man must sell his labor; (2) that his inclination and judgment are subordinated to the will of a master.

Anarchism is the only philosophy that can and will do away with this humiliating and degrading situation. It differs from all other theories inasmuch as it points out that man's development, his physical well-being, his latent qualities and innate disposition alone must determine the character and conditions of his work. Similarly will one's physical and mental appreciations and his soul cravings decide how much he shall consume. To make this a reality will, I believe, be possible only in a society based on voluntary co-operation of productive groups, communities and societies loosely federated together, eventually developing into a free communism, actuated by a solidarity of interests. There can be no freedom in the large sense of the word, no harmonious development, so long as mercenary and commercial considerations play an important part in the determination of personal conduct.

II. As to Government.

I BELIEVE government, organized authority, or the State, is necessary *only* to maintain or protect property and monopoly. It has proven efficient in that func-

440

821022000

The Emma Goldman Papers

What I Believe / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908].— 10 p. ; 19 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

tion only. As a promoter of individual liberty, human well-being and social harmony, which alone constitute real order, government stands condemned by all the great men of the world.

I therefore believe, with my fellow-Anarchists, that the statutory regulations, legislative enactments, constitutional provisions, are invasive. They never yet induced man to do anything he could and would not do by virtue of his intellect or temperament, nor prevented anything that man was impelled to do by the same dictates. Millet's pictorial description of "The Man with the Hoe," Meunier's masterpieces of the miners that have aided in lifting labor from its degrading position, Gorki's descriptions of the underworld, Ibsen's psychological analysis of human life, could never have been induced by government any more than the spirit which impels a man to save a drowning child or a crippled woman from a burning building has ever been called into operation by statutory regulations or the policeman's club. I believe—indeed, I know—that whatever is fine and beautiful in the human, expresses and asserts itself in spite of government, and not because of it.

The Anarchists are therefore justified in assuming that Anarchism—the absence of government—will insure the widest and greatest scope for unhampered human development, the cornerstone of true social progress and harmony.

As to the stereotyped argument that government acts as a check on crime and vice, even the makers of law no longer believe it. This country spends millions of dollars for the maintenance of her "criminals" behind prison bars, yet crime is on the increase. Surely this state of affairs is not owing to an insufficiency of laws! Ninety per cent. of all crimes are property crimes, which have their root in our economic iniquities. So long as

these latter continue to exist we might convert every lamp-post into a gibbet without having the least effect on the crime in our midst. Crimes resulting from heredity can certainly never be cured by law. Surely we are learning even to-day that such crimes can effectively be treated only by the best modern medical methods at our command, and, above all, by the spirit of a deeper sense of fellowship, kindness and understanding.

III. As to Militarism.

I SHOULD not treat of this subject separately, since it belongs to the paraphernalia of government, if it were not for the fact that those who are most vigorously opposed to my beliefs on the ground that the latter stand for force are the advocates of militarism.

The fact is that Anarchists are the only true advocates of peace, the only people who call a halt to the growing tendency of militarism, which is fast making of this erstwhile free country an imperialistic and despotic power.

The military spirit is the most merciless, heartless and brutal in existence. It fosters an institution for which there is not even a pretense of justification. The soldier, to quote Tolstoi, is a professional man-killer. He does not kill for the love of it, like a savage, or in a passion, like a homicide. He is a cold-blooded, mechanical, obedient tool of his military superiors. He is ready to cut throats or scuttle a ship at the command of his ranking officer, without knowing or, perhaps, caring how, why or wherefore. I am supported in this contention by no less a military light than Gen. Funston. I quote from the latter's communication to the New York *Evening Post* of June 30, dealing with the case of Private William Buwalda, which caused such a stir all through the Northwest. "The first duty of an officer or enlisted man," says our noble warrior, "is unquestioning obedience and loyalty .

441

821022000

The Emma Goldman Papers

What I Believe / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908].— 10 p. ; 19 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

to the government to which he has sworn allegiance; it makes no difference whether he approves of that government or not."

How can we harmonize the principle of "unquestioning obedience" with the principle of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"? The deadly power of militarism has never before been so effectually demonstrated in this country as in the recent condemnation by court-martial of William Buwalda, of San Francisco, Company A, Engineers, to five years in military prison. Here was a man who had a record of fifteen years of continuous service. "His character and conduct were unimpeachable," we are told by Gen. Funston, who, in consideration of it, reduced Buwalda's sentence to three years. Yet the man is thrown suddenly out of the army, dishonored, robbed of his chances of a pension and sent to prison. What was his crime? Just listen, ye free-born Americans! William Buwalda attended a public meeting, and after the lecture he shook hands with the speaker. Gen. Funston, in his letter to the *Post,* to which I have already referred above, asserts that Buwalda's action was a "great military offense, infinitely worse than desertion." In another public statement, which the General made in Portland, Ore., he said that "Buwalda's was a serious crime, equal to treason."

It is quite true that the meeting had been arranged by Anarchists. Had the Socialists issued the call, Gen. Funston informs us, there would have been no objection to Buwalda's presence. Indeed, the General says, "I would not have the slightest hesitancy about attending a Socialist meeting myself." But to attend an Anarchist meeting with Emma Goldman as speaker—could there be anything more "treasonable"?

For this horrible crime a man, a free-born American citizen, who has given this country the best fifteen years of his life, and whose character and conduct during that

time were "unimpeachable," is now languishing in a prison, dishonored, disgraced and robbed of a livelihood.

Can there be anything more destructive of the true genius of liberty than the spirit that made Buwalda's sentence possible—the spirit of unquestioning obedience? Is it for this that the American people have in the last few years sacrificed four hundred million dollars and their hearts' blood?

I believe that militarism—a standing army and navy in any country—is indicative of the decay of liberty and of the destruction of all that is best and finest in our nation. The steadily growing clamor for more battleships and an increased army on the ground that these guarantee us peace is as absurd as the argument that the peaceful man is he who goes well armed.

The same lack of consistency is displayed by those peace pretenders who oppose Anarchism because it supposedly teaches violence, and who would yet be delighted over the possibility of the American nation soon being able to hurl dynamite bombs upon defenseless enemies from flying machines.

I believe that militarism will cease when the liberty-loving spirits of the world say to their masters: "Go and do your own killing. We have sacrificed ourselves and our loved ones long enough fighting your battles. In return you have made parasites and criminals of us in times of peace and brutalized us in times of war. You have separated us from our brothers and have made of the world a human slaughterhouse. No, we will not do your killing or fight for the country that you have stolen from us."

Oh, I believe with all my heart that human brotherhood and solidarity will clear the horizon from the terrible red streak of war and destruction.

442

821022000

The Emma Goldman Papers

What I Believe / Emma Goldman.– New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908].– 10 p. ; 19 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

IV. As to Free Speech and Press.

THE Buwalda case is only one phase of the larger question of free speech, free press and the right of free assembly.

Many good people imagine that the principles of free speech or press can be exercised properly and with safety within the limits of constitutional guarantees. That is the only excuse, it seems to me, for the terrible apathy and indifference to the onslaught upon free speech and press that we have witnessed in this country within the last few months.

I believe that free speech and press mean that I may say and write what I please. This right, when regulated by constitutional provisions, legislative enactments, almighty decisions of the Postmaster General or the policeman's club, becomes a farce. I am well aware that I will be warned of consequences if we remove the chains from speech and press. I believe, however, that the cure of consequences resulting from the unlimited exercise of expression is to allow more expression.

Mental shackles have never yet stemmed the tide of progress, whereas premature social explosions have only too often been brought about through a wave of repression.

Will our governors never learn that countries like England, Holland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark, with the largest freedom of expression, have been freest from "consequences"? Whereas Russia, Spain, Italy, France and, alas! even America, have raised these "consequences" to the most pressing political factor. Ours is supposed to be a country ruled by the majority, yet every policeman who is not vested with power by the majority can break up a meeting, drag the lecturer off the platform and club the audience out of the hall in true Russian fashion. The Postmaster General, who is not an elective officer, has the power to suppress publications and confiscate mail. From his decision there is no more appeal

than from that of the Russian Czar. Truly, I believe we need a new Declaration of Independence. Is there no modern Jefferson or Adams?

V. As to the Church.

AT the recent convention of the political remnants of a once revolutionary idea it was voted that religion and vote getting have nothing to do with each other. Why should they? So long as man is willing to delegate to the devil the care of his soul, he might, with the same consistency, delegate to the politician the care of his rights. That religion is a private affair has long been settled by the Bis-Marxian Socialists of Germany. Our American Marxians, poor of blood and originality, must need go to Germany for their wisdom. That wisdom has served as a capital whip to lash the several millions of people into the well-disciplined army of Socialism. It might do the same here. For goodness' sake, let's not offend respectability, let's not hurt the religious feelings of the people.

Religion is a superstition that originated in man's mental inability to solve natural phenomena. The Church is an organized institution that has always been a stumbling block to progress.

Organized churchism has stripped religion of it's naïveté and primitiveness. It has turned religion into a nightmare that oppresses the human soul and holds the mind in bondage. "The Dominion of Darkness," as the last true Christian, Leo Tolstoi, calls the Church, has been a foe of human development and free thought, and as such it has no place in the life of a truly free people.

VI. As to Marriage and Love.

I BELIEVE these are probably the most tabooed subjects in this country. It is almost impossible to talk about them without scandalizing the cherished propriety

443

821022000

The Emma Goldman Papers

What I Believe / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908].— 10 p. ; 19 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

of a lot of good folk. No wonder so much ignorance prevails relative to these questions. Nothing short of an open, frank, and intelligent discussion will purify the air from the hysterical, sentimental rubbish that is shrouding these vital subjects, vital to individual as well as social well-being.

Marriage and love are not synonymous; on the contrary, they are often antagonistic to each other. I am aware of the fact that some marriages are actuated by love, but the narrow, material confines of marriage, as it is, speedily crush the tender flower of affection.

Marriage is an institution which furnishes the State and Church with a tremendous revenue and the means of prying into that phase of life which refined people have long considered their own, their very own most sacred affair. Love is that most powerful factor of human relationship which from time immemorial has defied all man-made laws and broken through the iron bars of conventions in Church and morality. Marriage is often an economic arrangement purely, furnishing the woman with a life-long life insurance policy and the man with a perpetuator of his kind or a pretty toy. That is, marriage, or the training thereto, prepares the woman for the life of a parasite, a dependent, helpless servant, while it furnishes the man the right of a chattel mortgage over a human life.

How can such a condition of affairs have anything in common with love?—with the element that would forego all the wealth of money and power and live in its own world of untrammeled human expression? But this is not the age of romanticism, of Romeo and Juliet, Faust and Marguerite, of moonlight ecstasies, of flowers and songs. Ours is a practical age. Our first consideration is an income. So much the worse for us if we have reached the era when the soul's highest flights

are to be checked. No race can develop without the love element.

But if two people are to worship at the shrine of love, what is to become of the golden calf, marriage? "It is the only security for the woman, for the child, the family, the State." But it is no security to love; and without love no true home can or does exist. Without love no child should be born; without love no true woman can be related to a man. The fear that love is not sufficient material safety for the child is out of date. I believe when woman signs her own emancipation, her first declaration of independence will consist in admiring and loving a man for the qualities of his heart and mind and not for the quantities in his pocket. The second declaration will be that she has the right to follow that love without let or hindrance from the outside world. The third and most important declaration will be the absolute right to free motherhood.

In such a mother and an equally free father rests the safety of the child. They have the strength, the sturdiness, the harmony to create an atmosphere wherein alone the human plant can grow into an exquisite flower.

VII. As to Acts of Violence.

AND now I have come to that point in my beliefs about which the greatest misunderstanding prevails in the minds of the American public. "Well, come, now, don't you propagate violence, the killing of crowned heads and Presidents?" Who says that I do? Have you heard me, has any one heard me? Has anyone seen it printed in our literature? No, but the papers say so, everybody says so; consequently it must be so. Oh, for the accuracy and logic of the dear public!

I believe that Anarchism is the only philosophy of peace, the only theory of the social relationship that values

444

821022000

The Emma Goldman Papers

What I Believe / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908].— 10 p. ; 19 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

human life above everything else. I know that some Anarchists have committed acts of violence, but it is the terrible economic inequality and great political injustice that prompt such acts, not Anarchism. Every institution to-day rests on violence; our very atmosphere is saturated with it. So long as such a state exists we might as well strive to stop the rush of Niagara as hope to do away with violence. I have already stated that countries with some measure of freedom of expression have had few or no acts of violence. What is the moral? Simply this: No act committed by an Anarchist has been for personal gain, aggrandizement, or profit, but rather a conscious protest against some repressive, arbitrary, tyrannical measure from above.

President Carnot, of France, was killed by Caserio in response to Carnot's refusal to commute the death sentence of Vaillant, for whose life the entire literary, scientific and humanitarian world of France had pleaded.

Bresci went to Italy on his own money, earned in the silk weaving mills of Paterson, to call King Humbert to the bar of justice for his order to shoot defenseless women and children during a bread riot. Angelino executed Prime Minister Canovas for the latter's resurrection of the Spanish inquisition at Montjuich Prison. Alexander Berkman attempted the life of Henry C. Frick during the Homestead strike only because of his intense sympathy for the eleven strikers killed by Pinkertons and for the widows and orphans evicted by Frick from their wretched little homes that were owned by Mr. Carnegie.

Every one of these men not only made his reasons known to the world in spoken or written statements, showing the cause that lead to his act, proving that the unbearable economic and political pressure, the suffering and despair of their fellow-men, women and children prompted their acts, and not the philosophy

of Anarchism. They came openly, frankly and ready to stand the consequences, ready to give their own lives.

In diagnosing the true nature of our social disease I cannot condemn those who, through no fault of their own, are suffering from a wide-spread malady.

I do not believe that these acts can, or ever have been intended to, bring about the social reconstruction. That can only be done, first, by a broad and wide education as to man's place in society and his proper relation to his fellows; and, second, through example. By example I mean the actual living of a truth once recognized, not the mere theorizing of its life element. Lastly, and the most powerful weapon, is the conscious, intelligent, organized, economic protest of the masses through direct action and the general strike.

The general contention that Anarchists are opposed to organization, and hence stand for chaos, is absolutely groundless. True, we do not believe in the compulsory, arbitrary side of organization that would compel people of antagonistic tastes and interests into a body and hold them there by coercion. Organization as the result of natural blending of common interests, brought about through voluntary adhesion, Anarchists do not only not oppose, but believe in as the only possible basis of social life.

It is the harmony of organic growth which produces variety of color and form—the complete whole we admire in the flower. Analogously will the organized activity of free human beings endowed with the spirit of solidarity result in the perfection of social harmony—which is Anarchism. Indeed, only Anarchism makes non-authoritarian organization a reality, since it abolishes the existing antagonism between individuals and classes.

445

821022000

The Emma Goldman Papers

What I Believe / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1908].— 10 p. ; 19 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

Books to be had through
MOTHER EARTH

210 E. 13th ST., NEW YORK.

Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal. New Edition, 1907. By Peter Kropotkin..... 5c.

Fields, Factories, and Workshops. By Peter Kropotkin ..... 50c.

Memoirs of a Revolutionist. By Peter Kropotkin. Reduced to..... $1.60

Ideals of Russian Literature. By Peter Kropotkin.. $2.00

The State: Its Rôle in History. By Peter Kropotkin..... 10c.

The Wage System. By Peter Kropotkin..... 5c.

Anarchism Communism: Its Basis and Principles. By Peter Kropotkin..... 5c.

An Appeal to the Young. By Peter Kropotkin..... 5c.

Law and Authority. An Anarchist Essay. By Peter Kropotkin ..... 10c.

War. By Peter Kropotkin.....5c.

Origin of Anarchism. By C. L. James..... 5c.

History of the French Revolution. (An excellent work for students. It begins with a sketch of history of the earliest times; the decline of the ancient empires, the rise of the French monarchy, and traces the causes which made the Revolution inevitable. The philosophic conclusion is unsurpassed, and the position taken, laying a foundation for the philosophy of freedom, is bound to attract the attention of thinkers.) By C. L. James.....$1.00

335
G619m

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM

BY PETER KROPOTKIN

The book, though scientific, is written in a popular style. Nobody who wishes to be well grounded in the philosophy of Anarchism can afford to miss this book.

Reduced to 15 Cents

Mother Earth Publishing Association
210 East 13th Street, New York

DO NOT FAIL TO READ

The Conquest of Bread

BY PETER KROPOTKIN

A remarkable book, written in the author's usual clear and concise style. The best popular exposition of scientific Anarchism extant.

PRICE ONE DOLLAR

10 Cents Extra for Postage

To be had through MOTHER EARTH

446

89072005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. – 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

CONGRÈS
ANARCHISTE

tenu à

AMSTERDAM

Août 1907

COMPTE-RENDU ANALYTIQUE DES SEANCES
ET RÉSUMÉ DES RAPPORTS SUR L'ÉTAT
DU MOUVEMENT DANS LE MONDE ENTIER

PARIS
La Publication Sociale
M. DELESALLE
46, rue Monsieur-le-Prince
1908

447

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. – 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

Annex

335.83
C749c

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

INTRODUCTION HISTORIQUE 5

LES PRELIMINAIRES 13
Les congressistes. — Réception (24 août). — Meeting international (25 août).

LE CONGRES. 18

DEUXIÈME SÉANCE (lundi 26, après-midi). 21
Fixation de l'ordre du jour. Incident Domela Nieuwenhuis. Vote.

DEUXIÈME SÉANCE (lundi 26), après-midi). 21
Lecture des rapports sur l'état du mouvement : Belgique, Bohème, Hollande (I), Suisse romande, Etats-Unis, Hollande (II), Vienne (Autriche).

TROISIÈME SÉANCE (lundi 26, soirée). 39
Lecture des rapports sur l'état du mouvement (fin) : Allemagne, Juifs de Londres, Russie, Serbie, Italie, Angleterre.

QUATRIÈME SÉANCE (mardi 27, matinée). 35
Anarchisme et organisation : Rapport de Dunois. — Incident Thonar.

CINQUIÈME SÉANCE (mardi 27, après-midi). 43
Anarchisme et organisation (suite) : Interventions de Croiset, Naclit, Thonar, Volıryzek, Goldman, Ramus.

SIXIÈME SÉANCE (mardi 27, soirée). 48
Anarchisme et organisation (suite) : Discours de Malatesta.

SEPTIÈME SÉANCE (mercredi 28, matinée). 52
Anarchisme et organisation (fin) : Interventions de Baginsky, Dunois, Cornélissen, Broutchoux, Rijnders, Chapelier, Goldman, Samson, Vohryzek. Les motions en présence. Le vote.

HUITIÈME SÉANCE (mercredi 28, après-midi). 58
Séance privée. — *Constitution de l'Internationale.* Les motions en présence. Le vote.

NEUVIÈME SÉANCE (mercredi 28, soirée). 62
Syndicalisme et Anarchisme : Disconrs de Monatte.

525080

448

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. – 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

Dixième séance (jeudi 29, matinée). 72
Les questions du *Syndicalisme* et de la *Grève générale* sont fondues en une seule. — *La Révolution russe* : Discours de Rogdaëff. — Incident Nacht-Croiset.

Onzième séance (jeudi 29, après-midi). 75
La Révolution russe (suite) : Motion Rogdaëff. Le vote. — *Syndicalisme et Grève générale* (suite) : Intervention de Cornélissen : discours de Malatesta.

Douzième séance (jeudi 29, soirée). 86
Syndicolisme et Grève générale (suite) : Interventions de Friedeberg, H. Fuss, Samson, Broutchoux, Vohhyzek, Rantus, Monatte, Thonar.

Treizième séance (vendredi 30, matinée). 91
Proposition Ceccarelli. — *Syndicolisme et Grève générale* (fin). Les motions en présence. Le vote. — Résolution Goldman-Baginsky : Le vote. — *L'antimilitarisme comme tactique de l'anarchisme* : Proposition Friedeberg. Motion Malatesta. Le vote.

Quatorzième séance (vendredi 30, après-midi). 100
Séance commune du Congrès anarchiste et du Congrès antimilitariste : Discours de Marmande. Vote de la motion Malatesta.

Quinzième séance (vendredi 30, soirée). 102
Alcoolisme et Anarchisme : Rapport J. Van Rees. — *L'Association de production et l'Anarchisme* : Rapport Samson.

Seizième séance (samedi 31, matinée). 10
Séance privée. — Ordre du jour Beylie-Broutchoux. — *Constitution de l'Internationale* (fin) : Fixation du siège et élection du bureau.

Dix-septième séance (samedi 31, après-midi). 1
L'Educotion intégrole de l'enfance : Rapport Léon Clément. — *La Littérature moderne et l'Anarchisme.* — *Anorchisme et Religion.* — *Alcoolisme et Anarchisme* (fin) : Motion Van Rees-Chapelier. — *L'Anarchisme comme vie et octivité individuelle.* — *L'Association de production et l'Anorchisme* (fin) : Motion Samson. — *L'Espéranto* : Motion Chapelier. Vote. — Discours de Malatesta. — Clôture du Congrès. — Meeting populsire.

APPENDICE. 1
Deux réunions syndicalistes.

INTRODUCTION HISTORIQUE

En France, le divorce entre anarchistes et démocrates-socialistes date de 1880. L'année précédente, au congrès de Marseille, toutes les tendances s'étaient confondues ; possibilistes, collectivistes et anarchistes s'étaient rangés sous un même drapeau. « Nous étions alors, écrivait naguère le vieux possibiliste Fournière, (1) séparés des anarchistes par une cloison extrêmement mince, purement idéale, ou plutôt verbale... Dans le groupe même de l'Egalité, il y eut des anarchistes jusqu'en 1880 : Jeallot, Maria, Jean Grave préposé avec moi à la confection des bandes, au pliage et à l'expédition du journal, dont j'étais le gérant, c'est-à-dire le délégué aux amendes et aux mois de prison, en même temps que j'étais le secrétaire du journal ouvrier le Prolétaire. *Ils ne nous quittèrent qu'au moment où le jeune Parti ouvrier décida d'entrer dans l'action électorale, et c'est au congrès du Havre (2), où fut adopté le programme rédigé à Londres sous la dictée de Karl Marx et présenté à notre acceptation par Malon, que se consomma la scission entre anarchistes et collectivistes révolutionnaires. »*

Le divorce était définitif et devait rapidement s'étendre aux anarchistes et aux social-démocrates de tous les pays. Toutefois les anarchistes, ou plus exactement un certain nombre d'entre eux, ne cessèrent jamais, malgré tout, de se rattacher spirituellement à la grande famille du socialisme universel. Aussi lorsque, à Paris en 1889, à Bruxelles en 1891, les social-démocrates s'efforcèrent de ressusciter la pratique des congrès socialistes internationaux, quelques anarchistes crurent-ils pouvoir y participer.

(1) Eugène Fournière, *La Crise socialiste*, p. 41-42.
(2) Novembre 1880.

449

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

Leur présence y donna lieu aux plus âpres conflits. Les social-démocrates, ayant la force du nombre, étouffèrent toute contradiction de la part de leurs adversaires qui furent expulsés au milieu des huées : « Il est vrai, a écrit Bernard Lazare (1) *qu'une grande partie des délégués ouvriers anglais, hollandais et italiens se retirèrent en manière de protestation. Cependant, comme les triomphateurs ne se sentaient pas assez forts encore, ils ne votèrent aucune résolution importante et ils préférèrent écarter la question du parlementarisme et celle de l'alliance avec les partis gouvernementaux. Néanmoins l'attitude de la majorité signifiait nettement : Nous ne nous occuperons plus de luttes économiques, mais de luttes politiques, et à l'action révolutionnaire nous substituerons l'action légale et pacifique. »*

Au congrès international suivant, qui se tint à Zurich en 1893, *les social-démocrates réussirent enfin (ils le croyaient du moins) à se débarrasser de leurs adversaires. Un règlement fut voté qui portait notamment : « Toutes les chambres syndicales seront admises au prochain congrès ; aussi les partis et groupements socialistes qui reconnaissent la nécessité de l'organisation des travailleurs et* de l'action politique. »

Mais l'avenir n'est à personne, et ce qu'on n'avait pas prévu arriva. Au congrès suivant (Londres, 1896) *de nombreux anarchistes se présentèrent, non plus, il est vrai, en qualité d'anarchistes mais de syndiqués, délégués de chambres syndicales* (2). *C'est alors que les social-démocrates, après une bataille de trois jours où ils faillirent avoir le dessous, édictèrent ces résolutions fameuses excluant des congrès futurs tous les groupements,* même corporatifs, *qui se refuseraient à confesser la « nécessité » du parlementarisme.*

(1) Dans un article de *l'Echo de Paris* de juillet 1896.

(2) Jean Grave et Malatesta y représentaient les métallurgistes d'Amiens ; Emile Pouget, alors directeur du *Père Peinard*, les métallurgistes de Beauvais et les ardoisiers de Trélazé ; Tortelier, les menuisiers de la Seine ; Guérineau, les polisseurs sur métaux de Paris, etc, etc.

La majorité voulait en finir avec les anarchistes ; elle ne se doutait pas qu'elle venait d'éloigner d'elle, à jamais, le prolétariat organisé.

Mis dans l'impossibilité de participer désormais aux congrès socialistes internationaux, les anarchistes conçurent le projet de tenir des congrès spéciaux et d'y convier la classe ouvrière. Mais le « Congrès ouvrier révolutionnaire international » qui, préparé de longue main, devait s'ouvrir à Paris le 19 *septembre* 1900, *fut interdit la veille par une décision du ministère Woldeck-Rousseau.*

Plusieurs années s'écoulèrent. Il semblait que les anarchistes eussent abandonné toute velléité de congrès. Il n'en était rien cependant, et dans l'été de 1906, *l'idée du congrès d'Amsterdam naquit, presque simultanément, dans l'esprit des compagnons belges et hollandais. Dès sa fondation* (1905), *la Fédération des Communistes libertaires de Hollande avait émis le vœu de voir s'établir entre les anarchistes des relations internationales. Ce vœu, le jeune Groupement communiste libertaire de Belgique songeait de son côté à le réaliser. Aussi un compagnon hollandais vint-il à l'assemblée que le Groupement tint à Stockel-Bois le* 22 *juillet* 1906. *C'est là que, d'un commun accord, un congrès international fut décidé pour l'année suivante. Il fut entendu qu'il se tiendrait à Amsterdam. Les Hollandais, à leur assemblée générale d'Utrecht* (23 *septembre*) *ratifièrent ces décisions. De plus ils prenaient à leur charge l'organisation matérielle du congrès, cependant que les Belges, soucieux d'assurer au congrès le plus de publicité possible, commençaient la publication d'un bulletin de propagande gratuit : le Bulletin de l'Internationale libertaire, dont le principal rédacteur fut Henri Fuss* (1).

Les Hollandais se mirent sans tarder à l'œuvre. Leur premier soin fut de s'assurer l'adhésion formelle des organisations européennes déjà existantes. Ils l'obtinrent sans la

(1) Faute de fonds, cinq numéros seulement furent publiés, d'octobre 1906 à août 1907.

450

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

moindre peine, toutes ces organisations ressentant également la nécessité d'un congrès. La première circulaire, qui fut lancée en décembre-janvier, portait donc les signatures suivantes : Joh. J. Lodewijk, pour la Fédération des Communistes libertaires de Hollande ; G. Thonar, pour le Groupement communiste libertaire de Belgique ; Paul Frauböse, pour la Fédération anarchiste d'Allemagne ; K. Vohryzek et L. Knotek, pour la Fédération anarchiste de Bohème ; et A. Schapiro, pour la Fédération des anarchistes parlant le jeddish, à Londres.

En voici les passages principaux :

Les Fédérations soussignées de groupes libertaires et communistes ont décidé de convoquer *un quatrième congrès international* (1), dont la préparation a été assumée par la Belgique et la Hollande et qui se tiendra, *à une date à fixer ultérieurement* pendant l'été de 1907, à *Amsterdam*.

Il est de notre intention d'admettre à ce congrès, non seulement les délégués des groupes libertaires et communistes, mais également les camarades venus à titre individuel.

En effet, tout en désirant peut-être compter les voix pour et contre certaines propositions, nous ne saurions attribuer à l'existence d'une *majorité* et d'une *minorité* le même sens que leur donnent les groupements et les congrès parlementaires, où les minorités sont tenues de se soumettre aux *décisions* de la majorité. Nous n'admettons pas de décisions à *caractère obligatoire*, ce *qui ne nous empêche pas de trouver intéressant de savoir combien de groupes et de camarades partagent une opinion déterminée*. Les discussions dans nos séances ont le même caractère que celles des congrès scientifiques internationaux. Nous ne voyons donc aucun

(1) Pendant la durée du congrès de Zurich (1893) les révolutionnaires et les anarchistes s'étaient retrouvés chaque soir au *Plattengarten* pour y tenir des conférences qui furent très remarquées. Il en fut de même en 1896 à Londres (au *St Martin's Town-Hall*), où les anarchistes, après leur exclusion du congrès, et les révolutionnaires qui s'étaient joints à eux, tinrent plusieurs séances spéciales. — Mais quel qu'en ait été l'intérêt, ni les conférences de Zurich ni celles de Londres n'ont droit au nom de congrès. Quant au congrès de Paris, il fut interdit. Le congrès d'Amsterdam fut donc bien vraiment le *premier* congrès anarchiste international et non pas le *quatrième*.

inconvénient à ce que des camarades venus individuellement soient les bienvenus au congrès, au même titre que les délégués des groupements, pourvu que ces camarades puissent être supposés de bonne foi.

En plus des groupes et des camarades libertaires, tous délégués de syndicats et tous organisateurs syndicalistes venus individuellement, tous délégués des colonies communistes, etc., seront également les bienvenus. *Nous nous adressons à tous ceux qui désirent travailler à la préparation d'une meilleure société, d'une société où régneront les principes du communisme et de la liberté..*

La circulaire continuait ainsi :

Nous vous convoquons, à notre congrès, à des discussions, non seulement sur une partie de nos principes et de notre propagande libertaires et communistes, comme le font par exemple les congrès de la libre-pensée et les congrès antimilitaristes, mais à des discussions sur ces principes et sur cette propagande dans toute leur étendue. Car nous savons combien dans la vie sociale tous les problèmes se tiennent. Et nous croyons que la nécessité de nous entendre sur plusieurs points essentiels de principe et de tactique, rend utile, sinon indispensable, une rencontre ou réunion internationale.

Ces dernières années, les principes et la tactique communistes-libertaires et anarchistes ont montré des voies nouvelles. Sans vouloir anticiper sur l'ordre du jour, qui sera ultérieurement fixé par les groupes, nous remarquerons que l'*action directe* a été si fortement et si consciencieusement inaugurée dans plusieurs pays, précisément sous l'influence de nos camarades, témoignant ainsi du progrès que font nos idées dans les cercles ouvriers, que la discussion des problèmes qu'elle soulève justifierait déjà, à elle seule, la convocation d'un congrès international.

Mais il est d'autres questions aussi intéressantes, tels la *propagande antimilitariste*, les rapports entre le mouvement communiste-libertaire et anarchiste d'une part, et d'autre part, certains mouvements religieux (Tolstoïsme, anarchisme chrétien), point qui n'a pas pu être discuté au congrès de 1900. Enfin, les moyens à employer pour entrer internationalem ont en rolations plus directes, réclament une discussion approfondie, et ainsi de suite.

Cette circulaire rédigée en sept langues et répandue dans le monde entier, ne contribua pas médiocrement à éveiller l'intérêt des camarades. En France, un article de Cornélissen

451

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. – 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

*dans l'*Almanach de la Révolution *et un article de Dunois dans les* Temps Nouveaux *en avaient même précédé l'apparition de quelques semaines. Il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'en France le congrès rencontra plus de résistances que partout ailleurs; il y contrariait les vieilles habitudes d'individualisme et c'est ce qui explique que la représentation française au congrès ait été des plus restreintes.*

Cependant, à leur conférence de Harlem (28 avril 1907), *les Hollandais réglaient les derniers détails d'organisation. Il fut décidé que le congrès aurait lieu du 26 au 31 août 1907, et l'ordre du jour en fut dressé de la manière suivante :*

1. L'ANARCHISME ET LE SYNDICALISME ; rapporteurs : Pierre Monatte (Paris) et John Turner (Londres).
2. GREVE GENERALE ET GREVE POLITIQUE; rapporteurs : Errico Malatesta (Italie) et Dr. R. Friedeberg (Berlin).
3. ANARCHISME ET ORGANISATION ; rapporteurs : Georges Thonar (Liège) Amédée Dunois (Paris) et H. Croiset (Amsterdam).
4. L'ANTI-MILITARISME COMME TACTIQUE DE L'ANARCHISME ; rapporteurs : R. de Marmande (Paris) et Pierre Ramus (Londres).
5. EDUCATION INTEGRALE DE L'ENFANCE ; rapporteur : Léon Clément (Paris).
6. L'ASSOCIATION PRODUCTRICE ET L'ANARCHISME ; rapporteurs : Em. Chapelier (Belgique) et I. I. Samson (La Haye).
7. LA REVOLUTION EN RUSSIE ; (rapporteur à désigner par les groupes russes).
8. ALCOOLISME ET ANARCHISME ; rapporteur: Dr. J. van Rees (Hollande) ;

9. LA LITTERATURE MODERNE ET L'ANARCHISME ; rapporteur : P. Ramus.
10. LES LIBERTAIRES ET LA LANGUE MONDIALE ; rapporteurs : Em. Chapelier et Gassy Marin.
11. L'ANARCHISME ET LA RELIGION ; rapporteur ; G. Rijnders (Amsterdam.)
12. L'ANARCHISME COMME VIE ET ACTIVITE INDIVIDUELLES ; rapporteurs : E. Armand et Mauricius (Paris).

De plus, deux séances devaient être réservées aux camarades partisans de relations internationales. Les points suivants y devaient être discutés :

1. ORGANISATION DE L'INTERNATIONALE LIBERTAIRE. Proposition du Groupement Communiste Libertaire de Belgique.
2. REDACTION D'UNE DECLARATION DE PRINCIPES COMMUNISTES-ANARCHISTES. Proposition de la Fédération Anarchiste d'Allemagne.
3. CREATION D'UN BULLETIN INTERNATIONAL, ORGANE DE RENSEIGNEMENTS Proposition du journal brésilien *Terra Livre.*
4. LE BUT DE LA NOUVELLE « INTERNATIONALE ». Proposition de Hans Peter (Autriche), rapporteur.

Dans les premiers jours de juin, le bruit courut à travers la presse que, sur la demande formelle des Puissances, le gouvernement hollandais venait d'interdire le congrès.

452

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. – 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

Ce bruit, dont l'origine policière ne saurait être mise en doute, était dénué de tout fondement. La monarchie hollandaise — le fait vaut d'être noté — observa du commencement à la fin, vis-à-vis du congrès et des congressistes, une attitude de neutralité que nous qualifierions de républicaine, *si nous ne nous souvenions de notre congrès de* 1900 *interdit par la République française, Messieurs Waldeck-Rousseau et Millerand étant ministres.*

LES PRÉLIMINAIRES

(24 *et* 25 *Août*)

Dans un article de la revue *Pages Libres* (1), le camarade Dunois a consacré un assez long passage à l'énumération des congressistes les plus connus. Empruntons-le lui :

« Une bonne soixantaine de militants étaient là, appartenant à des nationalités très diverses.

« Au premier rang des Hollandais figurait Christian Cornélissen, mince, élancé, le geste vif, la parole rapide, — le type bien caractérisé du révolutionnaire moderne en qui l'esprit scientifique s'allie intimement aux qualités de l'agitateur.

« Les Français étaient en très petit nombre : les plus connus étaient Pierre Monatte, Broutchoux et de Marmande. Les Belges avaient délégué Henri Fuss, hier étudiant ingénieur, aujourd'hui ouvrier typographe, G. Thonar, Chapelier et S. Rabauw, ce dernier rédacteur en chef d'une belle revue flamande, *Ontwaking*.

« La délégation allemande occupait à elle seule tout un angle de la salle : Sepp Oerter y représentait le *Freie Arbeiter*, Frauböse le *Révolutionar*, R. Lange, qui présida, tonitruant et grave, presque toutes les séances du congrès, l'*Anarchist* ; mais surtout on y remarquait la haute et fine stature du Dr R. Friedeberg qui, la veille encore, était dans la social-démocratie allemande, le champion des tendances les plus larges et les plus avancées.

« Les Russes étaient nombreux aussi, Russes de Paris, de Londres et même de Russie, porteurs de volumineux rapports sur ce mouvement anarchiste russe si important et si méconnu.

« L'Amérique avait envoyé l'ardente conférencière Emma Goldman, et le publiciste Baginsky ; l'Italie, le jeune et vaillant écrivain Luigi Fabbri et son ami Ceccarelli, lequel

(1) Amédée Dunois : *Le congrès d'Amsterdam et l'Anarchisme* (Pages libres, n° 360, 23 novembre 1907.)

453

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. – 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

représentait aussi des groupes argentins ; la Bohême, K. Vohryzek, petit homme à tête ronde, infatigable et volontaire, et son inséparable frère d'armes, le grand, blond et doux Knotek.

« De Londres étaient venus, avec quelques silencieux Anglais, toute une escouade de réfugiés politiques : le jeune et intelligent Schapiro, l'Autrichien Siegfried Nacht, dont les démêlés avec toutes les polices d'Europe ont à maintes reprises défrayé les journaux bourgeois ; l'écrivain P. Ramus, de *Freie Génération*, R. Rocker, l'organisateur (je n'ose dire le *rédempteur*, et cependant...) de ces misérables ouvriers juifs de l'East End de Londres, rédacteur d'une revue, *Germinal*, et d'un journal hebdomadaire, *l'Arbeiter Freund*, en jargon juif ; Frigerio, Wilquet ; et surtout le célèbre révolutionnaire italien Errico Malatesta, le dernier représentant, peut-être — avec son ami Malato — de l'ancien anarchisme insurrectionnel, l'homme dont quarante ans de lutte sans merci n'ont affaibli ni le corps ni la confiance. Guére plus grand que Blanqui, noir et barbu comme un Napolitain, le geste aisé, l'éloquence imagée, vivante et familiére, Malatesta est certainement une des plus impressionnantes figures de l'anarchisme international. Après la disparition du bon doyen Reclus, il demeure, avec Kropotkine, avec Tcherkessof, avec James Guillaume, l'un des survivants fidèles de cette noble génération des *bakounistes* de l'Internationale, — nos vrais pères intellectuels ».

Cette énumération est, on le voit, particuliérement incompléte. On peut affirmer tout d'abord, sans exagération aucune, qu'à de certaines séances le nombre des congressistes atteignit et même dépassa *quatre-vingts*. Toutes les séances étaient publiques (sauf les deux séances consacrées à la création du Bureau international) et celles du soir furent suivies du commencement à la fin par une foule de travailleurs d'Amsterdam remarquablement silencieux et intéressés.

Il convient, malgré les difficultés de cette tâche, de dresser une liste approximative des camarades de tous les pays qui assistérent au Congrès et dont les noms nous sont connus.

Voici cette liste :

Hollande. — Christian Cornélissen (Paris), J. L. Bruijn, J. J. Lodewijk, I. I. Samson, Reijndorp, Schermerhorn, Klein, Stad, Koekoek, Domela Nieuwenhuis, Altink, Nelly Korver, Prof. J. Van Rees, G. Rijnders, Hesp, Croiset, etc., etc.

Italie. — Errico Malatesta et Corio (Londres), Luigi Fabbri (Rome), Belleli.

Allemagne. — Dr. R. Friedeberg, Sepp Oerter, Rudolf Lange, Paul Frauböse, Wagner, Ludwig, etc.

Etats-Unis. — Emma Goldman, Max Baginsky, D. A. Bullard.

Argentine. — Ceccarelli (Rome).

Angleterre. — Keell, Karl Walter, Jean Wilquet (Allemand), Siegfried Nacht (Autrichien), A. Schapiro (Russe), Rudolf Rocker (Allemand), Pierre Ramus (Autrichien), C. Frigerio (Suisse), Schreiber, Flatt, etc.

Poloone. — Mme Zielinsky (Paris), Schweber.

Belgique. — Georges Thonar et Henri Fuss (Liége), Emile Chapelier (Boistfort), Segher Rabauw et Samson (Anvers), Janssen et Heiman (Gand), Schouteten (Bruxelles), Hamburger, Willems, etc.

Bohême. — K. Vohryzek, L. Knotek.

Russie. — Nicolas Rogdaef, Wladimir Zabrejnew, Sophie Wodnef, Emilie Wetkoff. Vladnef, etc.

Serbie. — Pierre Mougnitch.

Bulgarie. — Veleff.

France. — Benoit Broutchoux (Lens), R. de Marmande, Pierre Monatte, H. Beylie, Zibelin, Margoulis (Nancy), Coriol, Brille.

Suisse romande. — Amédée Dunois (Paris).

454

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. – 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

Dés le samedi 24 août, un assez grand nombre de congressistes étaient déjà arrivés à Amsterdam. Le soir, dans la grande salle du Plancius, aise Plantage Kerklaan, 61, où devait se tenir le Congrès, eut lieu en leur honneur une réunion privée que le compagnon I. I. Samson, au nom du comité d'organisation, ouvrit par quelques paroles de bienvenue. Beaucoup de ceux qui se trouvaient là se rencontraient pour la premiére fois ; d'autres se retrouvaient qui ne s'étaient pas vus depuis des années. Des vues diverses furent échangées entre les délégués sur le Congrès qui allait s'ouvrir et principalement sur la fixation do l'ordre du jour : rien cependant ne fut décidé, le Congrès seul étant souverain en cetto matiére.

Le lendemain, dimanche 25 août, fut marqué par un grand meeting international. Dès une heure de l'après-midi, une foule d'environ un millier de personnes emplissait le jardin du Plancius, chantant *l'Internationale* et des hymnes socialistes néerlandais, tandis que les orateurs et, derrière eux, une vingtaine de délégués prenaient place sur la petite scéne aménagée dans le fond du jardin.

Ce fut R. Friedeberg qui ouvrit la série des discours. Il fit une véhémente critique de la social-démocratie allemande, et de ce parlementarisme corrupteur en quoi consiste son unique moyen d'action. Au parlementarisme, il opposa l'action directe sous toutes ses formes et la propagation méthodique de l'idée de la gréve générale révolutionnaire.

Malatesta, aprés un salut aux révolutionnaires de la petite Hollande, déclara que le peuple ne doit compter que sur lui-même pour s'émanciper. Le progrès humain ne redeviendra possible que lorsque la violence ouvriére aura détruit les oppressions économiques, politiques et religieuses qui caractérisent la société actuelle.

R. de Marmande évoqua la conférence diplomatique de la Haye et le congrès social-démocratique de Stuttgart. C'est, affirma-t-il, une double banqueroute. Seuls les syndicalistes révolutionnaires et les anarchistes détiennent en leurs mains la force qui créera l'avenir, et c'est ce que prouvent les persécutions dont la République française les accable les uns et les autres. Il termina en déclarant que le Congrès d'Amsterdam ferait beaucoup pour la propagande des idées anarchistes dans le monde.

Pierre Ramus, lui aussi, parla de Stuttgart. Et il montra que, seuls, les anarchistes étaient restés fidéles à la cause de la Révolution abandonnée par les social-démocrates de tous les pays. Il releva vivement un mot outrageant pour l'anarchisme récemment prononcé par M. Troëlstra, député socialiste hollandais, et termina sa harangue par le cri de : Vive l'Anarchie !

Nicolas Rogdaeff parla de la révolution russe et du rôle considérable qu'y jouent les anarchistes. Tandis que libéraux, radicaux et socialistes bornent leurs efforts à la conquête d'une constitution, les anarchistes, dit-il, essaient de donner à la révolution commencée un caractére économique.

Emma Goldman esquissa à grands traits un tableau des progrès accomplis par les idées anarchistes dans les dernières années, aux Etats-Unis, où la révolution aura à vaincre la double force de la démocratie bourgeoise et do la démocratie socialiste.

Emile Chapelier prononça contre le militarisme, dont l'influence a corrompu profondément les sociétés, une vibrante harangue.

Pierre Mouonitch décrivit la misére qui régne parmi les tristes populations balkaniques, surtout parmi celles de la Macédoine.

455

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

Karl Vohryzek déclara que les anarchistes tchèques étaient d'accord pour souhaiter la constitution d'un groupement international où entreraient tous les ennemis de l'autorité de l'homme sur l'homme et de l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme.

Paul Frauböse rapporta comment les anarchistes allemands, renonçant à l'individualisme, s'étaient organisés nationalement pour mieux combattre et dit qu'ils désiraien vivement que leur exemple fut partout suivi.

Christian Cornéliseen prit le dernier la parole. Il se félicita de voir son pays hospitaliser le premier congrès anarchiste international. Il rappela que la scission entre les éléments autoritaires et les éléments anarchistes de la grande Association internationale des Travailleurs avait eu lieu non loin d'Amsterdam, à la Haye, en 1872, et que les délégués hollandais s'étaient trouvés alors dans la minorité anarchiste. Il rappela encore qu'au lendemain de ce congrès tristement célèbre, les anarchistes s'étaient rendus à Amsterdam et, que parmi les internationaux de cette ville, ils avaient, selon le mot de James Guillaume, retrouvé « vivace et nettement réfractaire aux velléités centralisatrices, l'esprit de solidarité et d'indépendance qui jadis créa la Fédération des sept libres Provinces ». Et l'orateur déclara en terminant qu'il espérait que les anarchistes de 1907 emporteraient, d'Amsterdam et de la Hollande, la même impression que leurs ancêtres, les an-archistes de 1872.

Les camarades F. Tarrida del Marmol et John Turner, de Londres, qui devaient prendre la parole, le premier en espagnol et le second en anglais, s'étaient fait excuser. Quant au camarade chinois Tsunmin, inscrit lui aussi, il fut retenu à Paris par l'état de sa santé.

LE CONGRÈS

PREMIÈRE SÉANCE

Lundi 26 août. — Séance du matin.

La séance du matin est ouverte à 9 heures. Le camarade Henri Fues est nommé président. Il prie les congressistes de se grouper autant que possible par nationalités, ce qui est fait. Puis l'on passe à la fixation de l'ordre du jour.

C'est alors que F. Domela Nieuwenhuis soulève un long incident. Il dit que le vendredi suivant *l'Association internationale antimilitariste* (dont Domela est le secrétaire général) doit tenir, à Amsterdam même, son 2e congrès. Il propose donc que le Congrès anarchiste détache de son ordre du jour la partie relative à l'antimilitarisme et assiste en corps, le vendredi suivant, au Congrès de l'A. I. A. où la question sera discutée dans toute son étendue.

Cette proposition soulève une émotion considérable surtout parmi ceux des congressistes qui savent que, dès le premier jour, Domela s'est posé en adversaire du Congrès anarchiste et l'a combattu de tout son pouvoir. Pourtant R. Friedeberg et aprés lui Pierre Ramus, Max Baoineky et Emma Goldman appuient sa proposition.

Malatesta, que soutiendront tout à l'heure, Marmande, Thonar et Chapelier, s'oppose avec énergie à la proposition Domela-Friedeberg. — Ou bien, dit-il, le Congrès de vendredi, ne réunira que des anarchistes, et alors il fera double emploi avec celui-ci, et je n'en saisis pas du tout la nécessité ; ou bien des éléments non-anarchistes, voire même des élémcnts bourgeois et pacifistes, participeront

456

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

aussi à ce Congrès, et alors notre devoir d'anarchistes est, avant de nous y rendre, de discuter ici-même, entre nous et à notre point de vue propre, la question de l'antimilitarisme. Et Malatesta demande, en terminant, le passage à l'ordre du jour.

Cette conclusion soulève une vive agitation parmi les partisans de Domela Nieuwenhuis, qui sont venus, ce matin-là, très nombreux. C'est alors que De Marmande demande et obtient une suspension de séance.

A la rentrée (11 h. ½), Emma Goldman au nom de Friedeberg et en son nom personnel, lit une proposition où il est dit que dans l'après-midi du vendredi 30 août, le Congrès anarchiste, après avoir pris position sur la question de l'antimilitarisme, se réunira au Congrès antimilitariste pour tenir avec lui une séance commune.

Malatesta répond que la question de savoir si l'on ira oui ou non au Congrès antimilitariste ne saurait être préjugée. De nouveau, il demande le passage à l'ordre du jour pur et simple, appuyé par une pétition de 32 délégués.

F. Domela Nieuwenhuis demande le vote de la proposition Friedeberg-Goldman.

Marmande demande en vain à Domela de se rallier à la proposition Malatesta ; après une discussion des plus confuses, on finit par passer au vote. Et, contrairement à la demande des amis de Domela, on décide de voter par tête et non par nationalité

La proposition Malatesta obtient 38 voix ; la proposition Friedeberg 33. La proposition Malatesta est donc adoptée.

DEUXIÈME SÉANCE

Lundi 26 août. — Séance de l'après-midi.

On décide d'entendre la lecture des rapports sur l'état du mouvement anarchiste international et de passer, aussitôt après, à la lecture et à la discussion du rapport Dunois sur l'organisation.

Belgique.

G. Thonar expose la situation de l'anarchisme en Belgique. C'est le 25 juillet 1905 qu'a été fondé le Groupement Communiste libertaire, lequel « se donne comme mobile essentiel de conserver les idées communistes-anarchistes intactes de toutes compromissions, de les propager, de faire l'éducation libertaire de ses membres, de les soutenir, de les défendre et d'assurer à sa propagande l'appui d'efforts communs ». Une brochure de Thonar : *Ce que veulent les Anarchistes* dont le texte a été approuvé par un congrès tenu à Charleroi en 1904, lui a servi jusqu'ici de déclaration de principes. Les groupes de Liège, de Court-St-Etienne, Flemalle, Charleroi sont les plus actifs du Groupement qui a tenu un congrès (d'où est sorti le Congrès International), en juillet 1906 à Stockel-Bois et un autre à Bruxelles le 4 août dernier.

Il existe à Boitsfort une colonie communiste qui a publié quelques numéros d'une petite feuille mensuelle, *Le Communiste*. A Anvers S. Rabauw publie depuis sept ans une revue flamande, *Onkwating*. Le Groupement a eu pour organe *l'Emancipateur*, actuellement disparu (1). A Bruxelles paraît enfin *Opstanding*, rédigé par Schouteten, et à Liège H. Fuss publie l'*Action Directe*, organe de propagande syndicaliste-révolutionnaire.

(1) Thonar a fait reparaître tout récemment *l'Insurgé*.

457

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. – 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

Suisse romande.

Amédée Dunois donne lecture d'un rapport du compagnon Jean Wintsch, de Lausanne, sur le mouvement anarchiste en Suisse romande.

Ce mouvement est en bonne voie. Les camarades, presque tous prolétaires, se placent nettement sur le terrain économique et ouvrier. Leur principale activité se dépense donc au sein des syndicats, et si ceux-ci sont entrés depuis deux ou trois années dans les voies du syndicalisme révolutionnaire (création de la Fédération des Unions ouvriéres romandes et de la *Voix du Peuple*) c'est pour une grande part aux anarchistes qu'on le doit.

C'est à Neuchâtel (9 décembre 1906), en une assemblée à laquelle assistaient une trentaine de camarades, que les quelques groupes anarchistes romands décidérent de se fédérer. La Fédération communiste-anarchiste de la Suisse romande compte actuellement 200 membres, répartis entre neuf groupes (groupes de la Chaux-de-Fonds, Neuchâtel, St-Imier, Genéve, Lausanne, Vevey, Montreux, Fribourg, et Groupement libertaire valaisan). Chaque groupe est entiérement autonome ; un secrétariat est le seul organe administratif.

A la 2e réunion générale (10 février 1907) on a décidé de se préoccuper tout spécialement de la propagande rurale. Une brochure de 20 pages, le *Manifeste aux travailleurs des villes et de la campagne*, due à la collaboration d'une centaine de camarades au moins, a été peu de temps aprés tirée à 15000 exemplaires et distribuée partout. Elle reflète très bien l'esprit profondément *ouvrier* des anarchistes romands.

Un des groupes fédérés publie à Genéve le *Réveil*, organe socialiste-anarchiste (en français et en italien) paraissant régulièrement depuis juillet 1900. Principaux rédacteurs : Louis Bertoni, Georges Herzig, Jean Wintsch, etc.

Le rapport contenait également un bref récit des *grèves*

vaudoises de mars 1907. A la suite du renvoi brutal d'un travailleur, les ouvriers des chocolateries Peter-Kohler d'Orbe, de Bussigny et de Vevey s'étaient mis successivement en gréve. Le mouvement trainait depuis dix jours, quand le 25 mars, l'Union ouvriére de Vevey déclara soudain la gréve générale locale. Le travail s'arrêta net. Le même jour, les gendarmes tirérent sur la foule, blessant une dizaine de grévistes des deux sexes. A cette nouvelle, la gréve générale fut déclarée à Montreux, Lausanne et Genéve ; elle l'eut été ailleurs encore si, sous la pression gouvernementale, les patrons chocolatiers n'avaient cédé à temps sur tous les points en litige.

Ce mouvement mémorable montra tout ce qu'il est permis d'attendre de l'esprit de révolte et de solidarité de la classe ouvriére. Mais il surprit les camarades anarchistes, lesquels, n'étant prêts à rien, se trouvérent quelque peu désemparés et durent se borner à prendre part au mouvement sans pouvoir lui imprimer un caractére plus accentué de guerre sociale. Cette leçon n'a pas été perdue pour eux et quand le prolétariat romand se soulèvera de nouveau, il pourra compter cette fois sur le concours énergique des anarchistes préparés de longue main à toute les exigences de la situation.

Etats-Unis.

Max Baoinsky. — D'où vient que la propagande anarchiste s'effectue aux Etats-Unis plus difficilement que dans la plupart des monarchies ? Il est peu de nations cependant où le régime démocratique soit plus largement développé que dans notre grande République. N'est-ce pas une preuve que les « libertés politiques » si convoitées des peuples qui ne les ont pas encore obtenues, loin de favoriser l'expansion des idées révolutionnaires constituent pour elles un obstacle presque insurmontable ?

C'est en 1884 que le mouvement anarchiste commence

458

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

à se dessiner aux Etats-Unis, dans la région de Pittsburg. Johann Most était arrivé d'Europe à New-York avec la *Freiheit* depuis décembre 1882 et il menait une propagande intense. Dans les années qui suivirent, les anarchistes — pour la plupart d'origine allemande — prirent part au mouvement ouvrier pour la journée de huit heures. Cette phase do notre activité se termina en 1886-1887 par la sanglante tragédie de Chicago, où périrent Spies, Parsons, et trois autres.

Une longue période de stagnation et d'atonie commence alors ; peut-être durerait-elle encore sans le coup de revolver dc Czolgosz qui, en tuant Mac-Kinley, ranima le mouvcmcnt et ouvrit pour nos idécs une èrc d'expansion nouvelle.

L'acte de Czolgosz fut vraiment un acte de lutte de classc. En tuant Mac-Kinley, Czolgosz frappait le capitalismo américain, cette ploutocratie barbare qui se nourrit vraiment de chair humaine, dans son représentant le plus qualifié. Nul plus que Mac-Kinley n'avait contribué à mettre la puissance politique aux picds du capital et à fonder lc règne brutal de l'argent.

L'exécution de Mac-Kinley valut aux anarchistes de longues pérsécutions ; nos idées cependant n'en ont pas souffert, loin de là. Most est mort en 1906, mais la *Freiheit* lui a survécu et se développe. *Mother Earth* a été fondée et fait parmi les Américains de langue anglaise unc activc et incessante propagande.

Emma Goldman. — Le mouvemcnt anarchiste a, aux Etats-Unis, des racines dans toutes les nationalités, et c'est pourquoi il est si difficile d'en parler d'une maniére satisfaisante. Les Allemands, les Russes, les Italiens ont chacun un mouvement anarchiste à cux, avec des organes spéciaux pour la propagande. Il y a même des groupcs arméniens et japonais. Les Japonais, concentrés en Californie ont récenimcnt montré la plus vive sympathie pour

nos idées. Quant aux Juifs, ils sont peut-être les mieux organisés do tous et ils ont réussi depuis deux ans à faire passer en Russio plus do 40:000 dollars pour la lutte révolutionnaire.

Treize journaux et revues anarchistes (en comptant *Liberty*, l'organe individualisto de Tucker) se publient actuellement aux Etats-Unis. Ce sont : en languo anglaise *Mother Earth* (mensuel, 3.500 exemplaires) à New-York ; *Démonstrator* et *Emancipator* (mensuels) à Lake-Bay, colonie de Home (Etat de Washington) ; *Liberty* (individualiste, mensuel) à New-York ; — en langue allemande : *Freiheit* (hebd.) à New-York ; *Arbeiterzeitung* (quotidien), *Fackel* et *Vorbote* (hebdomadaires), tous trois antiparlementaires, paraissant à Chicago, et *Freie Wort* (mensuel) à New-York ; — en tchéque, *Volné Listy* (bi-mensuel) à New-York ; — cn italien, la *Questione sociale* (hebd.) à Paterson, et *Cronaca sovvervisa* (hebd.) à Barre ; — enfin en jeddish, *Freie Arbeiterstimme* (hebd.) à New-York.

Sous l'influence, en partie, de nos idées, la classe ouvrière, tend de plus en plus, surtout dans l'Ouest, à abandonner le vieux trade-unionisme routinier et conservateur, pour marcher dans les voies du syndicalisme révolutionnaire. Ainsi la grande Fédération des Mineurs do l'Ouest, dans ses luttes mémorables contre la bourgeoisie et le gouvernemcnt du Colorado, a usé énergiquement de l'action directe.

Hollande (II).

G. Rijnders demande à ajouter quelques mots au rapport de Samson sur le mouvemcnt hollandais. Samson, dit-il a trop regardé le mouvement avec les lunettes dc la Fédération. Il convient qu'on sache que les groupes non fédérés sont beaucoup plus nombreux que les groupes fédérés. Or les non-fédérés font, eux aussi, une propagande activo qu'il serait injuste de passer sous silence. C'est ainsi que le groupc d'Amsterdam a publié, cette année

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

au vote, compris de cette façon. Si nous décidons de ne pas voter après chaque discussion, comment ferons-nous pour arriver à connaître quelle est l'opinion du Congrès, ou en combien de courants d'opinion le Congrès se partage ?

CINQUIÈME SÉANCE

Mardi 26 août. — Séance de l'après-midi.

La parole est donnée au camarade H. Croiset, d'Amsterdam, qui représente, dans le Congrès, la tendance individualiste.

H. Croiset. — Ce qui importe avant toute autre chose, c'est de donner une définition de l'anarchie qui servira de base à mes démonstrations. Nous sommes anarchistes en ce sens que nous voulons instaurer un état social dans lequel l'individu trouvera la garantie de sa liberté intégrale, dans lequel chacun pourra vivre pleinement sa vie ; autrement dit, dans lequel il sera donné à l'individu de vivre sans restriction d'aucune sorte, toute sa vie *à lui*, et non plus comme aujourd'hui, la vie *des autres*, je veux dire la vie que d'autres lui imposent.

Ma devise, c'est : Moi, moi, moi... et les autres ensuite !

Les individus ne doivent s'associer que lorsqu'il est démontré que leurs efforts individuels ne peuvent leur permettre d'atteindre isolément le but. Mais le groupement, l'organisation, ne doit jamais, sous aucun prétexte, devenir une contrainte pour celui qui y est entré librement. L'individu n'est pas fait pour la société, c'est au contraire la société qui est faite pour l'individu.

L'anarchie veut mettre chaque individu à même de développer librement toutes ses facultés. Or l'organisation a pour résultat fatal de limiter, toujours plus ou moins, la liberté de l'individu. L'anarchie est donc opposée à tout système d'organisation permanente. Par la vaine ambition de devenir pratiques, les anarchistes se sont réconciliés avec l'organisation. C'est une pente glissante sur laquelle ils se sont placés là. Ils finiront un jour ou l'autre par se

460

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. – 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

réconcilier avec l'autorité elle-même, — tout comme les social-démocrates !

Les idées anarchistes doivent conserver leur pureté ancienne, plutôt que tendre à devenir plus pratiques. Retournons donc à l'ancienne pureté de nos idées !

Siegfried Nacht. — Je ne suivrai pas Croiset sur le terrain où il s'est placé. Ce qui, par dessus tout, me parait devoir être élucidé, ce sont les rapports entre l'anarchisme, ou plus exactement les organisations anarchistes, et les syndicats ouvriers. C'est pour faciliter la tâche de ces derniers que nous, en tant qu'anarchistes, nous devons constituer des groupes spéciaux de préparation et d'éducation révolutionnaire.

Le mouvement ouvrier a une mission qui lui est propre et qui découle des conditions de vie faites au prolétariat par la société actuelle : cette mission, c'est la conquête de la puissance économique, l'appropriation collective de toutes les sources de production et de vie. C'est à quoi aussi aspire l'anarchisme : mais celui-ci ne saurait y parvenir avec ses seuls groupements de propagande idéologique. Pour bonne qu'elle soit, la théorie ne pénètre pas profondément le peuple, et c'est avant tout par *l'action* que celui-ci s'éduque. L'action, peu à peu, lui donnera une mentalité révolutionnaire.

Les idées de gréve générale et d'action directe exercent une grande séduction sur la conscience des masses ouvriéres. Ces masses, dans la révolution future, constitueront en quelque sorte, *l'infanterie* de l'armée révolutionnaire. Nos groupes anarchistes, spécialisés dans les besognes téchniques, en formeront, pour ainsi dire *l'artillerie*, laquelle, pour être moins nombreuse, n'est pas moins nécessaire que l'infanterie.

Georges Thonar. — Communisme et individualisme, dans l'ensemble de l'idée anarchiste, sont égaux et inséparables. L'organisation, l'action en commun, est indispensable au développement de l'anarchisme et n'est pas contradictoire avec nos prémisses théoriques. L'organisation est un moyen, et pas un principe ; mais il va de soi que, pour être acceptable, elle doit être constituée libertairement.

L'organisation a pu être inutile, au temps où nous n'étions qu'un très petit nombre d'anarchistes, se connaissant tous et se fréquentant assidûment. Nous sommes devenus légion, et nous devons veiller à ce que nos forces ne s'éparpillent pas. Organisons-nous donc, non seulement pour la propagande anarchiste, mais encore et surtout pour l'action directe.

Je suis loin d'être hostile au syndicalisme surtout quand ses tendances sont à la révolution. Mais enfin l'organisation ouvriére n'est pas anarchiste, et par conséquent nous ne serons jamais, dans son sein, absolument nous-mémes ; notre activité n'y pourra jamais être intégralement anarchiste. D'où la nécessité pour nous de créer des groupements et des fédérations libertaires, fondées sur le respect de la liberté et de l'initiative de tous et de chacun.

K. Vohryzek. — C'est en qualité *d'individualiste* que je veux plaider la cause de l'organisation ! — Il est impossible de prétendre que l'anarchisme, du fait méme de ses principes, ne saurait admettre l'organisation. L'individualiste attitré lui-même ne condamne pas radicalement l'association entre les individus.

Dire, comme on le fait quelquefois : *ou* Stirner *ou* Kropotkine, en opposant ainsi ces deux penseurs, c'est faire une erreur. Kropotkine et Stirner ne peuvent être opposés l'un à l'autre : ils ont exposé la même idée à des points de vue différents. Voilà tout. Et la preuve que Max Stirner n'était pas l'individualiste forcené qu'on se plait à dire, c'est qu'il s'est prononcé en faveur de « l'organisation ». Il a même consacré un chapitre entier à l'association des égoïstes.

461

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

Notre organisation n'ayant aucun pouvoir exécutif ne sera pas contraire à nos principes. Dans les syndicats ouvriers, nous défendons les intérêts économiques des travailleurs. Mais pour tout le reste, nous devons nous grouper à part, créer des organisations à bases libertaires.

Emma Goldman. — Moi aussi, je suis en principe favorable à l'organisation. Cependant je redoute que celle-ci, un jour ou l'autre, ne tombe dans l'exclusivisme.

Dunois a parlé contre les excès de l'individualisme. Mais ces excès n'ont rien à faire avec l'individualisme vrai, pas plus que les excès du communisme n'ont à faire avec le véritable communisme. J'ai exposé ma manière de voir dans un rapport dont la conclusion est que l'organisation tend toujours, plus ou moins, à absorber la personnalité de l'individu. C'est là un danger qu'il faut prévoir. Aussi n'accepterai-je l'organisation anarchiste qu'à une seule condition, c'est qu'elle soit basée sur le respect absolu de *toutes* les initiatives individuelles et ne puisse en entraver le jeu ni l'évolution.

Le principe essentiel de l'anarchie, c'est *l'autonomie individuelle*. L'Internationale ne sera anarchiste que si elle respecte intégralement ce principe.

Pierre Ramus. — Je suis favorable à l'organisation et à tous les efforts qui seront faits parmi nous en ce sens. Pourtant il ne me semble pas que les arguments présentés dans le rapport de Dunois aient toute la qualité désirable. Nous devons nous efforcer de revenir aux principes anarchistes, tels que, tout à l'heure, les a formulés Croiset, mais en même temps nous devons systématiquement organiser notre mouvement. En d'autres termes, il faut que l'initiative individuelle s'appuie sur la force de la collectivité, et que la collectivité trouve son expression dans l'initiative individuelle. Mais pour qu'il en soit pratiquement ainsi, nous devons garder intacts et purs nos principes fondamentaux. Au reste nous sommes loin de créer du nouveau. En réalité, nous sommes les successeurs immédiats de ceux qui, dans la vieille Association internationale des Travailleurs, étaient avec Bakounine contre Marx. Nous n'apportons donc rien de nouveau et le plus que nous pouvons faire, c'est de donner à nos vieux principes une impulsion nouvelle, en favorisant partout la tendance à l'organisation.

Quant au but de la nouvelle Internationale, ce ne doit pas être de constituer une force auxiliaire de celle du syndicalisme révolutionnaire. Ce doit être de travailler à la propagande de l'anarchisme dans son intégrité.

462

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. – 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

SEPTIÈME SÉANCE

Mercredi 28 août. — Séance du matin.

La séance s'ouvre quelques minutes après 9 heures. On commence par confirmer le compagnon R. Lange dans ses fonctions de président. Puis après que le discours de Malatesta a été traduit en hollandais et en allemand, il est donné lecture de la correspondance, et notamment d'une lettre du compagnon Tsumin, de Paris, s'excusant d'être empêché par la maladie de prendre part au Congrès. Puis on reprend la discussion commencée la veille sur l'Organisation anarchiste.

Max Baoinsky.— Une grave erreur trop souvent commise, c'est de croire que l'individualisme répudie toute organisation. Les deux termes, au contraire, sont inséparables. Individualisme signifie plus spécialement un effort dans le sens de l'affranchissement intérieur, moral, de l'individu ; organisation signifie association entre individualités conscientes en vue d'un but à atteindre ou d'un besoin économique à assouvir. Il importo toutefois de ne jamais oublier qu'une organisation révolutionnaire a besoin d'individualités spécialement énergiques et conscientes.

Amédée Dunois. — Je constate que j'avais essayé de faire descendre la discussion du ciel des idées abstraites et vagues sur la terre ferme des idées concrétes, précises, humblement relatives. Croiset au contraire l'a fait remonter au ciel, à des hauteurs métaphysiques où je me refuse de le suivre.

La motion dont je propose l'adoption au congrès, ne s'inspire pas d'idées spéculatives sur le droit de l'individu au développement intégral. Elle part de considération

toutes pratiques sur la nécessité qu'il y a à s'organiser, à solidariser les offorts de propagande et de combat.

(Et notro camarade lit la motion dont on trouvera plus loin le texte légérement amendé.)

Christian Cornélissen. — Rien n'est plus relatif que le concept d'individu. L'individualité en soi n'existe pas dans la réalité, où nous la voyons toujours limitée par d'autres individualités. Les individualistes oublient trop ces limites de fait, et le grand bienfait de l'organisation sera précisément de rendre l'individu conscient de ces limites en l'accoutumant à concilier son droit au développement personnel avec les droits d'autrui.

Benoit Broutchoux. — Mon expérience de militant révolutionnaire m'a fortement convaincu que l'organisation est encore le moyen le plus efficace pour empêcher ce fétichisme qui s'attache trop souvent à la personne de certains agitateurs et leur confrère une autorité de fait on ne peut plus dangereuse. Vous savez que nous avons, dans le Pas-de-Calais, une puissante organisation d'ouvriers mineurs. Eh bien, on ne trouverait pas chez nous la moindre trace d'autorité ni d'autoritarisme. Seuls nos ennemis peuvent soutenir le contraire et dénoncer, par exemple, dans les secrétaires de nos sections syndicales quelque chose comme des autorités constituées.

G. Rijnders. — Je ne suis pas, moi non plus, hostile à l'organisation. Du reste il n'y a pas un seul anarchisto qui au fond ne lui soit favorable. Tout dépend do la maniére dont l'organisation est conçue et établie. Ce qu'il convient avant tout d'y éviter, ce sont les personnalités. En Hollande, par exemple, la Fédération existante est loin de satisfaire tout le monde ; il est vrai que ceux qui ne l'approuvent pas n'ont qu'à n'y pas entrer.

463

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. – 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

Emile Chapelier. — Je demande que les discours soient moins longs et plus substantiels. Depuis le discours prononcé hier soir par Malatesta, lequel a épuisé la question, on n'a pas apporté pour ou contre l'organisation, un seul argument nouveau. Avant de parler d'autorité ou de liberté, il serait bon de s'entendre sur le sens de ces mots. Par exemple, qu'est-ce que l'autorité ? Si c'est l'influence qu'exercent et qu'exerceront toujours dans un groupement les hommes de capacité réelle, je n'ai rien à dire contre elle. Mais l'autorité qu'il faut à tout prix éviter entre nous, c'est celle qui découle de ce fait que certains camarades suivent aveuglément tel ou tel. C'est là un danger, et pour le conjurer, je demande que l'organisation qui sera créée ignore les chefs et les comités généraux.

Emma Goldman. — Je suis, comme je l'ai déjà dit, pour l'organisation. Seulement je voudrais que, dans la motion Dunois, fut explicitement affirmée la légitimité de l'action individuelle, à côté de l'action collective. Je présente donc un amendement à la motion Dunois.

(Goldman donne lecture de son amendement qui, accepté par Dunois, sera ensuite incorporé, en termes abrégés, à la motion de ce dernier.)

I. I. Samson. — Ici, en Hollande, existe une Fédération de Communistes libertaires, à laquelle j'appartiens. Sans doute, comme le disait tout à l'heure le compagnon Rijnders, beaucoup de camarades ont refusé d'y adhérer. Pour des raisons de principes ? Non pas : pour des raisons de personnes seulement. Nous n'excluons, n'avons jamais exclu personne. Nous ne nous opposons pas même à l'entrée des individualistes. Qu'ils viennent donc à nous, s'ils le veulent. A la vérité, je ne me dissimule pas que, quelque soit la forme de l'organisation, ils s'y conduiront toujours en mécontents. Ce sont des mécontents par nature et il n'y a pas trop à s'émouvoir de leurs critiques.

K. Vohryzek. — La motion Dunois ne disant rien sur le caractère que doit revêtir l'organisation anarchiste, je demande qu'elle soit complétée par une adjonction précisant ce caractère, adjonction que Malatesta a bien voulu signer avec moi.

(Vohryzek lit cette adjonction qu'on trouvera plus loin.)

La discussion est close. On va passer au vote sur les motions déposées. Il y en a deux : la première est celle de Dunois, légèrement amendée par Goldman et complétée par Vohryzek et Malatesta ; la seconde est celle du camarade Pierre Ramus.

Motion Dunois : (1)

Les anarchistes réunis à Amsterdam le 27 août 1907,

Considérant que les idées d'anarchie et d'organisation, loin d'être incompatibles, comme on l'a quelquefois prétendu, se complètent et s'éclairent l'une l'autre, le principe même de l'anarchie résidant dans la libre organisation des producteurs ;

Que l'action individuelle, pour importante qu'elle soit, ne saurait suppléer au défaut d'action collective, de mouvement concerté ; pas plus que l'action collective ne saurait suppléer au défaut d'initiative individuelle ; (2)

Que l'organisation des forces militantes assurerait à la propagande un essor nouveau et ne pourrait que hâter la pénétration dans la classe ouvrière des idées de fédéralisme et de révolution ;

Que l'organisation ouvrière, fondée sur l'identité des intérêts, n'exclut pas une organisation fondée sur l'identité des aspirations et des idées ;

(1) Le texte de cette motion a été quelque peu altéré dans l'édition française des *Résolutions approuvées par le congrès anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam.* Nous le donnons ici tel qu'il fut rédigé et voté.

(2) La proposition soulignée résume l'amendement d'Emma Goldman.

464

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

Sont d'avis que les camorades de tous les pays mettent à l'ordre du jour la eréation de groupes anarchistes et la fédération des groupes déjù créés.

ADJONCTION VOHRYZEK-MALATESTA :

La Fèdèrotion anarchiste est une association de groupes et d'individus où personne ne peut imposer sa volonté ni amoindrir l'initiative d'outrui. Vis-à-vis de la soeiété actuelle, elle a pour but de changer toutes les eonditions morales et èconomiques et, dans ce sens, elle soutient la lutte por tous les moyens adéquats. (1)

MOTION PIERRE RAMUS :

Le Congrès anorchiste d'Amsterdam, propose oux groupes de tous les pays de s'unir en fèdérotions locales et régionoles, d'oprès les diverses divisions gèographiques.

Nous dèclarons que notre proposition s'inspire des principes mêmes de l'anorchisme, car nous ne voyons pas la possibilitè de l'initiative et de l'activitè individuelle en dehors du groupement, lequel, constituè selon nos vœux, fournira seul un terroin pratique à la libre expansion de choque individuolitè.

L'organisotion fèdèrotive est la forme qui convient le mieux au prolétoriat onarchiste. Elle unit les groupes existants en un tout organique qui s'oecroît par l'odhèsion de groupes nouveaux. Elle est anti-autoritaire, n'admet oueun pouvoir lègislatif eentral à dècisions obligatoires pour les groupes et individus, eeux-ei ayant un droit reconnu ù se dèvelopper librement dans notre mouvement eommun et à agir dans le sens onorchiste et èconomique sans aueun ordre ou empêchement. La fèdèration n'exclut aueun groupe et choque groupe est libre de se retirer et de rentrer en possession des fonds versès, quond il le juge nècessaire.

Nous recommandons en outre aux compognons de se grouper selon les besoins et nèecessitès de leur mouvement respectif, et aussi de ne pas perdre de vue que la foree du mouvement

(1) Même observation que pour la motion Dunois.

anarchiste, national et international, dépend de sa constitution sur des bases internationales, les moyens d'émancipation ne pouvant dériver que d'une action internationale concertée.

Compagnons de tous les pays, organisez-vous en groupes autonomes et unissez-vous en une fédération internationale : l'Internationale anarchiste.

Lecture de ces motions ayant été donnée en français, hollandais et allemand, il est passé au vote.

La motion Dunois obtient 46 voix ; l'adjonction Vohryzek 48. A la contre-épreuve, une seule main se lève contre la motion, aucune contre l'adjonction qui réunit ainsi l'unanimité des suffrages.

La motion Ramus est ensuite mise aux voix : elle réunit 13 *pour* et 17 *contre*. Beaucoup de congressistes déclarent s'abstenir pour la raison que la motion Ramus n'ajoute rien à celle qui vient d'être votée.

Le compte-rendu de *Pages libres*, que nous avons déjà cité, a souligné ainsi l'importance du votc émis par le Congrès :

« Cette résolution d'Amsterdam, y est-il dit, n'est pas tout à fait sans importance : désormais, il ne sera plus possible à nos adversaires social-démocrates d'invoquer notre vieille haine de toute espèce d'organisation pour nous bannir du socialisme sans autre forme de procès. Lc légendaire individualisme des anarchistes a été tué publiquement à Amsterdam par les anarchistes eux-mêmes, et toute la mauvaise foi de certains dc nos adversaires ne saurait parvenir à le ressusciter ».

On remarquera toutefois que dans les discussions précédentes, aussi bien que dans les motions déposées, il n'a été traité jusqu'ici de l'organisation qu'au seul point de vue théorique. Restaient à prendre des décisions d'un caractére pratique ; restait à créer l'Internationale anarchiste. Ce fut l'œuvre de la séance suivante.

465

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

HUITIÈME SÉANCE

Mercredi 28 août. — Séance de l'après-midi.

Cette séance est privée. La presse a été avisée qu'elle ne serait pas admise et ne se présente pas. En dehors des congressistes — dont l'appel se fait par nationalités pour éviter les intrus, — il n'y a dans la salle qu'un très petit nombre d'auditeurs, entre autres Fritz Kater, président de l'Union libre des syndicats allemands, qui suit depuis deux jours, au banc des délégués allemands, les séances du Congrès, — et quelques camarades d'Amsterdam connus des organisateurs.

Dès le début de la séance, la commission d'organisation du Congrès présente son rapport financier. Il en résulte que les dépenses ont de beaucoup dépassé les dépenses et qu'on prévoit un déficit d'environ 250 francs. Après un bref échange de vues, on décide qu'une collecte sera faite en fin de séance parmi les congressistes et qu'un appel à la solidarité des camarades de tous les pays sera adressé le plus tôt possible par le trésorier du Congrès (J.-L. Bruijn) à tous les journaux se réclamant de l'anarchisme.

Le Congrès ayant décidé que le compte-rendu de cette séance ne pourrait être publié d'une manière détaillée, nous devons nous borner à un aperçu rapide. Tout le monde était d'accord sur l'utilité d'établir, entre les anarchistes, des relations internationales ; mais sur la meilleure manière d'établir ces relations, les opinions divergeaient quelque peu. Un très grand nombre de délégués intervinrent dans la discussion. Ce sont : les camarades Georges Thonar, Henri Fuss, Chapelier, Malatesta, Fabbri, Ceccarelli, Monatte, Zielinska, Marmande, Broutchoux, Walter, Wilquet, Ramus, Goldman et Baginsky, Nacht, Samson et Cornélissen, Rogdaëff, Vohryzek, Lange et Friedeberg,

Thonar demanda que l'Internationale fut composée de fédérations nationales ou régionales groupant chacune un certain nombre de sections locales ; les fédérations correspondraient entre elles directement, par l'intermédiaire de personnes sûres. A quoi H. Fuss répondit que le Congrès, sans entrer dans tous ces détails, devait se borner à créer un bureau de correspondance chargé de relier les divers mouvements nationaux. Vohryzek posa cette question : Recevra-t-on l'adhésion des individus isolés ? et demanda que ceux-ci ne pussent être admis quo sur présentation. Nacht soutint cette idée que les délégués des organisations existantes devaient commencer par s'entendre entre eux et présenter ensuite au Congrès un projet ferme d'Internationale.

Lanoe propose la création à Londres d'un Bureau international do correspondance de cinq membres, chargé do servir d'intermédiaire entre les groupes, et cetto proposition fut, comme on le verra, adoptée par le Congrès. Puis Friedebero demanda que le Bureau se tint en communication permanente avec les groupes et constituât, avec les journaux et les rapports écrits qu'il en recevrait, les archives de l'anarchisme international.

Emma Goldman s'éleva contre l'idée du Bureau de correspondance. Les dépenses qu'occasionnerait ce buroau, pensait-elle, seraient beaucoup mieux employées à la publication d'un Bulletin international, dont, au reste, les camarades d'Amérique s'engageaient à faire les frais. A quoi Cornélissen répliqua que ce Bulletin lui semblait en effet de la plus réelle utilité, mais que nul n'était mieux placé pour le publier que lo Bureau international.

A un certain moment, le président Lange fit connaître qu'un certain nombre de propositions concrètes avaient été déposées sur le bureau au cours de la discussion. Ces propositions émanaient des camarades Vohryzek, Marmande, Friedeberg, Lange, Nacht, Fabbri, Fuss, Broutchoux et Samson, et loin d'être incompatibles se com-

466

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

plétaient l'une l'autre. Alors quelqu'un proposa la fusion en une seule de toutes ces propositions et la séance fut suspendue à cet effet.

Elle fut reprise au bout d'une demi-heure. Vohryzek, Marmande, Friedeberg et les autres s'étaient mis d'accord sur le texte suivant qui, soumis aussitôt à la ratification du Congrès, recueillit 43 voix contre 6. (1)

Les anarchistes (fédérations, groupes représentés et individus) réunis à Amsterdam, déclarent que l'Internationale anarchiste est constituée.

Elle est formée des organisations déjà existantes, des groupes et des camarades isolés qui y adhèreront ultérieurement.

Les individus, groupes et fédérations restent autonomes.

Un Bureau international est institué. Il sera composé de 5 membres.

Pour le cas où l'un des membres du B. I. se trouverait dans l'impossibilité absolue de remplir son mandat, les autres membres auront, d'un accord unanime, à le remplacer par un autre camarade.

Le Bureau a pour tâche de créer des archives anarchistes internationales accessibles aux camarades.

Il entre en rapports avec les anarchistes des différents pays, soit directement, soit par l'intermédiaire de 3 camarades choisis par les fédérations ou groupes des pays intéressés.

Pour faire partie de l'Internationale à titre individuel, les camarades devront avoir été identifiés soit par une organisation, soit par le Bureau, soit encore par des camarades connus du Bureau.

Les frais du Bureau et des archives seront couverts par les fédérations, groupes et individus adhérents.

(1) Nous donnons le texte publié officiellomont par le Bureau International. Il est suivi dans la brochure éditée par celui-ci d'un alinéa qui n'a pas été, croyons-nous, soumis au Congrès : « Que de chaque publication (journaux et brochures) il soit envoyé trois exemplaires au bureau international (archives) qui s'en servira au besoin pour les mettre à la disposition des groupes ou des individualités qui en auraient besoin à titre do documont. »

De leur côté, Baginski, E Goldman ot Ramus présentèrent la motion suivante qui ne recueillit que 4 voix :

Le Congrès international anarchiste déclare l'Internationale constituée. Celle-ci est dépourvue de tout office central. Son fonctionnement est assuré de la manière suivante : les fédérations, groupes et mouvements de tendance anarchiste de chaque pays éliront individuellement ou collectivement deux correspondants dont les noms et adresses seront publiés dans chaque numéro des périodiques anarchistes internationaux. Ces correspondants se tiendront, conformément aux instructions de leurs groupes ou fédérations, en contact constant avec les correspondants des autres pays. La publication d'un Bulletin international est résolue (1).

Ainsi fut constituée cette Internationale anarchiste que de nombreux camarades, en Hollande, en Belgique, en Allemagno et en Bohême, appelaient depuis longtemps de leurs vœux ! A la proclamation du scrutin, les applaudissements éclatèrent unanimes (2). Il était sept heures et la séance fut levée, tandis que de toutes les poitrines montait le chant de *l'Internationale*.

(1) Traduit sur le texte italien publié par Luigi Fabbri dans le *Pensiero*, de Rome.

(2) Voici comment notre ami Malatesta qu'on peut considérer commo lo plus ancien champion de l'organisation et de l'action collective a jugé dans les *Temps Nouveaux*, de Paris, (28 septembre 1907) l'institution de l'Internationale : « Ce n'est en réalité qu'un lien moral, une affirmation du désir de solidarité et de luttes communes. Mais c'est aussi ce qui importe le plus.

« Comme organe matériel, on a nommé un bureau de correspondance pour faciliter les relations entre les adhérents et constituer les archives du mouvement anarchiste qui resteront à la disposition des camarades. Mais cela n'a, selon moi, qu'une importance moindre.

« L'important, je le répète, c'est le désir de lutter ensemble et l'intention de se tenir en relation pour n'avoir pas à se chercher quand il arrive le moment d'agir, avec le risque que le moment passe avant qu'on se soit trouvés. »

467

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

On l'écoute en silence présenter sa défense tour à tour en hollandais, en allemand et en français.

H. Croiset. — Le fait rapporté par Nacht est matériellement exact, je le reconnais avec un profond regret. Je mérite vos reproches et d'avance m'y soumets, à cause de ma légèreté coupable. Seulement je tiens à protester énergiquement contre une certaine expression employée par Nacht. Celui-ci dit m'avoir « surpris ». On ne surprend que celui qui se cache. Or c'est au cours de la réunion publique d'hier soir que j'ai parlé aux journalistes. J'ajoute que les renseignements que je leur ai transmis ne peuvent compromettre personne parmi nos compagnons.

Malatesta demande alors que le Congrès, tout en déplorant la légèreté du compagnon Croiset, passe à l'ordre du jour.

La majorité se range à l'opinion de Malatesta et adresse un blâme à Croiset. Ajoutons qu'un certain nombre de congressistes, dont Chapelier a été l'interprète s'est montrée opposée à ce blâme à cause des regrets exprimés par Croiset et du peu de mal qu'il a commis.

ONZIÈME SÉANCE

Jeudi 29 août. — Séance de l'après-midi.

Dès que la séance est ouverte, Emma Goldman donne lecture d'une résolution en faveur de la révolution russe, proposée par les camarades Rogdaëff, Wladimir Zabrejneff, conjointement avec Goldman, Cornélissen, Baginsky, Peter Meugnitch, Luigi Fabbri et Malatesta. Voici cette résolution qui fut naturellement votée à l'unanimité (1) :

Considérant

a) *Qu'avec le développement de la révolution russe, on remarque de plus en plus que le peuple russe — le prolétariat des villes et des campagnes — ne sera jamais satisfait par la conquête d'une vaine liberté politique ; qu'il exige la suppression complète de l'esclavage économique et politique et emploie les mêmes méthodes de lutte, qui, depuis longtemps, sont déjà propagées par les anarchistes comme les seules efficaces ; qu'il n'attend rien d'en haut, mais s'efforce d'arriver à la réalisation de ses exigences par l'action directe ;*

b) *Que la révolution russe n'a pas seulement une importance locale ou nationale, mais que l'avenir le plus prochain du prolétariat international en dépend ;*

c) *Que la bourgeoisie du vieux et du nouveau monde s'est unie pour défendre ses privilèges afin de retarder l'heure de son anéantissement et a fourni l'aide matérielle et morale au plus fort soutien de la réaction — le gouvernement du tsar, qu'au détriment du peuple russe, elle soutient avec de l'argent et des munitions ;*

(1) Le texte est celui qu'a publié le *Bureau international*. Toutefois nous avons cru devoir lui faire subir quelques corrections grammaticales.

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

d) *Qu'au moment critique elle est toujours prête à lui apporter l'aide de ses canons et de ses fusils (tel est le cas des gouvernements d'Autriche et d'Allemagne) ;*

Que l'appui intellectuel se traduit par le silence complet qu'on fait sur la lutte menée par le peuple russe, ainsi que sur toutes les brutalités de l'autocratie.

Le Congrès constate : que les prolétaires de tous les pays doivent opposer l'action la plus énergique émanant de l'Internationale Anarchiste ouvrière à toutes les agressions de l'Internationale Jaune composée des capitalistes unis, des gouvernements de toute sorte : monarchiques-constitutionnels et républicains-démocratiques, par cette action ils donneront la preuve de leur solidarité au prolétariat russe en révolte. Dans son propre intérêt, bien compris, il doit se refuser catégoriquement à tous les essais qui seraient entrepris pour étouffer les grèves et les insurrections en Russie. Jamais le prolétaire étranger en uniforme ne doit prêter la main à une action quelconque dirigée contre son frère russe. Si le prolétariat industriel, au moment d'une grève en Russie, n'avait pas la possibilité de déclarer une grève générale dans la branche correspondante, par suite des conditions locales, il devrait alors avoir recours aux autres moyens de lutte, au sabotage, à la destruction ou détérioration des produits envoyés à l'ennemi commun, à la destruction des voies de communication, des chemins de fer, des bateaux etc.

Le Congrès recommande avec insistance à tous ceux qui partagent son point de vue, la plus large propagande en faveur de tous les moyens par lesquels on pourrait aider à soutenir la Révolution russe.

On repreud alors la discussion relative à la grève générale et au syndicalisme. Christian Cornélissen prend le premier la parole.

Christian Cornélissen. — Je ne crois pas que les anarchistes puissent désapprouver en rien le discours

Monatte. Toutefois, il faut convenir que celui-ci a trop uniquement parlé en militant syndicaliste et que, de notre point de vue anarchiste, son discours aurait besoin d'être complété.

Anarchistes, c'est notre devoir de soutenir ot lo syndicalisme et l'action directe, mais à une condition : c'est qu'ils soient révolutionnaires dans leur but, c'est qu'ils ne cossent pas de viser à la transformation de la société actuelle en une société communiste et libertaire.

Ne nous dissimulons pas que le syndicalisme d'une part, l'action directe do l'autre, ne sont pas toujours et forcément révolutionnaires. On peut les employer aussi dans un but conservateur, voire réactionnaire. Ainsi les diamantaires d'Amsterdam et d'Anvers ont grandement amélioré leurs conditions de travail sans recourir aux moyens parlementaires, par la seule pratique de l'action syndicale directe. Or que voit-on ? Les diamantaires ont fait de leur corporation une sorte de caste fermée, autour de laquelle ils ont élevé une vraie muraille chinoise. Ils ont restreint le nombre des apprentis et s'opposent à ce que d'anciens diamantaires retournent à leur métier abandonné. Nous ne pouvons cependant approuver ces pratiques !

Elles ne sont d'ailleurs pas spéciales à la Hollande. En Angleterre, aux Etats-Unis, les trade-unions, elles aussi, ont largement pratiqué l'action directe. Par l'action directe, elles ont créé à leurs adhérents une condition privilégiée ; elles empêchent les ouvriers étrangers de travailler même lorsque ces ouvriers sont des syndiqués; composées d'ouvriers « qualifiés », enfin, on les a vues parfois s'opposer aux mouvements tentés par les manœuvres, les « non-qualifiés ». Nous ne pouvons approuver cela.

De même, quand les typos de France et de Suisse refusent de travailler avec les femmes, nous ne pouvons les approuver. Si actuellement, une guerre menace entre les Etats-Unis et le Japon, la faute n'en est pas aux capitalistes et bourgeois américains ; ceux-ci auraient même plus de

469

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

profit à exploiter les ouvriers japonais que les ouvriers américains. Non, ce seraient les ouvriers américains eux-mêmes qui auraient déchaîné la guerre en s'opposant violemment à l'importation de la main-d'œuvre japonaise.

Il y a enfin certaines formes d'action directe que nous ne devons pas cesser de combattre : par exemple, celles qui s'opposent à l'introduction du machinisme (linotype, élévateurs), c'est-à-dire au perfectionnement de la production par le perfectionnement de l'outillage.

Je me réserve de formuler ces idées dans une motion qui dira quelles formes de syndicalisme et d'action directe peuvent soutenir les anarchistes (1).

La parole est donnée ensuite au compagnon Malatesta qui va prononcer, en réponse à Monatte, un de ses plus vigoureux discours. Un grand silence se fait dans la salle dès les premiers mots du vieux révolutionnaire, dont la rude et franche parole est unanimement aimée (1).

Errico Malatesta. — Je tiens à déclarer tout de suite que je ne développerai ici que les parties de ma pensée sur lesquelles je suis en désaccord avec les précédents orateurs, et tout particulièrement avec Monatte. Agir autrement serait vous infliger de ces répétitions oiseuses qu'on peut se permettre dans les meetings, quand on parle pour un public d'adversaires ou d'indifférents. Mais ici nous sommes entre camarades, et certes aucun d'entre vous, en m'entendant critiquer ce qu'il y a de criticable dans le syndicalisme, ne sera tenté de me prendre pour un ennemi de l'organisation et de l'action des travailleurs ; ou alors celui-là me connaîtrait bien mal. !

La conclusion à laquelle en est venu Monatte, c'est que le syndicalisme est un moyen nécessaire et suffisant de révolution sociale. En d'autres termes, Monatte a déclaré

(1) Voir les trois premiers paragraphes de la résolution Cornélissen-Vohryzek-Malatesta

que le syndicalisme se suffit à lui-même. Et voilà, selon moi, une doctrine radicalement fausse. Combattre cette doctrine sera l'objet do ce discours.

Le syndicalisme, ou plus exactement le mouvement ouvrier (le mouvement ouvrier est un *fait* que personne ne peut ignorer, tandis que le syndicalisme est une doctrine, un système, et nous devons éviter de les confondre) le mouvoment ouvrier, dis-je a toujours trouvé en moi un défenseur résolu, mais non aveugle. C'est que je voyais en lui un terrain particulièrement propice à notre propagande révolutionnaire, en même temps qu'un point de contact entre les masses et nous. Je n'ai pas besoin d'insister là-dessus. On me doit cette justice que je n'ai jamais été de ces anarchistes intellectuels qui, lorsque la vieille Internationale eut été dissoute, se sont bénévolement enfermés dans la tour d'ivoire de la pure spéculation ; que je n'ai cessé de combattre, partout où je la rencontrais, en Italie, en France, en Angleterre et ailleurs, cette attitude d'isolement hautain, ni de pousser de nouveau les compagnons dans cette voie que les syndicalistes, oubliant un passé glorieux, appellent *nouvelle*, mais qu'avaient déjà entrevue et suivie, dans l'Internationale, les premiers anarchistes.

Je veux, aujourd'hui comme hier, que les anarchistes entrent dans le mouvement ouvrier. Je suis, aujourd'hui comme hier, un syndicaliste, en ce sens que je suis partisan des syndicats. Je ne demande pas des syndicats anarchistes qui légitimeraient, tout aussitôt des syndicats social-démocratiques, républicains, royalistes ou autres et seraient, tout au plus, bons à diviser plus que jamais la classe ouvrière contre elle-même. Je ne veux pas même de syndicats dits *rouges*, parce que je ne veux pas de syndicats dits *jaunes*. Je veux au contraire des syndicats largement ouverts à tous les travailleurs sans distinction d'opinions, des syndicats absolument *neutres*.

Donc je suis pour la participation la plus active possible au mouvement ouvrier. Mais je le suis avant tout dans

470

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

tout le monde ici, l'anarchie est notre but final. Seulement, parce que les temps sont changés, nous avons modifié aussi notre conception du mouvement et do la révolution. Celle-ci ne peut plus être faite au moule de Quarante-huit. Quant au syndicalisme, si sa pratique a pu, en certains pays engendrer des erreurs et des déviations, l'expérience est là qui nous empêchera d'y retomber. Si, au lieu de critiquer de haut les vices passés, présents ou même futurs du syndicalisme, les anarchistes se mêlaient plus intimement à son action, les dangers que le syndicalisme peut réceler, seraient à tout jamais conjurés !

Georges Thonar. — Quoi qu'en ait dit Monatte, il n'y a pas ici des jeunes et des vieux, les uns défendant des idées nouvelles, les autres de vieilles idées. Beaucoup de jeunes, dont je suis, se font gloire de ne pas abandonner un pouce des idées anarchistes, lesquelles sont à l'abri des injures du temps.

D'ailleurs, je crois qu'entre les « jeunes » d'une part, et les « vieux » de l'autre, il n'y a que des différences d'appréciations, insuffisantes pour diviser en deux camps rivaux l'armée anarchiste.

La séance est levée à 1 heure du matin.

TREIZIÈME SÉANCE

Vendredi 30 août. — Séance du matin.

Il est neuf heures, quand Lange, demeuré à la présidence, déclare la séance ouverte. Le débat sur le syndicalisme et la grève générale est clos et l'on n'a plus qu'à voter sur les différents ordres du jour en présence avant d'aborder l'antimilitarisme. Mais le camarade Aristide Ceccarelli, demande à dire quelques mots sur le mouvement ouvrier et anarchiste argentin. Il à la parole.

Aristide Ceccarelli. — Depuis quelques années s'est dessiné, dans l'Argentine, un fort mouvement ouvrier. Tout un groupe de militants s'y intitulent syndicalistes. Mais comme les syndicalistes italiens auxquels ils ressemblent beaucoup, ils n'ont pas renoncé aux errements du parlementarisme ; et les seuls à faire, au sein de la classe ouvrière, un travail sérieux dans le sens révolutionnaire, ce sont les anarchistes. On peut dire que presque toutes les organisations de la *Fédéracion Obrera Régional* argentine, montrent des tendances libertaires ; et nombre d'entre elles font de la propagande anarchiste directe. Le récent congrès ouvrier argentin, dit d'unification, a approuvé à une grande majorité la proposition faite aux syndicats de contribuer à la propagande du communisme anarchiste.

A. Ceccarelli fait ensuite un sombre tableau de la misére des travailleurs argentins et termine en se déclarant mandaté pour proposer au congrès anarchiste le vote d'une résolution destinée à entraver, dans la mesure du possible, l'émigration européenne en un pays où, autant et plus qu'ailleurs, le pain et la liberté font défaut.

471

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

Errico Malatesta et quelques autres délégués font alors observer que la résolution proposée par Aristide Ceccarelli mériterait une discussion spéciale à laquelle le congrès ne peut procéder aujourd'hui, ayant avant toute chose à en finir avec le syndicalisme.

Sans statuer sur la question soulevée par Ceccarelli, on décide donc de passer au vote sur les motions relatives au syndicalisme et à la grève générale. Ces motions sont au nombre de quatre :

1° Motion Cornélissen-Vohryzek-Malatesta (1).

Le Congrès Anarchiste International considère les syndicats à la fois comme des organisations de combat dans la lutte de classe en vue de l'amélioration des conditions de travail et comme des unions de producteurs pouvant servir à la transformation de la société capitaliste en une société communiste anarchiste.

Aussi le Congrès, en admettant la nécessité éventuelle de la création de groupements syndicalistes révolutionnaires particuliers, recommande aux camarades de soutenir les organisations syndicales générales où ont accès tous les ouvriers d'une même catégorie.

Mais le Congrès considère comme la tâche des anarchistes de constituer dans ces organisations l'élément révolutionnaire et de propager et de soutenir seulement telles formes et manifestations d' « action directe » (grèves, boycottage, sabotage, etc.) qui portent en elles-mêmes un caractère révolutionnaire et vont dans le sens de la transformation de la société.

Les anarchistes considèrent le mouvement syndicaliste et la grève générale comme de puissants moyens révolutionnaires, mais non comme des succédanés de la Révolution.

Ils recommandent d'autre part aux camarades, dans le cas de

(1) Les trois premiers paragraphes de cette motion commune sont de Cornélissen ; le cinquième de Vohryzek, le quatrième et le sixième de Malatesta.

la proclamation d'une grève générale en vue de la conquête du pouvoir, de se mettre en grève, mais les invite en même temps à exciter les syndicats sous leur influence à faire alors entendre leurs revendications économiques.

Les anarchistes pensent que la destruction de la société capitaliste et autoritaire peut se réaliser seulement par l'insurrection armée et l'expropriation violente et que l'emploi de la grève plus ou moins générale et le mouvement syndicaliste ne doivent pas faire oublier les moyens plus directs de lutte contre la force militaire des gouvernements.

Cette motion qui porte, outre les signatures de ses auteurs, celles des camarades Wilquet, Emma Goldman, de Marmande, Rogdaëff et Knotek, est approuvée par 33 voix contre 16.

2° Motion R. Friedeberg (1) :

La lutte des classes et l'émancipation du prolétariat ne sont pas identiques avec les idées et les aspirations de l'anarchisme, qui tend — par dessus les aspirations immédiates des classes — à la délivrance économique et morale de la personnalité humaine, à un milieu exempt d'autorité, et non pas à un pouvoir nouveau, celui de la majorité sur la minorité.

L'anarchisme considère toutefois l'abolition de l'oppression des classes, la suppression de la dépendance économique de la majorité des êtres humains, comme une étape absolument nécessaire et essentielle dans la voie vers le but final. L'anarchisme doit toutefois s'opposer à ce que la lutte pour l'émancipation du prolétariat se poursuive par des moyens qui contredisent l'idée de l'anarchisme et sont un obstacle (2) au but précis de ce mouvement. Il s'oppose, partant,

(1) Texte de l'édition française des *Résolutions approuvées par le Congrès anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam*. Ce texte est assez différent dans la forme de celui que nous avons connu à Amsterdam.

(2) L'édition française des *Résolutions* porte *ici* ; « soient d'obstacle » Nous rectifions.

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

à engager cette lutte par le moyen préconisé par le socialisme marxiste, c'est-à-dire par le parlementarisme et par un mouvement syndical corporatif ayant uniquement en vue l'amélioration des conditions du prolétariat, — ces deux moyens ne pouvant que favoriser le développement d'une nouvelle bureaucratie, d'une autorité intellectuelle patentée ou non, et nous conduire à l'oppression de la minorité. Les moyens anarchistes pour la suppression de l'oppression de classe ne peuvent être que ceux qui découlent directement de l'affirmation de la personnalité individuelle : « l'action directe » et « le non-consentement de l'individu » — c'est-à-dire l'individualisme actif et passif, soit d'une seule personne, soit d'une masse pénétrée d'une volonté collective.

Le Congrès Communiste Libertaire repousse par conséquent la grève pour les droits politiques (Politischer Massenstreik) *dont le but est inacceptable pour l'anarchisme, mais reconnaît dans la grève générale économique révolutionnaire, c'est-à-dire dans le refus du travail de tout le prolétariat comme classe, le moyen apte à désorganiser la structure économique de la société actuelle et à émanciper le prolétariat de l'oppression du salariat. — Pour la réalisation de cette grève générale, la pénétration des syndicats par l'idéal anarchique doit être considérée comme indispensable. Un mouvement syndicaliste pénétré de l'esprit anarchiste, peut, au moyen d'une grève générale révolutionnaire, détruire l'oppression de classe et ouvrir la voie au but final de l'anarchisme : l'avènement d'une société exempte de toute autorité.*

Cette motion est approuvée par 36 voix contre 6.

3° Motion Dunois, contresignée par Monatte, Fuss, Nacht, Ziélinska, Fabbri, K. Walter :

Les anarchistes réunis à Amsterdam du 26 au 31 août 1907,

Considérant que le régime économique et juridique actuel est caractérisé par l'exploitation et l'asservissement de la masse des producteurs, et détermine, entre ceux-ci et les bénéficiaires du régime actuel, un antagonisme d'intérêts absolument irréductible qui donne naissance à la lutte de classe ;

Que l'organisation syndicale, solidarisant les résistances et les révoltes sur le terrain économique, sans préoccupations doctrinaires, est l'organe spécifique et fondamental de cette lutte du prolétariat contre la bourgeoisie et toutes les institutions bourgeoises ;

Qu'il importe qu'un esprit révolutionnaire toujours plus audacieux oriente les efforts de l'organisation syndicale dans la voie de l'expropriation capitaliste et de la suppression de tout pouvoir ;

Que l'expropriation et la prise de possession collective des instruments et des produits du travail ne pouvant être accomplies que par les travailleurs eux-mêmes, le syndicat est appelé à se transformer en groupe producteur, et se trouve être dans la société actuelle le germe vivant de la société de demain ;

Engagent les camarades de tous les pays, sans perdre de vue que l'action anarchiste n'est pas toute entière contenue dans les limites du syndicat, à participer activement au mouvement autonome de la classe ouvrière et à développer dans les organisations syndicales les idées de révolte, d'initiative individuelle et de solidarité qui sont l'essence de l'anarchisme.

Cette motion, fut approuvée par 28 voix contre 7. Comme elle était muette sur la grève générale elle fut complétée par la motion suivante :

4° Motion Nacht-Monatte, contresignée par Fuss, Dunois, Fabbri, Zélinska, et Karl Walter :

Les anarchistes réunis à Amsterdam du 26 au 31 août 1907, déclarent tenir la grève générale expropriatrice pour un remarquable stimulant de l'organisation et de l'esprit de révolte dans la société actuelle et pour la forme sous laquelle peut s'accomplir l'émancipation du prolétariat.

La grève générale ne peut être confondue avec la grève générale politique (Politischer Massenstreik) *qui n'est*

473

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

autre chose qu'une tentative des politiciens pour détourner la grève générale de ses fins économiques et révolutionnaires.

Par des grèves généralisées à des localités, à des règions, à des professions entières, on soulèvera progressivement la classe ouvrière et on l'entraînera vers la grève générale expropriatrice qui comprendra la destruction de la société actuelle et l'expropriation des moyens de production et des produits.

Cette motion recueillit 25 voix et, par conséquent, fut approuvée elle aussi.

Le lecteur s'étonnera peut-être que ces quatres motions aient pu, malgré leurs évidentes contradictions, être toutes adoptées. Il y a là, en effet un manquement aux usages parlementaires, mais un manquement voulu. Il ne convenait pas que l'opinion de la majorité étouffât ou parut étouffer celle de la minorité. La majorité a donc pensé qu'il fallait voter successivement, par *pour* et par *contre*, sur chacune des motions déposées. Or toutes les quatre ont recueilli une majorité de *pour*. Par conséquent toutes les quatre ont été approuvées. (1)

Il semble qu'on en ait fini avec le syndicalisme et la gréve générale Mais Emma Goldman se léve et dit qu'il serait étrange qu'un congrès anarchiste ne se déclarât pas

(1) Nous détachons de la courte préface mise par le *Bureau International* en tête des Résolutions du Congrès d'Amsterdam, les lignes suivantes qui confirment ce que nous venons de dire :

« Pour ceux qui sont habitués à considérer les Congrès comme des corps législatifs qui dictent aux membres du parti la doctrine officielle et la conduite à suivre, il peut paraitre étrange qu'on ait pris sur les mêmes questions plusieurs résolutions plus ou moins différentes. Mais pour les camarades cela n'aura rien que de très naturel.

« Le Congrès d'Amsterdam, étant un congrès d'anarchistes, n'avait pu, et ne pouvait pas, avoir la prétention de faire la loi aux autres : il voulait seulement exprimer les opinions des camarades intervenus et des groupes représentés, et proposer ces opinions à la discussion et, possiblement, à l'approbation de tous les anarchistes. »

en faveur du droit de révolte entendu dans son acceptation la plus large ; et elle lit la déclaration suivante que le camarade Baginsky a signée avec elle :

Le Congrès Anarchiste International se déclare en faveur du droit de révolte de la part de l'individu comme de la part de la masse entière.

Le Congrès est d'avis que les actes de révolte, surtout quand ils sont dirigés contre les représentants de l'Etat et de la ploutocratie, doivent être considérés d'un point de vue psychologique. Ils sont les résultats de l'impression profonde faite sur la psychologie de l'individu par la pression terrible de notre injustice sociale.

On pourrait dire, comme règle, que seul l'esprit le plus noble, le plus sensible et le plus délicat est sujet à de profondes impressions se manifestant par la révolte interne et externe. Pris sous ce point de vue, les actes de révolte peuvent être caractérisés comme les conséquences socio-psychologiques d'un système insupportable ; et comme tels, ces actes, avec leurs causes et motifs doivent être compris, plutôt que louès ou condamnés.

Durant les périodes révolutionnaires, comme en Russie, l'acte de révolte — sans considérer son caractère psychologique — sert de double but : il mine la base même de la tyrannie et soulève l'enthousiasme des timides. C'est le cas surtout, quand l'activité terroriste est dirigée contre les agents les plus brutaux et les plus haïs du despotisme.

Le Congrès en acceptant cette résolution, exprime son adhésion à l'acte individuel de révolte de même que sa solidarité avec l'insurrection collective.

MALATESTA. — J'accepte pour ma part la déclaration Goldman-Baginsky. Mais étant donné qu'on ne peut la rattacher ni à la discussion sur le syndicalisme, qui est close, ni à la discussion sur l'antimilitarisme qui va s'ouvrir dans un instant, je propose qu'on la considére comme une

474

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. – 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

simple déclaration de principes et non comme une motion ordinaire, ot que le congrès la vote comme telle.

Emma Goldman. — Quelque nom qu'on donne à notre proposition, Max Baginsky et moi tenons, avant tout, à ce que le congrès la vote.

Mise aux voix, la déclaration Goldman-Baginsky est approuvée à l'unanimité.

Il est près de onze heures lorsque le président déclare la discussion ouverte sur cette question : *L'antimilitarisme comme tactique de l'anarchisme.*

Les rapporteurs sont les compagnons R. de Marmande et Pierre Ramus. Le président rappelle le vote émis à ce sujet dans la première séance du Congrès.

R. Friedeberg demande la parole pour une motion d'ordre.

R. Friedeberg. — Etant donné que l'heure tardive ne nous permet pas une discussion approfondie de la question antimilitariste, étant donné, d'autre part, que le Congrès international antimilitariste a commencé ses travaux ce matin même, dans une salle voisine, je propose que nous nous joignions à lui pour discuter la question avec lui.

Malatesta. — Le temps nous manque, en effet, pour une discussion approfondie. Il est vrai que cette discussion n'est pas indispensable. Sur la question antimilitariste, tous les anarchistes sont bien d'accord. Je propose donc que nous allions au Congrès antimilitariste, mais non sans avoir au préalable indiqué notre manière de voir dans une motion que les rapporteurs seront chargés de défendre au Congrès antimilitariste.

De Marmande. — Je me range à l'opinion exprimée par Malatesta.

Christian Cornélissen. — Je pense au contraire qu'il est indispensable que la discussion ait lieu tout au long

Northwestern University Library

ici même. Il ne faut pas qu'après que les social-démocrates de Stuttgart ont dénaturé l'antimilitarisme, les anarchistes négligent de prendre position sur cette question capitale.

Malatesta. — Je m'oppose énergiquement à cette manière de faire. Le temps nous manque, tandis qu'au congrès antimilitariste où nous irons ce soir, toutes les discussions pourront être instituées. Je demande que le Congrès se range à l'opinion que j'ai exprimée tout à l'heure et vote la motion que j'ai déposée avec quelques camarades, motion que Marmande et Ramus soutiendront devant le Congrès antimilitariste.

Voici cette motion à laquelle finalement se rallie Cornélissen :

Les anarchistes, voulant la délivrance intégrale de l'humanité et la liberté complète des individus, sont naturellement, essentiellement, les ennemis déclarés de toute force armée entre les mains de l'Etat : armée, gendarmerie, police, magistrature.

Ils engagent leurs camarades — et en général tous les hommes aspirant à la liberté, à lutter selon les circonstances et leur tempérament, et par tous les moyens, à la révolte individuelle, au refus de service isolé ou collectif, à la désobéissance passive et active et à la grève militaire — pour la destruction radicale des instruments de domination.

Ils expriment l'espoir que tous les peuples intéressés répondront à toute déclaration de guerre par l'insurrection.

Ils déclarent penser que les anarchistes donneront l'exemple.

Cette motion qui porte les signatures de Malatesta, Marmande, Thonar, Cornélissen, Ramus et Domela Nieuwenhuis, est approuvée sans discussion.

La séance est levée. Il est midi.

———

475

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

QUATORZIÈME SÉANCE

Vendredi 30 août. — Séance de l'après-midi.

Conformément aux résolutions prises, cette séance est commune au Congrès anarchiste et au Congrès antimilitariste. Celui-ci a tenu dans la matinée sa première séance, réservée aux sections hollandaises de l'Association internationale antimilitariste.

Les congressistes sont donc très nombreux, ainsi que le public. Le camarade Vohryzek, délégué de la Fédération anarchisto de Bohéme, est élu président.

La parolo est donnée, en premier lieu, à R. de Marmande, que le congrès anarchiste a chargé de s'exprimer en son nom.

R. DE MARMANDE fait d'abord rapidement l'historique du mouvement antimilitariste en France. Il montre le rôle considérable joué par les anarchistes. Il rappelle les poursuites de 1887 contre la *Ligue des antipatriotes*; la condamnation qui frappa Jean Grave en 1894 pour son livre de révolte, *la Société mourante et l'anarchie*. Il signale la campagne continue, menée dans les *Temps Nouveaux* et le *Libertaire*, contre l'armée et l'idée de patrie. « Vraiment, dit-il, l'esprit anarchiste inspire partout l'action antimilitariste et révolutionnairo ». Il entre ensuite dans le détail des manifestations antimilitaristes de ces derniéres années: *Manuel du Soldat*, de Georges Yvetot; création de la section française de l'A. I. A. ; déclarations de Gustave Hervé au Tivoli Vaux-Hall, en 1905 ; procès de l'*Affiche Rouge* et condamnation des signataires, afficho des douze, etc. Depuis lors des poursuites judiciaires n'ont cessé d'être exercées, suivies pour la plupart de condamnations féroces. L'antimilitarisme reste en France à l'ordre du jour.

Avant de terminer, Marmande indique que la forme de la propagande a changé. Lo rôlo de l'A. I. A. semble terminé, en France du moins ; les sections, formées en majeure partie d'anarchistes, reprennent leur autonomie. Le programme de l'A. I. A. contenait un certain particularisme qui devait être assez tôt épuisé. L'antimilitarisme n'est pas une doctrine. Il y a des conceptions anarchistes où trouvo place tout naturellement l'antimilitarisme. L'anarchisme a lancé, semé à la volée et fait germer partout la révolte.

Marmande, en terminant, lit la motion antimilitariste approuvée dans la matinée par le Congrès anarchiste, et propose que le Congrès antimilitariste la vote à son tour.

A l'unanimité, le Congrès adopte cette motion, dont le texte a été donné plus haut.

Prennent ensuite la parole les délégués suivants: Friedeberg, Rogdaeff, Domela Nieuwenhuis, Croiset, Pierre Ramus, Emma Goldman, la citoyenne Sorgue. Luigi Fabbri, délégué des sections italiennes de l'A. I. A. et du journal antimilitariste *La Pace*, expose l'état de l'antimilitarisme italien, dont parle également la citoyenne Sorguo.

476

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

Il s'agit de décider où le Bureau aura son siège. Quelques délégués tout d'abord proposent Paris ou Genève, mais ces propositions, vivement combattues par d'autres camarades, sont abandonnées ; Bruxelles et Amsterdam n'ont pas plus de succès et l'on se met d'accord sur Londres, centre essentiellement international où résident des militants de tous les pays.

Reste à choisir les ciuq membres du Bureau. Une liste circule, sur laquelle figurent les noms de : Errico Malatesta, (malgré ses protestations) Rudolf Rocker, A. Schapiro, John Turner (absent) et Jean Wilquet.

Ces cinq camarades sont élus, Malatesta en tête avec 53 suffrages. Malatesta est Italien ; Rocker et Wilquet sont Allemands ; Schapiro est Russe ; Turner est Anglais.

Sur la proposition de Malatesta, le Congrès charge le Bureau international d'engager, dans tous les pays d'Occident où il aura des relations, une action simultanée en faveur du camarade belge Edouard Jooris, condamné à mort par les tribunaux turcs pour participation à un attentat contre le Sultan (21 juillet 1905) (1).

Avant de lever la séauce, un délégué demande qu'on fixe la date et le lieu du prochain Congrès. Un échange de vues à lieu à cet effet. On décide qu'un nouveau congrès aura lieu dans deux ans et on laisse au Bureau International le soin d'en fixer le lieu et la date exacte, d'accord avec les fédérations et groupements adhérents.

On se sépare à midi et demi.

---

(1) Cette campagne a eu lieu en novembre-décembre. Au moment ou nous écrivons ces lignes (25 décembre), nous apprenons que Jooris vient d'être grâcié et libéré.

DIX-SEPTIÈME ET DERNIÈRE SÉANCE

Samedi 31 août. — Séance de l'après-midi.

Cette séance, la dernière du Congrès, se tient, par exception, dans une salle du premier étage. Les délégués sont nombreux, autant, sinon plus, qu'au premier jour ; mais on sent une lassitude générale, — la lassitude de toutes les fins de Congrès. Cependant l'ordre du jour n'est pas épuisé, mais tout le monde est d'accord pour en finir au plus vite.

La présidence est conférée à Emma Goldman.

L'Education intégrale de l'Enfance est le premier point porté à l'ordre du jour de la séance. Le rapporteur en est Léon Clément, de Paris, mais celui-ci est absent, et c'est le camarade de Marmande qui se charge de résumer à grands traits l'intéressant rapport envoyé par Léon Clément.

L'idée générale de ce rapport est que, les ouvriers étant plus aptes que personne à déterminer le caractère de l'éducation à donner à leurs enfants, le soin de l'éducation revient essentiellement aux syndicats ou mieux aux Bourses du travail et Unions ouvrières.

Tout le monde est d'accord pour approuver une telle idée et pour souhaiter que le rapport de Léon Clément soit publié (1) et répandu ; mais aucune résolution n'est prise à son sujet.

Pierre Ramus renonce, à cause du manque de temps, à faire entendre le rapport qu'il a préparé sur cette ques-

(1) Ce rapport a été publié dans les *Temps Nouveaux* (13e année, n° 44).

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

tion : *La Littérature moderne et l'Anarchisme*, et le camarade G. Rijnders, qui devait parler sur *Anarchisme et Religion*, renonce lui aussi à la parole.

Sur la question de *l'Alcoolisme*, le Prof. J. Van Rees apporte la motion suivante (1) :

1. *L'Alcoolisme est un ensemble de phénomènes sociaux caractérisés par l'assujettissement des hommes aux boissons alcooliques.*

2. *Tandis que l'usage immodéré de la boisson avec ses suites funestes est censé constituer l'alcoolisme, l'usage modéré de la boisson n'en constitue pas moins un phénomène spécial d'alcoolisme.*

3. *Cet alcoolisme général, suite de l'alcoolisme modéré qui affecte spécialement notre jugement à l'égard de l'habitude de boire modérément, est beaucoup plus dangereux et beaucoup plus inguérissable que l'intempérance ordinaire.*

4. *L'alcoolisme, menaçant surtout le niveau déjà acquis par l'humanité, aussi bien que la race future, il est nécessaire d'en finir avec les habitudes de boire, pour tout homme d'esprit et de cœur.*

5. *L'anarchisme veut dire cette conception de vie qui a rompu avec la croyance en la nécessité d'une autorité extérieure pour tous les hommes normaux.*

6. *L'influence qu'ont les habitudes « alcooliques » sur les idées et sur la manière de vivre des individus, exerce précisément une de ces autorités extérieures que les anarchistes désapprouvent.*

7. *Ainsi l'alcoolisme (outre qu'il est un des plus grands fléaux de l'humanité entière) est encore au plus haut point autoritaire, et par conséquent contraire à l'idée anarchiste qui réclame l'affranchissement de l'esprit et de la conscience, de toute autorité extérieure.*

8. *Les anarchistes, ennemis de toute mesure législative,*

(1) Texte publié par Emile Chapelier dans *Le Communiste* (n° 4, 21 septembre 1907).

sont encore, plus que les autres socialistes, tenus de combattre l'alcoolisme par des moyens purement individuels.

9. *La propagation de toute idée socialiste et anarchiste est énormément entravée par l'alcoolisation immodérée ou modérée.*

10. *La société future anarchiste sera ennemie des boissons intoxicantes, ou elle ne sera pas.*

Cette motion est complétée par l'adjonction suivante, proposée par E. Chapelier et acceptée par J. Van Rees.

1. *L'alcoolisme est, à cause de la démoralisation qu'il provoque, un des plus puissants soutiens de la société capitaliste.*

2. *Les gouvernements sont incapables de combattre l'alcoolisme et sont du reste intéressés à l'entretenir, car c'est grâce à lui qu'ils peuvent équilibrer leur budget.*

Cette motion ne fut pas mise aux voix, la presque unanimité des congressistes s'y étant montrée nettement opposée. Malatesta a donné les raisons de cette opposition : « On avait proposé, a-t-il écrit, (1) une résolution contre l'alcoolisme, mais on passa à l'ordre du jour. Personne certainement n'aurait hésité à acclamer une résolution contre l'abus de boissons alcooliques, quoique peut-être avec la conviction que cela ne servait à rien ; mais la résolution proposée condamnait même l'usage modéré, qu'on considérait plus dangereux que l'abus. Cela nous parut trop fort ; dans tous les cas, on pense que c'est un argument qui devrait plutôt être discuté par les médecins..., en admettant qu'ils en sachent quelque chose. »

L'ordre du jour appelle ensuite la discussion sur ce sujet : *L'anarchisme comme vie et comme activité individuelle.* (E. Armand et Mauricius, de Paris, rapporteurs.)

(1) *Les Temps Nouveaux* (13e année, n° 23).

478

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

Mais les deux rapporteurs sont absents et l'on passe outre, personne n'ayant démandé à traiter la question.

Sur la question de l'*association de production*, l'un des rapporteurs, I. I. Samson a été entendu la veille ; l'autre, Emile Chapelier, imitant l'exemple précédemment donné par Ramus et Rijnders, renonce à prendre la parole.

Mais le congrès est en présence d'une résolution de Samson dont voici le texte (1) :

Le congrès international anarchiste d'Amsterdam est d'avis que l'association de production, soit isolément soit de concert avec le mouvement syndical révolutionnaire, est compatible avec l'idéal anarchiste et peut lui venir en aide.

Il serait avantageux qu'avant et après la grève générale, un grand nombre de sociétés de production, pussent venir en aide, fortes de leur expérience, à toute la classe ouvrière émancipée, en organisant la production et l'échange sur une base nettement anti-capitaliste et anti-parasitaire.

De même le congrès est d'avis que dans les circonstances actuelles, le mouvement syndical révolutionnaire, ainsi que toute la classe ouvrière, peut tirer profit de la pratique des sociétés de production.

Mais ici encore, le congrès refuse de passer au vote. La question soulevée par la résolution Samson n'est pas de celles qu'on peut résoudre en quelques minutes ; or le temps matériel manque pour l'examiner sous toutes les faces ; mieux vaut donc la laisser en suspens jusqu'à un congrès prochain.

On aborde enfin la question dernière : l'*Espéranto*. Le camarade Chapelier a apporté sur cette question un volumineux rapport, mais il se borne à demander l'adoption de la résolution suivante qu'ont signé avecc lui Malatesta et Rogdaëff (2) :

(1) D'après le *Pensiero*, de Rome.
(2) Texte du *Communiste* (n° 4).

Le Congrès Communiste-Anarchiste International d'Amsterdam, considérant :

1. *que la multiplicité des langues constitue des frontières intellectuelles et morales et par suite une entrave à la propagation des idées révolutionnaires ;*

2. *qu'au cours même de ses débats, il a été constaté que les difficultés et les inexactitudes fatales de traduction nous ont fait perdre au moins les trois quarts de notre temps ;*

3. *que l'emploi d'une langue commune faciliterait l'échange des communications de l'*Internationale Libertaire ;

4. *qu'aucune langue vivante ne réunit les conditions nécessaires de neutralité, de facilité et de souplesse ;*

5. *que de toutes les langues artificielles, l'Esperanto est la seule qui soit sérieusement employée et qui semble être appelée au succès ;*

Emet le vœu que tous les anarchistes ou tout au moins les militants étudient l'Esperanto et que dans un avenir prochain nos congrès internationaux puissent se faire en langue internationale.

Amédée Dunois, soutenu par Henri Fuss, se déclare hostile à cette résolution. « Nous ne sommes qualifiés, ni les uns ni les autres, dit-il, pour juger de la valeur de l'Espéranto. Nous ne sommes point des linguistes. » — Et il propose que le congrès se borne à conseiller à tous les camarades l'étude et la pratique d'au moins une langue vivante.

E. Chapelier. — S'il en est ainsi, je demande que le Congrès entende la lecture de mon rapport où j'ai réuni tous les arguments qui militent en faveur de l'Espéranto. Ces arguments n'ont rien d'inaccessible et peuvent être compris par tout le monde. Les nombreux groupes d'espérantistes qui m'ont délégué ici ne comprendraient pas

479

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

qu'un Congrès anarchiste, dont tous les membres se disent internationalistes, se refusât à m'entendre.

E. MALATESTA. — Cependant on ne peut demander au Congrès de voter une motion qui n'a pas été préalablement discutée et sur laquelle tous ne sont pas d'accord. Or le temps manque et je crois qu'il serait préférable de voter une résolution se bornant à recommander aux camarades d'étudier le problème d'une langue internationale.

Et l'on met aux voix l'ordre du jour suivant qui est adopté sans difficulté :

Le Congrès, tout en reconnaissant l'utilité d'un mode international de communication, se déclare incompétent. pour juger de la langue internationale proposée (Espéranto)

Le Congrès émet le vœu que les camarades pouvant s'en occuper, étudient le problème d'une langue internationale.

La camarade Emma Goldman, présidente, déclare alors que l'ordre du jour est épuisé et que le Congrés a terminé ses travaux. Et elle invite le vaillant doyen (1) Errico Malatesta à prononcer quelques paroles de clôture.

MALATESTA se lève et d'une voix pénétrante et forte, prononce le discours suivant :

Compagnons, notre Congrès est terminé. Les journaux bourgeois de toutes les couleurs avaient annoncé au monde que ce premier Congrès international se passerait dans le tumulte, le trouble et l'incohérence. Certains camarades eux-mêmes avaient prédit qu'il n'aboutirait logiquement qu'à jeter dans nos rangs un peu plus de discorde.

L'événement a démenti tous ces prophètes. Malgré l'insuffisance de préparation matérielle, imputable à notre seule pauvreté, malgré la difficulté qu'il y avait à s'entendre entre délégués de langue et d'origine si différentes, ce premier

(1) Bien qu'il u'eût que 53 ans au moment du Congrès Malatesta n'en était pas moins le doyen des congressistes !

Congrès a admirablement réussi. Il n'a pas seulement ruiné de fond en comble les espérances perfides de tous ses adversaires ; je puis dire qu'il a dépassé les plus optimistes espérances de ses partisans.

Loin de provoquer une scission dans le camp anarchiste, il a ouvert la voie qui mène à l'union féconde ; il a exhorté les compagnons qui luttaient isolément jusqu'ici, à se donner la main par-dessus les frontières pour marcher tous ensemble vers l'avenir anarchiste. Sans doute, des divergences de vues se sont manifestées entre nous ; elles n'affectaient pourtant que des points secondaires. Tous, nous nous sommes trouvés d'accord dans l'affirmation des principes essentiels.

Et pouvait-il en être autrement ? Ne voulons-nous pas tous, d'un même élan de tout notre être, la délivrance de l'humanité, la destruction complète du Capitalisme et de l'Etat, — la Révolution sociale ?

Notre premier Congrès portera ses fruits, si tous ceux qui sont ici, une fois rentrés dans leur pays, voient moins le travail accompli que celui qui reste à accomplir, si tous nous nous remettons à la propagande et à l'organisation avec plus que jamais de confiance et d'énergie. A l'œuvre, compagnons !

Une salve d'applaudissements accueille ces paroles vibrantes. L'enthousiasme est à son comble. La joie éclaire les visages. Alors un camarade entonne l'*Internationale* :

Debout ! les damnés de la terre !
Debout ! les forçats de la faim !

Tous accompagnent le chanteur. L'hymne révolutionnaire français a vraiment conquis l'universalité. Partout où des hommes, anarchistes ou socialistes, luttent contre l'iniquité sociale et rêvent de délivrance humaine, l'*Internationale* est devenue le refrain de guerre qui retentit sur les champs de grève, dans les meetings ou les congrès.

480

890720005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — Paris : La Publication Sociale, 1908. — 35 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

C'est fini. La salle se vide peu à peu. Les mains s'étreignent ; des adieux, des *au-revoir* plutôt, s'échengent, car si la plupart des congressistes ne quittent Amsterdam que dans la journée de demain, il en est qui doivent prendre les trains du soir et de la nuit.

A 9 heures, dans la grande salle du premier étage. du Plancius, a lieu le dernier meeting populaire. La salle est pleine de ce public remarquablement attentif et calme qu'est le public hollandais. Tour à tour Cornélissen, Broutchoux, Monatte, Ramus, Chapelier, Samson, Mougnitch, Sepp Oerter, Frauböse et Ludwig prennent la parole. Une même pensée se retrouve dans leurs discours à tous : c'est que le Congrés d'Amsterdam laissera dans le monde révolutionnaire une impression dureble et que l'anarchisme international en sortira grandi et fortifié.

APPENDICE

DEUX RÉUNIONS SYNDICALISTES

Sur les deux réunions strictement privées où se rencontrèrent les syndicalistes révolutionnaires venus au Congrès d'Amsterdam, nous trouvons quelques renseignements assez précis dans l'article suivant publié par LA VOIX DU PEUPLE, *de Lausanne,* (2e *année, N*° 40, 5 *octobre* 1907) *sous ce titre :*
Le Bureau International de Presse :

La nécessité d'une entente entre les groupements ouvriers dès maintenant acquis aux principes du syndicalisme révolutionnaire et aux méthodes de l'action directe, préoccupe en plus d'un pays plus d'un militant. — On sait que le Secrétariat international ouvrier, dont le siége est quelque part en Allemagne, s'est signalé jusqu'à ce jour bien plus par son antipathie déclarée à l'égard des idées révolutionnaires que par sa réelle activité pratique. Ses démêlés avec la Confédération générale du travail sont encore dans toutes les mémoires. Issus du refus du Secrétariat d'inscrire à l'ordre du jour des deux derniéres conférences des questions aussi considérables que celles de la gréve générale et de l'antimilitarisme, ces démêlés, firent au congrès d'Amiens, l'objet d'un débat retentissant, et l'on peut prévoir qu'ils aboutiront avant longtemps à quelque rupture éclatante dont la responsabilité incombera sans partage au Secrétariat international.

Cependant le syndicalisme révolutionnaire fait dans tous les pays des progrès incessants. Partout où il apparaît, on peut dire qu'un *nouveau* mouvement ouvrier commence, lequel n'a *rien de commun* avec l'ancien. Pourquoi donç

481

840514025
The Emma Goldman Papers
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 479-485 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 2, no. 11 (Jan. 1908).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

This crooked Lane became a Road,
Where many a poor horse, with his load,
Toiled on beneath the burning sun,
And traveled some three miles in one.
And thus a century and a half
They trod the footprints of that Calf.
The years passed on in swiftest fleet,
The Road became a village Street,
And this, before the men were 'ware,
A City's crowded thoroughfare,
And soon the central street was this
Of a renowned Metropolis.
And Men two centuries and a half
Trod in the footsteps of that Calf.
Each day a hundred thousand rout
Followed the zigzag Calf about.
And o'er his crooked journey went
The traffic of a continent.
A hundred thousand Men were led
By one Calf near three centuries dead.
They followed still his crooked way,
And lost one hundred years a day:
For thus such reverence is lent
To well established Precedent.

A moral lesson this must teach,
Were I ordained and called to preach.
For Men are prone to go it Blind
Along the Calf-paths of the Mind,
And work away from sun to sun,
And do what other men have done.
They follow in the beaten track,
And out and in, and in and back,
And still their devious course pursue,
To keep the path that others do.
But how the wise old wood-gods laugh,
Who saw that first primeval Calf!
And many things this tale might teach—
But I am not ordained to preach.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

From pulpit and press, from millions of Christian hearts come the glad tidings, "Peace on earth, good will to all men!"

Can the human mind conceive of a more terrible taunt, a more horrible lie than this old Christian phrase?!

"Peace on earth!" cries the President, ordering the decks of his warships cleared for action.

"Peace on earth!" echo the Jingoes, demanding an increased army and navy.

"Good will to all men," unctiously proclaim the servants of the lowly Nazarene, while praying their governments to send soldiers to help "convert" the "heathen."

"Peace and good will," says the judge, as he pronounces the sentence of death.

"Thy will be done!" murmurs the steward of the Lord's bounty, as he raises the price of oil, coal and other necessaries of life.

"Good will to all men," greets you the landlord, ordering your eviction.

"Peace!" cries the employer, as he snatches the bread from the poor man's table.

"God is Love and His Law is Liberty," echo the guns trained upon starving strikers.

"Peace and good will!" jubiliantly announce the newspapers, dwelling upon the numerous murders, robberies, rapes and evictions of the preceding day.

"Peace on earth, good will to all men!" proclaims the Christian world, while thousands are dying of starvation, the cities crowded with the unemployed, the park benches lined with the homeless, the prisons overfilled. and "free" men, women and children are miserably perishing of hunger, cold and neglect.

Peace on earth!

* * *

The poor Nazarene could not have possibly foreseen the practical effects of his Sermon on the Mount: the capitalists have ever since been trying to feed the multitudes on three loaves of bread—with disastrous results. But how much longer is society going to permit them to carry on this terrible experiment? They have indeed wrought a great miracle: they have charmed mankind

840514025
The Emma Goldman Papers
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 479-485 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 11 (Jan. 1908).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

into the belief that life must mean poverty and misery for those that toil, and luxury for the idlers. "The poor ye have always with ye." What horrible consequenees this highly immoral injunction has had, what a vale of tears and sorrow it has made of a beautiful world! If "poor" and "idler" were synonymous, one might perhaps bow to the inevitable, if such it be. At least, one could understand and explain it. But are the poor really idlers, and are the idlers poor?

See yonder grand palaces, gems of beauty, art and luxury. They are filled with sunshine, joy and all the things with which the labor of the world blesses its creators. Therein dwell the men that mine coal out of the dark bowels of the earth, to supply mankind with light and warmth. And the men of the field and factory dwell there, who give us our food and all necessaries of life. And other men and women live in these palaces, all enjoying the riches they have helped to produce. There live the masons, bricklayers, carpenters and iron workers who have built these palaces; and the tailor and shoemaker live there, too; also the sailor who takes us safely across the seas; and the telegrapher, motorman and engineer, who literally bring the world together; and all those live there, in comfort, joy and peace, who bless humanity with its riches, wealth and splendor.

But look at yonder hovels, dark, miserable, joyless. See those starvelings, dillapitated and homeless men, women and children, with the misery-hunted look on their faces,—these are our Rockefellers, Morgans and Belmonts; the social idlers who will not labor and who add nothing to the producing power of the world. These idlers are justly punished: they do not sow, neither shall they reap.

The world is just and beautiful.

* * *

Even at its best, the fate of the workingman is a miserable eking out of a mere existence. The "iron law of wages"—a euphonious term for the conspiracy of employer, storekeeper and landlord—has ordained that the producer shall receive just enough pay to—keep on producing. And if by some happy chance—usually by systematic stomach-robbery—the workingman has succeeded in laying aside a few dollars for a rainy day,

when that rainy day eomes, the poor man finds that his banker has "lived beyond his income," and that the "bank has closed its doors" for that or some other equally good reason.

Even in time of so-called prosperity the lot of the workingman is not to be envied. But during an industrial crisis, such as the present, for instanee, the eondition of the masses becomes unbearable. The number of unemployed is growing appallingly. In New York alone there are now a hundred thousand men out of work—and that means dire poverty, lack of the necessaries of life, cold firesides, starving women and children.

What shall be done? It is not a "mere Anarchist theory" that confronts us. We are facing hard, cruel facts. Where are our sage political economists? What solution can our learned professors suggest to relieve the terrible distress? What explanation can the apologists and defenders of our insane economic system offer? The crops have been unusually good. Why, then, do human beings starve in the midst of plenty? The warehouses and stores are chocked with clothing. Is it *therefore* that people must go about half-naked? There are plenty of houses and many vacant lots where homes could be built. Why, then, are thousands shelterless?

The fool sayeth in his heart, "There is no work." But life is sustained by the *products* of work, not by work in itself. And if those products and the opportunity to create them were not monopolized by the social idlers, we would have neither crises nor hard times.

Let hypocrites and their dupes talk about "inevitable dull times," "stringency of money," "lack of work" and similar rot. Their object is to befog the minds of the people and to stifle the cries of the hungry with lying phrases.

But you, workingmen of America, do not allow yourselves to be deceived. You do not want charity; nor will any makeshifts do. "Bad times" will recur again and again; delay will but intensify your agonies. Do not depend upon others for a solution of these problems. *You* are the greatest sufferer, the eternal victim. *You are to be your own savior.* The remedy lies in your own hands. You are the true owners of the wealth you yourselves have produced. It is yours by right of creation.

840514025
The Emma Goldman Papers
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].— pp. 479-485 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 11 (Jan. 1908).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

You need but demand back what has been stolen from you. Let your motto be: The land and the fulness thereof to the producer!

* * *

Little straws on the current of life show whither we are drifting.

Recently we read in the press dispatches that

"Charles Smith laughed at a Newark, N. J., policeman in a derisive manner Thursday night. For doing so he was fined $20 by Judge Herr in that city yesterday morning. The court said that mocking a policeman meant mockery of the established social system. Such action was immoral, he said, and therefore a fine with an alternative of sixty days in the penitentiary was imposed."

Paradoxical as it may sound, the judge was right; the more's the pity. He said that "mocking a policeman meant mockery of the established social system." Quite true. The policeman is the visible representative of that combination of brute force, arbitrariness and graft, known as the established social system.

The established social system! What a mockery in the very words. A system in which everything is "established" except justice and humanity; everything "systematized" into murder, chicanery and artificiality; everything "socialized" along the most anti-social lines.

Wars, pestilence, poverty; tyranny and oppression; cowardice and knavery—these are the triumphs of the established social system, whose chief exponent is the policeman with the big stick.

* * *

The Federal government has again been overcome by a spasm of "morality." A recent number of the *Eugenics* has been found—by some ignorant bureau clerk, no doubt—to contain "immoral and obscene" matter, in punishment of which the magazine may be deprived of its right to be carried in the mails as second-class matter.

The Federal government has long regarded our brave little contemporary, the *Eugenics* (formerly known as *Lucifer*), as a dangerous exposer of prudishness, sham and hypocricy in the relations of the sexes. Hence the persecution. But the pioneers of truth and liberty have ever had to suffer for their devotion to the cause. The gallows and prison have never yet conquered the aspirations of the human soul. The Federal government is waging a losing battle.

* * *

A sentence of two years in prison at hard labor and a fine of two thousand dollars was imposed by Judge William M. Lanning, in the United States District Court, upon Bernarr Macfadden, editor of the *Physical Culture Magazine*, for violation of the postal laws of the United States by sending "objectionable literature" through the mails.

The charge is based upon the contents of the serial story which began in the October, 1906, issue of the magazine; the story was entitled, "Growing to Manhood in Civilized (?) Society," and was designed to arouse the public conscience to the frightful immorality of accepted moral standards.

There is no crime which governments punish with greater severity than the espousal of an unpopular cause, looking toward the enlightenment of benighted humanity.

The case of Bernarr Macfadden has been carried to the Supreme Court of the United States. Foreseeing, however, probable defeat, the friends of Macfadden are now circulating a petition for his "pardon." Those wishing to sign it, are requested to communicate with Bernarr Macfadden, Flatiron Building, New York City.

* * *

The capitalists of Nevada—aided by the ever servile State and Federal authorities—have tried all means at hand to provoke a condition of affairs at the Goldfield mines which might serve as a pretext for the wholesale slaughter of the strikers. Having failed in their purpose, in spite of the regulars which the White House Tsar so obligingly sent to aid the exploiters, the cabal of law and capital is now planning to obtain a Federal injunction, ostensibly to prevent picketing, but in reality to bring about the dissolution of the Goldfield Miners' Union.

C. E. Mahoney, vice-president of the Western Federation of Miners, is reported to have expressed himself as follows:

"An injunction of this kind, if issued, will mean that there is nothing left for the miners to do but to go and jump in the

840514025
The Emma Goldman Papers
Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 479-485 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 11 (Jan. 1908).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

sea. Any judge and set of men who fancy that the Goldfield miners will tamely submit to this procedure are greatly mistaken. I would favor ignoring any such order from any court in existence. Injunctions have come to be a mere joke to the American people, and this one would be the biggest joke of all. We shall fight it with every weapon at our disposal. There would be nothing else for us to do."

Quite right. There is nothing for labor to do, but to *fight for its emancipation from the thraldom of State and capital.* Only those who are willing to fight for liberty deserve it. Only those have it who conquer it.

* * *

Lieb' Vaterland, magst ruhig sein—Chancellor Day has spoken. Without any previous notice the learned gentleman of Syracuse University overwhelmed an unsuspecting public with the discovery that "the rich make it possible for the laboring man to earn a livelihood."

'Tis more than a discovery, Chancellor. 'Tis an invention; and by no means recent; in fact, a hoary old lie. Suppose, Chancellor, that you and the rich were to emigrate to Hades. Would then the bakers of your city quit making bread? Why, I trow they'd even bake cake to celebrate the event.

But we understand you, Ananias. Your fling at labor, Anarchy and Emma Goldman, and your glorification of the rich—we understand them all, old prostitute: 'tis the flunkey's bid for the Oil King's New Year's tip.

* * *

Two noble veterans of the Russian Revolution have fallen into the clutches of the bloody Bear—Nicholas Tchaykovsky and Katherine Breshkovskaya.

They are dangerous, undesirable citizens. Dangerous to all tyranny and oppression; undesirable because they love liberty, aye, with an enthusiasm and zeal which know no limit. They have devoted their lives to the cause of the people; they have sacrificed wealth, position, even their own liberty to aid Russia achieve freedom. Long, weary years they have passed in prison and exile, only to prove that the fires of liberty cannot be extinguished even by the snows of Siberia. Again these brave martyrs returned to Russia, ever responsive to the call of humanity. They feared neither prison, nor probable sentence of death. Russia needed them, and they came.

Would the world had more of this spirit, more of these

noble, self-sacrificing idealists. Though misunderstood, persecuted and condemned, *the future is theirs.* That is their highest reward.

* * *

Our friend and comrade John R. Coryell, well known to all readers of MOTHER EARTH by his able contributions to our magazine, is the editor of a new monthly, *The Wide Way.*

We heartily greet the young champion of a newer and better life, and hope that the names of those may be legion who will walk with "Our John" in the Wide Way.

* * *

THE NEW GOSPEL

AS of yore, church bells and organs are again announcing the glad tidings of the birth of the Son of God, who had come on earth to redeem mankind.

Yet, while the legend of redemption is being repeated, thousands of hungry and shelterless beings are tramping the cities and towns in search of work.

They cannot but question the truth of those tidings that have brought them naught but misery and despair, and that have closed all opportunities for the many, yet lavishly bestowing upon the few.

The story proclaimed from church and steeple during two thousand years has served bigoted priests to weave a net of lies wherewith they have caught human souls, while human bodies were allowed to perish.

But the time has come when large numbers of people are beginning to realize that the Nazarene, whom they are called upon to worship as the Son of God, himself was slain by the powers of wealth and authority, even as those are made to die who dare to cry out against the thieves and Pharisees of modern times.

Christ thundered against the rich and took his place with the poor. It was to the oppressed and degraded slaves he carried the gospel of hope, of justice, of liberation. No wonder "the poor heareth him gladly."

He died the champion of a new social conception, and many of his disciples, since canonized, had continued to wage war against wealth and property.

840514026
The Emma Goldman Papers
Anent My Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman. – pp. 534-535 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 2, no. 11 (Jan. 1908).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

tions to acting with the Federation along the points stated. Comrades, there are probably various questions of principle and tactics upon which different opinions prevail. But on the other hand there are certain issues upon which all can join, and it is these we lay before you for your discussion and final action.

The burning questions of the day offer us a wide field of action. Let us not remain standing passively aside. Let us rather immediately enter the arena.

The Federation has already initiated its activity by organizing monster mass meetings of the unemployed. Its immediate program further contains the organization of a series of lectures to popularize Anarchism. Also the immediate publication, in English and Jewish, of a pamphlet on the Crisis, to be spread in hundreds of thousands all over the country.

We call the attention of groups and comrades to the necessity of immediate action with regard to the proposed pamphlet, which is already written and set. The question of joining the Federation the groups can decide only after some discussion. That will necessarily require time. But the question of the pamphlet must be decided upon at once, and we call upon all comrades and groups to notify us without unnecessary delay as to the number of pamphlets they desire, and to what extent they can contribute to help defray the expenses of publication.

Fraternally,
ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF NEW YORK.

All communications to the Federation are to be addressed to the Secretary, J. O. Behr, 552 Fox St., New York. Money to be sent to the Treasurer, Alexander Berkman, Box 47 D, New York.

* * *

ANENT MY LECTURE TOUR

The announcement in MOTHER EARTH and *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* of my proposed tour is bringing numerous invitations from all parts of the country, proving the lively interest and activity of our comrades.

From the 5th till the 18th of January I shall lecture in Utica, Syracuse, Rochester, Albany, Gloversville, and Schenectady.

After that at:

Philadelphia, Pa., January 24th and 25th, at Pennsylvania Hall;
Washington, D. C., January 26th (afternoon);
Baltimore, Md., January 26th (evening);
Pittsburg, Pa., January 27th.

February 13th I shall start on my western tour. Dates have been engaged by the following cities: Montreal, London, Toronto (Canada), Cleveland, Toledo, Columbus, Cincinnati, Springfield, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, and Chicago.

I urge those western groups and comrades from whom I have not yet heard, to make haste if they wish me to reserve dates for them.

I have already stated that my tour is intended to aid MOTHER EARTH, as the magazine largely depends on it. I hope the comrades will bear that in mind.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

MOTHER EARTH SUSTAINING FUND

Previously acknowledged	$167.80
Proceeds from E. G. meetings:	
Brockton, Mass.	15.00
Lawrence, Mass	14.00
Haverhill, Mass	12.00
Lowell, Mass.	3.00
Worcester, Mass.	12.00
Boston, Mass.	16.00
Paterson, N. J.	18.00
Bronsville, N. Y.	38.00
Harlem Liberal Alliance, N.Y.	10.00
Collected by Lillian Kisluik, Atlantic City, N. J.:	
Lillian Kisluik	1.00
M. Kisluik	1.00
Abe Ostroff	1.00
Fannie Bailing	1.00
G. H.	1.00
M. Haskin	1.00
Wm. Kofbis	1.00
S. Goldman	1.00
R. Neitzge, Chicago	1.00
P. Walter, San Francisco	.50
Total	$315.30

486

840514027
The Emma Goldman Papers
Mother Earth Sustaining Fund / Emma Goldman.— pp. 535-536 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 11 (Jan. 1908).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

tions to acting with the Federation along the points stated. Comrades, there are probably various questions of principle and tactics upon which different opinions prevail. But on the other hand there are certain issues upon which all can join, and it is these we lay before you for your discussion and final action.

The burning questions of the day offer us a wide field of action. Let us not remain standing passively aside. Let us rather immediately enter the arena.

The Federation has already initiated its activity by organizing monster mass meetings of the unemployed. Its immediate program further contains the organization of a series of lectures to popularize Anarchism. Also the immediate publication, in English and Jewish, of a pamphlet on the Crisis, to be spread in hundreds of thousands all over the country.

We call the attention of groups and comrades to the necessity of immediate action with regard to the proposed pamphlet, which is already written and set. The question of joining the Federation the groups can decide only after some discussion. That will necessarily require time. But the question of the pamphlet must be decided upon at once, and we call upon all comrades and groups to notify us without unnecessary delay as to the number of pamphlets they desire, and to what extent they can contribute to help defray the expenses of publication.

Fraternally,
ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF NEW YORK.

All communications to the Federation are to be addressed to the Secretary, J. O. Behr, 552 Fox St., New York. Money to be sent to the Treasurer, Alexander Berkman, Box 47 D, New York.

* * *

ANENT MY LECTURE TOUR

The announcement in MOTHER EARTH and *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* of my proposed tour is bringing numerous invitations from all parts of the country, proving the lively interest and activity of our comrades.

From the 5th till the 18th of January I shall lecture in Utica, Syracuse, Rochester, Albany, Gloversville, and Schenectady.

After that at:

Philadelphia, Pa., January 24th and 25th, at Pennsylvania Hall;
Washington, D. C., January 26th (afternoon);
Baltimore, Md., January 26th (evening);
Pittsburg, Pa., January 27th.

February 13th I shall start on my western tour. Dates have been engaged by the following cities: Montreal, London, Toronto (Canada), Cleveland, Toledo, Columbus, Cincinnati, Springfield, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, and Chicago.

I urge those western groups and comrades from whom I have not yet heard, to make haste if they wish me to reserve dates for them.

I have already stated that my tour is intended to aid MOTHER EARTH, as the magazine largely depends on it. I hope the comrades will bear that in mind.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

MOTHER EARTH SUSTAINING FUND

Previously acknowledged	$167.80
Proceeds from E. G. meetings:	
Brockton, Mass.	15.00
Lawrence, Mass.	14.00
Haverhill, Mass.	12.00
Lowell, Mass.	3.00
Worcester, Mass.	12.00
Boston, Mass.	16.00
Paterson, N. J.	18.00
Bronsville, N. Y.	38.00
Harlem Liberal Alliance, N.Y.	10.00
Collected by Lillian Kisluik, Atlantic City, N. J.:	
Lillian Kisluik	1.00
M. Kisluik	1.00
Abe Ostroff	1.00
Fannie Bailing	1.00
G. H.	1.00
M. Haskin	1.00
Wm. Kofbis	1.00
S. Goldman	1.00
R. Neitzge, Chicago	1.00
P. Walter, San Francisco	.50
Total	$315.30

487

840514027

The Emma Goldman Papers

Mother Earth Sustaining Fund / Emma Goldman.— pp. 535-536 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 11 (Jan. 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Deficit, as per November account	$333.84
Deficit, December M. E.	100.00
E. G. tour expenses	10.00
Total deficit and expenses	$443.84
Total receipts	315.30
Deficit	$128.54

What energy and zeal can accomplish has been shown during my tour in the textile districts, where a few devoted comrades had arranged all my meetings. The latter were successful in every way, in spite of the industrial depression. I found a very intense interest in our ideas all through New England. May our comrades keep up the good fight.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

WEEKLY PAPER FUND

Previously acknowledged	$23.25
R. L. Feldman, Baltimore, Md	1.00
Geo. Pflaum, Baltimore, Md	.50
Progressive Ladies' Tailors, N. Y., per Otto Piek	8.00
T. Takahashi, N. Y.	1.00
Louis Diekstein, N. Y.	.50
Dr. L. M. Robins, Brooklyn	2.00
D. Levinson, New London, Conn	3.00
J. Soyez, Cincinnati, Ohio	2.00
Mr. Fingold, Dorchester, Mass	.50
M. Heiman, Paterson, N. J.	1.00
A. Niedermeier, Trenton, N. J.	1.00
Group Worker's Friend, Syracuse, N. Y., per M. Slive	10.00
Total	$53.75

ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

INTERNATIONAL
BOOK STORE
Established 1892
All the Books You Want
FINE STATIONERY AND BOOKBINDING
A. WASSERMAN
45 CLINTON ST. NEW YORK

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EUGENICS

The Pioneer Magazine in the English Language Devoted to Prenatal Culture and the Right of Every Child to Be Well Born.

It Treats of Sexual Science
In a Sane, Intelligent, and Inoffensive Manner. It points out the vital necessity for a broader knowledge of Sexual Hygiene. Hence it opposes any attempt to restrict Instruction in Sexual Science.

Reproduction of the Human Race
Is discussed by men and women who have made a special study of the Sexual Relations, and who realize that quality is of more importance than Numbers.

It Insists on the Freedom of Men and Women
From Sexual Slavery. It insists on the Right of Every Woman to the Control of Her Own Person. It insists that Woman alone shall be the one to decide When and Under What Conditions she will bring a New Human Being into Existence.

Fifteen cents a copy; $1.50 a year. Order of Newsdealer or of Publisher,
M. HARMAN, Chicago, Ill.

SPECIAL OFFERS: Send 25 cents for a three months' trial subscription and a copy of "Institutional Marriage," a lecture by the editor. EUGENICS AND MOTHER EARTH ONE YEAR FOR $1.75.

THE FOLLOWING PLAYS OF
HENRIK IBSEN
TO BE HAD THROUGH *MOTHER EARTH*

A Doll's House	25c
The Pillars of Society	25c
Ghosts	25c
Rosmersholm	25c
The Lady from the Sea	25c
An Enemy of Society	25c
The Wild Duck	25c
The Young Men's League	25c
Hedda Gabler	50c
The Master Builder	50c

488

840514028

The Emma Goldman Papers

Our Propaganda / Emma Goldman. — pp. 579-581 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 2, no. 12 (Feb. 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

As I have said, I do not think it matters much whether one enters into a conventional marriage or an unconventional one under the name of free union, so that one preserve his freedom; but I am willig to go on record as saying that any calling of public attention to sex union is either a concession to prurient curiosty or the slavish following of a custom. I know a young woman who is a mother without being a wife. No one knows who the father of the child is. She says it is no one's affair. She lives alone with her child, having given her body into the keeping of neither husband nor lover, prepared to maintain full control of herself and to say when, if ever, she will become a mother again. That young woman I honor and applaud.

So my conclusion is that it is difficult, if not impossible, to be free in either marriage or free union, and that, therefore, I think there should be found a better way than either; for to me freedom is the paramount consideration. That is to say I want to be myself, and just as passionately I want the woman I love to be herself. One can be himself only in freedom.

And as the last word, now, I want to say and to ask you to believe that I mean all that is implied in the words: a woman can be a mother in freedom; she cannot be a wife in freedom.

OUR PROPAGANDA

My tour through the State of New York was as successful as could be expected at the present time of industrial misery, when thousands of people are out of work.

The meetings at Utica, a Catholic city and one of the most backward in the State, were very poorly attended; still, some good was accomplished, inasmuch as the newspapers brought good reports. Especially was this true with regard to my paper on "What Anarchism Really Stands For." The Utica *Daily Press* published an almost stenographic report of the greater part of the lecture.

At Syracuse the meetings were well attended, in spite of a terrific snowstorm. As the comrades were anxious to hear an oral report of the Amsterdam Congress, a group meeting was decided upon after my second lecture, and all Anarchists and their sympathizers were invited to attend. About thirty people gathered at a comrade's house. While I was making my report, a knock was heard at the door and three brutish-looking men entered. They proved to be two detectives and a reporter, who came to break up the "secret" session of the Anarchists. They were informed that they had no legal right (not to speak of decency, which has never been characteristic of detectives) to enter a private residence so late at night, and that they would have to leave at once. After threatening to arrest me and freely using coarse language, they backed out. This is another example of our glorious freedom, where every detective assumes the right to invade and annoy people in their own homes.

The comrades all expressed themselves in favor of the International, contributing to the latter five dollars and eighty cents.

Rochester, my "native" city, turned out very good audiences, especially to the lectures on "The Revolutionary Spirit in the Modern Drama" and "Woman Under Anarchism." It is not so very long ago that an Anarchist could not be found in Rochester with a searchlight. Now a large group of young people is doing active work, and many Anarchists, though not affiliated with the group, are spreading our ideas in an effective manner.

489

840514028

The Emma Goldman Papers

Our Propaganda / Emma Goldman.— pp. 579-581 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 2, no. 12 (Feb. 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

At Albany, the centre of political corruption and graft, two good meetings and a social were held. At the latter five dollars were collected for the International.

Schenectady gave the largest American audience and a very enthusiastic one at that. I spoke on "Syndicalism —a New Phase in the Labor Movement," which was listened to with great interest and appreciation. The success of the Schenectady meeting was entirely due to the efforts of one man, comrade Schneider, who worked persistently and faithfully, in spite of many discouragements and obstacles. An obscure little body, The Workers' Circle of Schenectady, felt called upon to notify the press and the city fathers that "it had nothing to do with the Emma Goldman meetings." No wonder that wage slavery continues to exist, when the workers are such lickspittles.

After the meeting the Social Educational Club was organized, which will continue the work of Anarchist propaganda.

That the comrades of the State of New York mean to continue the work systematically is best proved by their decision to arrange a series of meetings for our friend John R. Coryell, who is to lecture in Syracuse February 23rd; in Rochester on the 24th and 25th; in Buffalo on the 26th, and in Schenectady on the 27th.

* * *

I was booked to speak in Philadelphia January 24th and 25th. But a severe cold prevented my going. Comrade Alexander Berkman went in my stead and addressed a large audience.

Though still indisposed, I went to Baltimore January 26th, where I spoke before the largest audience I have had in the East for some time. More than a thousand persons packed the hall, while hundreds had to be turned away. The audience as well as the comrades were very kind and forbearing with me, as my throat was bad and my speech still worse.

Monday, January 26th, I lectured in Pittsburg, the city where thousands of working people are yearly sacrificed to the Moloch of capitalism, the worst grinding mill being the Westinghouse. In this city it was also a solitary comrade, H. Kraemer, who arranged my meeting single handed and at his own expense, and it was very successful indeed.

I shall start my tramp westward via Canada, my schedule being as follows:

Montreal, February 14th and 15th, at San Joseph's Hall, 182 Catherine St. (Lecture in German.)

Montreal, February 16th, at the Labor Temple, 123 San Dominic St. (English lecture.)

Toronto, February 17th, at 214 Adelaide St. (English.)

Toronto, February 18th, at the same hall. (German.)

London, February 19th and 20th, at Cullis Hall, 259 Wellington St. (Both lectures in English.)

Cleveland, February 21st and 22nd, at 5217 Woodland Ave. (German lectures.)

Cleveland, February 23rd, at Pythian Temple, cor. Prospect Ave. and Huron Rd. (English lecture.)

Toledo, February 24th, 25th and 26th.

St. Louis, February 28th, 29th and March 1st.

Springfield, March 2nd and 3rd.

Chicago, March 5th till 19th.

Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New Ulm and Winnipeg will keep me engaged till the 6th of April. After that I shall go to Omaha, Denver and the Coast.

Much as I dislike to repeat that I expect the proceeds of my lectures to be devoted to MOTHER EARTH, I must do so to avoid misunderstanding, since one has already occurred with a certain group. I tour for MOTHER EARTH exclusively. If some important matter should arise which will require financial aid, I expect the comrades to consult with me; otherwise I desire the proceeds to go to MOTHER EARTH, which cannot exist without it.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

490

891218001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman on Trades Unions. Declares Anarchy Is the Ideal State / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* The London Advertiser [London, Ont.]. — (Feb. 20, 1908).

Obtained from the London Public Libraries, London, Ontario. Institutional Location: The London Room.

...this 3rd day of ...
H. STEVELY, ...Mayor.

...copy of a by-law ...al Council of the ...of London on the ...D. 1908, and all ...required to take ...rpose of applying ...any part thereof, ...is application for ...gh Court of Jus... ...ns next after the ...ice once a week ...eks, in the news... ...rtiser, or he will ...n that behalf.
BAKER, Clerk.
69c-6,13,20

CARNEGIE

...ved It for Years ...Pension.

—The faith of ...drew Carnegie ...a young man ...eing put on the ...for $300 a year. ...and poor artist. ...forty years ago ...negie, who was ...f the Pennsyl... Carnegie was ...e portrait, which ...everal days and ...his garret. The ...n until a few ...was found and ...leased with the ...her husband as ...e met him. She ...pt and given a ...home and that ...ered. The por... ...alf by two feet.

...AINS

...at He Knows.

Emma Goldman On Trades Unions

Declares Anarchy Is the Ideal State

Addressed a Small Audience in Cullis Hall Last Night.

Emma Goldman, the notorious woman anarchist, held forth last night in Cullis Hall, to an audience of about a hundred people, the majority of whom were of foreign origin.

Miss Goldman was neatly dressed in a dark gown, cut Empire style, with low neck, which showed a powerful, muscle-lined throat to the full extent as it worked with the efforts she made to convey her views to the audience.

Her voice is like that of a man, strong and penetrating, while her language is generally excellent English, except at times, when she becomes excited, and relapses unconsciously into the guttural tones of Russian or German.

Famous, Indeed.

Many of the audience attended out of mere curiosity to see the woman who was accused of having instigated Leon Czolgosz to the atrocious assassination of President McKinley at the Pan-American Exhibition in 1901. Miss Goldman has the unique distinction also of having been under police surveillance more than any other woman in America. It is said that she is shadowed continually. She espoused, though without the formality of marriage, the man who tried to assassinate Frick, of the Carnegie Steel Company.

Needed No Chairman.

At the outset Miss Goldman declared she needed no chairman to introduce her, and stated that she had no bombs concealed about her.

Coming to trade unionism, the relation of which to anarchism was the subject of her lecture, she said that it was to be regretted that the average trade unionist knew nothing of the objects of the association to which he belonged.

...haps the richest and most conservative in the world.

They need to learn that a large treasury is not power.

What is needed is men, men of every class, who can be directed into one general movement, and used as a single unit.

Are They Disinterested?

At present unions are most disunited and the aim seems to be not to help each other.

Manhood, courage and integrity were never more needed in unions than they are today.

France is nearer to the ideal of unionism than any other country.

There the unions unite to form one great union, and this plan is the only effective one against capital.

In America, however, trade unionism has gone back on all its fundamental principles.

Nothing they had ever attempted has been carried out.

The courts, the tool of the capitalist, she said, declare that everything the labor unions obtain is unconstitutional.

Thus the supreme court of the United States declared the eight-hour day, and the child labor bill unconstitutional. When men try to resist the enroachments of capital the militia, another tool of capital, is called to shoot them down.

Trade unions have developed into mere insurance or benefit organizations. The lecturer ridiculed the idea of labor unions giving notice that they were about to strike, as it gave the capitalist time to bring in scabs.

Anarchy.

Anarchism was, in Miss Goldman's opinion, the remedy for all the evils of the time.

Direct action and a general strike are the most effective means of accomplishing the end desired, as the courts, the militia, the church, were the bitterest enemies of the working classes. The object of anarchism was to rid the people of Government, of soldiers, of priests, and of religion, and by destroying all these useless and ...

...FAIR A...
...COLO...

...NUFOR...

W. I...

A well ...
for the a...
above th...
hip, mad...
porters f...
far mod...
above cu...

Mar...
P.

This n...
average ...
medium ...
did Fren...
price, an...

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

891218001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman on Trades Unions. Declares Anarchy Is the Ideal State / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* The London Advertiser [London, Ont.]. — (Feb. 20, 1908).

Obtained from the London Public Libraries, London, Ontario. Institutional Location: The London Room.

CARNEGIE

ved It for Years Pension.

—The faith of drew Carnegie a young man eing put on the for $300 a year, and poor artist, forty years ago negie, who was f the Pennsyl-

Carnegie was c portrait, which everal days and his garret. The n until a few was found and

pleased with the her husband as e met him. She pt and given a home and that ered. The por- alf by two feet

AINS

at He Knows.

s the Merits of

ating the Whole

ts rumors of a thing that will ice of medicine. n sufferers from es of renewed ife.

ce have these a special inter- of Anderson & gists, who have n this new prep- led Vinol, was

lics, "this is no than was the viewed through ery existed, sim- ng out a means we were after. ght be consid- what we have for years, and less than the erties that have cod's liver and has been pre- hysicians. You

low neck, which showed a powerful, muscle-lined throat to the full extent as it worked with the efforts she made to convey her views to the audience.

Her voice is like that of a man, strong and penetrating, while her language is generally excellent English, except at times, when she becomes excited, and relapses unconsciously into the guttural tones of Russian or German.

Famous, Indeed.

Many of the audience attended out of mere curiosity to see the woman who was accused of having instigated Leon Czolgosz to the atrocious assassination of President McKinley at the Pan-American Exhibition in 1901. Miss Goldman has the unique distinction also of having been under police surveillance more than any other woman in America. It is said that she is shadowed continually. She espoused, though without the formality of marriage, the man who tried to assassinate Frick, of the Carnegie Steel Company.

Needed No Chairman.

At the outset Miss Goldman declared she needed no chairman to introduce her, and stated that she had no bombs concealed about her.

Coming to trade unionism, the relation of which to anarchism was the subject of her lecture, she said that it was to be regretted that the average trade unionist knew nothing of the objects of the association to which he belonged.

He knows still less of anarchism, which he regards with horror.

Both had their origin in unsatisfactory economic conditions.

Josiah Stevens introduced unionism into America first.

The average union man looked upon the union as a means solely of raising his wages and giving him a more effective means of combating capital.

He does not enter as into a training school with the object of becoming better, but often from compulsion, and generally with the idea of causing trouble some time or other.

Alleged False Friends.

Mark Hanna, Bishop Potter and John Mitchell, who were posing as the friends of the workingman, are really his worst enemies.

The one aim of these men is to secure arbitration.

All arbitrations between labor and capital had in the past proven disastrous to the worker, and were so dangerous that the advanced labor organizer of today resolutely refuses to enter into them any more.

The English trade unions are perFrance is nearer to the ideal of unionism than any other country.

There the unions unite to form one great union, and this plan is the only effective one against capital.

In America, however, trade unionism has gone back on all its fundamental principles.

Nothing they had ever attempted has been carried out.

The courts, the tool of the capitalist, she said, declare that everything the labor unions obtain is unconstitutional.

Thus the supreme court of the United States declared the eight-hour day, and the child labor bill unconstitutional. When men try to resist the enroachments of capital the militia, another tool of capital, is called to shoot them down.

Trade unions have developed into mere insurance or benefit organizations. The lecturer ridiculed the idea of labor unions giving notice that they were about to strike, as it gave the capitalist time to bring in "scabs."

Anarchy.

Anarchism was, in Miss Goldman's opinion, the remedy for all the evils of the time.

Direct action and a general strike are the most effective means of accomplishing the end desired, as the courts, the militia, the church, were the bitterest enemies of the working classes. The object of anarchism was to rid the people of Government, of soldiers, of priests, and of religion, and by destroying all these useless and unprogressive institutions, make a beautiful harmonious union of all men for common ends in the parts best suited to them.

Socialism and Anarchism.

Replying to a question asked from the audience as to what the distinctions between socialism and anarchism were, Miss Goldman explained, that socialism recognized government institutions, while anrchy did not.

She was then asked the difference between an ideal and practical socialist, and said that an ideal socialist was an anarchist, as he did not believe in institutions as the practical socialist did.

Asked why the church was against socialism, Miss Goldman said the church was opposed to everything progressive, and appealed to and had its hold upon the masses of ignorant people.

Educated persons did not believe half of what the church required them to believe.

Miss Goldman lectures again tonight on "The Revolutionary Spirit and the Modern Drama."

WESTERN FAIR SEPT. 11 TO 19

Continued from Page One.

Secretary—Mr. A. M. Hunt.
Treasurer—Mr. D. Mackenzie.
Auditor—Mr. F. G. Jewel.
Superintendent of Grounds—Mr. J. H. Brown.

Chairmen Chosen.

NUFOR

W. I

A well
for the a
above t
hip, mad
porters f
lar mod
above cu

Mar
P.

This n
average
medium
did Fren
price, an
one of t
pair.....

C
I

Differen
factured
the slend
medium
figure.
corsets
ceed cor
vise the
your figu

Store Clo
6 p.m. I
Saturd

891218004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Famous Anarchist Delivers Lecture / Emma Goldman.— p. 10 ; 28 cm. *In* The London Free Press [London, Ont.]. —(Feb. 20, 1908).

Obtained from the London Public Libraries, London, Ontario. Institutional Location: The London Room.

FOR THE SKIN,
ND WHITE.

ZOIN

TTLE.
D BY
st and Druggist,
REET.

Clearance Sale
..OF..
RUBBER
BOOTS

Men's Knee Boots, in several weights; some bright, some dull finish; sizes 6 to 11. Regular price $4.00. Clearance price $2.75

Men's Hip Boots, extra fine quality. Regular price $6.25. Clearance price $4.50

Boys' Hip Boots. Regular $4.25, now..... $2.75

Boys' Knee Boots. Regular $3.25, now..... $2.25

Women's Finest Quality Boots, bright finish, fleece lined. Regular $2.50 quality. Clearance price. .$1.75

Children's, as above, sizes 5 to 10½. Regular price $1.75. Clearance price $1.25

Misses', as above, sizes 11 to 2. Regular price $2.00. Clearance price $1.50

J. P. COOK CO
LIMITED
Good Shoes for All the Family.

FAMOUS ANARCHIST DELIVERS LECTURE

Large Number Hear Emma Goldman, of International Renown, at Cullis Hall

Just as Madame Calve was the event of the season to the musically inclined, so was Emma Goldman the event of the season to the anarchistically inclined, when she appeared at Cullis' Hall last night in an address on "Trade Unionism," which was closely listened to by an audience of about 200 people. Miss Goldman lectured under the auspices of the Self Educational Club, and it was her first appearance in London.

She is probably the foremost woman anarchist in the world. At the time of the death of President McKinley, when Leon Czolgosz was arrested in September, 1901, the police held her on suspicion that she had urged Czolgosz to the deed. There was no evidence against her and she was released.

Short in stature, Emma Goldman is nevertheless a person of stage presence. She wears a plain black dress, low at the neck, lacking in ornament save for a small gold pin of peculiar design at her throat.

Manner of Speech.

She talks quickly and with some ardor, but has few mannerisms or gestures. Her attitude is one of close concentration, and her manner is not automatic. She appears to be fired with the spirit.

"Those of you who came here out of curiosity," she began, "no doubt expected to see daggers, bombs and dynamite. You will be disappointed. I speak to-night on 'Trade Unionism, Its Purpose and Aims.'"

The majority of trade unionists did not understand the meaning and purpose of trade unionism, she said. Its principle should be that of a helpmeet to those who toil without receiving. It was dangerous to authority and it was a weapon in the hands of the people if properly used.

But the trade unionist held the belief that the principal thing was a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. So long as the unionist was willing to sell himself and have a master over him there would be no talk of a fair day's work or a fair day's pay.

The general opinion was that trade unionism was a sort of insurance. The union man prided himself that he was an orderly, law-abiding person. The very laws he lived under were forces that made independence impossible, as long as others robbed him of the fruits of his labor. Consistent trade unionists were persecuted as dangerous classes in society.

Union Compulsion.

"The average trade unionist joins a union through compulsion," declared Miss Goldman. "Economic necessity compels him. In rambling with his fellows. He joins, not out of principle, but out of compulsion. His desire is to wrench from

"Anarchism is opposed to the wishy-washy trade unionism, but not to trade unionism of a progressive nature," Miss Goldman went on calmly. She brought "progressive" out strongly, and it made an effect, for there was more applause.

"Some think anarchism stands for destruction," she continued. "People take the ordinary newspaper conception of anarchy that it propagates the destruction of society. Anarchy only stands for destruction of the institutions that have kept our race in bondage for years. It stands for the institutions of the finest traits, the noblest inspirations, the deepest love of your fellows. It cries aloud for the destruction of that two-headed monster—Government and capitalization.

The Government assists capitalization, and we anarchists have declared a relentless war on them both. The anarchists appeals to the human mind to come out of the darkness of the past ages and its superstitions.

Claims Laws Increase Crime

"Your laws have increased crime, not decreased them. It is not in keeping with human nature to have man-made laws.

"If a man does not work I do not blame him. All that was noble and fine and original has been destroyed in him. He is an automatic nonentity. Let him choose the truth. Only then can he create. If any commodity requires human life, surely we can do without that commodity. Society must be for man, not man for society," and with a simple "I thank you" Emma Goldman concluded probably the most remarkable lecture ever delivered by a woman in London.

She offered the literature of anarchism following the lecture.

She will again be heard this evening in Cullis' hall. Her topic will concern "Anarchism."

LITTLE BITS OF NEWS.

The three license commissioners for the City of Toronto, Dr. R. J. Wilson (chairman), and Messrs. R. Millichamp and D. M. Defoe, have resigned.

Admiral Evans, in command of the U. S. fleet on trip, is reported to be ill. The fleet will probably enter Callao, Peru, harbor this morning.

It is understood that the Ontario Government has decided not to impose any further taxation on the railway companies this session.

After hearing Secretary Root in explanation of the proposed new French arbitration treaty yesterday the Senate committee on foreign relations ordered a favorable report upon the treaty.

Dr. Lalouchet, the American citizen, who was arrested recently in Ottawa on the charge of being connected with the revolutionary organization, was released yesterday afternoon, but was ordered to leave Russia within ten days.

Six hundred Salvation Army emigrants sailed from Liverpool for Canada yesterday.

King Leopold of Belgium has conferred upon Cardinal Gibbons the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of the Crown. The Cardinal is the first American to receive the decoration.

"I'm glad to find you so much better, old man. Does the doctor expect you to be out soon?"

"I think he expects me to be out the amount of his bill. He sent it in to-day."—Catholic Standard and Times.

THE HOME

Buy
Y
G
We
city
we
35
PER
CA
DOZ
CA
LEM
All
year.
juicy.
We
fruit
our
s
Dund
T.

T.W
Terrible
G
A
YORK
sulted f
Isaac
sylvania
Arlington
after 7
porarily
was abl
stairs
there,
suffocat
firemen

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

891218004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Famous Anarchist Delivers Lecture / Emma Goldman. — p. 10 ; 28 cm. *In* The London Free Press [London, Ont.]. — (Feb. 20, 1908).

Obtained from the London Public Libraries, London, Ontario. Institutional Location: The London Room.

trance price $1.50

P. COOK CO

LIMITED

Shoes for All the Family.
Dundas St., 398a Richmond St.

"The Shop for Men."

Don't overlook these

DENT'S GLOVES

are selling just now for only

$1.00

ood spring weight and style.

BOUGHNER

u can save $5.00, $7.00, $10.00 on ood Overcoat here now.

P. M. HONORED

Lodge, L.O.L., Presents Wor. Bro. McCoy With Jewel

Ithstanding the fact that the g was one of the most disagree- Sherwood Hall was the scene of interesting and successful gath- when the regular monthly meet- Boyne L. O. L., No. 238, was held. hall was well filled by members siting brethren. W. M. Bro. Wm. aw, who ably conducted the meet- as surrounded by a host of promi- officers of the Orange Association, whom were R. W. Bro. E. T. . G. M. O. W.; W. Bro. J. Mur- P. M.; W. Bro. T. H. Pitt, dis- master; W. Bro. J. G. Ward, P. D. Reading; Bro. R. Decoursey, P. of the Royal Black Knights of d. Bro. A. T. Essery, D. D. M.; W. Brown, of Rothsay, Ont.; Wor. A. Hales, Wright, Loney, McCoy thers.

mber of important questions were sed in the interest of No. 238, after I. P. M. Bro. S. McCoy was made ecipient of a beautiful P. M.'s

presentation was made by the Worshipful Bro. E. T. Essery, and, ng so, on behalf of the members, d that the prosperity of this lodge e to Bro. McCoy's untiring efforts. S. McCoy, he said, had been one mainstays of the lodge, and it great pleasure to have the privil- f honoring a brother whose staunch to the cause, and to this lodge rticular, was so highly appreciated. M. McCoy made a suitable reply, ng the members for the apprecia- f his services. He did not wish to all the credit, as there were a num- faithful workers in the lodge, but oked for greater prosperity, and d that the year 1908 would be a era of great progress in connection L. O. L., No. 238.

Bro. S. McCoy was not the only

independence imposed, as long as [illegible] robbed him of the fruits of his labor. Consistent trade unionists were persecuted as dangerous classes in society.

Union Compulsion.

"The average trade unionist joins a union through compulsion," declared Miss Goldman. "Economic necessity compels him, to combine with his fellows. He joins, not out of principle, but out of compulsion. His desire is to wrench from the powers whatever he can gain. He hears of the relationship of capital and labor. He is told they are twin brothers. But it is a case of Big Brother Capitalist pulling the hair out of Weak Sister, Labor until there is nothing left in her head. 'This is because he loves her.' (Laughter).

Continuing her criticism of trade unionism, she referred to the financial arbitration meetings between representatives of capital and labor—over champagne and good cigars. 'The Gompers and the Mitchell's were living off the sweat and toil of thousands and millions. (Applause).

"Take your grievances to the judges," she exclaimed, "and your mission will be as futile. You have been emancipated from slavery, been made free to starve, free to die, free to sell yourselves. Capital is like a highway robber; and a highway robber would take your life. It does take your life because if you have not the means of subsistence you have not life."

The contract system between employer and employe was described as one of the greatest evils. There was no hope for the latter. If he went to court it was like "taking the devil into his grandmother's court."

Trade unionism struck at times, it was true, but never before it had given capital warning and allowed "blacklegs and scabs" to be brought in. When a lockout was declared because of hard times or any other cause, did capital warn labor?

Miss Goldman had never heard of such an instance. The workingman was thrown out into the streets "like a pressed-out lemon," when the employer desired. In slavery days the slave-owner was compelled to take care of his slaves as he would his horse, but the unionist only had to do with capital so long as he worked.

Must Prepare for Fight

"The professional fighter must prepare for the fight," said the famous exponent of the "red" doctrines. "The trade unionist is in the economic arena, where the gladiator must prepare to meet the foe. If he does not prepare for the foe he must go to the floor and be the laughing stock of all. Trade unionism must therefore be the training school for the struggle to come. You are fighting for life, for your children, for everything worth while."

The hoarding of money in their treasuries by unions was strenuously condemned by the speaker. High initiation fees kept many men out of the unions, and the presence of wealth produced an aristocracy more snobbish than that of the wealthy classes. They took no interest in the unemployed. They hadn't even discussed them. They were indifferent to the needs of these outcasts, not caring whether they died or starved. (Applause).

"Only when the people are aroused to their condition will they come to their integrity, courage, manhood and aggressiveness," the speaker exhorted. "Then all the militia, laws and soldiers cannot compete with you. Freedom will be the greatest weapon in the struggle for progress and advancement."

At mention of the Industrial Workers [illegible]

upon Cardinal Vaughan the [illegible] of the Royal Order of the Crown. The Cardinal is the first American to receive the decoration.

"I'm glad to find you so much better, old man. Does the doctor expect you to be out soon?"

"I think he expects me to be out the amount of his bill. He sent it in today."—Catholic Standard and Times.

As the doctor returned from a call he threw himself in an easy chair and remarked: "This business of wearing one's self out has got to stop; from this time on I'm going to take life easy." His wife glanced hastily at his professional equipment and replied: "You certainly have all the facilities for so doing."—Boston Courier.

sylvania R. [illegible] ington sta after 7 o'cl porarily. was ablaze. stairs to there, She suffocated. firemen. T

PREPA

The choi meikel to now prepa Crucifixion. the church

Big Jew

ALL TH

ALL GOODS IN NORT

RINGS

23 Solid Gold Baby Rings, regular $ for .....
9 Solid Gold Baby Rings, regular $ for .....
12 Gem Rings, regular $2.00, for....
5 Diamond Rings, regular $2.50, for..
23 Diamond Rings, regular $25.00, for $
15 Diamond Rings, regular $30.00, for $

CLOCKS

A large number of best makers, thirt and eight-hour Mantel and Fancy C ranging in price from $3.00 to $21.50; ing at HALF the regular PRICE.

OPERA GLASSES

Your choice of 16 pairs at HALF lar PRICE.

Electric and Bronze Figures at Half

STERLING SILVE

Sugar and Creams. Regular $17.00 to $ at HALF PRICE.

UMBRELLAS

891218004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Famous Anarchist Delivers Lecture / Emma Goldman.– p. 10 ; 28 cm. *In* The London Free Press [London, Ont.]. –(Feb. 20, 1908).

Obtained from the London Public Libraries, London, Ontario. Institutional Location: The London Room.

P. M. HONORED

odge, L.O.L., Presents Wor. Bro. McCoy With Jewel

lstanding the fact that the was one of the most disagree- erwood Hall was the scene of interesting and successful gath- ghen the regular monthly meet- loyne L. O. L., No. 238, was held. all was well filled by members thus brethren. W. M. Bro. Wm. w. who ably conducted the meet- surrounded by a host of promi- leers of the Orange Association, whom were R. W. Bro. E. T. G. M. O. W.; W. Bro. J. Mur- C. M.; W. Bro. T. H. Pitt, dis- ster; W. Bro. J. G. Ward, P. D. Reading; Bro. R. Decourcey, P. of the Royal Black Knights of Bro. A. T. Essery, D. D. M.; . Brown, of Rothsay, Ont.; Wor. . Hales, Wright, Loney, McCoy ers.

ber of important questions were d in the interest of No. 28, after . P. M. Bro. S. McCoy was made ipient of a beautiful P. M.'s

presentation was made by the Worshipful Bro. E. T. Essery, and, s so, on behalf of the members, thot the prosperity of this lodge e to Bro. McCoy's untiring efforts.

McCoy, he said, had been one mainstays of the lodge, and it great pleasure to have the privi- honoring a brother whose staunch to the cause, and to this lodge ular, was so highly appreciated.

McCoy made a suitable reply, g the members for the apprecia- his services. He did not wish to the credit, as there were a num- faithful workers in the lodge, but ked for greater prosperity, and that the year 1908 would be a a of great progress in connection . O. L., No. 238.

Bro. S. McCoy was not the only be so agreeably surprised, for af- presentation L. O. L., No. 238, ade the recipient of a handsome -bound Bible by Mrs. Wm. Brad- and Miss Bradshaw, of 54 High

members one and all moved a vote of thanks for the fine pres- d instructed the recording secre- express the lodge's sentiments to and Miss Bradshaw.

d. Bro. Wm. Bradshaw responded alf of his wife and daughter.

OBITUARY

Bertha Cornish, of 638 York street, nesday night at Victoria Hospital. than a year ago Mrs. Cornish be- the bride of Mr. Charles Cornish, as t sympathy of many friends his great bereavement.

foneral takes place from the fam- idence to Mount Pleasant Cemetery fternoon at 2.30 o'clock.

sleighs, hacks and victorias. Hues- two big liveries.

Trade Unionism and Labor

Miss Goldman Addresses Large Audience in Forester's Hall

Must Prepare for Fight

An Intelligent Argument

"Trade unionism has been a failure, and will be a failure, and has not life."

The contract system between employer and employe was described as one of the greatest evils. There was no hope for the latter. If he went to court it was like "taking the devil into his grandmother's court."

Trade unionism struck at times. It was true, but never before it had given capital warning and allowed "blacklegs and scabs" to be brought in. When a lockout was declared because of hard times or any other cause, did capital warn labor?

Miss Goldman had never heard of such an instance. The workingman was thrown out into the streets "like a pressed-out lemon," when the employer desired. In slavery days the slave-owner was compelled to take care of his slaves as he would his horse, but the unionist only had to do with capital so long as he worked.

Must Prepare for Fight

"The professional fighter must prepare for the fight," said the famous exponent of the "red" doctrines. "The trade unionist is in the economic arena, where the gladiator must prepare to meet the foe. If he does not prepare for the foe he must go to the floor and be the laughing stock of all. Trade unionism must therefore be the training school for the struggle to come. You are fighting for life, for your children, for everything worth while."

The hoarding of money in their treasuries by unions was strenuously condemned by the speaker. High initiation fees kept many men out of the unions, and the presence of wealth produced an aristocracy more snobbish than that of the wealthy classes. They took no interest in the unemployed. They hadn't even discussed them. They were indifferent to the needs of these outcasts, not caring whether they died or starved. (Applause).

"Only when the people are aroused to their condition will they come to their integrity, courage, manhood and aggressiveness," the speaker exhorted. "Then all the militia, laws and soldiers cannot compete with you. Freedom will be the greatest weapon in the struggle for progress and advancement."

At mention of the Industrial Workers of the World there was burst of applause from the band of hearers. Miss Goldman saw in their coming into existence the rescue of labor out of the present capitalistic pasture—out of the present conception that there was harmony.

An Intelligent Argument

"The moment our trade unionist realizes that he has power in his hands, muscles and intelligence, from that moment they may use their armies and troops without avail. They cannot compete with productive capacity, for soldiers and officers are human beings and must depend upon the producer. When you refuse to work for the parasites who are shooting you down, the soldiers will need you, not you the soldiers. They think the industrial workers a danger to society because they will not compromise. They are willing to fight or die for the truth. Everyone willing to die for the truth is a danger to society. Force must be reckoned with. They keep these troops ostensibly for the purpose of defending the people. They are kept to take arms against the internal enemy. Anti-militarism should be advocated. This legalized murder must be stopped. Trade unionists must FIGHT.

ALL IN

ALL GOODS IN NORT

RINGS

29 Solid Gold Baby Rings, regular $1 for .....

9 Solid Gold Baby Rings, regular $1 for .....

12 Gem Rings, regular $2.00, for....$

5 Diamond Rings, regular $2.50, for..$

23 Diamond Rings, regular $25.00, for $2

15 Diamond Rings, regular $30.00, for $4

CLOCKS

A large number of best makers, thirty- and eight-hour Mantel and Fancy Cl ranging in price from $3.00 to $21.50; al ing at HALF the regular PRICE.

OPERA GLASSES

Your choice of 16 pairs at HALF lar PRICE.

Electric and Bronze Figures at Half P

STERLING SILVEF

Sugar and Creams. Regular $17.00 to $2 at HALF PRICE.

UMBRELLAS

Two dozen, ranging from $4.50 to $12.00, at regular PRICE.

KNIVES and FORK

One Fish Carving Set. Regular $7.00, for.....

One Sterling Silver-Handled Game Carving Set. lar $8.00, for.....

One-half dozen Pearl-Handled Knives and For leatheret case. Regular $16.00, for .....

One dozen Celluloid Handled Knives and Forks, case. Regular $20.00, for .....

C.H.WA

374 RICH

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

891218000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Held Forth Again / Emma Goldman. – p. 6 ; 28 cm. *In* The London Advertiser [London, Ont.]. –(Feb. 21, 1908).
Obtained from the London Public Libraries, London, Ontario. Institutional Location: The London Room.

EMMA GOLDMAN HELD FORTH AGAIN

Aired Her Views in Cullis' Hall —Spoke of the Drama and Revolution.

The lecture by Emma Goldman on "The Revolutionary Spirit in the Modern Drama" in Cullis' Hall last night proved to be, as she herself expressed it to her audience, "the first time that certain views on certain subjects had been presented to them in such a free and unconventional form in this city." The hall was well filled.

Commencing with Tolstoi and his works, she spoke particularly of the "Dominion of Darkness," and the people were described in it—people whom, she said, were poor and ignorant, and committed crime, not because they were bad, but because they believed they were doing right in trying to overthrow the church, "which for more than 2,000 years has proven the greatest hindrance to progress that it was possible to have."

The Jewish Question.

The solution of the individual is the salvation of the race, and the Jewish question will not be solved in Russia until capital is abolished.

"Ibsen," said Miss Goldman, "has given the world more social dynamite than any other writer in the 2,000 years."

Ibsen's fight was against the erroneous social conditions of the time. "The Doll's House," expressing her belief that there was nothing else for her to do.

If more women would "find" themselves they would make for the general good.

Motherhood, she holds is not composed solely of being the mother of a child, but in the capacity to treat with the mothering instinct a child that is no blood relation. Miss Goldman spoke briefly of the works of Hauptmann, the German dramatist.

Touching on the American drama, she said there was none, because the capitalists were too busy making money out of human life.

Bernard Shaw's drama, "Mrs. Warren's Profession," was freely discussed and favorably commented upon.

A Question.

Miss Goldman was asked if she considered Jesus Christ an anarchist.

"In some ways, yes," she replied. "I do not for a moment regard him as a supernatural being. He taught us nothing that had not been taught before. Christ propagated truth and would be crucified right here in London today if he came here and tried to propagate similar ideas.

"Your so-called Christians worship him on Sunday and commit all sorts of crimes every other day.

"Why I tell you that if Christ were here today he would be ashamed of having died for people who have made such a botch job of his teachings."

"How would morality be protected without law, as advocated by anarchists?" someone asked.

Morality Not Protected.

"Your morality is not protected now, with all your laws," she replied. "Human life was never held as cheaply as it is today, and under the present system we have all kinds of crime. The

Dust
Grea
Satu
It's a
Furi
The above is th
posted on furniture
still continue to offe
remains for your to
has sliced off the d
$15.00 Less
Turkish R
A big, roomy,
Rocker, of the mos
der. Former price
Saturday ....
Bedroom

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

891218000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Held Forth Again / Emma Goldman. – p. 6 ; 28 cm. *In* The London Advertiser [London, Ont.]. –(Feb. 21, 1908).

Obtained from the London Public Libraries, London, Ontario. Institutional Location: The London Room.

Commencing with Tolstoi and his works, she spoke particularly of the "Dominion of Darkness," and the people were described in it—people whom, she said, were poor and ignorant, and committed crime, not because they were bad, but because they believed they were doing right in trying to overthrow the church, "which for more than 2,000 years has proven the greatest hindrance to progress that it was possible to have."

The Jewish Question.

The solution of the individual is the solution of the race, and the Jewish question will not be solved in Russia until capital is abolished.

"Ibsen," said Miss Goldman, "has given the world more social dynamite than any other writer in the 2,000 years."

Ibsen's fight was against the erroneous social conditions of the time.

"The Doll's House," the greatest of his works, was the story of the awakening of a rebellious woman. Ibsen is the father of the idea of the emancipation of woman.

All efforts to emancipate women, Miss Goldman holds, have not gone deep enough.

Women must be free to take their places side by side with men.

They are not merely complementary to men. Women and men are complementary to each other.

Through the ages women have been on their knees to men.

Woman's Attitude.

Their gods have changed, but their attitude never has.

Either they have bowed to the church, the state, the race, or popular opinion, but always they have worshiped something.

Women must learn to stand on their feet.

They must think for themselves.

As a case in point, Miss Goldman do not for a moment regard him as a supernatural being. He taught us nothing that had not been taught before. Christ propagated truth and would be crucified right here in London today if he came here and tried to propagate similar ideas.

"Your so-called Christians worship him on Sunday and commit all sorts of crimes every other day.

"Why I tell you that if Christ were here today, he would be ashamed of having died for people who have made such a botch job of his teachings."

"How would morality be protected without law, as advocated by anarchists?" someone asked.

Morality Not Protected.

"Your morality is not protected now, with all your laws," she replied. "Human life was never held as cheaply as it is today, and under the present system we have all kinds of crime. The law does not mean what it says.

"It merely tells you how to steal.

"If you steal a loaf of bread you are a thief, but of you steal millions you are a captain of industry with a pew in the church.

"If a man kills a dozen men in war, shoots them down in cold blood, he is a hero, but if he does it any other way, he is a murderer.

"You can have no true morality under a system of that kind, based on iniquity pure and simple.

Alleged Real Morality.

"Real morality is a growth of intellectual application—not booklearning, for there are plenty of professors who know less about life and its problems than many a street sweeper.

"A real education does not mean book-learning, but a knowledge of one's self and our relationship and duty to our fellow men.

"The only college in which to learn this thoroughly is life itself.

"A free society will develop its own morality and needs, no law for its protection.

"The morality of savages is far superior to ours of today.

"They have no prisons and jails, because they do not need them, and that they are happier and better no one can question.

Anarchist Doctrine.

"Every individual should be free, government by force non-existent.

"The duty of the individual is first of all to himself and in being true to himself he will be true to others."

Miss Goldman stated to The Advertiser that her trip through Canada had been most successful, and that, although she was leaving for Cleveland in the morning in a day or two she was going to Winnipeg.

Advertiser Patterns

DESIGNED BY MARTHA DEAN.



WHITNEY GOVERNMENT A GOOD COLLECTOR

Fur

The above is posted on furnitu still continue to o remains for your t has sliced off the

$15.00 Les Turkish

A big, room Rocker, of the mo der. Former price Saturday .... ..

Bedroom

And Parlor Suites less than manufac

Wee Pri Children's

These are ha nicely finished, style. Formerly each. To go on day at .....

Wide Ra

We've certainl niture, but there of reductions.

W

We cannot en goods. The more over the chance t tageously. Sizes,

Regular $7 50, no

Regular $12 50, no

Tapes

This is a spec ive nature. Sold Away they scoot n

A. S. SMITH

deserted the principle of and had deceived on the temperance

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

497

The Emma Goldman Papers

891218005

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchist Looks on Darker Side / Emma Goldman. – p. 10 ; 28 cm. *In* The London Free Press [London, Ont.]. –(Feb. 21, 1908).

Obtained from the London Public Libraries, London, Ontario. Institutional Location: The London Room.

JRSERY should be provided with a bott e of . .

STRONG'S

MINATIVE

t cures of colic. Invaluable for babies during the d by the medical profession.

R BOTTLE MANUFACTURED BY

G, Chemist and Druggist,

184 DUNDAS STREET.

IORD

TO BENNETT'S

SPECIAL!

lish Leather-End

penders

ce and Ordinary Style.)

25c

THEM IN OUR WINDOWS.

RS

ts, special
nd 48 for

ANTED

NE & Co

STREET.

THE

ASTORIA SHOE

FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Originality is characteristic of the Astoria Shoe. It is original in design, in fit and service. If you want a shoe that pleases you the last as well as the first day you wear it, buy the Astoria Shoe.

Sold in all styles at $4.50 and $5.00 a pair

ANARCHIST LOOKS ON DARKER SIDE

Ideas Born of Misbegotten Genius Crowd Lecture of Female Agitator

Most emphatic in speech, clever and having the ability to move an audience to the wildest pitch of excitement and then to relieve the tension with laughter; and above all possessed with and governed by a spirit that is nothing short of fanaticism, such is Emma Goldman, who addressed a meeting in Cullis' Hall last night.

She is regarded by the Government of Europe as one of the most dangerous individuals now endeavoring to propagate the spirit of anarchy.

A Russian Jewess by birth, the lecturer speaks with a decidedly foreign accent, which at first makes it a little difficult for the audience to follow her remarks. She speaks with great emphasis, putting her remarks in such a way that her audience, whether they agree with her or not, could not fail to be impressed.

Last night Emma Goldman made several remarks that undoubtedly came as rather a shock to those present, for they bordered on and often crossed the line which separates the sacred from the profane. Her turn of expressions, however, evidently took away from the shock which these statements would otherwise have produced, and throughout the evening she apparently curried her audience with her.

A Declared Anarchist

A declared anarchist herself, Miss Goldman made many statements filled with the anarchistic spirit last night. She is a free thinker, and dealt with subjects usually avoided in public gatherings in the most open manner. Perhaps this very openness purged them of much offence.

Looks at Darker Side

In the address of last evening the lecturer took up the revolutionary influences of the modern drama, using the subject to bring out many of her own revolutionary ideas, for, although all that was drawn from the plays mentioned was undoubtedly true, yet it was not life, for it was in many cases but half the truth, the sweeter side of life suggested in the plays being left unconsidered, while all that was base and altogether unlovely was held up to the radiance of her hearers.

At times the lecture became a veritable call to arms. "Some say the Jewish people can't fight," said the speaker, "The Jewish people are going to fight, and will continue to fight until they are as free as the rest of the world."

"Ibsen, more than any other man, has portrayed the spirit of revolution," asserted Miss Goldman.

"In 'The Doll's House' this spirit is shown in connection with the development of woman. The revolutionary spirit



hundreds of people do—
Your friends who
Come now.

JUST

ON SALE S
MORN

50 Ladies' Tweed Sk
colors, ranging in value
for .....

Moirette P

You will be surprise
cloth, the generous width
price. The colors are n
Sale price is only .....

Black Silk

Black Chiffon Taffe
strong. One of the best
for skirts. Worth 59c,

See the Hy
blue and b



The Emma Goldman Papers

891218005

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchist Looks on Darker Side / Emma Goldman. – p. 10 ; 28 cm. *In* The London Free Press [London, Ont.]. –(Feb. 21, 1908).

Obtained from the London Public Libraries, London, Ontario. Institutional Location: The London Room.

special
48 for

TED
E & Co
ET.

S

rter

Ale
Finest
adian

wery

DRA
ND—
LUNCH

nner
2.30..

pper
clock...
u Daily
pstairs
AS ST.

of
hes
t equipped
t.
LLS—2
ING
St.

ASTORIA SHOE
FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Originality is characteristic of the Astoria Shoe. It is original in design, in fit and service. If you want a shoe that pleases you the last as well as the first day you wear it, buy the Astoria Shoe.

Sold in all styles at $4.50 and $5.00 a pair

BY THE

J. P. COOK CO
LIMITED

167 Dundas St., 398a Richmond St.
Good Shoes for All the Family.

"The Shop for Men."

We have only a few of these fine model Overcoats left and they are

Genuine Bargains

for some one wanting a good Overcoat. $5.00, $7.00, $10.00 less than regular price.

BOUGHNER

Sole agents for "Hawes," "Scott's" and "Younman's" Hats.

ADVANCE IN ORIENT

Methodist Plan Ten-year Mission Campaign in East

Associated Press Despatch.

NEW YORK, Feb. 20.—A ten-year plan of missionary work on an increasing scale in foreign fields, especially in the Orient, was mapped out here to-day at the session of the Methodist Mission Reform Church in America.

It is planned by the terms of the resolution which the board adopted to increase the missionary appropriation by $30,000 each year for ten years, so as to raise it from $124,000 in 1908 to $424,000 in 1918. Particular attention will be given the mission fields at Amoy, China and Arcot, India, and those of Japan.

MEET TO-MORROW

Annual Session of East Middlesex Conservatives at Central Committee Rooms

The adjourned annual meeting of the East Middlesex Conservative Association will be held to-morrow afternoon at 1.30 o'clock at the Conservative Club in the Bennett Theatre Buildings. The annual election of officers will take place, and the date will be set for convention to select candidates for both the Dominion

[illegible] that was drawn from the plays mentioned was undoubtedly true, yet it was not life, for it was in many cases but half the truth, the sweeter side of life suggested in the plays being left unconsidered, while all that was base and altogether unlovely was held up to the ridicule of her hearers.

At times the lecture became a veritable call to arms. "Some say the Jewish people can't fight," said the speaker. "The Jewish people are going to fight, and will continue to fight until they are as free as the rest of the world."

"Ibsen, more than any other man, has portrayed the spirit of revolution," asserted Miss Goldman.

"In 'The Doll's House' this spirit is shown in connection with the development of woman. The revolutionary spirit demands of woman not only political, but freedom in all departments. It is necessary for the women to become free if the race is to be free."

"The play is true," said the lecturer, "if read properly, not with the head of a minister or of an old granny."

"Ghosts," another of Ibsen's famous plays, was dealt with. According to Emma Goldman the spirit of this play is that sacrifice is useless, which is the opposite to Christianity, for Christianity is based upon sacrifice.

"Give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's," quoted the lecturer. "You can give to Caesar and God, for Caesar and God have lived together all through life."

The story of "The Enemies of Society" was told with all Miss Goldman's powers of description. Dr. Stockman's unceasing effort to get what he knew to be a harmful force publicly recognized as such was shown.

"Is it true that it is useless to go against a wall head-on, as Dr. Stockman did," asked the lecturer. "If you have accomplished anything at all you owe it to such men who have made the wall fall."

Talks on Shaw's Plays

Bernard Shaw's plays, too, were dealt with and his habit of treating society without gloves exemplified.

"The spirit of revolution has come to stay," concluded the speaker. "It has permeated every mind, and will not keep silent until you have smashed the institutions of hypocrisy and lies, and stand true."

At the conclusion of the regular speech questions were asked for, and the interest taken in these showed how close had been the attention of the audience, though it was evident that many were not willing to go either so fast or so far as Emma Goldman would have wished.

A Pointed Question

"Would you regard Jesus of Nazareth as an anarchist?" one asked.

"To some extent, yes," came the answer. "I do not regard Him as a supernatural being—that is only good for the foolish-minded. Christ taught nothing new. He propagated a truth contrary to the conditions of the times, and so was crucified. Precisely the same thing would happen if He came to London today. Every period has its Christ who sacrifices all for an ideal. Of one thing I am sure. If Christ came to earth today He would be ashamed to have died for a people who have made such a botch job of His idea."

Such remarks as this last were dispersed throughout the lecture. Nothing was too sacred to be held up to ridicule and everything, including people and press, was made the subject of a laugh.

ADMITS ONE-QUARTER MILLION SHORTAGE

Associated Press Despatch

Black Chiffon Taffeta, strong. One of the best sil for skirts. Worth 59c, fo

See the Hyde blue and bla



100 Long Silk
Black, white and crea Glove. After Supper Sa

50c All-Over Emb
12 different patterns waists, fine quality of car Sale .....

35c Table L
100 yards Unbleach inches wide. This barg Regular price 35c. Aft

COME WITH
GRA
PHONE 1182

WOULD COMPENSA

New Toronto License Comm Speaks of Reduction

From Our Own Corresponde

TORONTO, Feb. 20.—Mr. E Coatsworth, chairman of the ne of license commissioners, says

881116002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Rebukes Unions; Scores Church / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 42 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. –(Feb. 28, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

R
ND
REED

Pris-
He

NOW

Gave
Out
s.

Sicilian,
ack Hand
from the
Who Vivi-

k check
house im-
ck Hand.
Beck was
ve work
Identifying
Vigno has
his store
ree weeks

35 was a
not served
Italy for
he had
his Black

frightened
After an
from him
given the
on his
tribute it
ack Hand,
Vigano
ney paid

day night
ear of 913
the police
followers.
iron gray
ve should-
was taken
ge-colored

Dr. Mon-
Florita
Louisana,
also says
the
y Vigano
"I pro-
not be

FAC SIMILE OF BLACK HAND NOTE CONTAINING A POLITE WARNING



The phrase "Si presento la mano nera" in the above letter means "You are presented with the Black Hand."

Money Demands Made by Black Hand of St. Louisans

GHIO LAFATA, 1021 North Eighth street, $500, to be taken to end of Bellefontaine line.

Louis Lapresto, $1000 to be taken to Tenth and Carr streets.

Peter Naioli, 713 Wash street, $500 to be taken to Baden.

Frank Bova, East St. Louis, $1000 to be taken in a handbag to Hodiamont.

Vincenzo Bommarito, 1011 North Seventh street, $600 to be taken in a basket to the southern end of the Bellefontaine line.

Gaetano Lafato, $500, to be delivered in front of his shop.

Bernardo Caruso, 1027 North Ninth street, $6000, to be taken in a basket to Wellston.

Dr. John F. Menestrina, 3411 Washington avenue, $500.

Mrs. L. Bernero, 4460 Lindell boulevard, $1000, to be taken to a spot near her home.

Lilburn McNair, real estate operator, $1500, to be taken to Arsenal street and King's highway.

Mrs. Mary Knock, 1015 Selby street, $50, to be delivered in front of the Southern Hotel.

Damiana Capuano, 923 North Eighth street, $500, to be delivered near his store.

answered the demand in the letter for $500.

"Bring the money yourself Feb. 18 or send your brother Peter," the letter, translated from the Sicilian, reads; "If you give us the money we promise you under oath that we will not harm you. If you are afraid to be there, make [illegible] permit two to come.

"Get on a Broadway car at 8 p. m. at Biddle street, with a birdcage in one hand and a large envelope in the other, with the money in it. Get off the car at 3700 and walk north.

Dominick Lumetta, a grocer at 704 Biddle street, was taken into the cell to face the prisoner before the latter was released. He gave Cipriano $30 [illegible] months ago. Cipriano fastened [illegible] eyes on the grocer, and [illegible] declared trembling, that the

EMMA GOLDMAN REBUKES UNIONS; SCORES CHURCH

High Priestess of Anarchy Says Labor Organizations Are Becoming Greedy.

CREECY IS AFTER HER

Chief Will Not Let Her Speak, Saying She Is a "Trouble-Maker."

Emma Goldman, high priestess of anarchy, termed by her followers "the Louise Michel of America," who would reform everything by overthrowing everything now in existence, is in St. Louis to deliver a series of four lectures, commencing Friday night.

She was met by a committee of St. Louis anarchists at Union Station Friday morning and escorted to 3331 Franklin avenue, where she will stay while here.

Chief of Police Creecy told a Post-Dispatch reporter Friday afternoon that he would not permit Miss Goldman to deliver an address here. At the moment he was reading an account of the attempt to assassinate the Shah of Persia, in which three persons were killed, and pointing to it he said, "That's the sort of thing she stirs up—certainly she can't speak here."

The Chicago authorities have announced that if she returns there they will have her deported as an undesirable immigrant. She has recently been in Russia.

When not speaking or lecturing, Miss Goldman will be holding receptions, her St. Louis adherents expecting her not only to gain new recruits for the cause, but to start a boom for the party of the red flag.

Miss Goldman received a Post-Dispatch reporter in a small, chilly apartment, where several of her admirers had gathered.

Always Glad to Talk.

"I am always glad to talk to the public," she said. "You know the anarchists are the most maligned and misrepresented persons in the world.

"My first lecture will deal with the subject of anarchism in its relations to trade unionism.

"Trade unionism is an economic weapon which labor can use to crush its enemy, capital and trade unions are the training schools for the use of this weapon.

"Labor unions are injuring themselves in an effort to establish large treasuries. To do this they raise initiation fees and in this way prevent persons who will not pay the large fees from joining."

Assails the Churches.

Emma Goldman glories in her anarchy, and is eloquent in her denunciations of society. She assails in particular the monopolies and the churches.

The churches, she declares, are enslaving the masses of the American people.

She says she wishes to give the laws

BURIAL PER
Fannie Rogers, 35, 1021 N
Manus O'Brien, 78, 1215 N
Ann McCluskey, 74, 4245 S
cage.
Mary E. Murry, 31, 1123
bolism.
Clara Olschewski, 25, 1219
culosis.
Claude Poston, 28, 2264 S.
monia.
Henry Melzger, 60, 619 M
case.
James Griffin, 71, 3800 Ar
Wm. Allgeier, 61, 216 S.
Wm. Northern, 52, 2212
Emma Conover, 64, 1315
Mary Baldwin, 54, 1036
case.
Lizzie Montague, 36
monia.
James W. Love, 29, 6043
culosis.
Cloe Jane Bristol, 71, 312
chitis.
Euphemia Hunrichs, 25, 120
culosis.
Mary Morao, 50, 2812 W
chitis.
Kate Burns, 58, 4328 Easto
Anna M. Schuricht, 81, 3
billity.
Marguritte O'Brien, 58, 2004
ey.
Frank Schweppe, 11, 4030 G

MARRIAGE LIC
Otis Snoed
Mrs. Jane Kilgore
Frank Bollecher
Valerie Hirt
Simon Karpel
Roza Feldman
Charles W. Faulkner
Mrs. Ella Miller
Raymond Burr
Henrietta Gerling
Alphonso G. Herdle
Bessie Baldwin
Jas. E. Bamberger
Sophy Vonarx
Dennis Malone
Fannie Nevins
Michael Quinkert
Rosa Lidolt
Mike Zrinec
Helen Slnick
John Soger
Mrs. Mary F. Swank
Johan Krimmer
Terezia Krieg

Wedding Rings, $2.
Finest quality. 14 and
MERMOD, JACCAI
Catalogue free. Broadv

BIRTHS RECO
P. and M. Halloren, 2326
E. and A. Marten, 1211 S
A. and S. Oliver, 1031 S.
E. and A. Roman, 2344 M
V. and C. Ferrante, 716 W
J. and M. Faorlnina, 1208
F. and I. Ruberto, 324 Ma
T. and A. Domenico, 726 M
W. and A. Marloor, 4066
E. and A. Berger, 5422 R
J. and M. Fahle, 5600 S.
E. and A. Baugh, 4430 Pe
W. and A. Meseke, 1324
F. and M. Rummerfield, 1
boy.
J. and E. Pfitzinger, 20
boy.
H. and A. Hemsnes, 2520
F. and M. Kratky, 1512 S
G. and C. Saenger, 1460 V
H. and A. Koon, 4305 Mo
J. and R. George, 5340 P
J. and E. Bartley, 2710 Fr
G. and D. Patania, 5215
and girl.
J. and A. Astermann, 1237
J. and F. Wahlgemuth, S
girl.
C. and J. Stengal, 3431 A
F. and A. Le Clerg, 3417
R. and E. Streich, 2908 S.
N. and B. Tocco, 1311 Ca
A. and A. Krafi, 2126 De
J. and M. Patrick, 1837 7
C. and A. Green, 4030 Pa
A. and R. Feuc, 722 S. B
P. and C. Bleber, 517 Bl
P. and A. Lippmann, 247
J. and J. Kurz, 2111 Sall
C. and E. Chetile, 2749 H
D. and J. O'Connor, 1718
A. and K. Taylor, 1837 D
R. and C. Sleinke, 4706
C. and J. Crowley, 5718 S
W. and C. Harris, 4040
H. and F. Meiers, 2720 Gr
A. and M. Eprenburg, 801
L. and M. Marchese, 16
A. and A. Lombardi, 924
L. and L. Brown, 2735 La

ALWAYS HU
Ordinary Food Never

A young lady in Mi
experience:
"After a dishearteni
five years against the
on the high road to r
impelled to give credit
"Some years ago I h
due to stomach trouble
ate caused me either
or a dull heavy misery
worse. I weighed but
most hopeless as I fou
nourished body mea
power and ambition.
"I was always ra
and while I could not
ing dishes on the ta
That longing i

Publicity
deal. It characterizes the policy
of his time-proven and
on each bottle-
Dr.
for

500

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881116002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Rebukes Unions; Scores Church / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 42 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. –(Feb. 28, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The phrase "Si presento la mano nera" in the above letter means "You are presented with the Black Hand."

Money Demands Made by Black Hand of St. Louisans

GIUSEPPE LAFATA, 1021 North Eighth street, $500, to be taken to end of Bellefontaine line.

Louis Lapreato, $1000 to be taken to Tenth and Carr streets.

Peter Natoli, 713 Wash street, $500 to be taken to Baden.

Frank Bova, East St. Louis, $1000 to be taken in a handbag to Hodiamont.

Vincenzo Bommarito, 1011 North Seventh street, $600 to be taken in a basket to the southern end of the Bellefontaine line.

Gaetano Lafato, $500, to be delivered in front of his shop.

Bernardo Caruso, 1027 North Ninth street, $6000, to be taken in a basket to Wellston.

Dr. John F. Menestrina, 3411 Washington avenue, $500.

Mrs. L. Herrero, 4460 Lindell boulevard, $1000, to be taken to a spot near her home.

Lilburn McNair, real estate operator, $1500, to be taken to Arsenal street and King's highway.

Mrs. Mary Knoch, 1015 Selby street, $50, to be delivered in front of the Southern Hotel.

Damiana Capuano, 923 North Eighth street, $500, to be delivered near his store.

answered the demand in the letter for $500.

"Bring the money yourself Feb. 18 or send your brother Peter," the letter, translated from the Sicilian, reads; "If you give us the money we promise you under oath that we will not harm you. If you are afraid to be there, make Filippe or Peter bring it. We do not permit two to come.

"Get on a Broadway car at 8 p. m. at Biddle street, with a birdcage in one hand and a large envelope in the other, with the money in it. Get off the car at 3700 and walk north.

Domitick Lamenia, a grocer at 704 Biddle street, was taken into the cell to face the prisoner before the latter was released. He gave Cipriano $200 three months ago. Cipriano fastened sharp black eyes on the grocer, and Lamenia declared trembling, that the money was just a loan.

When the front of Viviano's shop was wrecked Feb. 8 he declared that he had received no Black Hand letters, and that he could not account for the explosion. Since then he has received six letters demanding money, all ending with the formal threat, 'Si presento la mano nera.' 'You are presented with the Black Hand.'

Afraid to Tell Police.

But Viviano feared to tell the police of the letters, and he kept silence. While Sergt. Adrozzo and Patrolmen Tomassello and Jacks, the Black Hand experts of the Carr Street District, were investigating the letter to Dr. John F. Menestrina of 3411 Washington avenue, threatening decapitation if $2000 was not forthcoming, they were told by an Italian of the check Cipriano had cashed.

"Two persons will meet you and ask for the blind cage. Give them the envelope. Do not attempt to speak to them as you value your life.

"Do this and you will be safe. Fail, and your life is lost. You are presented with the Black Hand."

Policemen were placed on guard Friday at Viviano's place of business, with instructions to shoot any person attempting to throw any missile toward the building.

Coming events' What are they? See the "Coming Events" classification on

EDISON WILL PROBABLY GET WELL, SAY DOCTORS

Inventor Is Resting Easily After Delicate Operation for Relief of His Ear.

[illegible] attendance on Thomas A. Edison today at the Manhattan Eye and Ear Hospital announced that the inventor's condition is slightly improved.

Mr. Edison's brother-in-law, J. Miller, gave out the following statement on authority of Dr. Dorr:

"The second operation for the relief of Mr. Edison's ear was performed last night. It was remarkably successful. He had a comfortable night. Only in the event of unforeseen complications set-

that he would not permit Miss Goldman to deliver an address here. At the moment he was reading an account of the attempt to assassinate the Shah of Persia, in which three persons were killed, and pointing to it he said, "That's the sort of thing she stirs up—certainly she can't speak here."

The Chicago authorities have announced that if she returns there they will have her deported as an undesirable immigrant. She has recently been in Russia.

When not speaking or lecturing, Miss Goldman will be holding receptions, her St. Louis adherents expecting her not only to gain new recruits for the cause, but to start a boom for the party of the red flag.

Miss Goldman received a Post-Dispatch reporter in a small, chilly apartment, where several of her admirers had gathered.

Always Glad to Talk.

"I am always glad to talk to the public," she said. "You know the anarchists are the most maligned and misrepresented persons in the world.

"My first lecture will deal with the subject of anarchism in its relations to trade unionism.

"Trade unionism is an economic weapon which labor can use to crush its enemy, capital and trade unions are the training schools for the use of this weapon.

"Labor unions are ingoring themselves in an effort to establish large treasuries. To do this they raise initiation fees and in this way prevent persons who will not pay the large fees from joining."

Assails the Churches.

Emma Goldman glories in her anarchy, and is eloquent in her denunciations of society. She assails in particular the monopolies and the churches.

The churches, she declares, are enslaving the masses of the American people.

She says she wishes to give the laws of nature full sway, so that the revolution may come as soon as possible.

"We have heard a good deal of late recently about attainties," she remarked quizzically.

"Now isn't that a ridiculous term to apply to people who sincerely love one another.

Calls Marriage Laws Absurd.

"The legal or religious contract of marriage is the most absurd thing in our laws today. If a man loves a woman there should be a voluntary bond between them and when they get tired they ought to quit living together.

"This is not true marriage, but true love, and when anarchy reigns as I trust some day we will carry out this anarchy program."

There are 50,000 anarchists in the United States, according to Emma Goldman, and every city of the United States is represented by a branch of the society.

"We do not believe in the promiscuous slaying of rulers, such as we have witnessed recently," she says.

"Indeed, no! When the revolution of anarchy triumphs there will be no laws and no Constitution to harass the people. Anarchy means a voluntary state of co-operative society based on order. All persons are equal."

To Be Arrested in Chicago.

Press telegrams to the Post-Dispatch from Chicago Friday announced that Emma Goldman will be arrested when she goes there to speak March 8.

An order to the police to this effect has been received from Frank P. Sargent, United States Commissioner of Immigration.

A. and S. Oliver, 1033 S.
E. and A. Roman, 2344 Ma
V. and C. Ferrante, 716 W
J. and M. Faorlina, 1208
F. and I. Ruberto, 324 Mar
T. and A. Domenico, 726 M
W. and A. Marloor, 4966 A
E. and A. Berger, 5422 Re
J. and M. Fahle, 5000 S.
E. and A. Baugh, 4433 Pen
W. and A. Meseke, 1324 G
F. and M. Runimerfield, 17
boy.
J. and E. Pfitzinger, 261
boy.
H. and A. Hemsnes, 2520 N
F. and M. Kratky, 1512 S
G. and C. Saenger, 1460 W
H. and A. Koon, 4305 Mor
J. and R. George, 5340 Pa
J. and E. Bartley, 2710 Fra
G. and D. Palania, 5215 W
and girl.
J. and A. Astermann, 1257
J. and F. Wahlgemuth, 81
girl.
C. and J. Stengal, 3431 A
F. and A. Le Clerg, 3417
R. and E. Stretch, 2908 S.
N. and R. Tocco, 1311 Car
A. and A. Kraft, 2126 Dod
J. and M. Patrick, 1837 Ti
C. and A. Green, 4030 Pac
A. and R. Fenz, 722 S. Br
P. and C. Bleier, 517 Bill
P. and A. Lippmann, 2473
J. and J. Kurz, 2111 Sall
C. and E. Cheitle, 2749 H
H. and J. O'Connor, 1718
A. and K. Taylor, 1837 D
R. and C. Steinke, 4705 N
C. and J. Crowley, 5715 N
W. and C. Harris, 4040
H. and F. Meiers, 2720 Gra
A. and M. Eppenburg, 801
L. and M. Marchese, 10 N
A. and A. Lombardi, 924
L. and L. Brown, 2735 La

ALWAYS HU
Ordinary Food Never

A young lady in Min
experience:

"After a disheartenin
five years against the il
malassimilation of food
on the high road to re
impelled to give credit

"Some years ago I ha
due to stomach trouble.
ate caused me either d
or a dull heavy misery
worse. I weighed but
most hopeless as I foun
nourished by means
power and ambition.

"I was always rave
and while I could not
ing dishes on the tabl
them. That longing is
me to try Grape-Nuts.
flavor that I liked - rich
heavy.

"I left off my deity
found I did not need it
was so easily digest
soon disappeared. I fo
did not grow tired of
continued to eat it.

"It forms my break
and I also eat it with
for my other meals. I
pounds in less than a y
nothing compared wit
-trength and courage.

"I can now eat a hea
-atisfies my appetite
leave me, as formerly, f
I had dined on tacks."
sum."

Name given by Pos
Creek, Mich. Read "Th
ville," in pkgs.

Publicity

d honest deal. It characterizes the policy
to the composition of his time-proven and
Their ingredients are on each bottle-
oath and printed in *plain English*. Dr.
iption is the only medicine designed for
ular ailments and sold by druggists, the
on each bottle-wrapper what the medi-

scription
rrection or
ing drugs.
dished in-
sack in
most high-
g medical
f all the
e the cure
ular ail-
n to take
em, as it
he health-
distinctly

, "Favor-
own cure
e ular to
no other

, nervous,
nin-rocked
r, middle-
ent head-
, fainting
feeling in
ry specks,
the eyes,
nir affec-
ne organs,
ake if you
's Favor-
advanced
ter agents
ness than
combined
ption" of

any secret
ation and
ipon mate-
ent and
COM-

or its blood cleansing and specific curative effects upon the diseased mucous membranes. It will cure a very large per cent of all cases, even after they have reached the ulcerative, or chronic stage, and no matter of how many years' standing they may be. It is equally efficacious in affections of the mucous lining of the larynx, bronchial and respiratory organs in general, thus curing bronchitis, laryngitis and other affections giving rise to obstinate, acute coughs following sudden colds, as long on coughs. It is not good in the lingering, chronic coughs. Nor must the "Golden Medical Discovery" be expected to work miracles. It will not cure consumption in its advanced stages – no medicine will do that, but for all obstinate hang on coughs due to laryngeal or bronchial irritation and kindred affections of the throat, which, if neglected or badly treated, are likely to lead up to consumption, the "Discovery" can be relied upon to produce the best curative results.

The "Golden Medical Discovery" is, from its tonic and specific curative control over mucous surfaces, especially efficacious in curing indigestion, dyspepsia, weak stomach and "Liver Complaint," or biliousness. Even ulceration of the stomach and bowels has in thousands of cases been cured by it; also obstinate chronic diarrhea.

In addition to all the foregoing, not the least valuable of the marvelously efficacious properties possessed by the "Discovery" is the unequaled regulating and strengthening effect exerted by it over the heart's action. It has made some wonderful cures of very pronounced valvular and other affections of that organ.

Discovery" cures so wide a range of diseases is made plain in a booklet sent free on request mailed to Dr. R. V. Buffalo, N. Y. It interested send for it.

The powerful alterative or blood properties possessed by the will naturally suggest its use in cases of blotches, pimples, tumors, salt-rheum, fever-sores, scrofulous inflammations, and all diseases arising from

Has Won a Lot of Friends

Elijah's Manna

Choice Crisp Food

W
Pacifi
Daily

From St. Lou
and Washingto

Tourist Sleep
convenience of

Pers

Burlington R
through to d

501

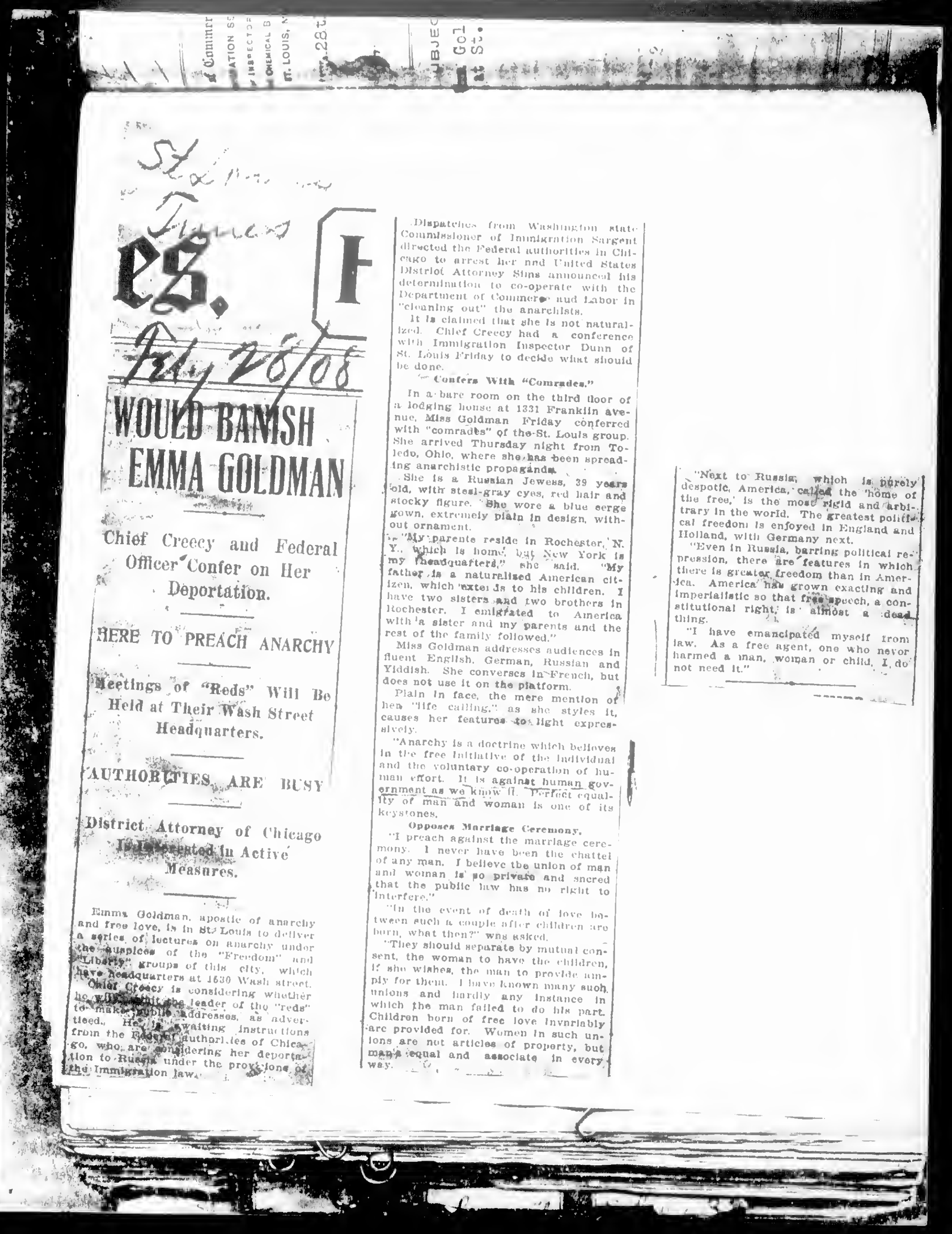
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890611032

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Would Banish Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 25 cm. *In* St. Louis Times. –(Feb. 28, 1908).

Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.



Eg. F

Feb 28/08

WOULD BANISH EMMA GOLDMAN

Chief Creecy and Federal Officer Confer on Her Deportation.

HERE TO PREACH ANARCHY

Meetings of "Reds" Will Be Held at Their Wash Street Headquarters.

AUTHORITIES ARE BUSY

District Attorney of Chicago Is Interested in Active Measures.

Emma Goldman, apostle of anarchy and free love, is in St. Louis to deliver a series of lectures on anarchy under the auspices of the "Freedom" and "Liberty" groups of this city, which have headquarters at 1630 Wash street.

Chief Creecy is considering whether he will permit the leader of the "reds" to make public addresses, as advertised. He is awaiting instructions from the federal authorities of Chicago, who are considering her deportation to Russia under the provisions of the immigration laws.

Dispatches from Washington state Commissioner of Immigration Sargent directed the Federal authorities in Chicago to arrest her and United States District Attorney Sims announced his determination to co-operate with the Department of Commerce and Labor in "cleaning out" the anarchists.

It is claimed that she is not naturalized. Chief Creecy had a conference with Immigration Inspector Dunn of St. Louis Friday to decide what should be done.

Confers With "Comrades."

In a bare room on the third floor of a lodging house at 1331 Franklin avenue, Miss Goldman Friday conferred with "comrades" of the St. Louis group. She arrived Thursday night from Toledo, Ohio, where she has been spreading anarchistic propaganda.

She is a Russian Jewess, 39 years old, with steel-gray eyes, red hair and stocky figure. She wore a blue serge gown, extremely plain in design, without ornament.

"My parents reside in Rochester, N. Y., which is home, but New York is my headquarters," she said. "My father is a naturalized American citizen, which extends to his children. I have two sisters and two brothers in Rochester. I emigrated to America with a sister and my parents and the rest of the family followed."

Miss Goldman addresses audiences in fluent English, German, Russian and Yiddish. She converses in French, but does not use it on the platform.

Plain in face, the mere mention of her "life calling," as she styles it, causes her features to light expressively.

"Anarchy is a doctrine which believes in the free initiative of the individual and the voluntary co-operation of human effort. It is against human government as we know it. Perfect equality of man and woman is one of its keystones.

Opposes Marriage Ceremony.

"I preach against the marriage ceremony. I never have been the chattel of any man. I believe the union of man and woman is so private and sacred that the public law has no right to interfere."

"In the event of death of love between such a couple after children are born, what then?" was asked.

"They should separate by mutual consent, the woman to have the children, if she wishes, the man to provide amply for them. I have known many such unions and hardly any instance in which the man failed to do his part. Children born of free love invariably are provided for. Women in such unions are not articles of property, but man's equal and associate in every way.

"Next to Russia, which is purely despotic, America, called the 'home of the free,' is the most rigid and arbitrary in the world. The greatest political freedom is enjoyed in England and Holland, with Germany next.

"Even in Russia, barring political repression, there are features in which there is greater freedom than in America. America has grown exacting and imperialistic so that free speech, a constitutional right, is almost a dead thing.

"I have emancipated myself from law. As a free agent, one who never harmed a man, woman or child, I do not need it."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881116000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Meek As a Lamb in Her Harangue / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. – (Feb. 29, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

RE BOMBS E THROWN IN SHAH'S CAPITAL

Killed, but Incident Is Believed to Be Only Coincidence.

Y ARRESTS MADE

Who Sought Life of Pres- t of Argentina Thought Insane.

ERAN, Feb 29 A bomb ex in a side street of this ty early orning and killed two laborers occurrence created some local ex- t, but there was nothing to show nnection with the attempt made lay upon the life of the Shah unknown persons hurled two at the automobile in which he pposed to be riding through the

putation from parliament proceed the palace this morning and con- ted the Shah upon his escape eath. Tonight this city will be ated as a sign of rejoicing

Many Arrests Made.

ral persons suspected of com- in yesterday's plot to blow up ah with a bomb were arrested The police will give out no ation, but it is rumored that two of the prisoners are men h rank.

apprehension exists that the at- d assassination marks a renewal troubles which recently convulsed as a result of the Liberal ele- resistance of the Shah's efforts rride the constitution granted by edecessor.

m for Absolutism Suspected.

gh the ruler has ostensibly ac- ed in a constitutional government, of his subjects think he plans a to absolutism at the first favor- opportunity.

des the three members of the suite killed and the 21 wounded bomb, it is now learned that a or more persons in the crowd of tors which lined the streets were ed by shots the guard fired into rong after the explosion.

esident Alcorta Escapes Bomb.

NOS AYRES Feb 29.—A man ed to be insane threw a bomb at . Figueroa Alcorta, President of epublic, last evening. The Pres- was alighting from his carriage. bomb fell at his feet and did not de. He kicked the infernal ma- out of his way and went to the tance of his aid-de-camp, Capt. a, who had seized the thrower. the police put the bomb in a et of water the President expostu- with the man who had attempted ill him.

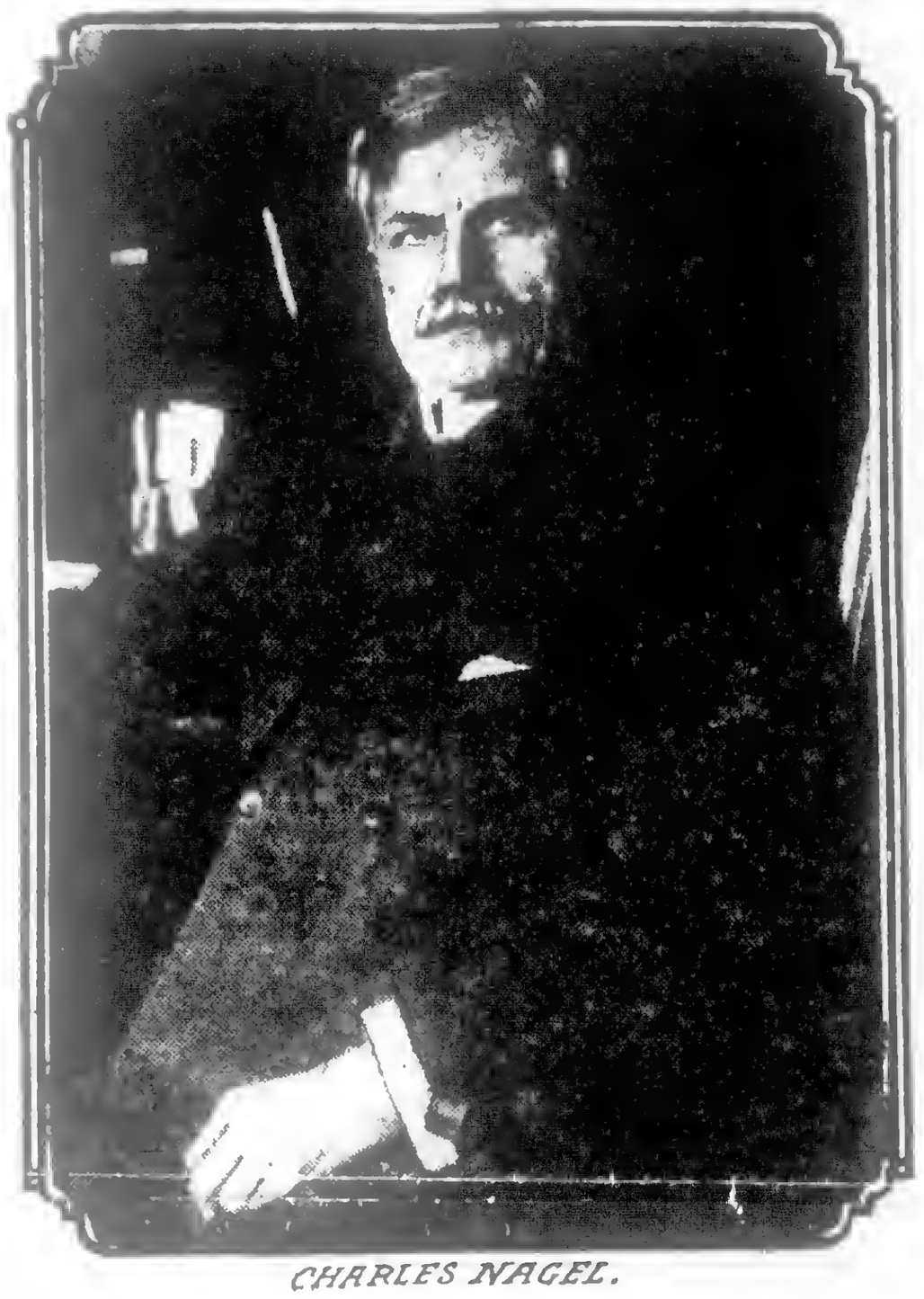
would-be assassin says his name egia and that he is a native of ntina.

mits That He Had Confederates.

denies that he was the emissary y person or society.

Alcorta was elected Vice-Presi- on the ticket with Dr. Quintana, was chosen President in 1904, and eeded to the presidency when Dr. ana died in 1906. In August, 1906, anarchist tried to shoot President

VICTOR OVER NIEDRINGHAUS SEEN AT DESK IN HIS LAW OFFICES



CHARLES NAGEL.

EMMA GOLDMAN MEEK AS A LAMB IN HER HARANGUE

Bombs? Pish and Tush! She Believes in Slapping Unruly Capitalists on the Wrist.

Emma Goldman, anarchist, "roared like any lamb" at Fraternal Hall, Eleventh street and Franklin avenue Friday night.

The 250 men and 50 women in the audience waited in vain for her to say something which would make them sit up and take notice, but she didn't and, as her speech progressed, there were murmurs of disapproval, and many of her hearers left the hall shaking their heads and declaring that she was not the fire-eating Emma of other days.

Miss Goldman spoke in Yiddish, and the burden of her talk was a mild tirade against trade unionism which, she said, is responsible for the sway of the "capitalist class."

The misery of the unskilled and unorganized workman, she said, is largely due to the power of unions. In Miss Goldman's audience were many union men and, when she reached this point in her discourse, there were cries of disapproval.

This was as near as any one came to being excited. The five detectives and 10 uniformed policemen assigned to the meeting stood in the back of the hall and yawned as Emma said: "The capitalists should be reasoned with and brought over to our way of thinking. I am not in favor of bombs or murder."

That was the signal for an exodus. There was a stream of fierce whiskers through the outer door, and only a few remained to hear the rest of the speech.

It was at first announced that the police would stop the meeting, but Chief [illegible] on her promise that she would not stir the passions of her hearers.

NAGEL POSSIBLE CANDIDATE FOR U. S. SENATOR

Victor Over Niedringhaus Laughs at Suggestion, Says No Committeeman Yet.

INTERVIEWED IN OFFICE

Attorney for Busch Is Opposed to the Brewery-Owned Saloon.

Following his sweeping triumph in the contest for national committeeman at the Republican State Convention, Charles Nagel of St. Louis is being urged by well-known Republican leaders as the most available candidate of their party for United States Senator.

Mr. Nagel himself is not encouraging such a movement. "I am not yet elected national committeeman," said he to a Post-Dispatch reporter. "As to the senatorship, I have not given it a thought.

"No personal considerations prompted me to seek the national committeemanship. That is an honor implying a duty to the party—an obligation to promote its best interests, without regard to the so-called spoils of office."

Seen in His Office.

During the interview Mr. Nagel was seated in a large leather-cushioned chair in one of the 11 apartments composing his suite of law offices on the seventh floor of the Security Building.

He prefaced his remarks with the statement that he is a great believer in publicity, declaring that public men ought to talk frankly to the public on public questions.

As he said this a messenger entered with the announcement that "Mr. Howe and Mr. Stifel are outside waiting to see you."

"I'll see them in a little while," said Mr. Nagel.

"Now," he said, turning to the interviewer, "fire away."

The remark was typical of the man.

Enthusiasm Not Lacking.

Although quiet and reserved, he is not apathetic or lacking in warm enthusiasm as many politicians would have one believe.

Because he is an attorney for the Busch interests, the opposition to Mr. Nagel objected to his candidacy because of the prevalent wave of prohibition in Missouri.

"I am against prohibition for many reasons," said Mr. Nagel emphatically. "The chief reason is that I regard it as an invasion of individual rights. Too large a proportion of the people are opposed to it and the ability to enforce such a law must depend on a preponderance of sentiment in favor of it. Unless the people favor a law it will not be enforced. If it fails in that it is of itself a failure.

Believes in Regulation.

"But I am a believer in the strict regulation of the liquor traffic," continued Mr. Nagel.

The policies of President Roosevelt have come to stay, according to Mr. Nagel, just as the public man or the politician of odious record is being relegated to private life.

Mr. Nagel was president of the St. Louis City Council from 1893 to 1897 and in the early 80's served a term as a member of the Missouri House of Representatives. Several of the men who voted for him at the State Convention were his legislative associates—the most impressive incident of his victory.

POLICE PREVENT DESTRUCTION OF

YARMOUTH AND NORMA MUNRO TO

503

840514029

The Emma Goldman Papers

Mother Earth / Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.— pp. 1-2 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 3, no. 1 (March 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

10c. A COPY $1 A YEAR

MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature

Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Proprietor, 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. III. MARCH, 1908 No. 1

MOTHER EARTH

A child born of love will always prove a joy and comfort to its parents. No matter how great the care such a child may require, no matter what hardships and pangs it may cause, the parents will endure all cheerfully for the sake of the one that came into the world of their own desire, through that most precious of all human ties, Love.

MOTHER EARTH *is such a child. It was begotten by a great, intense love, the love for Freedom, for human Justice. Those who gave birth to* MOTHER EARTH *were not wedded by State or Church "till death doth part"; they were united by love, by an ardent desire to rouse man from his stupor, to banish strife and the lust for gain and power. To make man conscious of his true place in the world and his proper relationship to his fellows, was the raison d'être of* MOTHER EARTH'S *birth. As the offspring of true love,* MOTHER EARTH *was cared for tenderly, and its health and growth looked after by its parents through many weary days and nights. No pains or struggles were spared to make the infant a true example of what love and devotion can do.*

Like all infants, MOTHER EARTH *went through the process of teething, measles, whooping cough, etc. In that condition it often incurred the displeasure and the opposition of neighbors, who have no sympathy for other people's children.*

Coming from healthy stock and backed by love, MOTHER EARTH *is now entering upon its third year. Its parents*

M111435

840514029

The Emma Goldman Papers

Mother Earth / Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.– pp. 1-2 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 3, no. 1 (March 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

HY81 M6 v. 3

do not claim for it absolute perfection; for true love is not blind. It sees with wide-open eyes; indeed, it is exocting, because its pinnacle is Freedom, and it will be sotisfied with nothing short of thot. To reach thot pinnacle MOTHER EARTH *must grow—in depth, in scope, in aspirations. And it shall do all that as far as is in the power of its parents, whose main aim it has been to instill in their child the meaning of true love and harmony which grow out of universal parenthood. A parenthood comprised not only of mother and father, but of all human beings imbued with the spirit of solidarity and comradeship. It is this spirit that has gained for* MOTHER EARTH *many friends all through Americo and in Europe; friends who have helped faithfully in the maintenance of the child. That is the beauty of a universal baby; it is not dependent only on its parents. Because of that the parents are even more eager to care for it. True, the mother must forego the comforts of a home, exposing herself to many hardships while racing about the country, seeking new friends for her child. But love overcomes everything. Besides, when the mother can choose the father of her child, she need never fear to leave it to his care and affection.*

From all appearances the baby is gaining in strength. Its cry to-day is no longer that of a sickly, ill-nourished child; rather is it the voice of strong lungs. In proportion as it will continue to grow, it will gain in power and become what its latent qualities design it for: a fighter against all sham and hypocrisy; a true hater of all authority and oppression; a fearless champion of Freedom, as embodied in the noblest conceptian of human society—Anarchism.

EMMA GOLDMAN,
ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

TO OUR ENEMIES

CORRUPTION breathes easier again. The greedy capitalist, the brazen politician, the venal judge, the crooks of the police force, the prostitution-supported pillars of the Church, the Tenderloin demi-mondaine—they all breathe freer again. They have successfully raised the cry, "Crucify the Anarchists!" in order to lull the "common people" into forgetting the crimes of the social parasites.

That is the fond hope of the wholesale murderers, exploiters, and oppressors; of all the big and little scoundrels of our glorious Republic. Will they succeed in this?

Can they still the cry of hunger with the blood-curdling sensations of the press? Can they abolish the poverty and misery of the masses by reciting gruesome tales of "Anarchy"? Drive away the pangs of starvation by sounding idiotic alarms? Will the desperate man, meditating suicide, be saved by reading the police discovery of alleged Anarchist plots?

Anarchism is again to be annihilated. But how? Have the servants of our capitalists—the law-makers, judges, and police—left anything undone to accomplish that result? Have they not usurped most arbitrary powers? Have not the courts virtually abolished the one-time safeguard of popular liberties, the right of habeas corpus? Are not the last vestiges of the freedom of the press being strangled by the Postmaster General and his adjutant, Comstock? Has not every police pasha the power to veto the right of assembly? Is not every detective an infallible god who may without warrant attack peaceful citizens in their homes and drag them to court on the charge of "disorderly" conduct? Is there any other country in the wide world—Russia, Turkey, and China not excepted—where every policeman assumes the authority to violate popular rights, as is the case in our glorious land?

"Down with the Anarchists!" That is the cry raised whenever the corruption of the ruling clique, or the misery of the people—or both, as is the case now—has reached a climax.

But what has happened? A poor devil, tramping the streets of Denver hungry and homeless, knocking at the

505

840514030

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].— pp. 5-11 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 3, no. 1 (March 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

doors of charity in vain, became desperate and shot a servant of God. A servant of that God without whose knowledge and will not even a sparrow may die. But why hold the Anarchists responsible for the workings of God's will, or for the acts of men driven to desperation by hunger?

An Anarchist? Perhaps he was. Perhaps not. No one seems to have known him. Even Anarchist philosophy cannot still the hunger of the victim of capitalism.

At Chicago and Philadelphia the unemployed wage slaves, asking for bread, were brutally beaten by the police. The Tsar's Cossacks were not more cruel on Bloody Sunday. Among the victims was a young man. He witnessed the police inhumanity, he heard their mocking jeers, and felt their brutality. He saw the clubs in the hands of well-fed giants rain a storm of blows upon the heads of haggard demonstrators, attacked unawares. Perhaps he himself was struck, and the hurt revived his Kishineff experiences, when those most dear to him were foully murdered. But that was Russia. . . . He felt stunned. He was not long in this country; he had not yet become sufficiently Americanized to passively witness such terrible deeds. His blood boiled, his heart beat faster than those of his fellow-slaves. He knew there was no appeal from police outrages; no justice to be had. He wanted to punish the Chief of Police, the man he considered responsible—and he lost his life in the attempt.

An Anarchist? Perhaps. Perhaps not. No one seems to have known him.

Are the Anarchists responsible for police brutality resulting in such incidents? If so, then are they not equally guilty of the gruesome wholesale murders daily committed in this glorious country of ours? They should also be charged with all the catastrophes in coal mines, on railroads, and sea—the Iroquois Theatre, the "General Slocum," and the recent school holocaust in Cleveland, to mention but a few instances. Yet every citizen knows that avaricious capitalists and venal officials are the responsible men. But why does not the "respectable" citizen rise in indignation against them?

The early Christians were the scapegoats of Roman corruption. For similar reasons the Anarchists are crucified to-day.

Crucify and exile the Anarchists! But turn to the pages of history. It was ever the privilege of the noblest spirits to be exiled. *Our very ancestors, the fathers of this country, were exiles.* The pathfinders of every age, were they not ever persecuted, deported, exiled?

The Anarchists may serenely suffer themselves to be classed with criminals and denounced as enemies of society. Did not Christ die between two thieves on Golgotha?

The authorities may deport a few poor devils, but never Anarchism: the spirit of liberty, of the highest aspirations of humanity,—Anarchy, whose genius is the triumph of man's potential achievements. To destroy that it were necessary to eradicate humanity, life itself.

Mankind will continue its ascent, despite all obstacles. And we Anarchists, the pioneers of liberty, will ever hold high our banner, and proudly and enthusiastically battle with unjust and corrupt conditions, all calumny and persecution notwithstanding.

* * *

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

HAVING heard of the distinguished bravery displayed by the police of Chicago at the recent clubbing of defenceless, half-starved men marching the streets in search of bread, the Philadelphia authorities determined to look to their laurels.

A mass-meeting of unemployed was taking place, at which the present economic situation was discussed. Suddenly, while one of our local comrades was in the midst of his address, the audience began to crowd to the doors. In vain did the speakers call upon the people to remain. In a moment they found themselves practically deserted. The greater part of the audience started to walk to City Hall, presumably to ask the Mayor for work. It was a case of spontaneous action; evidently the people needed bread more than speeches.

Here was a glorious opportunity for the guardians of the peace.

The marchers were quiet and orderly—till the police appeared. Without warning they swooped down upon the people and began unmercifully clubbing them. The

506

840514030

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].— pp. 5-11 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 3, no. 1 (March 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

warders of order created a riot and distinguished themselves by making numerous arrests.

Not satisfied with this brave performance, the police the next day arrested a number of our local comrades, among them the speakers of the preceding evening, Voltairine de Cleyre and H. Weinberg. Charges of inciting to riot were brought against them, in spite of the fact that all the evidence was to the effect that the speakers tried their utmost to disuade the people from making a demonstration in such small numbers.

The authorities of Philadelphia are using the opportunity to abolish the last vestiges of free speech in the city that give birth to Colonial Independence. At the same time, no efforts are spared to manufacture a case against our comrades. The object is to railroad them to prison. Several innocent victims of the police-made riot have already been hastily tried and sentenced to most cruel terms in the penitentiary. Thus, one of the "rioters" has been condemned to five years, the Judge remarking that the man could not be punished too severely—for being hungry. Poverty is the worst crime in the eyes of Mammon.

Lovers of liberty and justice! Lose no time rallying to the support of the cause of free speech. The voice of truth shall not be strangled by the coarse hand of the law's myrmidons.

We call the attention of our readers to the appeal appearing in this issue, "The Case in Philadelphia." We ask quick moral and financial aid for the Denfence Fund, to enable us to fight the cases both of those awaiting trial as well as of the victims already condemned.

* * *

THE mission of government as the servile handmaid of capital has been strikingly illustrated by the silk workers' strike at Phillipsburg, N. J.

The immediate cause of the strike was the tyrannous and humiliating treatment of the employees by the managers of the Standard Silk Company. The "hands" were in a condition of abject slavery, veritable chattels of their masters. The last straw was added when the company had the water supply shut off, on the pretext that the employees "wasted too much time washing their hands." Why, indeed, should a slave wash himself? The Company evidently regarded cleanliness as a symptom of dangerous aspirations.

The circa one thousand men and women employed in the mills went out on a strike. They demanded better treatment and the reduction of their working hours from 10¾ hours to 10 hours per day. Naturally, the Company could not "afford" such luxuries—for its workingmen. It refused to arbitrate and tried everything in its power to break the strike. But the workers stood manfully together, determined to win their just demands. Thereupon the Company appealed to the State authorities. A noble judge was speedily found who issued an injunction, virtually forbidding the strikers to breathe within sight of the mills. The injunction failing, however, to drive the men back to work, the Company resorted to a shocking outrage. Five of the most active strikers were suddenly arrested on the alleged charge of slapping a scab. In vain they proved their innocence. They were speedily railroaded to prison, condemned to three years each. Three years for three men for hitting a strike-breaker! And not a whit of evidence to support the charge, except the scab's "oath."

Several public meetings have been held in Phillipsburg to protest against this outrage. It is doubtful whether a parallel to this crying injustice can be found in the history of the country. The people of the State of New Jersey would prove themselves unworthy of a man's respect if they should fail to demand the instant liberation of the imprisoned victims of capital.

* * *

IN a recent public address, Governor Hughes solemnly assured his audience that—

> "The country is morally sound. Its standards of business were never higher. In this land of industry, with unexampled opportunities for production and exchange, with an area and population enjoying advantages of distribution free from artificial barriers, the men of business inevitably represent the intelligence and moral sentiment of the people."

With practically every pillar of our financial and commercial world a proven scoundrel, it is refreshing to learn that the moral standard of our commercial life is higher than ever. Equally pleasant is the unexpected news that our robber barons represent the highest moral sentiment of the people. Are we, then, a nation of cut-throats? But

507

840514030

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].— pp. 5-11 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 3, no. 1 (March 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

more startling yet is the information that distribution is free from artificial barriers. The poverty of the masses is, no doubt, one of the blessings of our "free" distribution.

The Governor is a poor economist. Civilization has never witnessed a system of distribution more artificial than our own; nor a system of production more irrational. We do not produce for the needs of the people; things are not made to be used, but to *sell*. Hence distribution is determined, not by real demand, but by the ability to buy. Starvation in the midst of plenty is the natural result. But that, according to our wise man, is "the advantage of distribution free from artificial restraints."

In effect the Governor says, literally, "You are free to starve." And he is right, more's the pity.

* * *

IN a moment of forgetfulness the truth occasionally escapes a politician, and history is the richer.

Ex-Senator William M. Stewart, of Nevada, writing his reminiscences of President Andrew Johnson, states that the latter was intoxicated when he entered the Senate Chamber to take the oath of office as Vice-President; that on that occasion he began an incoherent tirade and had to be removed by the Sergeant-at-Arms. We further learn that when the news of President Lincoln's assassination was carried to Johnson by Senator Stewart, the Chief Justice, and Senator Foote, of Vermont, the successor of Lincoln was found drunk and was sworn in in that condition. Senator Stewart's account of what followed runs like this:

> "We took him to the White House, and Stanton sent for a tailor, a barber, and a doctor. He had a dose administered, and the President was bathed and shaved, his hair cut, and a new suit of clothes was fitted to him. He did not, however, get into a presentable condition until late in the afternoon, when a few persons were permitted to see him to satisfy themselves that there was a President in the White House."

The Senator should take care. Statements like the above are liable to shock "decent" people's gray matter into motion. Some even might be so bold to think that Presidents are made of the same clay as ordinary men. What is the country coming to, anyway?

"LAW and order" are vindicated. Capt. Van Schaick, who was in charge of the steamboat "General Slocum," is now safe in prison.

The conviction of the old Captain and the sentence of ten years at hard labor imposed on him are nothing short of cannibalism. Van Schaick was charged with criminal negligence in failing to observe the navigation law while in command of the steamboat "General Slocum" on June 15, 1904. At the time 1,031 lives were lost with the burning of the vessel off North Brother Island. But the Captain was merely an employee. He had no means of forcing his employers to consider the safety of those aboard. The Company's avarice and indifference to the safety of its patrons were primarily responsible for the disaster. On the other hand, it was proven that Van Schaick sustained severe injuries in attempting to save the excursionists. Where are the *owners* of the burned vessel? *They* are the men responsible for the disaster.

But the law does not punish the mighty. It searches the gutters and crucifies the obscure, the friendless, while crime is rampant in the palaces.

* * *

NOT the Tsar, nor the bureaucracy is the chief enemy of Russian freedom. The greatest danger to the emancipation of that much-suffering people are its false friends, the corrupt elements ever on the alert for an opportunity to exploit popular movements for their own aggrandizement.

Such a danger is the alleged "Committee of the Russian Republican Administration," which apparently consists of but one man, the discredited adventurer, Ivan Norodny.

This self-styled "Chief Executive Commissioner" has issued a declaration converting, with a stroke of his pen, the Empire into "The United States of Russia." Simultaneously with this declaration a letter is addressed to the Tsar. After branding the autocrat as a common criminal, the "Chief Executive Commissioner of the United States of Russia" promises him a province as residence, and signs himself "Respectfully."

Having declared the independence of Russia, Norodny volunteers the announcement that bonds for the newly established Republic have been issued, and that they would be offered for sale immediately. The bonds, printed on

508

840514030

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 5-11 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 1 (March 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

parchment paper, set forth the fact that they are "liberty bonds" secured by first lien on all of the national property of the Republic.

Each of the bonds contains a statement to the effect that it is one of a series of 50,000 of $100 each, "which are to be used for the purpose of the United States of Russia," and to be distributed in the United States of America, France, Great Britain, and Germany. The faith of the Russian people is pledged for the payment of the bonds with interest.

We hope that no true friend of Russian emancipation will countenance, morally or financially, the impostor Ivan Norodny.

* * *

THE subtlest and most pernicious effects of authority are the weakening of man's natural spirit of self-reliance and independence.

This truism has never been more clearly illustrated than by the present clamor for anti-gambling legislation. Whenever some symptom of the diseased body politic becomes particularly obnoxious, forthwith is heard the cry, "We need more laws!"

But laws merely suppress. They do not cure. They change neither human nature nor conditions. Legislation against race-track gambling would but aggravate the evil by adding hypocrisy to it. Men will continue to gamble; the law will but force them to deceit. Suppressed evil is a double evil.

Education is more effectively reformative than mere legislation. Race-track gambling is by far the least serious symptom of our diseased social body. There are more vital questions. The crusaders against the race-track are themselves the greatest gamblers, the champions of a system based on robbery, sham, and deceit. Were they sincere, they would enlighten the people as to the dishonesty of *every* form of parasitism, of all profit-making. Rouse the public conscience to the shame of exploitation in whatever disguise, and you will have more effectively abolished gambling than laws can ever do.

But mere preaching is no cure. Betting on horses is but an insignificant expression of that great gambling conspiracy called capitalist society. Every phase of our social being is permeated by the same spirit—the love of

conquest and gain, the passion for profits, the exploitation of another's labor.

The source of gambling is in our economic system, which is based and thrives on parasitism, hypocrisy, and theft. To effectively abolish gambling, society must be reconstructed on the foundation of justice and equity.

But not legislation will regenerate humanity. Enlightenment, based on individual self-reliance, is the cure. Free co-operation and direct action are the pivot of a better future.

* * *

SOME people are inclined to consider Great Britain as lagging in the march of progress. According to latest advices from London, however, England is soon likely to rival America in the development of her industries.

Great Britain has profitably extended her traditional policy of free trade to the manufacture of nobility. Nowadays a rich Englishman, quite irrespective of his character or talents, can buy a peerage almost as easily as he can buy a castle, and at almost as well-recognized a tariff. The most respectable method is to give a large sum to "charity." But this method is not infallible.

The one infallible way is to buy your peerage from a great political party; in other words, to subscribe to the party fund, exactly as our own corporations, for other corrupt equivalents, subscribe to party funds.

No glory is gained by giving $50,000 to a secret fund. A return must be exacted in some other way, and, in fact, a title is the only recognized consideration. If the title-hunter is rich and generous to the party, he becomes a peer; and thenceforward he and his descendants gain the "divine right" of sitting in a gilded chamber, reigning as kinglets, and shaping the destinies of the nation.

The ennobling example of our own political life is thus bearing good fruit across the pond. They have learned from us the valuable lesson of the democratic spirit. And they find that "it pays." For, after all, the highest expression of the art of government is—graft.

509

840514031

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Joys of Touring / Emma Goldman.— pp. 36-40 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 3, no. 1 (March 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THE JOYS OF TOURING

I KNOW that I came into the world in a "respectable" manner, like all "decent" people, in bed, surrounded by loving relatives whose first expression of affection for the poor infant is to smother it with clothes and feathers. I am certain I shall not leave this world of ours in a like manner. Should I be spared the merciful accompaniment of the law, some speeding train is sure to lead me into a better world. I know it, because I spend more time in trains than anywhere else. It isn't likely to happen very soon, though; my constitution is guarantee for that. Anyone who can survive twenty years of tossing about in the foul and suffocating air of our railroad cars must indeed be strong.

So here I am again in a rumbling train, en route to St. Louis. The temperature is that of a July day in New York. The Lord forbid that a window be opened; an uprising is certain to ensue; but as the passengers are all well behaved Americans, such a thing must not be. Besides, we Americans can stand anything, except air. We are ready to submit to any abuse, any imposition or insults, but air, fresh air! Never.

With the crisis causing want and misery among thousands, and tortured by a racking cough when I left New York Feb. 13th, I did not think I should have either strength or the necessary wherewithal to reach St. Louis: but the Gods are good to those who doubt them.

* * *

Montreal, the city of the dark ages, priestcraft and churches, proved unusually wide awake this time. Two packed Jewish meetings. But then, Jewish meetings are always packed—with men, women, infants, and baby-carriages. The herding instinct of my race has aided its survival, despite all the horrors it was made to endure. Besides, what would become of progress were it not for the Jews? To be sure, there are some American radicals, Socialists, and Anarchists, but it is a radicalism that will not forego a single comfort or expose itself to any inconvenience, least of all strive to make itself known. It thrives in seclusion, for it dreads nothing so much as public opinion. There are a few happy exceptions, of course, but they are either impractical or foreignized. There was

Albert Parsons; how stupid of him to have taken his place with his comrades, when he might have saved himself and continued to do work in a "quiet and respectable" way. There is Voltairine; why the dues does she want to speak at an unemployed meeting of Italians and Jews? It is a pity such people will not use wisdom and declare themselves once for all lovers of peace, "philosophic Anarchists." But as I said, these few hot-heads are foreignized; the bulk of our American radicals would positively die of inertia and anaemia, were it not for the Jews constantly infusing new blood into their system. Some day our radicals may awaken to the realization that social changes are made by man and not by theories; nor are such changes brought about at five o'clock teas or parlor gatherings, and least of all through fear and dread of public opinion and the sacredness of the law.

Well, whether it is agreeable or not, the Jewish Anarchists are acquainting Americans with Anarchism, especially since they have learned to realize that it is the English-speaking public that needs awakening. Their sleep being almost death-like, it requires more energy, more constant and systematic respiratory efforts.

Such efforts the "Arbeiter Freund" group of Montreal has certainly brought into play when it arranged the English meeting Sunday, Feb. 15th. No wonder it was a great success, especially from an educational standpoint. The same newspapers that gave a fair interview with myself, together with other papers, hastened to sound the alarm of horror. A meeting on Sunday, in superstition-ridden Montreal, and attended by Canadians! Canadians, who were so bold-faced as to publicly declare themselves in sympathy with the lecture on "The Relation of Trade Unionism to Anarchism," and even offer a vote of thanks to the speaker! Unheard of! Of course it is the fault of those bad foreign Anarchists; if it were not for those creatures Canada would continue to be dull and pious and stupid. But as it is, some light may enter benighted Canada, and that's more than the average newspaper editor can stand.

The "Arbeiter Freund" group has proven what perseverance and enthusiasm can accomplish. Go on, dear comrades, and we will soon have the Montreal inhabitants interested in modern ideas.

510

840514031

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Joys of Touring / Emma Goldman. – pp. 36-40 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 1 (March 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Toronto lacks the energy of the Montreal group; therefore meetings are never very extensively attended. Still, the quality of the English-speaking audience made up for the lack of quantity, and that is, after all, the main consideration.

* * *

London, Ont. For all that its people have ever done for their advancement, the city might as well not be on the map. It was therefore very daring, indeed, on the part of Sarah and Meyer Hornstein—two beautiful progressive souls transplanted into a desert—to arrange two English meetings at their own expense. But daring will yet conquer the world; meanwhile it has succeeded in bringing Anarchy before a London audience. It was a small gathering, but a hundred and twenty-five people; quite a victory, though, as compared to the twenty-five beings who mustered up enough courage to see Mary Shaw in "Ghosts."

The first meeting, on Feb. 19th, was not very spirited. Those who ventured to come at all, did so because curiosity is often stronger than even the instinct of life or the fear of public opinion. The next day, no dynamite explosions having been reported, no arrest and no breaking up of the metting, the Ontarians took courage, and evidenced considerable interest and enthusiasm. The important feature of the meetings was the large sale of literature and the winning of some subscribers to MOTHER EARTH. I am glad I ventured to London; not so much because of the great achievements of my lectures, but because of the pleasure of meeting two genuine souls, Sarah and Meyer Hornstein. The two days I spent in their quiet and restful home, the sleigh ride on the crisp white snow, competing with the gold of the warm sun, were a treat indeed.

* * *

Cleveland has not changed since last March. The blank and dismal Union Station is still there, as are the smoke and dirt on the streets. The Single Tax Mayor, too, is there; but lukewarm reforms have never yet regenerated a people, nor loosened the iron grip of poverty created through economic inequality. True, the demonstration of the unemployed in Cleveland passed off without police brutality. But even if the Cleveland police were as savage

as those of Philadelphia, they would have done nothing to the marchers—they were so well behaved, so peaceful, they carried the star spangled banner with such meekness. Why should they not have been permitted to march! And the leaders—of course they were as orderly as behooves Socialists who cringe before the sacredness of the law even more than the ordinary conservative. No red flags, deathly silence, no complaints! Such were the orders to the marchers, whose empty stomachs and empty heads lacked the power of resistance.

Something, however, did change in Cleveland. The Progressive Library has new quarters, light and airy, a fine reading room, many books and magazines, and a new spirit of activity. Our boys are making themselves felt in the Jewish unions which they have helped to federate. They have also successfully carried on a bread strike, and are doing good work in general.

The meetings were satisfactory in every way. There is much progressive material in Cleveland; unfortunately, they are in the fog and smoke of reform attempts, which accomplish nothing except robbing the people of initiative and self-reliance.

* * *

Toledo, too, suffers from an imaginary disease which resists cures more stubbornly than a real malady. There, a gentleman who spends his idle time writing, at the expense of the people, about social problems, is making the Toledians believe that he is doing something for them. The city is in the most neglected condition, with thousands of unemployed; but that cannot be helped, of course; at least, not right away. Gradually, through the Initiative and Referendum, may be ——. American politicians are like American dramatists and American ladies. Poor, barbarian Europe! If it were not for you, the American dramatist could write no drama for lack of material; American women would stalk about naked for lack of styles, and American reform politicians would run short of campaign speakers and election bait. Initiative and Referendum, which have proven such a farce in Switzerland, merely helping the government increase the army to be used during strikes, are now being given to the poor American voters as a new panacea for all ills.

511

840514031

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Joys of Touring / Emma Goldman.— pp. 36-40 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 3, no. 1 (March 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

But where does the traffic in patent medicines thrive better than in America?

That the Toledo meetings were poorly attended was due partly to the cowardice of the "Arbeiter Ring" that invited me to lecture, but lost heart when it was called on to do work openly. The entire responsibility was thrown upon the shoulders of one comrade, who has been out of work for many months, and who lacks the language at that. Still, he did his utmost, for which I am grateful to him. The inclement weather, too, was a handicap. The ice on the sidewalks of Toledo made it dangerous for anyone to venture out. That thousands of the unemployed might be put to shoveling snow and clearing the sidewalks, thus giving them a chance to earn a few dollars and saving the city from disease, has probably never occurred to the reform politicians. They are far too busy with the Initiative and Referendum.

* * *

In all the cities so far visited I have found among the comrades a very live and active interest in our recently organized Federation. There is a spirit of enthusiasm which augurs well for the work mapped out by the new organization: more systematic and energetic propaganda of Anarchism.

St. Louis, February 27th. EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

P. S.—Communications will reach me at the following addresses: Chicago, Ill., 970 N. Winchester Avenue (March 5-19); Milwaukee, Wis., General Delivery (March 20, 21, and 22); New Ulm, Minn., General Delivery (March 23 and 24); Minneapolis, Minn., 565 N. 6th Avenue (March 25-30); Winnipeg, Man., Canada, 452 Manitoba Avenue (March 31 to April 6).

THE CASE IN PHILADELPHIA

AN APPEAL

A MEETING of the unemployed was called for Thursday, Feb. 20, at 2 P. M., by the Jewish and Italian Anarchist Groups. The hall was overpacked before the hour, and at about 2.30 the lower hall was opened for an overflow meeting. In both halls some two thousand people were assembled. The major portion were Italians; the remainder chiefly Russian Jews. The first speaker at the upstairs meeting was De Bella, in Italian; I followed in English; then Weinberg in Jewish; then another Italian speaker, whose name I do not know; and lastly Geo. Brown had started to speak in English. At this point a voice at the back of the hall cried something in Italian; what it was I cannot say, but all the people began to crowd for the door. In vain the chairman, Mr. Brown, and an Italian speaker called to them to remain and listen. In vain we protested with some on the platform against the uselessness of going out in a demonstration with so few people. The people wished to go and they went. What their purpose was, I do not know; it is possible they meant to ask the authorities at the City Hall to relieve their condition. Whatever it was, they went. And the inevitable followed. They were met by the police, who began brutally clubbing the people. Some resented this with force, and were clubbed into insensibility. Fortunately no one was killed, although several shots were fired.

In the end three Italians were held charged with inciting to riot and assault and battery with intent to kill; Comrade Weinberg and myself were arrested the next day charged with inciting to riot; and later two young members of the Radical Library were arrested for the heinous offense of having hired the hall and distributed circulars; a third young man whom none of us know, and who, so far as I am able to learn, was not even present at the meeting, was also arrested. These three have since been discharged, after having been five days in jail.

After a two hours' hearing, Comrade Weinberg and myself were held for court under $1,500 bail each, which is the present standing of the case. The State presented

512

881108018

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman, High Priestess of Anarchy, Sneers over Crime / Emma Goldman.— p. 4 ; 27 cm. *In* Chicago Daily Journal. —(March 3, 1908).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The Chicago Historical Society.

...T IN STATE PRISON LABOR

...ephone at Pontiac Show That Favored Contractors at Reformatory Receive Benefits

...RMS ARE IN COMPETITION

Supt. Mallary Indorses a Certain Firm Before State Board and Convict Labor Contract Is Secured

Secrets of the Pontiac reformatory were brought to light today showing the existence of a plot to turn over the prison labor of the state to contractors, the products of such labor to come into competition with the products of union labor. The whole matter in the plot at Pontiac is said to be Supt. M. M. Mallary, whose participation is revealed in the minutes of the meetings of the board of managers which were secured by Representatives Hinde and McLaughlin on their recent visit to the institution.

These minutes show that Mallary acted as the agent of the Ford & Johnson company, Indiana and Sixteenth streets. On application for an appeal to Gov Deneen which he was asked to appeal to the board of prison labor asking it to arrange for the establishment of factories in the penitentiaries of the state, these factories to be conducted in the interest of the Ford & Johnson company.

Mallary Praises Company

In a long letter to Gov Deneen the whole of which is set out in the minutes of the board meetings Mallary praises this company and calls attention to the fact that it conducts one of the largest chair factories in the country inside the walls of the penitentiary at Michigan City, Ind.

He declared the concern wanted to establish a chair factory in the penitentiary at Chester, which would employ an indefinite number of men a woodenware factory that would employ 300 men a chair factory that would employ fifty men, and a carpet-weaving factory that would employ 150 men.

"This concern is one of the largest manufacturers of chairs in the United States," wrote Mr. Mallary, "and I believe it would be well to take up their proposition with the members of the board of prison labor. The company agrees to put in the machinery in all cases and to accept payment for same in the finished product."

Factories Are in Existence

What was done in the premises by Gov Deneen, Representative Manny, who made the discovery of the plot, has not yet been able to discover but it is known that there is a chair factory in the Chester penitentiary, from which, it is charged, the state receives but little return. They are a number of other factories in the Chester penitentiary, and there are also similar places at Pontiac and at Joliet.

Members of labor unions who have learned of this action are indignant, and action by them is expected. Supt Mallary especially is blamed.

In addition to these secrets unearthed by the minute book Representative Manny discovered figures in the expense columns for which he declares he will demand an explanation. These figures show there are hundreds of dollars spent every month which are charged on the books as having been paid out for school books for the inmates and for school seats made at

Table of Expenditures

The following is a table showing a partial list of these expenditures:

Sept. 4, 1906	$ [illegible]	$ [illegible]
Oct. 8, 1906	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nov. 13, 1906	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dec. 11, 1906	[illegible]	[illegible]
Jan. 8, 1907	[illegible]	[illegible]
Feb. 12, 1907	[illegible]	[illegible]

Emma Goldman, High Priestess of Anarchy, Sneers Over Crime



Emma Goldman.

(By Special Correspondent)

SPRINGFIELD Mo March 3 Emma Goldman had a sneer and a mocking laugh as an answer today to the query:

"Did you know Averbuch, who was shot by Chief Shippy to Oh ages" She was told it had been proved the assassin was an anarchist.

Isn't that absurd?" said the high priestess of the anarchists. "Somebody always somebody else tries to kill them and the officers of the law the newspapers, and the people cry 'Anarchist'.

"I know nothing authentic about the Chicago affair but I'll guarantee that the man was not an anarchist but a fanatic of some one who had a private grudge against Shippy."

It is universally conceded that Miss Goldman's speeches helped to inspire Czolgosz, assassinate President McKinley. She was in retirement for a couple of years after she was arrested following the shooting of the president but during the last three or four years she has been as active as ever in her attacks on society.

Three years ago she worked for a time as a hairdresser in Pittsburg where Alexander Berkman who shot Henry C. Frick was released from the penitentiary she and Berkman contracted an anarchical marriage and have since been touring the country together.

She first met Berkman when she was a schoolgirl in St Petersburg, and it was her teachings after she returned him to the United States which led him, when he was 21 years old to shoot Mr. Frick chairman of the Carnegie Steel company during the Homestead strike in July, 1892.

FACE BEATEN INTO A JELLY

Chum of Frank Giroux, the Chicago Boy, the Latest Victim at Lincoln Home for Feeble-Minded

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE]

me to go ahead and cook it; that it was only ground up wrong.

Corn Meal in Unfit Condition

The witness detailed the condition of the corn meal saying:

"It was too wormy to cook. It would not get hard enough to fry, and was not fit to eat. The worms in it were longer than those in the oatmeal. Miss Henderson told me it was because I didn't cook it right. I complained to Dr. Hardt, but he told me to go back to Miss Henderson. The prunes had bugs and worms pressed in on them, and when I showed them to Miss Henderson she told me to wash the bugs out and cook them anyway."

Miss Jordan said she was discharged on a trumped-up charge that she had burned the bacon. She said she had went in Gov. Deneen and told him the whole story of the worms in the food. She did not know what action the executive had taken in the matter in the food.

Other Cruelties Related

Other details of alleged cruelties were brought out by her and by O. E. Waller, another witness. She told of an alleged attack on Harry Thomas, a male, by Miss Danaher an attendant. Miss Danaher chased Harry Thomas with a hatchet and a butcher knife, said Miss Jordan and finally overtook him and buried the right hand with the butcher knife, cutting his forefinger and breaking the bone.

Attendant Waller told of the attack upon Eddie Kutz, who was beaten up by William Beach less than a week ago.

"The boy was beaten all to pieces," said Waller. "His face was cut, his eyes were blackened and his chest and stomach were bruised and cut. The boy died. Mr. Beach had knocked him down and jumped on him. There was blood on the floor where the boy was picked up after the beating.

Two other boys were beaten by Beach one of them Jesse Greco and his eyes blackened and the other boy had a hole in his cheek. Neither of them made complaint. They don't know enough for that. Beach was dismissed.

Had Heard Boy Was Beaten

Chairman Hill asked the witness if he had heard that former Superintendent Miller and a man named Hutchins had been charged with beating inmates. He said he had heard Miller had beaten a boy, but he knew nothing about it. He had heard nothing of Hutchins.

Waller told the committee that Arthur Simmons, the attendant who was dismissed because he allowed Harry Hinkley an inmate to be burned by scalding water in a bathtub, told him he was a second cousin of Joseph C. Mason, secretary of the state civil-service board.

He said further that after he dismissed Simmons told him he had been assured at Springfield he could get another job when ever he should want it.

SINGER DEMANDS INJUNCTION

Asks Court to Prohibit the San Carlo Opera Company from Advertising Her While She Is Absent



MME. JANE NORIA

Mme Jane Noria, the former San Carlo opera singer, is very angry because she misses the opera company is touring the country, advertising that she is with it while in reality she is in St Louis. It is said.

She asked the United States court today, through her attorney Morton A. Merchandhem, to issue an injunction prohibiting the opera company from using her name in advertisements and on the programme while another person is filling her former part.

Mme. Noria sang with the San Carlo company while it was here. She was considered a success and the opera-going public was pleased with her. Then she asked to leave the company and the arrangements were satisfactorily completed.

She left for St. Louis and the company continued through the northwest. But she says that it did not take her name from the bills or programmes and that an understudy sang in her name. Mme. Noria came here today to sign the bill in a decree, which is directed against Henry Russell, the director, and the San Carlo opera company.

WHAT SOCIETY IS DOING



MISS BERTHA M. BONNER.

A very interesting south-side wedding, to take place tonight, is that of Miss Bertha Bonner, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Bonner, 5753 Rosalie court, and Astor Green Allen, son of Mr. and Mrs. Edmund A. Allen, 5417 Washington avenue. The service will be solemnized in the University Congregational church at 8 o'clock, Rev. Oscar C. Haisting officiating. The bride will be attended by Miss Ida Francis, maid as maid of honor, and the Misses Fay Smalley, Bessie Dickerson, Caroline Kinnett and Meise Vandecloot as bridesmaids. Edwin H. Weary will serve as best man, and the ushers will be Archibald Wenger, Hamilton Caryl, John Whipple and Rodney Ware.

The bride will wear a princess gown of white duchess satin trimmed in real point lace, a tulle veil fastened with a spray of diamonds, and will carry a shower bouquet of white bride roses and white sweet peas. The maid of honor's gown will be fashioned of white satin crepe de chine trimmed in silver cloth, and will carry an arm bouquet of pink sweet peas. The bridesmaids will be gowned alike in short-length frocks of delicate pink taffeta trimmed in valenciennes lace, and will carry huge arm bouquets of narcissus and asparagus fern.

Following the church service there will be a large reception at the home of the bride's parents, after which the young couple will leave on an extended wedding tour through Mexico.

Mrs. William D. Kerfoot 127 Astor street, was hostess at an informal luncheon today.

Mr and Mrs. Louis Cochran, 591 North State street, will entertain at dinner this evening.

Mrs. Willard S. Gaylord 1616 Michigan avenue, gave an afternoon bridge today.

Thursday, March 26, is the date chosen for the marriage of Miss Helen Holden, daughter of Mr and Mrs. Warren F. Holden, 3033 Warren avenue, to Walter Howard Kepner of Ducyrus, Ohio. The wedding will be a home celebration at 6 o'clock in the evening.

Mr. and Mrs. O. Norton, 630 Maple avenue, Oak Park, announce the engagement of their daughter, Miss Harriet Norton, to William Beye Heald.

Mrs. Harry N. Taylor, 50 Stratford place, entertained today at luncheon and bridge.

Melville Clark, 501 West Monroe street, has returned from six weeks visit to the Bermuda islands.

Mr and Mrs. Herbert S. Stone and children, who have been at the Virginia during the winter will move to Glencoe the latter part of this week.

Mr and Mrs. Charles Warren Gillett and children of the Raymold have gone to New Orleans and Cuba.

The marriage of Miss Ethel Randolph and Harrison I. Van Schaick will be celebrated quietly at 5 o'clock this evening at 3624 Indiana avenue. Miss Randolph who is a daughter of the late Dr. and Mrs. Arthur Randolph is the granddaughter of the late George C. Walker prominent in the city's early history. Dr. Herman Page will officiate, and as the bride is in mourning, only the immediate family will witness the service. Later a trip south will be taken by Mr Van Schaick and his bride, and the Annex will be their home until further plans are made.

Mrs. La Verne W. Noyes, 130 Lake Shore drive, was hostess at a large reception this afternoon from 3 to 6 o'clock, the occasion being the first large affair given by Mrs. Noyes since her occupancy of her new home.

The Colonial club, 4445 Grand boulevard, makes the following announcements for March:

Saturday — Gentlemen's guest night, lunch.

Monday, 9th—Ladies' study class, 7 p. m.

Tuesday, 10th—Card party, euchre, 8 15 p. m.

Friday, 13th—Dancing masquerade party, 8 45 p. m.

Saturday 14th—Gentlemen's guest night, lunch.

Monday, 16th—Ladies' card party, bridge whist, 2 p. m.

Wednesday 18th—Dramatic entertainment Woodlawn Park Dramatic Corps.

Friday, 20th—Dancing. Formal party, 8 45 p. m. Guests.

Saturday 21st—Gentlemen's guest night.

Monday, 23d—Ladies' study class, 7 p. m.

Tuesday, 24th—Cards bridge whist, 8 15 p. m.

Friday 27th—Dancing. Formal party, 8 45 p. m. Guests.

Saturday 28th—Stag vaudeville and smoker. Guests and lunch.

Monday 30th—Ladies' card party euchre, 2 p. m.

FILM WAR IS NATION WIDE

Edison Company Seeks to Bar Out Independents Operating In the Moving Picture Business

CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE]

the manufacture of films, but the rival faction contends that in the absence of any adjudication or conclusion of a suit brought for infringement, the Edison right has not been established.

BIDWELLS HIT BY A NEMESIS

Miss Palmer Takes Stand and Swears She Helped Defendants Sell Stock by a Bunko Game

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE]

what a wonder. We will startle the world with it's motor. Our fortunes are made.

What else did Benson Bidwell say?

He said replied the witness now for the big exhibition and told me not to allow any electricians to see the motor. I asked him

CHARITY TO RULE WHILE MASSES OBSERVE LENTEN SEASON OF PRESENT YEAR

Services to Be Held in Many Churches, Especially the Roman Catholic and Episcopal

Lent begins tomorrow. Ash Wednesday and services will be held in many churches throughout the city especially in the Roman Catholic and Episcopal. At the masses in the Catholic churches ashes will be distributed.

The season of Lent is a time has been long and in many ways strenuous. It has recorded such a shower of charity affairs

LOCAL NEWS BREVITIES

James Russell 5445 Calumet avenue was fined $25 in Municipal Judge Mayer's court today on a charge preferred by Miss Martha Herried. Forty-eighth street and Madison avenue. Russell contended that he could not have slapped her with his left hand after throwing beer on her because his hand and arm are wooden.

Ald. Bennett, chairman of the finance committee will take up plans for the new police headquarters at a conference with public officials Wednesday. He is in favor of the site at Madison street and the river. Plans are being made for renting quarters in this locality for city officials during the construction of the proposed city hall.

The Chicago municipal ferry boat one of its vessels today when the boiler which took passengers over the river at Polk street went out of commission. A demand by the Teamsters union that the Cole pilot of the Bowser should not work more than eight hours a day was responsible.

The flies must be banished from Garfield park summer or there will be a plague according to Dr. W. A. Evans city

ALL THIS WEEK:

An Exhibit of Early Spring Millinery



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881109000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Police Defied by Emma Goldman in Upholding "Reds" / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-2 ; 43 cm. *In* Chicago Daily Journal. —(March 6, 1908).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The Chicago Historical Society.

...LY JOURNAL

...DAILY NEWSPAPER IN THE STATE OF ILLINOIS——OFFICES NO. 80, 181, 183 MARKET STREET

FRIDAY, MARCH 6, 1908 FIVE O'CLOCK—ONE CENT HOME EDITION

...S FANG ...'S WAR

...inister Arrives in ...ay to Capital; ...uble Will ...ttled

...RIEND, HE ADDS

...Steamer Tatsu ...Board Is Re- ...of Small ...lance

...hility of a war be- ...hina, Wu Ting Fang, ...nited States from ...rage at 12 30 o'clock ...e & Northwestern ...ion. The party con- ...o orientals, the sec- ...ts brought from Asia ...ter. The majority ...agties with ambassa- ...

...to deparation Mr. ... latest developments ...of the Japanese bois- ...eith vehemence that ...ver bring about any ...wees the countries

...ina Friendly

...e as the most friend- ...ferdant will assur- ...as breach. It is only ...nthing new. It is only ...where the supposed ...e to be sent and by ...e is in the wrong an ...eeld the blinding ...adjusted ...e China such reass- ...ly. There is no rea- ...but this, and all this ...ase," he continued ... with the minister ...Pullman car on the ...The members left San ...o), having arrived ...

...ge Students

...from the suite were ...ypoints, relatives and ...blic party who rema- ...ntering eastern col- ...

...to their riders was ...g to the Chinese cus- ...ver clutched in hand ...ppeared to have fresh ...rchased in San Fran- ...

...ate, while others had ...re armed with fold- ...also appeared brand- ...dent that the young ...inlow the custom of ...

...the diplomatic party ...except Droppe, S. ...re clothed in Chinese ...

...nd Missing

...the black sail ... Drill and Diamond ...rant Wash cotton s- ...e five years ago was ...

...th Minister Wu will ...ht leather shoes com- ...

...h junior were dressed ...much grandeur ... glad to get back to ...declared he is now ...ck for the first time ...especially a set of ...f these many friends ...

...entrance had changed ...years since he ...ished with glad ... ...ed smile as he regar- ...

...itional Queries

...gh he was extremely ... with cheerfulness ... In his home after ...from Washington a ... of that phenomenal ...e to bear for six years ...ed too closely for an ...rsational subject he ... with the Marshalls ...the special journal ...what interests those he ...m to know and not ...presents ...n subject is still one ...d who that will ... of his time while ... was designated ...statistics with which ... It is evident that he ...part of his time to ...ess in the immigra- ...w homes almost to a ...hese are distributed ...here

Local Conditions

...looking for more in- ...began piping quos ...of Chinese due to ...denied that he would

SECOND PAGE

...GER ...IBERTY

...m Captors, ...ptured

...e a wild fight when ...fore he was run down ... The he was again ...o in custody of Daniel ...y clerk at Fort Sher- ...etes Deputy Marshal ...

...ed at Fort Sheridan, ...teles six quartermas- ...ept. William Weigel, ... 6, 1907 (disappear- ...lan, Kellar is alleged ...where he passed nev- ...Nevada, amounting in ...$50,000.

...at Kamloops, British ...a weeks ago follow- ...m in each direction of ... He was started for ... warrant

Wu Ting Fang Photographed on His Arrival in Chicago



WU TING FANG

MALLARY PLANNED TO RUB SALT IN PRISONERS' WOUNDS, SAY WITNESSES AT PONTIAC

Farmers Tell Investigators Reformatory Head Was Discussed by Threats to Free Boys

PONTIAC, Ill., March 6.—Charges of inhuman and cruel methods alleged against Warden W. J. Mallory of the reformatory were discussed today by witnesses who appeared before the state board of charities to investigate the charges. Mallory is charged with having threatened to rub salt in the wounds of prisoners who attempted to escape.

The charges were made by Walter Holmes and William Maher. They are inmates and testified under immunity. Maher's parents live at Chicago. Holmes's father is a farmer near Lexington. Both admitted having served terms in the house of correction.

Wounds Caused by Shot

This is the first time that the charges of cruelty have been made in public. Mallory himself has always maintained the reformatory is a model institution. Many prominent persons have visited the institution and have been favorably impressed with its management.

The negroes, whom I believe was named Oliver Moore, escaped from the institution last July, said Holmes. They were captured in a weed back of Mallory house. They had been riddled by shot fired at them by the members of the posse, and Mallory sent one of the boys in the posse to Watkins house for a gun. He was prepared to rub it into the fugitives' wounds when the farmers interfered and took the men away from him.

Says Officials Showed Fear

Maher told a similar story. He said, however, that he did not hear Mallory send for the salt.

"I saw the salt," he declared, "and I know that it had been brought from my house.

Holmes declared further that during the chase Mallory and his guards kept to the rear, firing to a within range of the negroes who were armed with a revolver they had stolen from a guard.

"They put the farmers out in front," said Holmes. "They were willing enough that if any one was killed it should be a farmer."

WOMAN CUPID AGENT AND LOTTERY MEN ARE HELD; U. S. JURORS INDICT 63

Matrimonial Promoter Accused in Bill Is Sought—Others to Be Put in the Limelight Later

Of these indictments, thirty nine of which are against alleged lottery conspirators were returned today by the federal grand jury before Judge K. M. Landis in the criminal court.

The most important indictments are against David H. Jones, John Minor and Charles Jansen, other men charged with being associated with them in the operation of the old Reliable Guaranty Loan and Trust company, an alleged lottery concern.

Mrs. Jessie Scott, alleged fraudulent matrimonial agent, was also among the indictments, she was held under the name of Lillian Leach, which she used in conducting the business. Gillies International Corresponding club.

Among those indicted are two alleged confidence men, Walter Russell and Grace Elliott, accused of passing a number of counterfeit $10 bills on street car conductors of the West Madison street line, as well as 00 West Madison street merchants and saloonkeepers.

John H. Carson, clairvoyant, was indicted for alleged fraudulent use of the United States mails and Emil C. Feuz was indicted on charges of concealing assets in a bankruptcy proceeding.

DETROIT BANKER KILLS HIMSELF; WORRY CAUSE

Ellwood T. Hance Commits Suicide While Brooding Over Money Affairs—Was Former Postmaster

[Associated Press Telegram]

DETROIT, Mich., March 6.—Ellwood T. Hance, first vice president of the Union Trust company of this city and former postmaster of Detroit, shot and killed himself early today in his home here. Friends say that he had been greatly depressed over his own financial affairs for some time.

Mr. Hance's health also had not been good, and it is supposed that this aggravated the worry and impelled him to shoot himself. Mr. Hance was born in Wilmington, Del., 58 years ago, and came to Detroit in 1873. He was admitted to the bar when the Union Trust company was organized and was made secretary and later vice president.

President F. W. Blair of the Union Trust company and Henry Russell, one of the directors, deny emphatically that the affairs of the company are in any way involved by any of Mr. Hance's financial difficulties.

Personal Affairs Entangled

Close friends say that Mr. Hance's personal financial affairs had been badly tangled for some time and that he had been undergoing a tremendous mental strain as a result.

Officers of the Union Trust company, by a significant lapsed at noon, declared Mr. Hance's accounts with the company are in excellent shape, and that his suicide could only have been occasioned by causes beyond their knowledge. The statement says Mr. Hance had always been a faithful and zealous official of the company, and that he was a man of extreme nervous temperament and sensitiveness which were intensified by a severe attack of [illegible]

WISCONSIN SNOW STORM RAGES

Country Roads Around New Richmond Blocked—Trains Are Delayed

[Associated Press Telegram]

NEW RICHMOND, Wis., March 6.—A snow storm has been raging since midnight Wednesday, and the snow is nearly a foot deep. Country roads are blocked, but trains have managed to get through on fairly good time.

Body Found in River

The body of a man, thought to be that of Domenic Tortorelli, 35 years old, 34 Bismarck place, who fell into the river at the foot of La Salle avenue during December, was taken from the river today by the police.

See Rooms to Rent Advertisements on Page 4

POLICE DEFIED BY EMMA GOLDMAN IN UPHOLDING "REDS"

Anarchist Priestess Declares She Will Speak Sunday Despite Opposition of Police

AVERBUCH'S DEED IS LAUDED

Says Czolgosz Followed Dictates of Conscience When He Assassinated President McKinley

Emma Goldman, leader of the anarchists in America, today defied God and man in an interview with a Chicago Journal reporter.

With the police arresting every suspected anarchist in the city, Miss Goldman dared them to interfere with her, and said she would explain what anarchy meant in an address at the Masonic Temple Sunday night.

Only through anarchy, Miss Goldman declared, could society ever hope to be civilized, and this meant the elimination of religion, the overthrow of conventionalities and the freedom from governmental restraint.

In the tones of a physician describing an operation, the anarchist leader declared that Czolgosz had felt himself justified in assassinating President McKinley, and he felt he was doing it for the good of the people.

The anarchist, Averbuch, who attempted to assassinate Chief of Police Shippy, was disavowed as a "Red."

Stopping with a Friend

Miss Goldman was seated in a little room on the third floor of 976 North Winchester avenue, with her friend, Mrs. William Dutch, whose husband is said to be also an anarchist. The Queen of the Reds was dressed in a blue suit, and she was unbuttoning from the grip.

"I shall speak Sunday night in spite of the orders of Chief Shippy," said Miss Goldman in a calm, dispassionate voice. "If I could have secured a hall earlier I would speak on 'Anarchy' before then.

"The police seem to have lost their heads, as usual. This man Averbuch was not an anarchist. No one of my friends seems to have known him, and from the meager data one finds that he was a member of no anarchistic society. How he was misled is a mystery that remains to be explained.

"Averbuch was only a few months in this country. His case is entirely unlike that of Czolgosz. Czolgosz was an American. He knew the constitution and declaration of independence and he knew they were myths.

Called Society Unjust

"He rebelled in his simple way against what he considered the injustice of society after being knocked about in the factories and workshops. He said he killed McKinley for the good of the people.

"No. We don't consider Czolgosz an anarchist saint. We have no saints. We believe that in the case of tyranny a man has the right of self-defense and that man has the right of collective rebellion, if I mistake not, that is one of the cherished American doctrines.

"Anarchists believe in the murder of tyrants! No. There is not a book, pamphlet or magazine on anarchy that I know of that preaches murder. We are open students, and where an individual kills a public official we try to find out the cause that prompted him."

Regulation of an Anarchist

When asked what a man had to do to become an anarchist Miss Goldman replied:

"He must rid himself of superstitions first, both the superstitions of religion and the superstition of property. Anarchy has no God. The idea of fixing the responsibility of human horrors on a conscious deity is revolting. The second step for the student in anarchy is to throw aside all the conventionalities of modern life. Possibly the most hypocritical of these is marriage. We believe that the man and woman are the best judges of their right to love together. Caste must be broken down and the laws practically overthrown by hypocrisy.

Is a Communist Anarchist

"Personally I am a communistic anarchist. I believe it would save labor, time and energy if wealth were produced and distributed by communal effort. Men's souls, aside from being relieved in this way, they would demand the utmost freedom.

"With the elimination of poverty, crime and ignorance would also disappear. We do not believe in restraining laws, because the perfection of government in a civilization so high in its standard that restraining laws are not necessary. It means that the best government is the one that needs the least necessity for laws."

Chief of Police Shippy did not go to the city hall today, as his injury was given him considerable trouble. Harry Shippy was reported as progressing favorably, but it was not deemed advisable to predict the outcome of his wound.

"How do you expect to accomplish this?" she was asked.

"Not by the political power of votes," she answered. "That is the mistaken theory. We believe the question to be a numerical one. The workers must be organized along industrial lines. Their weapon must be the general strike. With a population of all industry, clerical and otherwise, from the Atlantic to the Pacific a great incident in conditions would be the result of the struggle.

"Ultimately the institution of private ownership of land, the only collective property the property laws in general would be repealed. While society would [illegible] be allowed freedom to satisfy their [illegible] alone if they so desired. It would [illegible] overthrow of capitalism [illegible] what anarchists are working for."

No Condemnation for Assassins

Miss Goldman refused to [illegible] assassins of the king of Portugal, [illegible] and the one who [illegible] to kill Chief Shippy.

"I have nothing to say [illegible]," she said. "Anarchists [illegible] being who views the [illegible] it for what he considers it. They do not have [illegible] any one. Anarchy [illegible] them."

In talking of the [illegible] assassinations Miss [illegible] clearly committed a [illegible] made in cases [illegible] trying to [illegible] declared that [illegible] were prompted [illegible] with the [illegible]

M'REYNOLDS LOSES WIFE

Imprisoned Broker's Spouse Obtains Divorce on Plea That Her Husband Is Convict

Mrs. Hartbell Cook McReynolds was granted a divorce from her husband, George S. McReynolds, today less than twenty-four hours after she had filed application for relief from the bonds of matrimony.

Mrs. McReynolds was the only witness heard and the proceedings required only a few minutes. Judge Gibbons granted the decree.

The husband, in the solitude of a prison cell at Joliet, was spared the humiliation of appearing to defend himself against the woman for love of whom he "traveled beyond his depth" in an expensive social campaign that landed him in a complicated, pronounced guilty of raising money through fraudulent manipulation of warehouse receipts to keep up the pace.

Inquiry into McReynolds' affairs after the crash came disclosed that it had cost him as high as $25,000 a year to maintain his home.

The divorce is said to be the prelude to a new marital venture on the part of the "violet farmer," whose experiments in raising the fragrant blossoms proved so costly.

It is said that Mrs. McReynolds will shortly become Mrs. Hayward.

Wife Tells of Separation

Mrs. McReynolds, accompanied by her attorney, Angus Ray Shannon, entered Judge Gibbons' courtroom, and Colin C. H. Fyfe appeared a little later to represent her husband.

After determining when the bill was filed and whether any answer was made the judge directed that Mrs. McReynolds take the witness stand. Her testimony was given almost in a whisper and the stenographer had difficulty in hearing her.

"When did you separate?" asked Attorney Shannon.

"Dec. 16, 1906, when Mr. McReynolds was convicted by a jury in the Criminal court for fraudulent use of warehouse receipts."

"Do you know where your husband is now?"

"In Joliet penitentiary."

"Have you seen the judgment in the case of The People vs. George S. McReynolds entered in the Criminal court?"

"I have."

Escapes Cross-Examination

"Then I will introduce this judgment into evidence," said the lawyer to the court.

"It may be attached to the evidence," said Judge Gibbons.

Attorney Shannon dismissed Mrs. McReynolds and took the witness stand. After identifying himself he said that he had made an examination of the records of the clerk of the Criminal court and he learned that the judgment entered against McReynolds is still in force and effect.

Judge Gibbons directed that the testimony be written and the decree presented for his signature. A penitentiary sentence being a statutory ground for divorce, Attorney Fyfe could not question Mrs. McReynolds.

Loyal During Trial

Prior to going to the [illegible] at 900 Rush street Mr. McReynolds was head of the firm of McReynolds & Co., 240 La Salle street. The firm [illegible] three grain [illegible]. The liabilities of the concern were placed at $600,000, and the assets at $250,000 when the crash came.

Mrs. McReynolds was apparently devoted to her husband until he was convicted by the jury in the Criminal court.

When he was placed on trial it was declared that his wife's sympathies was responsible, in a measure, for his difficulty. He was said to have given her large amounts of money to pursue her hobby of cultivating violets at her home in Kenilworth and at her farm at Glencoe.

Murder Case Goes to Jury

The case of Bartholomew Hilts, accused of murdering Clarence E. Patterson Oct. 1, 1907, will go to a jury in Judge Kersten's court this afternoon. Patterson, who was 19 years old and lived at 2007 West Chicago avenue, was shot by Hilts at the latter's poolroom, 1173 West Chicago avenue, after a quarrel.

514

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881109000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Police Defied by Emma Goldman in Upholding "Reds" / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-2 ; 43 cm. *In* Chicago Daily Journal. —(March 6, 1908).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The Chicago Historical Society.

...ERROR

School Children Who Perished in Cottrell Fire and Panic Are Buried One by One

...LATER FOR UNIDENTIFIED

Mother Faints in Recognizing Child at Morgue; 167 Dead, Twenty-Three Bodies Unknown

[Associated Press Telegram]

CLEVELAND, Ohio, March 6.—This was a day of funerals in the suburb of Collinwood, scene of the public school fire and panic that caused the death of many children.

In fully 100 cases the funerals will be individual, each family burying its own dead. The first of these funerals was held early. They will continue throughout the day. In some instances funeral services were grouped with five to ten bodies in the church.

Unidentified to Be Buried Monday

The unidentified will be buried Monday according to present arrangements. The expense of these funerals, together with the funerals of children whose parents are not in a financial condition to meet the burden, will be borne by public subscriptions, which are growing larger every hour. Already thousands of dollars have been raised. In addition to this a bill has been introduced in the state legislature appropriating $25,000 for the relief of the needy fire sufferers. This bill, it is expected, will become a law at once.

Altogether 167 bodies have been recovered. The list of missing now tallies with the number of unidentified, which indicates that all of the bodies have been found and that the total death list will stand at 167. There are twenty-three bodies unidentified.

Mistook Identifying Daughter

The body of Miss Katherine Weidler, one of the two teachers who lost their lives, was positively identified by a dentist. It had been burned so that it could hardly be distinguished from the bodies of small girls. The identification was established by her gold-filled teeth as descriptions furnished by a Pittsburg dentist.

The body of Rosetta Machalich, a former pupil in the school, was identified by her sister. When Mrs. Machalich was positive of the identification she fell fainting on the charred body of her little daughter.

2,000 Pupils March to Safety Singing "America"

[Associated Press Telegram]

NEW YORK, March 6.—While a fire raged on the fourth floor of the fire story public school building in 109th street, between Amsterdam and Broadway, today, 2,000 pupils marched from the building singing "America" under the leadership of their teachers.

The children were engaged in their morning exercises when cries from the floor above, followed by smoke issuing in along as they marched out of the building. There was no sign of panic at any time and a few minutes after the first alarm was sounded all the children were assembled in the school yard waiting for the word of dismissal which would permit them to go home.

Fortunately, all the smaller children were in rooms on the lower floors of the building, and many of them did not know of the fire when they were called upon to march out by the regular fire drill. The fire was quickly extinguished after causing damage to the extent of about $300 in the room in which it started.

Fireman's Coolness Averts Panic

[Associated Press Telegram]

ST. LOUIS, Mo., March 6.—A fire panic was narrowly averted at the city poor house early today by the coolness and determination of a lone city fireman regularly stationed there. The 1,200 inmates were asleep when Fireman William Curran discovered the laundry in the basement to be on fire. Night Watchman Leonard started to turn in a fire alarm, but was stopped by Fireman Curran.

"The engines will start a panic and somebody will get killed," he declared. "I'll fight this fire myself."

He fought the fire with a hose and twice was driven out by the dense smoke but finally, after half an hour's hard work the blaze was extinguished.

German Premier Sends Sympathy

[Associated Press Telegram]

BERLIN, March 6.—Chancellor Von Buelow has sent the following cable message to Baron Speck von Sternberg, the German ambassador at Washington:

"Express to the mayor of Cleveland my heartfelt sympathy in connection with the awful catastrophe."

He also has sent a request to the German consul for Ohio to learn whether citizens of any German subjects were among the victims.

Ohio Pays $100 for Each Child

[Associated Press Telegram]

COLUMBUS, Ohio, March 6.—All business was set aside by the Ohio legislature today until the matter of the relief of the unfortunates in the Collinwood school holocaust was attended to. A relief fund of $50,000 was voted. A committee of three Cleveland citizens is to be appointed at once to distribute the money, which will be appropriated in the proportion of $100 for each child burned to death.

CLUBWOMEN DISCUSS WORK

Part of New Industrialism Subject at Hull House Conference

The Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs opened today in Bowen hall, Hull House, a series of meetings to discuss industrialism. Jane Addams, Miss Alice Hamilton and Mrs. Charles Henrotin spoke on "Women workers and social costs of the new industrialism." Meetings were scheduled to be held in the afternoons and evenings.

HAVE YOU TRIED

Hunyadi János

It is well known to be

The Best Mineral Laxative Water for

CONSTIPATION

...Board of Education in Rule Against Secret Societies

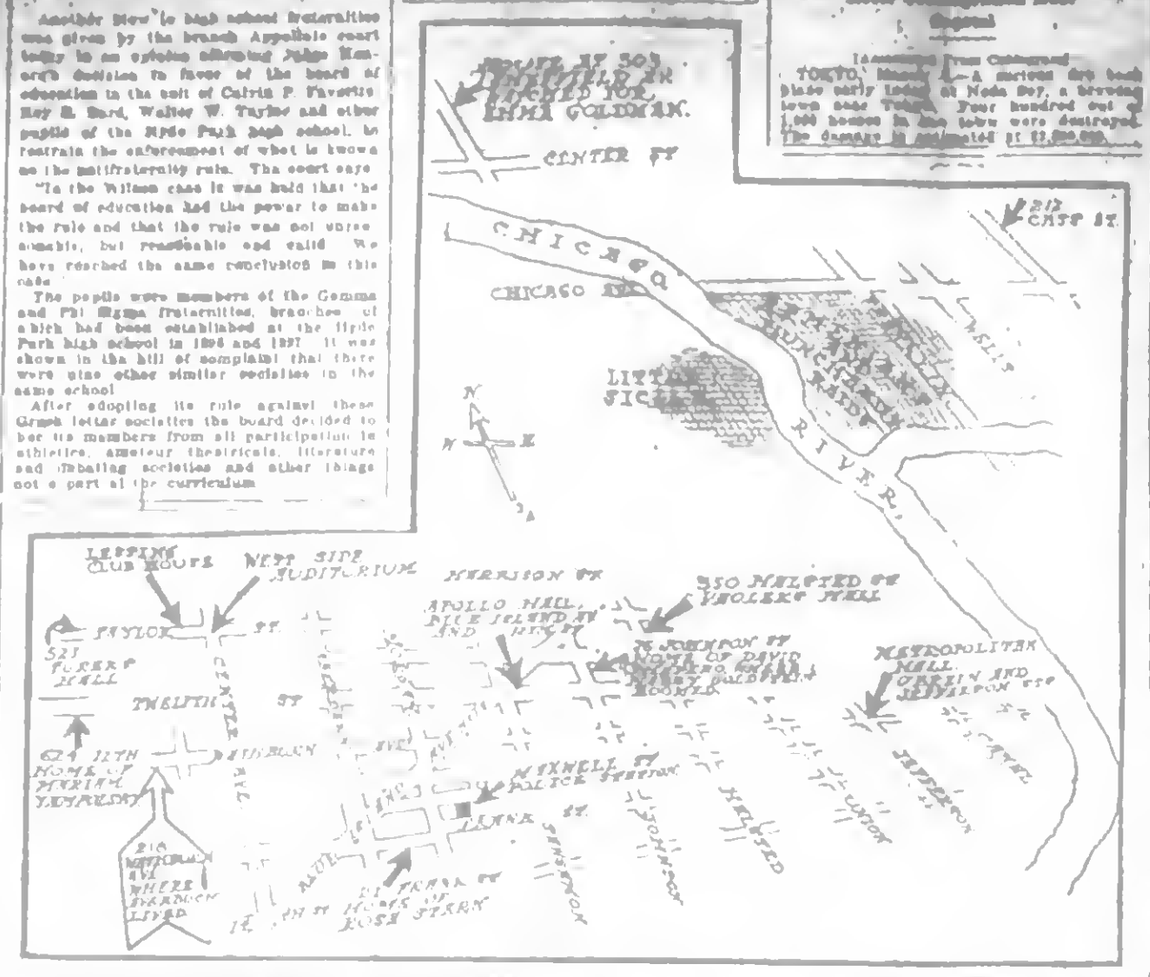
Another blow to high school fraternities was given by the branch Appellate court today in an opinion affirming Judge Kimbark's decision in favor of the board of education in the suit of Calvin P. Fiveash, Ray H. Bard, Walter W. Taylor and other pupils of the Hyde Park high school, to restrain the enforcement of what is known as the anti-fraternity rule. The court says:

"In the Wilson case it was held that the board of education had the power to make the rule and that the rule was not unreasonable, but reasonable and valid. We have reached the same conclusion in this case."

The pupils were members of the Gamma and Phi Sigma fraternities, branches of which had been established at the Hyde Park high school in 1906 and 1907. It was shown in the bill of complaint that there were nine other similar societies in the same school.

After adopting its rule against these Greek letter societies the board decided to bar its members from all participation in athletics, amateur theatricals, literature and debating societies and other things not a part of the curriculum.

...POLICEMEN



Only One of Nine Buildings Left Unburned After Earthquake Shock Reported

[Associated Press Telegram]

TOKYO, March 6.—A serious sea tidal wave early today at Noda Bay, a bathing town near Tokyo. Four hundred out of 1,000 houses in that town were destroyed. The damage is estimated at $2,000,000.

SCOUTS WAR

Chinese Minister in Chicago on Way to Washington, Says Japs Trouble Is Not Serious

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE]

make any special attempt at Washington in regard to the Chinese immigration question and then launched forth on a description of the Celestial Kingdom, subjects new in this country, after learning of the great number of emigrants from other nations which are distributed through the various south and west side foreign quarters.

"Do you know that there are not more than 3,000 Chinese in Chicago?" he demanded. "But the emigrants from other countries people Chicago in far greater numbers.

"Why is that true?" he suddenly burst forth when told that the Italians, French, Germans and Irish number thousands, and in measure form the great part of Chicago's population.

"It is true because there is an immigration restriction against the Chinese, as you know. But at that if there was no bar against the Chinese they would not flock to this country. The great majority are satisfied with their own kingdom," continued the minister.

Finds Moral in San Francisco

"In San Francisco, before the great earthquake, there was a supposed popular feeling against the Chinese. That feeling was enlarged upon and exaggerated as that other Americans believed that San Franciscans were against the Chinese people their city.

"Then came the earthquake, or 'fire,' as they call it out there. The Chinese quarter was practically wiped out of existence. Then the Chinese were forced to go to Oakland while the city was rebuilding. Now the people of San Francisco want them to return. The residents are beginning to realize that their absence means a great loss of money."

Then, with a broad smile and a wave out of the window, Mr. Wu shrewdly remarked: "The way to get at the American people is through their pocketbooks."

Chinese Aliens Decreasing

"But I have no intention of interfering, as I have no particular instructions from my government, but I have studied the immigration question for many years. Some time ago there were 300,000 Chinese in this country. Now I understand there are not more than 70,000."

At this point Minister Wu began to ask a few questions on his own account.

"You live in Chicago. Do you know what province the Chinese in our city come from?"

The questioner admitted that he could not answer.

"Well, they come from Canton. Outside of a few well-to-do Chinese, who maintain large merchandise stores or members of my suite, you will not find one Chinaman in this country who does not come from Canton. I will explain the reason. Thirty years ago when they began building the transcontinental railroad, the contractors wanted help and they went to the Canton province. Those were the men that came to this country and they speak a dialect of their own."

Driven to English Speech

"Today if a resident of Pekin or Shanghai wanted to come to this country, he would be friendless. In the first place he would be unable to talk with the Chinese here. Today, even in China, when men from different provinces meet, they talk in English because only in that tongue can they understand one another."

Minister Wu then began speaking on the opportunities of American goods in Chinese soil.

"Each year the amount of goods shipped from America to China increases," he declared.

"It has been stated that the importations are dropping off, but I feel safe in saying that is untrue. Nearly every product which has been sent to China in the past is still being imported and the necessities are increasing."

Asked if he was going to make an appeal to the United States in regard to the Chinese-Manchurian trouble, he replied that no special instructions had been given him and he did not believe the subject would come up while he was at Washington.

China Forming Big Army

Minister Wu also confirmed the reports that China was amassing a great army, but declined to give any exact figures on the size of the aggregation but announced that in time the Chinese government would have one of the greatest armies in the world. From that point he talked of Madam Wu and his son. Both are in Shanghai.

Mme. Wu will follow to Washington in about two months. My son has been studying at Oxford and he will accompany her to Washington, where I am established there. She enjoys the Washington society and is anxious to return. While we lived there, during my former stay, we made many friends, and I am overanxious to return and renew the acquaintances. I met some friends when the train stopped at Omaha last night. Though it was late there was quite a number. Dear," said the minister as he patted with pride in a greatly worn of flowers in the corner of the compartment.

"They gave them to me," he added with another smile.

Silent on Japanese Crisis

Minister Wu asked many questions about strained conditions between United States and Japan. Though he sought many replies, he refused to give any opinion on the matter.

The party left San Francisco Tuesday morning. Among the members of the suite with Minister Wu who will remain in Washington are

First Secretary Ou Shou-Tchun.
Second Secretary Yen W. W.
Third Secretary Koai Chih.
First Interpreter Kuan Ying Ling.
Second Interpreter Wang Y. Chung.
First Attache Yuan Ko-Shuan.
Second Attache Ling Shih-Tuan.
Student Interpreter Ho Wing-Tao.
Commercial Attache Liang.

"The "Overland" car occupied by the party with Minister Wu was crowded with luggage. Some of the baggage, it was believed, was brought from Shanghai, but a great part was bought in San Francisco. All was plastered with hotel labels, while the peculiar cases brought from China were stamped with the steamship plasters. Great assortments of peculiar canes, umbrellas, new leather hat cases added to the outfit.

NEWS BRIEFS BY TELEGRAPH

LINCOLN, Neb.—Attorneys for R. Meade Shumway, sentenced to death March 17 for the murder of Mrs. Marita of Beatrice, secured a stay of execution pending the hearing.

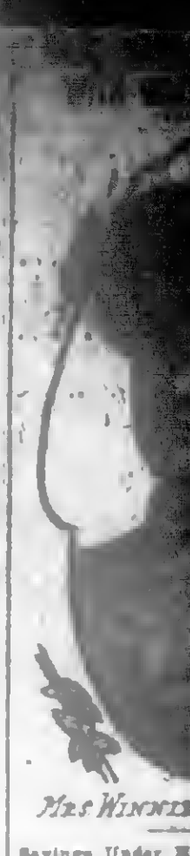
WASHINGTON—Arguments were continued today before the house committee on the judiciary against the Littlefield bill providing that liquors shipped in interstate transit shall be subject to police powers of a state.

JANESVILLE, Wis.—The L. L. Olds Seed company's plant at Clinton was destroyed by fire last night. Loss, $50,000. It was the largest concern of its kind in the west.

Rich Indiana Banker Dead

[Associated Press Telegram]

HUNTINGTON, Ind., March 6.—Isaac T. Taylor, aged 66 years, president of the Citizens' State bank and the wealthiest man in this county, died today.



MRS WINNIE

Savings Under Hi... Spouse and A... Paul D...

Suffering from locomotor ataxia in more without ... grievous, far Sheva ye... Mayor Fred Busse, ... first ward politics, sa... own commission man ... today appealed to the ... wife Winnie, 24 years ... Adams, who, he claims ...

He accuses them of ... under his pillow whi...

Rendered penniless ... he was taken to the h... West North avenue, w... for while detectives a... liams and Mrs. Drag...

Husband Is

Mrs. Dragorious is ... in north-side young ... husband conducted a ... Clark street, but had ... and intended to go o... search of health.

Before going into ... was on the stage and ... Brady's "Siberia," ... Tales," and other co...

Williams lived at t... quently been betrie... husband.

"I thought the wo... got along so fine," ... sobbing, while his a... comfort him.

Had Diamo...

"We had been mar... it was for her that I ... planned to take a tr... were her present ... chased a diamond ... to give her as her b... 25th of this month, ... her 25th birthday.

"I befriended Wil... this in the way he r... They took everythi... playing cards and if ... good old manner ... nothing else for me ... am absolutely helpl...

Williams is alleg... wife and child to lo... ing Mulvihill. He ... Rector's and the ...

JOHNSON IN ...

Minnesota Democ... Question of I... Pres...

ST. PAUL, Minn., ... ing of the democra... million here today ... that there may be t... ing is over. It was ... that the bryan... crowd outnumbered ... W. Simons two to o... count when the vot... said that the Johnso... of votes.

After the roll ... appointed to examin... short recess was ta...

It was said that t... were willing to ins... alizing Gov. Johnson ... that the resolutions ... leaving the preside... of the resolutions ... of Johnson do not t...

"Everyone is bett... shoulders," said a ... for so interesting ...

N. Y. MILLION...

Goelet, Peabody a... to See Armou... Centra...

Three New York ... fel, Charles A. ... Auchincloss, who a... his successful fight ... from the directorat... railroad, arrived in ... to the Auditorium A...

Their coming rela... Oaden Armour on ... The directors' meet... two will take place ... York March 18.

It is said that M... aspect of a large ... shares which were ... Messrs. Harriman ...

LOCAL NE...

The police have ... into the death of A... old, 19 Milton aven... on the sidewalk in ... 19 Milton avenue ... fractured. He reac... Thursday night and ... the window in the ...

George Buhl, 17 ... street, was found d... room. It is though...

The theory that ... street who used ... venue, was murder... Johnson's pay envi... rubbers, and bet w... by Lieut. Welsh as ...

President Wilco... city will address ... Chicago on "The ... west."

Two fires, the M... ures of series ... of the Auditorium ... Ceres, heads which ... Chas. Read Watter...

See Rooms ... tisement

WOMAN STEALS GEMS WORTH $20,000; PAWNS THEM TO EDUCATE SON

Prisoner, Confessing She Is "Raffles" Who Stole Friends' Jewelry Blames Requirements of Society

[Associated Press Telegram]

NEW YORK, March 6.—Charged with the theft of jewels valued at $20,000 from Mrs. Evelyn Bell, one of her wealthy friends, Mrs. Jeanette Neumann, who lives at the Stratford house, was locked up at police headquarters today.

The police say Mrs. Neumann has made a full confession and told them she was actuated by her desire to keep pace with some of her friends. Most and to maintain her own social position.

Mrs. Bell lives in Central Park west and also has a home at Bridgeport.

According to the police informa...n Mrs. Neumann was introduced to Mrs. Bell by a mutual friend and after that was a frequent caller at the Bell home. After several of her visits Mrs. Bell missed articles of jewelry among them a ruby ring valued at $10,000, a diamond ring and a diamond horseshoe.

Two detectives who had been working on the case met Mrs. Neumann [illegible] home and [illegible] to her room. [illegible] her under constant fire of questions all night, without gaining a single admission. Then the detectives say she called a lawyer and after a consultation sent a letter in the room and took from it a note, which [illegible] she [illegible] represented the articles which had disappeared from Mrs. Bell's home.

Arraigned in police court, Mrs. Neumann gave her name as Jane Jacobson, 35, was released on $5,000 bail.

THROWS WATER; FINED $200

Mollie Mott, Famous in Police Annals, Wins Prosecution Against Man Who Attacked Her

Mollie Mott, famous in the police annals of the south side, appeared in Judge Crowe's court today to prosecute Mathew Mezonte, who was accused of throwing a kettle full of boiling water in her face and to answer a charge of disorderly conduct.

Mezonte was fined $200 and [illegible] and by order of Judge Crowe was rearrested on a charge of [illegible] him with assault and was held to the grand jury.

The woman's face and head were almost completely covered by bandages, which had been cut to allow her eyes and breathing. Her lips were so swollen that it appeared that she could hardly tell the court the story of a struggle with Mezonte, and how he had hurled the kettle of water at her.

Her sister, Mrs. Celia Mott, corroborated the woman's story. Mrs. Burton declared that she had been turned on the bank by the water when the kettle was thrown. McDonald declared Mrs. Burton had thrown the water at him, and had accidentally struck her sister, but his testimony was not regarded by the court.

The charge originated over a gold band ring which [illegible] Leonard gaining and which he demanded having taken. The trouble occurred in the kitchen of the house at 3631 Fifth avenue.

Judge Crowe continued the woman's case until April 4 to allow her to go to the county hospital. She was released on her own bond.

ILLNESS HALTS HOTEL SUIT

Argument on Venue Change in Case Involving Liquor Sale at Auditorium Goes Over

Illness of Attorney Ralph R. Bradley prevented Judge Smith from hearing arguments today on the motion for a change of venue in the gun warranty proceedings begun to revoke the charter of the Congress Hotel company for alleged sales of liquor on Sunday. Judge Smith continued the arguments until Saturday.

In the motion for a change of venue the following judges are declared to be prejudiced against the hotel company: Hoo M. Smith, Merlin O. Ball, Axel Chytraus, Albert C. Barnes, George A. Dupuy, Arthur H. Chetlain, and William H. Mitchell.

$13,000 GONE; BLAME CASHIER

Bank Directors Who Make Up Shortages in Funds Say Employe Admits Theft of $6,000

[Associated Press Telegram]

WINONA, Minn., March 6.—John Roth, twenty years cashier of the Bank of Arcadia, at Arcadia, Wis., is charged with a $13,000 shortage which the directors have just made good through an assessment.

Roth at first denied the shortage, saying if there is any apparent discrepancy it is due to errors in bookkeeping, but it is said he has now admitted that as much as $6,000. Since the matter was brought to light he has remained at home, claiming to be ill.

MISS GOLDMAN IN DEFIANCE

"Red" Priestess Declares She Will Speak Sunday Despite Opposition of the Police

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE]

crimes, she said, proceed from unhealthy environment and heredity.

Eliminate poverty and you eliminate crime, was her conclusion. The power of a dollar wrathful of the lords and rulers alone [illegible] this.

House in State of Siege

All morning the house where Miss Goldman was living was in a state of siege. She refused to [illegible] for hours. But at last [illegible] after the landlord had promised [illegible].

William Lamb, Miss Goldman's host, [illegible] to remain [illegible] no searching. He [illegible] of the [illegible] and police said.

[illegible] Miss Goldman's home [illegible] matches [illegible] Miss Goldman says she will speak on the right to [illegible] Sunday.

Alexander Berkman, who was arrested in company with Emma Goldman after [illegible] M. Kinsley's assassination [illegible] in New York, is to [illegible] Miss Goldman [illegible] paper, Mother Earth.

No Arrest if She Keeps Still

Miss Goldman is said to be arrested at least [illegible] unless she insists on speaking. [illegible] Warren Lyons. This was the [illegible] made by Assistant Chief Schuettler after [illegible] had reported to him that [illegible] of anarchy was at the house [illegible] on [illegible] Wilmot avenue.

He said that a few days ago [illegible] of the chief's assassination Chief Shippy [illegible] and secretly to learn whether [illegible] had been [illegible] against the chief by other [illegible] whether it was the wish [illegible] that [illegible].

I will [illegible] the business of Miss Goldman after [illegible] to speak or distribute literature. I will place [illegible] under arrest.

When informed that the newspapers [illegible] interviews with the police Schuettler said he had not [illegible] and was too busy to read them.

Attention Called to Society

The district society an alleged [illegible] organization on the fourteenth floor of the Masonic temple, was called in the attention of the assistant chief by Farmer & Willoughby, managers of the building. Mr. Willoughby called up the assistant chief and said he was informed that the society was radical.

Shippy [illegible] him it was an anarchistic society and Mr. Willoughby requested the police to assist him in forcing the society to vacate.

George Bell, a member of the Harmony Workers' union called and asked permission for the celebration at Metropolitan hall tomorrow night. He promised that Emma Goldman would not be allowed to speak and the permit was issued. Miss Goldman however insists [illegible] to speak and detectives will be detailed [illegible] the hall with instructions to arrest her and then drive the [illegible] from the building if any anarchistic demonstration occurs.

Sister and Sweetheart Mourn

Two women, broken-hearted because Lazarus Averbuch the would-be assassin of Chief Shippy was buried in potter's field in Joliet, tried to console each other today.

One was Rosie Stearn, said to have been the sweetheart of the dead anarchist, and the other Olga Averbuch, his sister.

The Stearn girl who with Olga was released from custody by Assistant Chief Schuettler, went to the dismal quarters of the Averbuchs and found the assassin's sister weeping on the bed that had not been made up since the police raided the house. Everything was in disorder.

[illegible] Olga, as she wiped [illegible] tears from [illegible] eyes, "I am alone—alone. I and my brother."

EATS MATCHES TO KILL SELF

Young Man in a Cell Than Ties Suspenders Around His Neck in Attempt at Hanging

Charles Gershuson, 17 years old, 71 Churchill street, attempted to commit suicide in a cell at the Maxwell street station today by eating matches and then tying his suspenders around his neck.

The boy was found by Joseph Cahac, an operator, and John Morton, lockkeeper. He was taken to the county hospital, but he refused to talk.

ALL BRITAIN IS ROUSED BY THE KAISER'S LETTER

Independence of England Assailed by Germany in Secret Plan for Navy, It Is Urged

[Associated Press Telegram]

LONDON, March 6.—The letter from the German emperor is purely a personal communication. There is no reference therein to the British naval estimates."

This is the reply Lord Tweedmouth, first lord of the admiralty, makes to the request of the Times for the production of a letter Emperor William sent to Lord Tweedmouth, together with the admiralty lord's reply. Lord Tweedmouth intimated that further information would be given out in the house of lords March 9.

Lord Tweedmouth's statement that the communication from Emperor William was personal has done nothing to allay British suspicions that Emperor William is guilty of designs on the independence of the country. There are insistent demands that the matter be fully aired in parliament.

It has been suggested that a possible explanation of the incident is that the British government attempted to secure mutual limitation in the matter of warship-building by direct negotiation with Emperor William. In other words, to achieve by indirect diplomacy what The Hague peace conference failed to bring about.

According to one version, Emperor William's letter gave exhaustive details of the comparative strength of the navies of Great Britain and Germany, and, basing his opinion on this comparison, the emperor said he thought the German fleet could not be considered more than one-fifth as strong as that of Great Britain. This being so, he thought Great Britain had no need to fear any rivalry in naval supremacy from Germany and that consequently there was no need of any increase in the ship-building programme of Great Britain.

In official circles it is pointed out that it would be contrary to all etiquette to publish Emperor William's letter without the consent of the writer. It is believed furthermore that King Edward will have to be consulted before publication is possible.

The matter was taken up by the cabinet this afternoon but no official announcement was made afterward.

Stock Exchange Seat for $52,000

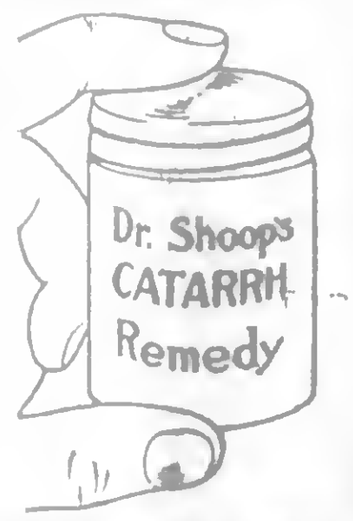
[Associated Press Telegram]

NEW YORK, March 6.—A seat on the stock exchange has been sold for $52,000, which is $1,000 above the price at the last recorded sale.

TEST IT FREE FIRST.

Send No Money. Simply Say "I'll Try It".

Note penny remember! If you have Catarrh I seek only the opportunity of having you at my own risk—at my expense almost. Simply tell me where to send it—that is all.



Then I will do this: I will mail you at once a Trial Box of my Dr. Shoop's Catarrh Remedy. Test it thoroughly. Convince yourself that you will hardly do. And here is where we will both profit: I risk the expense of my remedy by sending it first—you accept neither bonuses nor obligations. The Trial Box is the opening wedge—the best leader to gain for both ease and makes sick people ask how I make sick, yet they are sometimes fearfully disgusted. Dr. Shoop's Catarrh Remedy is a snow-white, creamlike, Antiseptic healing balm. Oil of Eucalyptus, Thymol, Menthol, Oil Cinnamon, etc., are its Important Features. Cleanses—Dr. Shoop's Catarrh Remedy—gives immediate and lasting relief to Catarrh of the nose and throat.

If catarrh, however, has extended down to the stomach, or bowels, then you want to use it internally, as well as by [illegible]. Dr. Shoop's Catarrh, and the Wild Cherry Bitters, should be in [illegible]. Important too, [illegible] loss of strength or [illegible], a pallow complexion, you need [illegible] recommended, simply because of the name and [illegible] needs no other remedy than Dr. Shoop's Catarrh Remedy.

If you desire you may [illegible] Dr. Shoop, Box 77, Racine, Wis.

Which book shall I send you?

No. 1 On Dyspepsia | No. 4 The Woman
No. 2 On The Heart | No. 5 The Kidneys
No. 3 On the Kidneys | No. 6 On Rheumatism

515

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

900213000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[In Defense of Anarchy] / Emma Goldman.— 1908 March 6, draft.— 4 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Emma Goldman, high priestess of anarchists of the United States, at a secret meeting of anarchists held at the home of William Baltich, 970 North Winchester avenue, last night, drafted a letter in defense of anarchy and of Lazarus Averbuch, the assassin who was slain by Chief Shippy. Fifty thousand copies of the letter, which was approved by the anarchists present at the meeting, will be issued this morning. In giving out the letter last night, Miss Goldman said she proposed to reach the people of Chicago through the mails if the police would not allow her to speak in public.

Text of Anarchist Letter.

The letter is as follows:

"To the public of Chicago;

"Monday morning a shooting episode took place at the house of Chief of Police Shippy, an episode both brutal and tragic. A few hours later the papers of the city came out in large, sensational headlines stating that the boy who had been shot and killed by Chief Shippy was an anarchist, that he had come with the intention to kill the chief of Police, that the boy had been chosen by lot to commit this act in an anarchistic conspiracy in this city.

This was said even before Lazarus Averbuch had been identified. As a consequence the Anarchists of this city as well as anarchists at large were hounded, maligned, and misrepresented in the grossest manner. Their clubrooms were closed, their libraries confiscated in true Russian autocratic manner. Not a paper was willing to

900213000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[In Defense of Anarchy] / Emma Goldman.— 1908 March 6, draft.— 4 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Police Scored for Actions

"The victims of Monday's tragedy being dead, no one is in a position to say what his intention might have been in calling upon the chief, nor has he left a written statement as to his belief in disbelief in organized government. The police have certainly tried their utmost to do that and to connect him with anarchy. That they have failed shamefully no one but the most foolish will deny. However, that is not of importance at present. What is of importance are the facts connected with the mystery at the chief's house.

"First, according to Chief Shippy's own statement, he grabbed Lazarus Averbuch by the wrist as soon as he handed him the 'famous letter', while the chief's wife searched the boy's pockets — which means she found a revolver and a knife and, no doubt, she had the good sense to take these weapons from him. How, then, could Averbuch shoot the chief?

"Second, according to Chief Shippy's second statement, the boy succeeded in tearing away from him, which in itself is absurd, with the chief as an expert official at handling all sorts of desperadoes holding with an iron grip the wrists of a half starved Jewish boy. But taking it for granted that the boy did tear away from that human handcuff, which in itself disqualifies Chief Shippy from further holding of office for protecting law and order, we, the anarchists of Chicago, ask what did Averbuch shoot the chief's son with after Mrs. Shippy had ransacked his pockets?

Make Chief to Produce Bullet.

900213000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[In Defense of Anarchy] / Emma Goldman.— 1908 March 6, draft.— 4 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

public and to himself, since the general rumor about town will have it that this bullet belonged to a 38 caliber revolver, while Averbuch's weapon was supposed to have been a 32.

"4. Why did Chief Shipley shoot Averbuch seven times after he had struck the boy down with the first shot, and when he could have put him on the floor with one knock-out blow?

"We ask these questions out of common humanity to the dead boy in the Potter's field and in justice to the anarchists of this country, who, notwithstanding all misrepresentations, stand for an ideal of human regeneration, which, according to the Century Dictionary, denotes 'a state of society based upon the union of order of man by man' - in short, individual self reliance and human brotherhood.

"We further wish to know whether the police department of this city have taken it upon themselves to interpret the constitutional rights of the American people, to whom free speech and a free assembly still seem the most bulwark of this country.

"The anarchists of this city, federated into one body and affiliated with the anarchist federation of New York and of Massachusetts, also with the international body organized at the anarchist congress at Amsterdam August 1907, have carried on an educational work through lectures and literature.

I do not know the sentiments of the intelligent public of this city as to the sacred rights of free speech. I know, however, that the police persecution

900213000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[In Defense of Anarchy] / Emma Goldman.— 1908 March 6, draft.— 4 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1455

I therefore wish to inform those who are still eager to maintain their freedom that neither the anarchist federation of Chicago nor I will be silenced; that we shall be heard even at the expense of personal liberty.

881108016

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Goldman to Rap Society / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Chicago Daily Journal. –(March 7, 1908).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The Chicago Historical Society.

...M. JASES RICHES BOOM

...epublican State Committee Lauds Roosevelt and Favors the Governor as His Successor

[Associated Press Telegram]

NEW YORK, March 7.—Gov Charles E. Hughes today received the indorsement of the New York republican state committee as a candidate for the presidential nomination. The resolutions adopted by unanimous vote of the committee commended President Roosevelt for his rugged determination to oppose wrongdoing and his demand for justice to all, closing him with the greatest and most heroic figures in American history, Washington, Lincoln, Grant and M Kinley.

The early indications had been that the meeting would not take up the Hughes candidacy, it being the view of some of the leaders that a committee declaration was unwarranted and might be inopportune.

These plans were upset before the committee assembled by the announcement of William R Douglas, member of the committee for the Fifteenth New York district, that he would move the adoption of resolutions indorsing Gov Hughes for the presidency.

Give Thanks to Roosevelt

The resolutions are as follows:

"New York holds the proud position of having given to the nation one of her citizens sons who now occupies the executive chair. We leader Him, as his term of office draws toward its close our hearty thanks.

"The citizens of the Empire state rejoice in the prospect that our delegates to the national republican convention will pledge, and urge the selection of one of our many worthy sons for the great office to the gift of our people.

"The state committee believes that the wisdom of our choice will unite and command itself to all classes of our citizens and to the country generally. We earnestly advocate the selection by the governor of our state, Hon. Charles E. Hughes, for the presidency.

"He is a man of the Lincoln type, able upright, intrepid, honest, fearless and devoted to the people's best interests.

Convention Date Set

"Resolved, That we commend the selection of delegates in the various congressional districts and of delegates at large who will act in complete harmony with the purpose of this resolution, to the end that the delegation to the national convention from this state may present a united front in behalf of our candidate.

The committee voted to issue a call for the republican state convention to be held in Carnegie hall, this city, Saturday, April 11. Justice M Linn Brown of this city was designated to be temporary chairman of the state convention.

WARD BOOMERS WILL CONFER

Republicans of the Sixth to Meet and Decide How They Want Delegates to Vote

A mass meeting of presidential boomers of all shades of opinion is to be held next week by the Sixth ward republicans to decide how the delegates will vote. The ward leaders held one meeting at which an attempt to indorse Speaker Cannon was defeated. John R Thompson will probably be a delegate to the state convention suggested the name and appointed a committee to arrange a meeting of Frank A Brown of the Union League club, a Hughes man, R W Coe, a Knox boomer, Henry L Meloy, a Cannon Coodes, Cannon enthusiast, and John E McMurray, president of the Taft club.

Mr Thompson denies that he is opposed Speaker Cannon, and says he will abide by the ward decision. Supporters of ex Gov Yates in his fight against Gov Deneen of the gubernatorial nomination are preparing to open up headquarters and boom Yates in Cook county against the governor.

At a meeting of the executive committee of the county democratic organization the increase in taxes was all but condemnable taxation and economy in public affairs demanded. Isaac W. Ellis and William A Brush are candidates for committeeman on the republican aldermanic ticket on the First ward.

BENDS COFFIN WITH THREAT OF DEATH TO ALABAMA MAN

Black Hand Credited with Menacing Life of a Southern Coroner

[Associated Press Telegram]

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., March 7. When Coroner Parris at this county arrived at his office at the courthouse he discovered a large coffin there with the following note attached as if To Coroner Parris You Next."

The bailiffs and constables of the courthouse say that two men who had the appearance of being expressmen brought the coffin to the courthouse in the night.

A picture of a head on the coffin, made in black ink, suggests the Black Hand society was the sender.

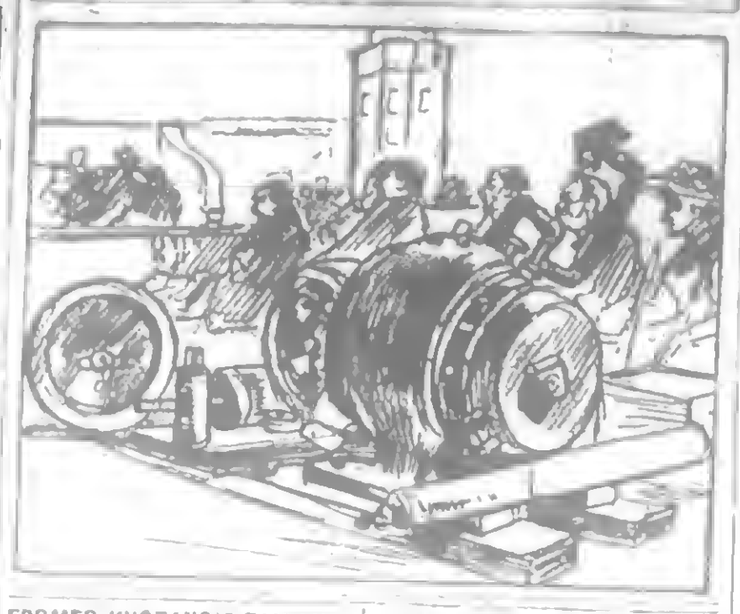
KNICKERBOCKER BANK TO OPEN

State and Court Consent to Resumption of Business in New York

[Associated Press Telegram]

NEW YORK, March 7.—The Knickerbocker Trust company, which suspended business at the beginning of the financial trouble last October, will resume business on Monday March 16. Permission for the resumption of business was granted by Justice Clark in the Supreme court at Piney George, R. I., today, on recommendation of Superintendent Williams of the state banking department.

BIDWELL'S GOLD MOTOR ON EXHIBITION IN COURTROOM



FORMER HUSBAND'S FAMILY IN PLOT, SAYS MRS. DUKE, RAPPING $700 CHECK SUIT

Divorced Wife of Tobacco Millionaire Denies Charges in Tojien's Plea to Recover Money

Miss Alice Webb Duke, former wife of Mr. Duke millionaire tobacco manufacturer of New York, today [illegible] the suit brought against her in the Municipal court of Chicago by W. A. Tojien to recover $700 on checks he says he gave to have influenced for her as part of a conspiracy against her conducted by the Duke family.

Mrs Duke who has resumed her name of Miss Webb is at the Grand Pacific hotel with an entire floor for the [illegible] hospitality. Here it was she is holding [illegible] in connection with her attempt [illegible] ing her efforts.

Mr Tojien came to the United States [illegible] agreeing over $600 in Jewelry and signed to the A. W. Tojien Tobacco company of which Mrs Duke was said to be the head. The checks were drawn on the Corn Exchange bank of New York but were returned. It is said Tojien left Paris Mrs Duke a share of the city in which Tojien signed the checks with her. After [illegible] with the laws demanding the signature of both a secretary and a treasurer on checks made out to a company he secured [illegible] the rules governing the [illegible] and the two signatures are in the way of endorsement. She alleges that the checks were [illegible] funds, and insists that Mr. Tojien did not lose anything in the transaction.

As long as I have a breath left in me I will fight," said Mrs Duke.

When I was in Chicago before I met Mr. Duke I never had any troubles I assure you. I am a business woman accustomed to business methods and my affairs were never questioned. All the while I have ever had [illegible] ment and in the [illegible] I have ever had [illegible] the issues.

Their friends here and in Europe as well as most [illegible] in Chicago. They [illegible] put on a [illegible] me. But even [illegible] tention away from myself by [illegible] facts and do me [illegible] a square deal.

The former Mrs. [illegible] the daughter of Mrs. [illegible] Fleta M. Webb, Duke Block [illegible] for [illegible] and for the [illegible]

HOLD WOMAN IN BRUCE CASE

London Police Make First Series of Arrests Based on Trial

[illegible]

Mrs. [illegible] arrested today and a number of [illegible] with [illegible] Mrs. Hamilton with [illegible]

CLERGYMEN FAVOR FUN PARK

Amusement Grounds Proposed for the West Side District Is Indorsed by Ministers

[illegible] park amusement resort was [illegible] meeting of [illegible] clergymen in the Bismark hotel. It was decided that there was no [illegible] along the [illegible] lored by the trustees of the Baptist and Lutheran cemeteries.

According to the ministers the [illegible] residents object to Coney Island because children are buried to shallow graves and they believe it to be dangerous to [illegible] health.

It was also said that there were no saloons and vicinity around Mount Olive cemeteries than the proposed park would be. The report of the meeting was signed by Rev. A. Morel, Rev. John E. Traiger and Rev. Carl F. Grove.

Coroner Investigates Girl's Death

The coroner began an investigation today into the cause of the death of Nellie Bluff, 25 years old, New Berlin, Ill., at the Wesley hospital last night, supposedly from the effects of an operation. Johanna White, 72 years old, a midwife, 3854 Forest avenue, is under arrest.

SCHOOL HORROR CLAIMS ANOTHER LIFE, BOY DYING; VICTIMS NOW TOTAL 174

One Body Identified as Teacher's Proves to Be Man's—68 More Funerals Are Held

[Associated Press Telegram]

[illegible] March 7. The [illegible] almost another child [illegible] years dying [illegible] from injuries suffered in [illegible] of the [illegible] ary window of the [illegible] school.

[illegible] a [illegible] of pupils who [illegible] the [illegible] Monday. [illegible] Miss Mary Kraft [illegible] Miss [illegible] Lagen [illegible] and [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] here.

[illegible] are [illegible] when out of [illegible] [illegible] of these are still [illegible]

[illegible] Miss Kate [illegible] Miss Walter [illegible] Miss Lillian Edwards [illegible] Miss Walter who [illegible] later.

Miss Walter [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] Little [illegible] [illegible] When they saw the flames [illegible] began to scream, she jumped into the street [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

890531007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Clashes with Police on Meeting / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Inter Ocean [Chicago]. – (March 8, 1908).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

in Chicago.

The Inter Ocean

ME XXXVI. NO. 330. CHICAGO, SUNDAY MORNING, MARCH 8, 1908.—SEVEN PA

AXES, IS OCRAT CRY CITY FIGHT

Frame Platform rmanic Campaign Is Based Upon the That Republicans een Extravagant icipal Affairs.

NAL LIBERTY 'HER SLOGAN

tion of Council Is If Party Is Victori- Election—United So- Vote Expected to Be Principles Set Forth L. Cruice Announces y for Henly's Place.

will be made the "paramount Democrats of Chicago in the anic battle. This was deter- y at a meeting of the execu- of the county central com- will have charge of the fight ve city wards.

was drawn on the tax propo- be signed by the Democratic ents in the council. The or- then open a whirlwind cam- g to the leaders, and will ide at the Republicans at the

to make the tax question the of the campaign. It was ex- terday's conference, was for "putting the Republicans on and swinging into line the holder.

ek Busse's Budget.

's administration, with re- ances, especially the budget in which heads of depart- eased salaries while the po ft in the old class, is to be now until election day.

ic leaders plan to charge the tion with extravagance in t of municipal affairs and to ers that because of this al- nce their taxes have been

tic leaders also believe they heir camp this trip thousands with the United Societies. the campaign that defeated by an overwhelming vote, as ace it, above that the cry of did more to overwhelm the than all other issues put to- mocrats made the charter a swung into line with the , hammering the proposed y on the tax feature. They gree of reciprocity, and are they can increase their lead fter April 7. They now have o.

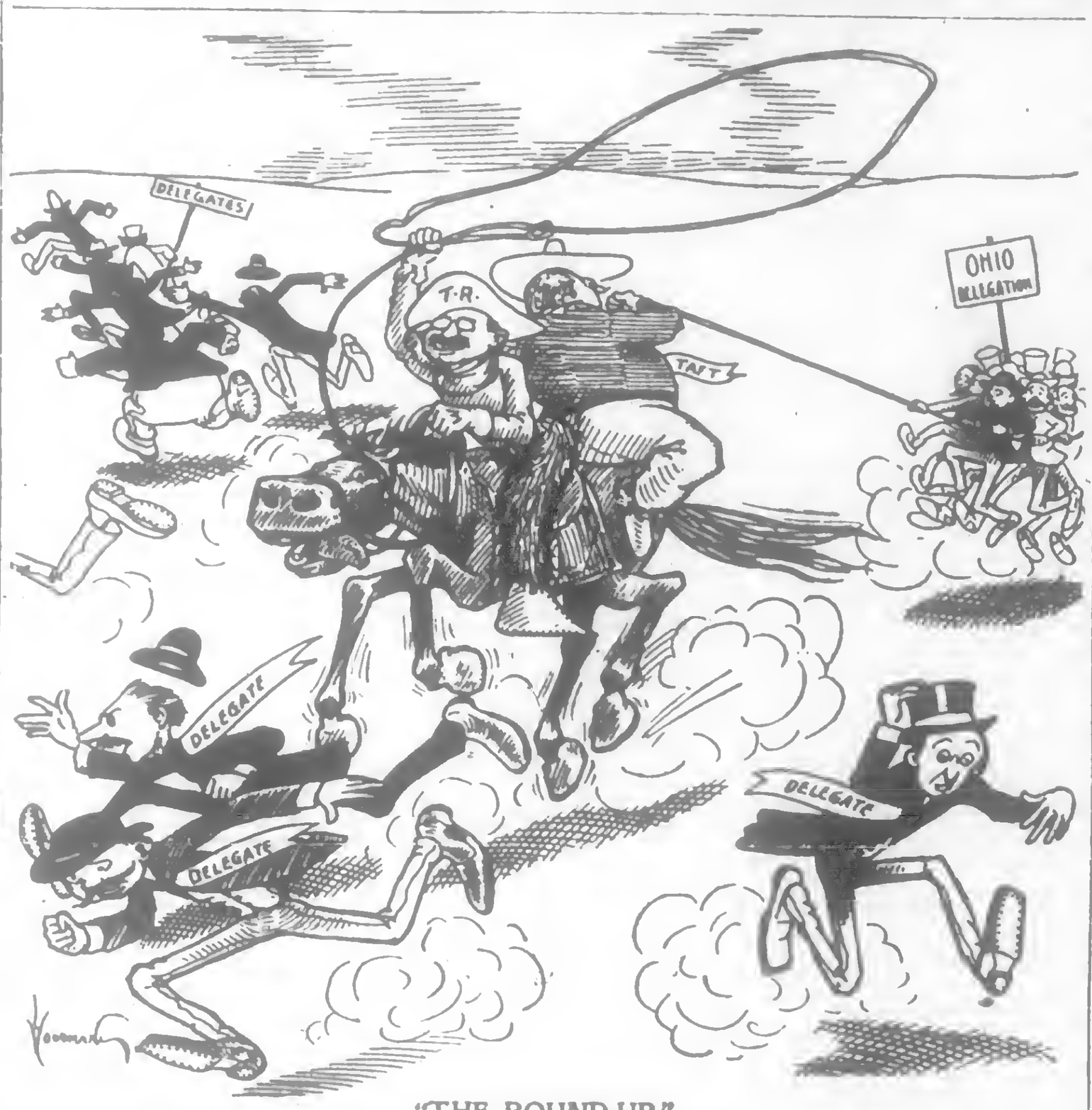
Disorganize Council.

reig can retain their present council, and possibly increase e, they plan to give the Mu- league the cold shoulder with "nonpartisan" plan of or- ment. With a clear majority organize the new council on lines, and to put Mayor comfortable position of being atever legislation he does get crats, incidentally. If the Democrats think they can hands so that many of his es" will be blocked.

written by the executive com- h the Democratic candidates ll sign is appended;

ordinary taxpayers of the have within the last year and personal property taxes generously and entirely out of amount levied against some corporations in the city, have been allowed to remain previous years, and in some

GOVERNOR HUGHES INDORSED FOR PRESIDENT BY STATE COMMITTEE



"THE ROUND-UP."

EMMA GOLDMAN CLASHES WITH POLICE ON MEETING

Queen of "Reds" Flings Down Challenge to Officials, Declaring That She Will Address Gathering Today Despite Opposition.

Today it is Emma Goldman, queen of the anarchists, against the police.

The high priestess of anarchy says she will speak at a hall in the Masonic temple today. The police say she will not. What will come out of the clash of wills time alone will tell.

Last night the leader of the reds gave detectives a merry chase around the city, following her statement that she had been engaged to address half a hundred wealthy Chicagoans at a mansion on the Lake Shore drive. Miss Goldman made the statement that she would speak in a residence on the drive, without reservation, in the afternoon. But she accompanied it with the assertion that no one would follow her, as she would "give

Consequently, a body of six or more men haunted the vicinity of the Winchester ave- pue house last night in the effort to shadow the leader of the reds. When a score or more persons emerged from the house and boarded a street car they were permitted to depart in peace.

A few minutes later, when a short, nervous woman emerged from the house and boarded a car the detectives were fast on the scent.

"Shh! Emma sure!" said the leader of the sleuths.

The trail was a devious one. It led from the West Side to the North Side, then to the loop, and thence south on Wabash avenue to the Coliseum Annex, where the annual ball of the Garment Workers was in progress. As soon as the diminutive woman entered the hall she whipped out a black silk domino, and plunged into the excise of

(Continued on Page 3, Column 5.)

FLOOD KILLS ONE; JOLIET IN PERIL; GAGE PARK CUT OFF

Death Follows Water That Maroons Many Chicagoans in Suburbs and Threatens

Supporter Calls Him 'Peacemaker' Who Is to Heal Hurts Which Roosevelt Has Made.

CHIEF HAILED AS CHOICE OF FATE

Special Dispatch to The Inter Ocean.

NEW YORK, March 7.—New York's Republican state committee today indorsed Governor Charles E. Hughes as presidential candidate. There was not a single dissenting voice and the resolutions favoring the chief executive, presented by former Congressman William H. Douglass, who represents the Governor's home district on the committee, were passed without discussion.

The [illegible] the time and Carnegie hall, New York, as the place for holding the state convention, which will elect delegates-at-large to the national convention at Chicago, nominate presidential electors, and elect a new state committee. Justice M. Linn Bruce of New York was decided upon as temporary chairman of the convention.

Text of Resolutions.

The resolutions indorsing the candidacy of Governor Hughes as adopted were as follows:

"New York holds the proud position of

(Continued on Page 2, Column 2.)

INDEX TO THE NEWS

BOY'S TORTU CHAINS LAI BY FORME

Retired Disciplinari Contradicts Himse Brutal Treatment o lin, Who Died in P

DAMAGING ADMISS MAY PROVE MUR

Big Teacher Tells I vestigating Comm Knocked Youth Do Bar in Self-Defens

BY A STAFF CORR
Special Dispatch to Th
PONTIAC, Ill., March
Renoe, retired disciplinar
reformatory, was brough
witness stand before the l
gation committee today by
examination on the death
lin, who died from injuri
prison on New Year's day.

Fighting desperately to
anything that might rev
ment, Captain Renoe co
in serious particulars. T
enteen years of prison aut
ibly perturbed. Great dr
on his forehead. At the
testimony, Chairman Hill
tain's evidence given be
managers of the reforma
been broken down.

May Wear Out Mo

Members of the committ
the searchlight they have
mysterious tragedy of the
prove true in the end th
the boy whispered into his
his fatal injuries were due
of brutal guards.

In its diluted form, Ca
scription of the ordeal th
lin was put after his atten
one of the most cold blood
heard before a tribunal of

Captain Renoe's trials
will be put through another
Monday in the hope of ge
sions.

When he has left the st
son and David Whitfield,
reformatory, will be calle
pied an adjoining cell in
house to that of Hamlin
that he heard Hamlin b
and that the guards beat
Whitfield will declare th
dered. He will say he hea

"Don't beat me any m
Unchain me and take me d

Witness Contradic

In the early part of his t
Renoe said Hamlin had be
lary cell on Dec. 24, but ha
by the wrists to an iron b
until that night. He said
day the boy was not in ir
examination by Represen
Meany, the captain admit
the cellhouse and found Ha
bars at 5 o'clock in the aft
He admitted he found hi
at 7 o'clock Christmas mo
order him taken down.
found Hamlin again in ch
ing of Dec. 26. It was on t
the boy was injured.

Guard Frank Rogers has t
lin died from injuries self
cidal jump from the bars
cement floor. Captain R

(Continued on Page

CANNON PRESI

Speaker Give Republica Praise

521

890531007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Clashes with Police on Meeting / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* The Inter Ocean [Chicago]. – (March 8, 1908).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.



aughter Colleen.

house at 406 Fifty-Seventh stree
ne of the two fraternities that figure
ighly spiced raport made to Presi
hneider by his investigators.
summer the police interrupted a
tion" at the fraternity house and
n uncled woman, a resident of the
hom they took to the police station.
unt of the prominence of the parents
of the "frat men" present, the matter
pressed, as far as possible.
raport which President Schneider
the members of the school manage-
mmittee in executive session this
er "events" in the fraternity world
hicago schools are mentioned.
time?" nonchalantly remarked the
an; "I don't know much about it, but
ys must have their fling, you know."

Authorities Ridiculed.

alls of the rooms in the building are
ed with signs intended to ridicule
ool authorities.
with Cooley" is emblazoned on a
the parlor, while "To h—l with Ship-
ets the visitor in the hallway. Others,
mproper to tone, are placed through-
building.
in that fraternity impropriety
to be the accepted thing, another fra-
ssar by declared that it had lived up
ry requirement of Superintendent

do not allow gambling or drinking in
se at 5432 Monroe avenue," said a
of the Gamma Sigma "frat."
are not allowed in the house except
ain days, and then only with chape-
I don't think our fraternity pro-
mmhhichness, or anything else that
complained of."
ed on by disclosures, President
er announced yesterday that he had
un his fight against fraternities.
must be wiped out of the Chicago
and until they are I shall not stop
eavors. They are the greatest evil
to contend with."

EME JUDGE'S LIFE IN PERIL

Hand Letter Warns New York
et His Slayer Has Been Chosen.

YORK, March 7.—Judge Norman
the Supreme court, Brooklyn, today
a Black Hand letter warning him
an has been selected to kill him with-
days because he has been too severe
ng with some of the countrymen of
er.
was also made in the same letter
tonio Vachris, the Brooklyn detec-
e has had charge of many Italian
[illegible]

Dike notified the police, but de-
hat he was in no fear of being as-
ed.

perative Farmers Celebrate.

N CITY, Iowa, March 7.—The Rock-
rners' Co-operative society cele-
its nineteenth birthday today. It is
est society of the 300 in Iowa and the
ipals, besides those of Minnesota and
Dakotas.

But already the sober sense of the great ma-
jority is reasserting itself.

"It is a far cry from Russia to America,
from Kishineff to Chicago. But what hap-
pened there, whence the youth Averbuch
came, must be taken into account to ex-
plain what happened here. In truth, nothing
has been disclosed which in any way accounts
for what he did or was except the fact that
he came from Kishineff. Dark and dreadful
upon the background of this fateful deed of
terror looms that fated Russian city."

There follows a thrilling description of
the horrors of Kishineff, then an indorse-
ment of the work of American universities,
university extension organizations, and simi-
lar institutions which "guard the newcom-
ers against the petty graft and personal
abuse to which they are exposed and in-
terpret the justice and the world wide hu-
manity of real America." In concluding the
article asks:

"Is it too much to ask of Chicago to heed
the appeal for a return to reason from the
clamorous frenzy which has blinded some
to the facts? Is it too much to expect of
Chicago our American fair play toward our
worthy and loyal Jewish and Italian fellow
citizens, upon whom unjust suspicion has
been so indiscriminately cast, because of
the deeds at Denver and Chicago, for which
two individuals of their race were solely
responsible? Against false accusation and
wanton abuse is it too much to hope for the
benefit of the doubt, if not for just judgment
toward those little groups of citizens who
at no small cost have tried to do their civic
duty among their immigrant fellow citizens
by living among them in the social settle-
ments to interpret them to America and
America to them?"

Post Comments on Shooting.

Commenting on the situation with refer-
ance to the death of Averbuch and his at-
tack on Chief of Police Shippy, Louis F.
Post says, in the Chicago Daily Socialist:

"If peradventure it should appear that an
officer of the peace had taken the life of a
demented creature under circumstances in
which he might, with evident safety, have
made an arrest, then let the law take its
course impartially against him."

Excusing Averbuch's act on the ground that
he was influenced by sufferings at Kishineff,
Post continues:

"The direction of his homicidal impulse
might be fairly attributed to excitement
aroused by recent police interference with
the peaceable assemblage of the unemployed
about whose misfortunes he appears to have
been deeply concerned, and this morbid feel-
ing may well have been further excited by
the announced intention of the police to
suppress an advertised lecture in which he
is reported to have been interested.

"Such assertions of police authority, of
the lawlessness of which this alien youth was
presumably ignorant, might not unlikely
have identified in his distorted imagination
the police system of Chicago with that of
Russia, and given him his impulse to assas-
sinate the chief. At any rate, the boy's
homicidal impulse, assuming it to have ex-
isted, may be traced with greater reason
along this line of causation than to any 'an-
archistic' speeches he may have heard, or
'anarchistic' literature he may have read.

Public Withholds Judgment.

"But the same public opinion will withhold
definite judgment altogether upon the char-
acter, significance, and explanation of the
tragedy until the facts are ascertained. Pro-
ceedings to that end should be immediately
begun and rigorously pursued. And there
should be no respect for persons.

"If the social settlements—Hull house with
its Jane Addams, to whom the very thought
of violence is an offense, or the Commons,
with its Graham Taylor, whose life has been
an inspiration, or any of the other of these
oases of mercy in a desert of human misery—
if these humane institutions have indeed
fostered murder, as the police and some ec-
clesiastics and newspapers insinuate, let the
law take its course against them. If there
are groups of assassins to whom criminal re-
sponsibility for an assassin's crime is traced,
let the law take its course against these
groups.

Asks Unlimited Freedom of Speech.

Argument in favor of unlimited freedom
of speech reads in part:

"There is a species of assassination which
by Americans standards is infinitely worse
than the taking of human life. This is the
assassination of civil liberty.

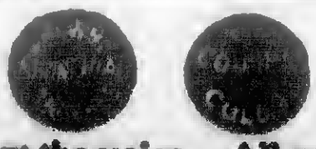
"It is worse than the taking of human life
because it involves the taking of human life
and more. To shackle speech and press is to
invite destruction. It always has been so;
it always will be so.

"Yet officials charged by our laws with pro-
tecting free speech and free press are pro-
posing to disperse peaceable meetings and
to suppress newspapers for defending unpop-
ular opinions or opinions that have been
branded with unpopular epithets."

A man giving evidence of lunacy wandered
into the Harrison Street police station yes-
terday and delivered a letter addressed to
Chief of Police Shippy demanding an investi-
gation of the Averbuch killing. The man
said his name was Jacob Falk, and that he
came to Chicago from Switzerland five years
ago.

Two Killed in Church Panic.

GUADALAJUARA, Mexico, March 7.—The
act of a half-witted man in looking the rear
door of a church at Ocotlan while services
were in progress resulted in a panic and the
trampeling to death of two men and six
children.



Clear the voice. Allay the irritation caused by coughing. Use when required.

EMMA GOLDMAN IN NEW BITTER CLASH

Anarchist Leader Will Force the Issue Between Herself and the Police Today, and Will Speak at All Hazards.

(Continued From First Page.)

masked dancers. The sleuths sought and sought until unmasking time. And then the figure could not be found.

Teaches Free Love Cult.

Emma Goldman, leading exponent of anarchy in America, is in Chicago to encourage the establishment of a free love colony and to urge among women, with reference to marriage, adoption of the only practice recognized in anarchist propaganda.

"This Shippy case is a very small matter. My visit to Chicago was arranged long before the killing of the Averbuch boy," said Miss Goldman.

As she did the day before, Miss Goldman spent yesterday indoors. She is at the home of William Dalrich, 970 North Winchester avenue. During the morning and afternoon she received a long string of visitors.

"The new thing in anarchistic educational work is connected with woman," she continued. "Elevation of women to a plane of equality is not a whit less important to us than the dissolution of government. Spasms of the police all over this land have served to give greater prominence to our anti-government beliefs. But we really are just now vitally interested in the emancipation of woman.

"Work to this end has been pushed, particularly since the international conference of anarchists in Amsterdam. Then it was determined that work for the freedom of woman should go hand in hand with efforts toward the abolition of government.

"We believe in free love. Such a relation as that of husband and wife should only be constituted when a man and a woman love each other. When they cease to love that relationship should end. Women anarchists all over the country practice that theory now. I am here in Chicago for the purpose of encouraging the practice."

Anarchists of Chicago, who have been seeking to secure a hall in which Emma Goldman may speak, reported complete failure last night.

Miss Goldman said: "It is impossible to secure a hall. We have approached the managers of dozens of halls and theaters in Chicago. Men who have the halls told us that the police had threatened to revoke their liquor licenses if they rented their places to us. The managers of the down town theaters, to whom we offered any sum they saw fit to ask, told us that since the Iroquois fire the police had exercised such arbitrary supervision that they did not dare do anything contrary to the desires of the department.

"During the day four or five vacant lots were found where a tent could be erected, but water stood on all of them, so I refused to have any of them rented. I don't want typhoid and pneumonia to follow my lecture.

Will Speak This Afternoon.

"No meetings will be held tomorrow, except in the rooms of the Social Science club on the fourteenth floor of the Masonic Temple building. The place will accommodate 300, I think. The club has been meeting there regularly for four years. I shall leave the house at 7 o'clock and will go in a cab to the Masonic temple. If the police stop me I'll come back home. If they don't I'll talk at the meeting. I will speak about local conditions, of course.

"Tonight, late, I am going to a conference of leading anarchists of Chicago. I cannot say where. The family is prominent and wealthy. Fifty more like them in Chicago are anarchists, but by reason of their business and social relationships cannot afford just now to let their position be known. You can say that the house is on the North Side, on the Lake Shore drive. Invitations to fifty or fifty-five have been sent out."

"What further has been done, Miss Goldman, with reference to investigating the shooting at the home of Chief of Police Shippy?"

Hitting Averbuch Death.

"We secured information today that young Averbuch had been trying to get on the fire department, and that the letter he had in his hand when he went to Shippy's home was from some political friend recommending him to the chief. Of course we have no proof of that yet. Anarchists of Chicago are now at work collecting a fund which will aggregate several thousand dollars with which to push this investigation.

"Wealthy Jews of the city, who wish to wipe from their race the stain attaching when a murderer rises among them, have contributed generously to this fund. The matter will be taken up next week, and the best attorney Chicago affords will be engaged to do the work.

"I am determined to speak in Chicago. We have decided to rent a store building. If necessary to secure one we will rent it for a year. I shall be in Chicago only until the 15th of this month. On the 20th I speak in Milwaukee. I go from there directly to Minneapolis, New Ulm, and Winnipeg, then to Omaha, Denver, and the coast."

Speaking of her life Miss Goldman said she was born in St. Petersburg and that she was educated there and at Konigsberg, Prussia.

"As a child I resented any authority. My father was severe. He used to beat me whenever he caught me talking to the servants. We had three. I used to try and see that they had good things to eat, and whenever father caught me saving a dainty morsel for them he would whip me.

"I suppose I have always been an anarchist, but the Haymarket riots in Chicago, and the action of the brutal police on that occasion, determined me to become an avowed anarchist, and to devote my life to the cause. Though the police killed a few members of the Chicago society then, they have not killed anarchy in America.

"While I was a young girl my parents decided that I should have a limited education. I rebelled. I did not understand why a girl should not know just as much as a boy. So I got hold of all the forbidden books I could and I devoured them all. My sister helped to get them to me by one source and another.

Becomes Woman's Champion.

"I used to read what the leading philosophers wrote about women. That's what led me to champion the cause of women and devote my life to their emancipation. I shall strive until I die to break the shackles that make them the chattels of men. My whole life shall be a plea for their freedom.

"I remember when I was a little child robbing a bank. I was 8 years old. In the village where I lived a beautiful young peasant girl had been deceived in love. The people of the village were talking about her and she was crushed under the shame. I resented the fingers that were pointed at her. I knew she was suffering and I sorrowed with her. So I took the money from another little girl's bank and told the deceived girl to use it getting out of the country.

"Years afterward, when I read Hawthorne's 'The Scarlet Letter,' it reminded me of that peasant girl."

McCHESNEY BROS. DENTISTS



Best Silver Fillings	50c
Platinum Fillings	$1.00
Gold and Platinum Alloy Fillings	$1.25
Gold Fillings	$2.00
Enameled Crowns	$4.00
Gold Crowns, 22k. extra heavy	$4.50
Bridgework, per tooth best gold	$4.00
Regular Plate, our regular $10 plate	$4.00

Plates $3, $4, $5



One Plate Guaranteed in Fit.

A binding guaranty given with all work for 10 yrs.

PAINLESS EXTRACTION FREE.

Ask Your Neighbor! When tired of pain, inexperience and fancy prices come home! 20 years in the limelight! All languages spoken. Tel. 2047 Central.

Corner Clark and Randolph Streets.

LEKKO
THE ORIGINAL
SCOURING POWDER
BEWARE OF IMITATIONS



SUPERFLUOUS HAIR
PERFECTLY REMOVED.
I have a safe and positively SURE way to take hairs off face, neck, arms etc., FOREVER. I HAVE THE TRUE SECRET. Write for information. I send it sealed. FREE. Address HELEN DOUGLAS, 20 E. 22 St. New York

"77"
Seventy-seven
for Colds and
GRIP

For Grip, Colds, Influenza, Catarrh, Pains and Soreness in Head, Chest, and Back take "Seventy-seven."

For Coughs, Sore Throat, General Prostration, and Fever take "Seventy-seven."

For the prevention of Grip, Colds, and Pneumonia take Humphreys' "Seventy-seven." At drug stores, 25 Cents.

Humphreys' Homeo Medicine Co., Cor. William and John Streets, New York.

522

881108014

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Reds' Leader Flays Police / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* Chicago Daily Journal. —(March 17, 1908).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The Chicago Historical Society.

THE WEATHER
Probably thunderstorms Tuesday night and Wednesday; snow flurries; temperature will rise Wednesday

FOUNDED APRIL 21 1844 —— OLDEST DAILY NEWSPAPER IN THE STATE OF ILLINOIS —— OFFICE

SIXTY-FOURTH YEAR—NO. 332 TUESDAY, MARCH 17, 1908

W. J. BRYAN CHEERED BY IRISH HOST

One Calls Nebraskan "D'Bryan" as He Arrives to Address To-night's Big St. Patrick's Day Banquet

LEADER KEEPS BUSY ALL DAY

Advises Democrats to Quit Their Quarreling; Addresses Students, Pit Traders and City Club Members

Advises Illinois Peace

Advises Against Fight

Asks About Primary

Discusses Johnson Boom

Mrs. Potter Palmer Will See Her Son Marry Miss Kohlsaat



Miss Pauline Kohlsaat

REDS' LEADER FLAYS POLICE

Emma Goldman Explains Anarchy in Written Address Shippy Refuses to Let Her Deliver

Test of Forbidden Speech

THREE KILLED IN EXPLOSION

Workmen Blown to Pieces by Terrific Blast at United States Powder Company Mills

Men Pinned Under Ruins

No Office in Chicago

Three Killed in Planing Mill

Robbers Smash Show Window

PANIC TRACED TO OIL PLOT

Recent Financial Upheaval Deliberately Caused by Standard and Morgan, Says La Follette in the Senate

OPPOSES ALDRICH BANK BILL

Measure Would Only Strengthen Remorseless Grip of 'System' on Country's Business, Insists Wisconsin Man

Pictures Stage Betting

Financial Combines Grow

SALOON GET SE

Municipal Judge H
Change of Venu
Closing Case
of Defe

CHARGE OF PREJ

Supposed Activiti
Wife in Trying
Judgment Give
tor in Dec

Jurist Not C

Politicians Keep Says Soft Dr

Saloon Ballot I Is Argued

MAY SAVE CHESTER

Condemned Man's Mother Hughes Now Focis, Fears Results

If you have not registered, do so before 9 o'clock tonight or you cannot vote at the city ele

523

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

881108014

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Reds' Leader Flays Police / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* Chicago Daily Journal. —(March 17, 1908).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The Chicago Historical Society.

IRISH CROWDS CHEER BRYAN

One Calls Nebraskan "O'Bryan" as He Arrives to Address Tonight's Big St. Patrick's Day Banquet

LEADER KEEPS BUSY ALL DAY

Advises Democrats to Quit Their Quarreling; Addresses Students, Pit Traders and City Club Members

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE]

were his words as Bryan stepped from the Pullman steps.

With the words, the 150 aged democratic leaders closed about Mr. Bryan. Then while the crowd cheered and green badges flashed, Mr. Bryan was escorted through the train shed to the canal street entrance at the depot. The automobile was upholstered in bright red.

It was the best we could do," explained Representative McDermott, when he noticed the glare of the red glazed linings. "We tried to get one upholstered in green, but failed," he explained.

By the time Mr. Bryan had ten feet he sidewalk a large crowd had gathered and he was cheered repeatedly.

The biggest celebration in honor of St. Patrick, Ireland's patron saint, that has ever been seen in Chicago was held today. Green was the predominating color and a symbol of Ireland was worn by thousands of sons and daughters of the Emerald Isle.

Although thousands feasted the patron saint in meetings all over the city, but the day, larger events are scheduled for this evening.

P. Shelly O'Brien [illegible] speaker at the fifth annual picnic and concert of Irish [illegible] Hibernians [illegible] West Van Buren [illegible].

Other Events of the Evening

Among other [illegible]

The Governor [illegible] Irish [illegible] Or Bestra [illegible] Irish [illegible] Irish Ireland [illegible]

[illegible] Northwest [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

880707001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Blames Police / Emma Goldman. – 43 cm. *In* The Chicago Tribune. – (March 29, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

peaking.

ple) away
nnti the socialis
business at the

e first sentence
man shu' them

ved with more
e, and not cng
howed up He
e, but refrained

t known as a
as a socialist
the south side
pector Schmitt-

stopping this

but a police-
on, whereupon
which he said
itution, and he
read the first
be the right of

NRULY
for the time
and no public
there having
A score of po
to the crowd
right there ar
e got the idea
nd in them to

le away They

y became more
ith increasing
ceremonious y
overstepped the

ANGUE
rving place
brought him
s crowd
d him off the
way
e crowd along
square began

ular and the
by thousands
e the temper

le to deliver
Academy of

his horse at
pelma carried
before he
le scattering

to himself a good deal and read a lot about socialism and anarchy.

"He went to work in Manhattan every morning," she said. "Where he worked I never knew, because he didn't tell me.

"I knew that he did not get along with his uncle because his uncle did not approve of his ideas.

"For a long time he talked about socialism. Then he said socialism was not strong enough to overcome the evils of the day and he became a strong anarchist.

"For some time he has been reading anarchistic literature, and whenever he was spoken to about it he said it was nobody's business what he did.

"Recently we have noticed that his mind was not as strong as it formerly was.

MIND BECAME WEAKER.

"We believed that his mind had become unbalanced. But he never spoke of bombs or of doing anything violent.

"I am sure that he never had anything to do with the making of bombs in his room."

Mrs. Alexander said that Silverstein started for Manhattan as usual this morning. He said he was going to work, but she said she did not believe him, as it was the Jewish Sabbath and she knew he did work on that day.

KNEW OF TROUBLE BREWING.

Goldstein, the employer of Silverstein, said he had worked there on and off for the last two years. He said that during the last week Silverstein read many articles in the Jewish newspapers concerning the Union square meeting and that Friday night, just before he left the shop, Silverstein said:

"I guess I won't go to Union square tomorrow. There'll be a lot of people killed and I don't want to be one of them."

Goldstein said that while Silverstein was a sort of firebrand, and expressed himself as believing in anarchistic principles, he was sure he belonged to no anarchistic club and was not in any general plot.

PLOT EVIDENCE REVEALED.

The police searched the rooms of Silverstein in Brooklyn and found letters which the detectives said indicated that Beckman and Silverstein had been in anarchistic conspiracies.

The police said that what they found was so important they could not make it public and sent all the letters and papers they found to police headquarters in Manhattan.

Deputy Police Commissioner Woods who took charge of a score or more detectives was at the morgue until late tonight. He received reports from the detectives and said:

"We have received a good deal of information but it is of such a nature that it cannot be made public tonight."

BERKMAN LETTERS FOUND.

Capt. Faure of the Bridewell detective bureau was asked if the letters were signed "Berkman" or "Berkman." He said:

"The letters are signed Alexander Berkman. Some of them are written in Yiddish and they reveal anarchistic plots of such a nature that it would not be wise to tell at this time what they are. The letters have been sent to the Manhattan headquarters."

Alexander Berkman, who shot Henry C. Frick and married Emma Goldman, was at his home, 210 East Thirteenth street, tonight. When told about the letters he said that he had never written to anyone in Brooklyn that he did not know Silverstein or Goldstein that Silverstein was a socialist and he was an anarchist and that he was not in the habit of putting anything he had to say in writing.

CARD GIVES CLEW.

The identity of Hillebrand was established at night. A card on which was written "H. Beckman, 63 Prospect place, Brooklyn," was found in the dead man's pocket.

The other effects were a watch case No. 80701, a pair of eyeglasses, several packages of needles, and a number of advertisements for tailors cut from the newspapers. The eyeglasses were marked "Jane, 317 Fourth avenue."

There is an eyeglass maker named Yane at that address. He looked at the glasses and said at once that he had made them for a man named Beckman.

His description of Beckman tallied closely with that of the dead man. Yane said that all that he knew about Beckman was that he was a tailor.

IDENTITY IS ESTABLISHED.

The police, however, soon learned that the H. Beckmen of Prospect place was alive. They picked him up and took him to the morgue in Manhattan on the theory that he might be able to identify the men who had been killed by the bomb.

Beckman is a tailor, a cutter and has been working for Northrup & Curry, cloakmakers at 43 East Tenth street.

When Beckman got to the morgue and saw the dead man he said he was certain that the man was Ignatz Hillebrand of 255 Third avenue.

He said that Hillebrand worked for him for some time in his tailor shop in Eldridge street, but left him some time ago because business was slack.

HILLEBRAND A HUNTERITE.

Hillebrand's wife was talking with neighbors at the Third avenue house about midnight when she was asked to go to the morgue and identify the body.

She said that her husband, a tailor, had [illegible] since a week before Thanks-

MEETING LEADER BLAMES POLICE.

Robert Hunter, Rich Sociologist, Says Oppression Led to Outrage.

HIS "PLEAS" ARE FUTILE.

Officers Refuse to Listen to Appeal That Speeches Be Permitted.

New York, March 28.—[Special.]—Robert Hunter declared he was inexpressibly shocked by the turn that the demonstration of the unemployed had taken. He said it came about in spite of the fact that he and the others who brought about the demonstration had counseled mildness on the part of every one participating in the parade. He said the conduct of the police in Union square showed that they were the real anarchists.

"The bomb throwing was only a result of the intense mental state produced in the people by the amazing attitude of the police toward them," he added.

Hunter said that when he got to Union square he went to Inspector Schmittberger and told him that he had agreed to speak there and hoped he would be allowed to do so. He said he told the inspector that the meeting was only an appeal for employment by thousands of persons out of work and that whatever was said would be temperate.

Accuses Police of Cruelty.

Inspector Schmittberger said he had received orders to allow no speechmaking, as no permit had been obtained for it, whereupon Mr. Hunter says he replied:

"I guess we will have to make an effort to speak anyhow. The police have no authority to deny us the right to speak in the street so long as we are speaking in behalf of those who are hungry for want of work."

Then the police started to drive every one out of the park and into the side streets. The mounted officers rode over men, women, and children. I have seen many meetings broken up by the police in Russia and in other European countries, but never saw such extraordinary rungriness as was used this afternoon.

His "Plea" with Officer Vain.

"As the police continued driving their horses among the persons on the sidewalks, apparently trying their best to trample them under foot, even if they were walking along and obeying the police as well as they could, I thought it time to protest. At that time I was half way down the block in Seventeenth street. With me were Leonard D. Ingram, W. Irvine of the Boston Advertiser, several magazine writers and others.

"I jumped on to a [illegible] and appealed against such treatment. We were preparing peacefully to ask the mayor to provide work for the unemployed.

"I got no further for several policemen assaulted me, struck me on the face and pushed me off the stump. They did not use me particularly rough. After I had been pulled off the stump I went into a near-by cafe with several friends. We had several drinks and I then walked across the park. That must have been less than five minutes before the bomb was thrown."

Injured Office. Is Attacked

Mr. Hunter said that the mounted policeman who appeared to be doing the most roughness was No. 6537.

Policeman Charles S. Hafsky of the traffic squad is No. 6537. Shortly after the bomb was thrown Policeman Hafsky arrested Max Hoff of 208 Van Brunt street, Brooklyn, who had declined to move on when ordered to do so. Hoff was locked up in the Mercer street station charged with disorderly conduct.

Deputy Commissioner Woods advised Hafsky to change the complaint so as to charge Hoff with being a suspicious person. Hafsky was riding through West Twentieth street to do so when his horse slipped on the wet pavement and fell on him. His ankle was cut and his knee strained.

Dr. Foucar of New York hospital was called to attend Hafsky and advised him to report sick. Hafsky did so and went home.

HUNTER A HULL HOUSE MAN.

Robert Hunter, the young radical, head of the Eldridge university settlement in New York, who was involved in yesterday's demonstration in Union square, New York, formerly lived in Chicago, where he became a socialist and first identified himself with the socialist party. His career in Chicago began in 1900, when he became identified with the Chicago bureau of charities, of which he was a district superintendent and later an official in the main office of the bureau.

He left Chicago in 1904, going to New York to take up the work at the head of the Eldridge university settlement. During his stay in Chicago he lived at the Hull house, and in his spare hours was an active propagandist of socialism. He made a large number of speeches for the socialist party throughout the city, and was sent as a delegate to a number of party conventions.

One meeting where he was particularly prominent was held in memory of Wilhelm Liebknecht, the German socialist leader in the reichstag, who died in Berlin in 1900. At this meeting Hunter was chairman, and it was he who was most active in arranging the memorial in Chicago.

Writes Book on Poverty.

In 1902 Hunter wrote a book on tenement house conditions in the slums of Chicago. The book attracted considerable attention from settlement workers and sociologists all over the country. It was really a preliminary study and forerunner of his more pretentious work, "Poverty," which he published in 1904. This book was dedicated to Jane Addams, head of Hull house, and in the preface Hunter said that he had learned the sociological point of view from her brother and their friendship soon became love and they were married. Mrs. Hunter's brother married Rose Pastor, who, before her marriage was a poor worker among the Russian Jews on the east side of New York.

Following their marriage Mr. and Mrs. Hunter took up their residence in the settlement house and continued their socialistic preachings. In the campaign in which Hearst ran for mayor of New York Hunter supported Hearst. For this "treachery" he was expelled from the socialist party. Later he repented of his "folly" and begged to be reinstated. The New York socialist leaders forgave him and a couple of years ago he reentered the ranks of the socialists.

The reentry was made in a spectacular manner. He made a public announcement of his "conversion" to socialism and the fact was heralded all over the country. As a matter of fact, he was only a "reconverted backslider."

SEE REASON FOR PRECAUTIONS.

Police Say New York Outbreak Might Have Happened Here but for Firm Stand.

The Chicago police department last night looked upon the New York anarchistic outbreak as, in a sense, a justification of the precautions taken here.

It was pointed out that the attempted parade of the unemployed here in early February easily could have had a violent outcome had it been allowed to proceed unchecked. Emphasis also was placed upon the value of the police discovery of the incendiary language being uttered at the meetings of local anarchists and of the consequent steps taken to keep the "reds" in check.

The belief was expressed generally that all American cities now would be led to untie in police regulations preventing the reckless scattering of the praise of assassination and of threats against public men and officers from the rostrums of anarchy.

Justifies Severity, Says Schuettler.

"I am unwilling to say 'I told you so' to the critics who denounced us for our action at that time," said Assistant Chief Schuettler, who, with the departure of Chief Shippy to the country with his convalescent son, assumed the duties of general superintendent, "but this one event alone is enough to justify us for putting a stop to public demonstrations of this sort.

"The entire agitation of the sensational leaders of the movement was checked when we stopped their first public show, and I believe we have been free from such affairs as this in New York because we squelched them right at the start.

"There might not have been any bombs in the crowd that tried to parade here, but if that had been successful there would have been bigger ones afterward, and the excitement of the fanatics would have reached a pitch where they would not have stopped at anything."

The assistant chief said that he is confident that conditions are improving daily in Chicago. He has no fear of a second outbreak of the unemployed.

"The supply of work is increasing right along, he declared, and men are getting better satisfied throughout the city. We have warned the leaders who are looking for advertising to leave them alone and we have no thought of trouble in the immediate future. Of course if a second demonstration is started we will do just as we did before. We did not take that attitude without long consideration and good advice, and the after events have shown that we were right."

Robins Attacks Police.

Just a week ago Raymond Robins, a leading Chicago settlement worker and socialist, while in Minneapolis, gave out a long interview in which he violently attacked the police and the municipal administration here. He said things are boiling under the surface in Chicago, and he declared the anarchy stories were all fiction.

"There is less anarchy than for years," confidently asserted Mr. Robins.

"The real anarchist groups are all broken up. There isn't even a old group of philosophical passive anarchists. It puzzles me when three weeks before the killing of Averbuch, Chief Shippy began giving out interviews on anarchists. It looked like another attempt at a 'shakedown' such as the police had at the time of the Haymarket riot when they got to the rich men of the city for thousands for police protection."

"Averbuch Victim of Plot."

That Mr. Robins demonstrated to his own satisfaction that young Averbuch in appearing in the home of Chief Shippy was an innocent unarmed kid, and that he was killed in cold blood by the chief and that the whole "plot" was one in which the chief himself was chief conspirator. The social settlement leader also issued wise prophecies as to what startling facts would develop at the inquest on Tuesday.

The inquest was held. Averbuch was demonstrated by complete proof to be a would-be assassin and the chief was justified in the killing of the young assailant. Not a particle of evidence was introduced to clear the name and purpose of the armed youth who was killed, although Mr. Robins and other settlement workers had hired lawyers who represented them at the inquest. Since then Mr. Robins has not been heard from on the subject.

RECALLS THE HAYMARKET BOMB

That Exploded in Midst of Police Ranks May 4, 1886, Killing or Wounding a Score.

The Haymarket riot in Chicago, which is recalled by yesterday's bomb throwing in New York, occurred on the evening of May 4, 1886. It followed meetings of dissatisfied workingmen, who for several evenings previous had been addressed by orators of the "red" doctrine. These speakers had denounced the police as the natural enemies of the people.

At the meeting of May 4 a cart was drawn to the center of Haymarket square, which is formed by the widening of West Randolph street near Desplaines. The same speakers who had appeared to other parts of the city harranged the crowds about the square, using the cart as a platform. The late Carter H. Harrison Sr., then mayor of Chicago, was present for a time. When he left the speeches became more [illegible].

Then the bomb was thrown [illegible]

EMMA GOLDMAN BLAMES POLICE.

Queen of Reds Says the Union Square Tragedy Is Blue-coat Plot.

TO INJURE ANARCHISTS.

Doesn't Know Silverstein and Never Wrote Letters to Him, She Declares.

Minneapolis, Minn., March 28.—[Special.]—Emma Goldman, after her lecture here tonight, discussed the bomb tragedy in Union square, New York.

"Union square, New York City, where the bomb was exploded this afternoon and two men were killed," she said, "is the identical spot where I have lectured for the last fourteen years and was arrested and made to serve one year in the government prison on Blackwell's Island."

"I did not know Selig Silverstein," replied Miss Goldman to a question concerning the man who now lies in the Bellevue hospital in New York and is accused by the police of having thrown the bomb.

"I did not know the dead man Ignatz Beasky. I have never heard of either of them. The report that letters from me to Silverstein were found in his room is absolutely false as—well, I think I know my correspondents.

Police to Blame, She Says.

"You want to know who I think was at the bottom of the whole riot? The police.

"They do it to show their authority. Such affairs as occurred this afternoon in New York have been traced in many instances to the police, who grasp the opportunity to lay all blame on anarchists.

"Who knows that Silverstein threw the bomb? Did any newspaper man see him do it? Why do you come to me for enlightenment? Am I supposed to know every anarchist any more than President Roosevelt is supposed to know every republican?

"As soon as there is a riot, a bomb explosion, an assassination, or an uprising the police immediately try to attach the affair to me. And that is why I say that they even go so far as to instigate these plots themselves for the purpose of incriminating us and heaping praise on themselves. I don't believe a workingman threw the bomb, as it would not have been to his advantage. The conclusion in my mind is that the police are in some way behind the whole matter.

Boosts Chicago Police.

"Some years ago in Chicago a quantity of dynamite was 'discovered' by the police in one of the downtown tunnels under the city. I have absolute proof that the explosive was placed there by the police who later 'discovered' it and lauded themselves to the skies in the newspapers for their ingenuity in preventing a catastrophe. There are police methods which are known only to anarchists.

"The injured men who are now held in New York may have heard me in my many lectures in that city and at that place.

"I have only communicated recently with two people in New York City. They are Alexander Berkman and the business office of my magazine, Mother Earth. I am writing to Mr. Berkman tonight for particulars concerning the affair and will be better informed on the subject Sunday morning."

TWO LEADERS OF ANARCHISTS PLACE BLAME ON SOCIALISTS.

Berkman and Havel, Editors of Goldman Paper, Say Reds Had Nothing to Do with Meeting.

New York, March 28.—[Special.]—Alexander Berkman and Hypolite Havel, editors of the anarchist paper, Mother Earth, which is published by Emma Goldman, tonight disclaimed any knowledge of today's bomb outrage or of the meeting which had been planned in spite of the police.

"The meeting was planned by socialists," said Berkman. "We are anarchists. We do not know anything about Silverstein; he probably was one of the great army of the unemployed who had become crazed with hunger and the brutality of the police.

"I don't see why a permit should have been refused for the meeting anyway. If the meeting had not been prohibited there would have been no such demonstration.

"O, no, we are not socialists, they believe in changing the form of government, while we do not pin any faith in a central government at all, but believe each community should govern itself."

SOCIALISTS DISAVOW PART IN PLOT TO MURDER POLICE.

Morris Hillquit, Legal Adviser of Bureau, Says Bomb Thrower Was Not Member of His Party.

New York, March 28.—[Special.]—Morris Hillquit, who is a member of the executive committee of the socialist party and the unemployed conference, but who was not present at the afternoon's meeting, made the following statement about the bomb throwing:

"The man who threw the bomb had no connection with the proposed demonstration and we know nothing of him and never heard of him before.

"We are against such methods at this time, and our plans were for a peaceful meeting. The socialists do not believe in violence and the man may have been an anarchist or a malcontent of some other party.

"His plan, I believe, was to kill the police. It was intended, in my opinion, to bring discredit on the [illegible]

525

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

840514032

The Emma Goldman Papers

En Route / Emma Goldman.— pp. 71-72 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 3, no. 2 (April 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

suppress Anarchists and Anarchism—because of those efforts—the people will yet learn the truth.

* * *

Though well aware that the Union Square bomb—whoever its thrower—was no result of any conspiracy, the police insisted on my arrest. As usual, they were the first to break their sacred law: my protest notwithstanding, I was photographed and Bertillioned, in contempt of a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the State, declaring such police methods illegal before the conviction of an arrested person. Having absolutely no evidence against me, the police resorted to the ever-ready charge of "inciting to riot." Naturally, when my hearing took place, the case collapsed like an empty flour sack; however, the authorities grasped the opportunity to air their wisdom. The detectives triumphantly announced that they had made the "important discovery" that I am an Anarchist, and the presiding magistrate assured me that Tolstoi could not possibly be an Anarchist, since "all Anarchism is criminal Anarchism." The learned Cadi suggested that I "change the name of the party." "As long as you persist in calling yourself an Anarchist, and evidently take pride in it, it is the duty of the police to keep you under surveillance." I assured the honorable man that the name suited *me* perfectly; if it did not sound pleasant in the long ears of authority, so much the worse for the latter.

The brutal stupidity of the police is equalled only by the lack of decency on the part of some Socialists and other kid-glove heroes. These, our step-brothers, try to curry favor with popular prejudice by classifying—against their better knowledge—Anarchists with the police. The Socialists, once themselves the victims of calumny and persecution, have now in their turn become calumniators and persecutors. They have learned and are practicing capitalistic tactics while yet an insignificant socio-political factor. What, then, would be the effect of the "materialistic conception of history" upon the Socialists, if they should ever grasp the reins of government and achieve real power? Will there be found sufficient jailers in the world to supply the needs of triumphant Socialism?

But neither plutocratic nor Socialistic misrepresentation and persecution will halt the march of humanity towards light, liberty, and Anarchy.

EN ROUTE

Dear Readers of MOTHER EARTH:

I had hoped to be able to give you in this issue an account of the truly "American chivalry and hospitality" extended me by the Chicago Police Department. I know you would enjoy it almost as well as I did. But such an important account can not be properly treated en route, in a shaking train. It requires more time and leisure than I have now. I shall, therefore, ask you to content yourself meanwhile with the information that I am seriously considering to send a vote of thanks to the Chicago protectors of law and disorder for their tremendous interest in the spread of our ideas and in my welfare. Appreciating the fact that I had lectured every night, holding tremendously large meetings in St. Louis and other cities, until I reached Chicago, the police immediately issued strict orders that no halls should be rented us, that I might not be tempted to speak, in order that my throat may rest up. Also mindful of the fact that the truth speaks loudest when an attempt to silence it is made, the Department had a special squad at large to suppress free speech and assembly at all costs. Of course, all that was done from paternal motives and especially to supply the reporters with material to write about. They meant no harm, I am sure, not even when one of them tenderly lifted me off the platform. Who said the age of chivalry is gone? No, indeed, not so long as the Chicago police and captains are in existence. The police evidently thought that it is time Emma Goldman be heard by a large number of people, instead of a mere hallful. That is why they gave me an opportunity to have my undelivered lecture printed in a Chicago daily, having a circulation of more than 50,000; also another article in a morning paper of large circulation. Don't you think they deserve thanks? As to the amount of good their action has done in other cities, that could not be fully estimated. Thousands came to the meetings in Minneapolis; thousands were turned away, as our halls were not large enough to hold such unexpected multitudes. The same will no doubt be true in all the other cities along the line of my route. Just think of how much other speakers would pay to get such splendid

526

840514032

The Emma Goldman Papers

En Route / Emma Goldman.— pp. 71-72 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 3, no. 2 (April 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

advertising, and all without any efforts on my part, at that.

True, one who is not used to such "kind handling and such flattering attention," as I have received, might have felt somewhat annoyed; but as I have enjoyed similar honors on several previous occasions, I can probably stand it the better. At any rate, I assure you, dear friends, I am hale and hearty and more than ever determined to go on. Of course, I am a little tired, but that is not the fault of the authorities. Not at all. Lack of privacy, constant visitors, lectures every night, a large correspondence, two bodyguards closely on my heels,

"Who watch him when he tries to weep,
And when he tries to pray;
Who watch him lest himself should rob
The prison of its prey,"—

would make anybody tired.

Friends, the American sky looks black and sinister; the sun has hidden in shame, unwilling to witness the growing brutality and despotism on the part of those who have taken it upon themselves to outrage every sense of liberty and justice. One can not afford to be tired these days, when brave souls are needed for the battle. Yes, brave souls and clear heads, who will help to free the earth from the chains of ignorance, brutality, and cowardice.

En route to Winnipeg. EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

THE FIGHT FOR FREE SPEECH

(Correspondence.)

"EMMA GOLDMAN cannot speak," that's what Chief of Police Shippy said. "All right," said Assistant Chief of Police Schuttler, "I will carry out your orders." And he did. A two weeks' heroic effort to secure a hall for Emma Goldman to speak in was unsuccessful. Many subterfuges were resorted to, but the police "always beat us to it." The Police Department publicly stated that they had no objection to Emma Goldman or any other Anarchists speaking in Chicago as long as they obeyed the law, but it was evident that they exercised the utmost vigilance in preventing her from speaking in Chicago.

The hall that was secured in the Masonic Temple for her first speech was the place where Anarchist meetings had been held for the last three years, without the least objection on the part of the landlord; but twenty-four hours before Miss Goldman was to speak, the chairman was notified by the proprietor that the police had been to his office and had given him strict orders not to let Emma Goldman speak, so he immediately cancelled the lease. The police notified some six hundred hall keepers in Chicago not to rent their halls for any meeting where Emma Goldman was to lecture. Mr. ———, a saloon keeper, who had a hall on the Northside, told the police that he would rent his hall to anybody he chose; four hours later he was promptly arrested for selling liqnor to minors.

Another hall keeper who threatened to defy the police and rent his hall to Emma Goldman, a few hours later was notified by the Building Department that he would have to put in a new fire escape, an alteration which would entail the cost of several thousand dollars.

I rented a store on Dearborn Street and made a public announcement that Emma Goldman was to speak there; at 12 o'clock the Building and the Health and Fire Departments had investigated the place, notifying me that everything was all right, but at 4 o'clock in the afternoon the police brought me word that no meeting could be held there because the store had been condemned by the Building Department as unsafe. I made inquiries and found that the place was condemned because the floor was unsafe and the door did not open outwardly. We offered to put in a new floor and to change the door, but the Building Department absolutely refused to consider our proposition.

At a meeting of the Literary Society at Workman's Hall Miss Goldman was on the program to speak; although the meeting was not publicly announced, the police got word of it through the treachery of a newspaper man, and immediately filled the hall with about a hundred officers. When the chairman announced that after a clarinet solo Emma Goldman would speak, the police buckled up their belts, examined their guns, drew their clubs, and stood ready to charge. Miss Goldman came to the platform and said: "Ladies and gentle-

527

890123011

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summaries and Excerpts from Lectures] / Emma Goldman.– 25 cm. *In* Walter E. Carr, "[Report to] U.S. Commissioner of Immigration". –(April 9, 1908).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

OFFICE OF ..... Inspector in Charge,

PORT OF ..... Winnipeg, Manitoba.

April 9th, 1908.

Hon. John H. Clark,

U. S. Commissioner of Immigration,

Montreal, Canada.

Sir:—

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your communication No. 7644, date of April 2nd, 1908, together with all papers in connection with the case of Emma Goldman.

I have the honor to report that almost constant watch was kept by this office on the movements of this woman from the time of her arrival in Winnipeg, to the time of her departure therefrom. She arrived in Winnipeg from Minneapolis at 7:30 A. M. March 31st, traveling via "Soo Line" and C. P. R. She was welcomed at the C. P. R. Station in this city by a number of friends and immediately proceeded to the residence of Mr. S. Prosow, No. 452 Manitoba Avenue, which proved to be her stopping place while in Winnipeg. Close watch was kept on this house and it was learned that Miss. Goldman spent the major portion of each day in receiving callers, of which she had many, and in reading and writing letters. She seldom left the house during the daytime, and then only to return after a very short walk.

RECORDS DIVISION
ENTERED
APR 16 1909
BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

Although it was repeated by Miss Goldman and her associated, both from the public platform and through the columns of the newspapers, that it was her intention to remain in Winnipeg

299
1-38

890123011

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summaries and Excerpts from Lectures] / Emma Goldman.– 25 cm. *In* Walter E. Carr, "[Report to] U.S. Commissioner of Immigration". –(April 9, 1908).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

until the evening of Wednesday, April 8th, and although she was scheduled to deliver lectures up to that time, and announced that it was then her intention to proceed west to Calgary, Alberta, and from there to Vancouver and Victoria, B. C., information was received that her real intention was to proceed south to Minneapolis on Monday the 6th, returning by the route used in coming, and therefore she was kept under constant surveillance allmday Monday, the 6th. During the morning of that day she remained at the residence of Mr. Prosow as usual, but about 3:30 P. M., she left the house on Manitoba Avenue and with her baggage proceeded to a house, No. 670 Burrows Avenue, which I am informed is occupied by a Mrs. Cramer. She remained at this place the remainder of the afternoon. As it was not known to a certainty which route she intended travelling, the writer returned to the U. S. Immigration Office and gave instructions to the officers on duty at the two railway stations in this city to inform him by telephone immediately upon her appearance at either station, the writer awaiting such telephone message at the Immigration Office. She appeared at the C. P. R. Station about 5:25 P. M. and boarded the "Soo Line" train south. She was recognized by Inspector Robbins and instructions with regard to telephoning were immediately carried out with the result that the writer accompanied her to the International Border. She was pointed out to Inspector Smith and was held at the Village of Noyes, Minnesota, for examination as to her right to enter the United States. Her request [illegible]

529

890123011

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summaries and Excerpts from Lectures] / Emma Goldman.– 25 cm. *In* Walter E. Carr, "[Report to] U.S. Commissioner of Immigration". –(April 9, 1908).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

the train was effected by Inspector Smith without noise or disturbance of any kind, and Miss. Goldman was conducted to the office of the United States Customs Officials at that place to await the arrival of Inspector Robbins from Winnipeg, who had been instructed to follow on a later train in order that a Board of three experienced officers might be available. A meeting of a Board of Special Inquiry was called at 10:30 P. M., Inspector Robbins, Inspector Smith and myself serving as Board members. A verbatim report was made of the proceedings of such Board, the notes being taken by myself, a copy of which is hereto attached and made a part of this report.

Every effort was made to keep the matter out of the public press, but unfortunately the express messengor on the train from which she was removed gained information as to the holding of Miss. Goldman for examination and reported same in Minneapolis, whereupon the papers at that place wired to Winnipeg for accounts of the affair. A newspaper reporter was sent to Emerson where Emma Goldman was obliged to remain until the arrival of the "Soo Line Train" south on the night of the 7th instant, which train she took to St. Paul, and this reporter gained an interview with Emma Goldman, she however refusing to give other than the minor details of her examination. No information whatsoever has been given out by this office or by anyone connected with the Immigration Service.

240

530

890123011

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summaries and Excerpts from Lectures] / Emma Goldman.— 25 cm. *In* Walter E. Carr, "[Report to] U.S. Commissioner of Immigration". —(April 9, 1908).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

During her stay in Winnipeg Emma Goldman gave five lectures all of which were delivered to good sized audiences, and, there being no demonstration of any kind at any of the meetings, the Canadian authorities did not in any way interfere.

On March 31st Miss Goldman dealt with the subject, "Anarchism, and what it really stands for." The speaker confined hereself to an explanation of the principles and teachings of anarchism and compared the conditions existing to-day with the prospective conditions ~~as~~ advocated by anarchists. She stated that social conditions could not be altered with kid gloves and pink teas, a revolution must come, and it would depend entirely upon the attitude of the world whether that revolution should be bloody or otherwise.

On the evening of April 1st, Miss Goldman was tendered a reception by a number of personal friends and did not appear in public.

On the evening of April 2nd, the subject chosen was,"Trade Unionism's Relation to Anarchy." Miss. Goldman stated that in so far as trade unionism was a movement against the capitalistic regime, its cause was identical with that of anarchy. That no good union man could belong to either the army or the navy for the reason that both the army and navy were maintained not for the purpose of fighting outside enemies, but for the sole purpose of enslaving and keeping the laboring classes down, and the killing off of strikers. The soldier does the killing and the officer gets the credit and the soldier will soon begin to wonder why and then he will join the working man and

531

890123011

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summaries and Excerpts from Lectures] / Emma Goldman.– 25 cm. *In* Walter E. Carr, "[Report to] U.S. Commissioner of Immigration". –(April 9, 1908).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

there will be a revolution, at which time the conservative element must either join the revolutionists or be swept away.

"Why Direct Action is the Logical Method of Anarchy", was the subject for April 3rd. It was stated that direct action was the only effective means in any cause, and that all liberty lovers and lovers of principle should use direct means only in their endeavor to obtain their ends, that they should take decided action and strike a direct blow for their principles, and in that way, and in that way only could they hope to improve conditions. The present social system was bitterly denounced as well as all religious institutions.

On the evening of April 4th, a public reception was given in one of the smaller rooms of Trades Hall and refreshments served, but other than a short speech of thanks for her welcome in the City of Winnipeg, Miss. Goldman made no remarks.

Sunday afternoon, April 5th, Miss. Goldman delivered a lecture on,"The Emancipation of Woman". She stated that the woman of to-day was born, raised and educated for but one thing, "marriage". She could not hope to occupy a position of equal liberty, mentally, morally or socially with what is ordinarily called the stronger sex for the reason that she had been so long trampled upon, downtrodden and held in a condition of abject slavery that she was not prepared to take her proper place in the world. The present system of marriage was denounced in part as follows:--"Why is it wrong for you to do that which you desire at this moment, when but a few hours, or minutes later it is right, simply because you have gone through with a religious

890123011

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summaries and Excerpts from Lectures] / Emma Goldman.– 25 cm. *In* Walter E. Carr, "[Report to] U.S. Commissioner of Immigration". –(April 9, 1908).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

form. Does that make it any more right? Why should a man and woman be compelled to go through a ridiculous ceremony mumbled by a priest or preacher, before they can live together? If they love, and love purely, that is sufficient. All things are right if they seem right to your understanding. The offspring of these pure unions will be the generation to guide future life. Why should one not be privileged to do and act as he pleases when he meets the person he loves." She stated that under the present system the woman is valued only according to the number of children she can bring into the world, "Our most lordly and deppotic President, the Honorable Theodore Roosevelt believes that unless a woman is the mother of at least twelve children, she has made a failure in this life, and is a detriment rather than a help to the cause of humanity." In answer to the question as to where literature dealing with the question of anarchism could be obtained, she stated that in view of the Lord's Day Alliance Act she was unable to sell any on Sunday, but that it could be procured at Trades Hall the following day, that, "While I firmly believe in defying and do defy the Government upon every oecasion, even though my hide is broken, I do not desire to have your hides broken as well."

304

In the evening ,(April 5th), Miss. Goldman took up the subject, "The Revolutionary Spirit in Modern Drama". Her remarks were substantially as follows:—

> "The ruling classes in our present social system are always alert to find ways and means to destroy individual liberty, mental and physical, but they have not as yet awakened to the fact that it is utterly impossible to finally succeed in their

890123011

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summaries and Excerpts from Lectures] / Emma Goldman.– 25 cm. *In* Walter E. Carr, "[Report to] U.S. Commissioner of Immigration". –(April 9, 1908).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

efforts. The harder the oppression, the more powerfully the spirit of freedom will manifest itself. The Governments and capitalistic elements labor under the misapprehension that the revolting spirit is confined to the poorer classes, the toilers who, under the present system, suffer the most as a result of exploitation. They have not as yet learned that art, literature, drama and science of to-day are impregnated with the revolutionary spirit.They have not as yet been able to see that the revolutionary spirit is coming to the surface everywhere, that it is not limited to one particular class, and that, on the contrary it shows itself in all walks of life. Men interested in the social conditions do not take the trouble of familiarizing themselves with literature, or dramatic works. They believe it to be sufficient to acquaint themselves superficially with the literature of that particular party of which they may be adherents. They do not realize that in order to acquire a true knowledge it is necessary to familiarize themselves with matters which are not in harmony with their own ideas. They also overlook the important fact that through study of existing conditions is impossible without a knowledge of modern literature and drama. Pre-eminent in dramaturgy are Leo Tolstoi, Henry Ibsen and Gerhardt Hauptmann.

Tolstoi's teachings have spread over all parts of the world, and his conception of human society has aroused the spirit of freedom in millions of hearts. He has no doubt proven himself the strongest enemy to Christianity. His "Powers of Darknees" represents a class of ignorant human beings who in the name of religion commit the most atrocious crimes. "Powers of Darkness" cannot fail to arrouse the revolutionary spirit. It is representative of the idea of passive resistence. Every religion is a power of darkness, and the only object thereof is to strengthen the dominating power, the government and the capitalistic classes, and to subjugate the toilers. In no country is the drama so closely connected with the people as in the very darkest of all countries, Russia. The power of darkness there shows itself in its worst aspect, but free thought is rising, revolution is spreading, and Russia will be free.

Gorki has regarded it as a sacred duty to show that the scum, the outcasts of society, are not such because of their own free will, nor because they are natural criminals. In his "Night Asylum", he convinces the most sceptic that there is some good in the lowest of the low, and that the outcasts of society are such through society alone.

Czirikow, in his drama "The Jews", shows us the Jews in their awakening. Because the Jews have never fought, it has been assumed that they never would rebel against existing conditions. Liberty cannot be attained without struggle, and the

305

244

890123011

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summaries and Excerpts from Lectures] / Emma Goldman.– 25 cm. *In* Walter E. Carr, "[Report to] U.S. Commissioner of Immigration". –(April 9, 1908).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

Jews have beoome conscious of this truth. Their revolutionary spirit is growing powerful. Why should the Jews not have a right to take up arms against the Czar and his officialdom of drunkards? Why should they not unite for the overthrow of all despotism, and why should they not unite for the struggle which will end in freeing all men? There is fine material among them and many are willing to die for their ideals rather than degrade themselves by shrinking from the consequences of their convictions." (The greater part of her audience at this speech were Jews).

"More revolutionary work has been done by Henry Ibsen that any other dramatist. As a rule dramatists dwell only on one evil, while Ibsen is universal. His "Brandt" is a revolutionary agitation against greed and superstition. He shows that under the cloak of religion man may commit any crime, and when the measure of his misdeeds is overflowing, he may buy his way into heaven from a goldgreedy priesthood. He shows us that all religion is at the best farcical. His "Doll's House" is a manifesto to all woman, urging them to free themselves, and through their own efforts attain equality with man, morally, intellectually economically and politically. It forces upon them the conviction that by the laws of nature they should hot be inferior to man and that their present inferiority is the result of a long endured and outrageous enslavement. Ibsen is therefore rightly regarded of the originator of the revolutionary movement for the emancipation of woman. Revolution does not always carry in its course bombs, shrapnels and dynamite. The simple fact that a man is opposed to existing conditions makes a revolutionist of him. How this opposition may manifest itself is of no importance as long as it serves in ever so small a measure to bring about the final downfall of a system, institution, a class or government which is considered undesirable or pernicious.

Gerhardt Hauptmann, in his drama "The Weavers", gives us the greatest revolutionary thought with reference to the economical struggle. He shows hunger and poverty, wealth and gluttony, in their worst contrast. Hunger and oppression can be endured but to a certain limit. When this is reached, the sufferer can no longer be held in restraint with the assurance that it is natural to be hungry. He will become mighty in his wrath and in the fight for his very existence will shrink from nothing. In "The Sunken Bells", Hauptman teaches us that in our struggle for light and freedom we must not fear to take risks that may eventually prove fatal. The pillars of modern society are rotten to the core, and the whole structure must collapse sooner or later, and therefore we should not hesitate to take risks, whatever out part in the struggle may be.

Bernard Shaw might well be considered an economical

535

890123011

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summaries and Excerpts from Lectures] / Emma Goldman.— 25 cm. *In* Walter E. Carr, "[Report to] U.S. Commissioner of Immigration". —(April 9, 1908).
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

revolutionist worthy to be mentioned in connection with such names as Tolstoi, Ibsen and Hauptmann.

We in America, in the States, have not yet found time for ~~him~~ dramatic creation worth speaking of. We have been too busy making dollars through the tears and blood drops of unfortunate slaves in the mines, factories and sweat shops, but the revolutionary spirit exists nevertheless. It asserts itself in all countries of the world. Siberia, Schlosselberg, the electric chair and the penitentiary cannot dam the revolutionary spirit. It will grow stronger, and for every one falling in the struggle, two will fill the breach in the ranks, until finally the whole masses willarise, and arise to liberty."

As a whole, the speeches of Emma Goldman while in Winnipeg were very mild in character, she apparently making no effort to excite enthusiasm in her audiences, and in fact on several occasions requesting that the audience keep as quiet as possible. She seemed anxious to avoid demonstrations and generally speaking her meetings were very quiet affairs.

No particular comment is made in this report with regard to the Board proceedings in this case, as ~~him~~ it is thought that the copy of the minutes of such Board meeting hereto attached will be sufficient.

All papers are herewith returned for the files of the Montreal office. There was no expense incident to this detail.

307

Respectfully,

Walter Carr,
Inspector in Charge.

IMM. AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE RECORDS DIVISION
ENTERED
APR 16 1909
BUREAU OF

840514033

The Emma Goldman Papers

En Route / Emma Goldman. – pp. 132-134 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 3 (May 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

of expression will go on is quite certain, no matter how disconcerting it may be in high quarters. Having survived the rack and thumbscrew, it will outlive even Presidential messages.

* * *

EN ROUTE

"Angel City," Calif., April 30th, 1908.

IT is quite "angelic" here, indeed, and as angels never do anything but sit at God's throne playing the harp, my friends will have to forbear with me if I, too, am influenced by the local atmosphere.

With Mother Earth so rich, so beautiful and abundant in southern California, one is inclined to forget, at least for a while, the bareness and dreariness of life at large, with its eternal strife and unnecessary struggle.

Even my angel guardians, the police, seem to be imbued with the spirit of restfulness and peace that emanates from nature in this city. At any rate, they have so far let me go my own way, a treat which only he can fully appreciate who has felt their presence as long and persistently as I have.

I stated in my last review that the Chicago "finest" deserve a vote of thanks for the tremendous advertising which their stupidity has given Anarchism and that "most disreputable of all Anarchists, Emma Goldman."

Since I have come to California and have been "entertained" by the San Francisco police, I have decided that our thanks will have to be voted to the authorities of that city instead of to Chicago. As an exhibition of monumental stupidity and absurdity the San Francisco police are deserving of the first prize. True, in Chicago free speech was prohibited, but such action is perfectly consistent with the functions of authority, a fact which many of our lukewarm radicals have yet to learn. All their talk of free speech and their great indignation against the suppression thereof are to my mind nothing but sentimentality. If they truly believed in free speech they could not at the same time stand for the continuance of government. Free speech means either the unlimited right of expression, or nothing at all. The moment any man or set of men can limit speech, it is

no longer free. The Russian Tsar stands for free speech, which means *his right* to say what he pleases. So do also the American Tsars: they have *their rights* of free speech. But the moment you or I claim the same right, law and authority become indignant at such Anarchist impudence. Let all reformers and radicals realize, once for all, that to love liberty means to become lawless, since freedom and law can never harmonize.

There was at least some consistency in the actions of the Chicago authorities, even though they helped our propaganda tremendously. The meetings in Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Winnepeg, Salt Lake City, etc., would never have been attended by such vast crowds had it not been for that consistency. The San Francisco authorities, however, can claim neither consistency nor ordinary common sense.

No potentate was ever received with greater deference or hospitality. The Chief himself was there, with his staff, in a large automobile, ready to see me safely to the palace of the Police Department; but as I preferred a hotel, the Chief submitted to the caprice of the sovereign and escorted me to the hotel, placing four detectives at my disposal, who had strict instructions to be close, very close at my side during my stay at San Francisco.

When I changed quarters and went to stop with friends, the Chief placed an additional force at my disposal, two mounted officers, to watch the cottage and neighborhood. However, all this care and devotion could not satisfy the zeal of a true subject like Chief Biggey. His heart craved greater manifestations of loyalty; therefore he spent forty-eight hours preparing a parade in honor of the distinguished visitor, probably hoping that the sovereign would review her "faithfuls." One hundred and fifty officers on horseback, in automobiles, on foot, "police to the right of her, police to the left of her, in back of her, and in front of her"; a light brigade heavy in body and mind, but "ready to charge, ready to risk their lives for duty's sake." They protected every meeting, always watchful lest some harm should befall her majesty. What if these devotees exposed themselves to scorn and ridicule, what if they had to listen, listen for the first time, to a voice so

537

840514033

The Emma Goldman Papers

En Route / Emma Goldman. – pp. 132-134 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 3 (May 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

strange, foreign, and jarring to their delicate ears, and hear the truth, the truth, that hateful thing, that will not be silenced or awed, even by the presence of such a force. They stood their ground, these one hundred and fifty, firmly, unflinchingly, unto the very end.

Deeds of love, of kindness,—great, heroic deeds may go down into oblivion in the history of this country, but the deeds of Chief Biggey and his one hundred and fifty men,—never! In years to come a young and free generation will read the story of how Chief Biggey and his hundred and fifty brave souls helped to spread the ideas which paved the way for a free society.

Life's struggles either kill or strengthen the power of human endurance. I hope I will not appear boastful if I say that the difficulties and obstacles and annoyances of the last ten weeks have not diminished my endurance. I am still on deck. The storm is now raging more fiercely than ever and the waves are competing with each other in their mad rush, but our colors are flying as proud and unyielding as ever.

Friends, we have all reason to rejoice that ignorance, brutality, and viciousness have conspired against the spirit of liberty. They have left nothing undone to break her proud neck. They have hounded us, annoyed us, driven us almost to desperation. In their kindness of heart they have even decided that this is not a safe place for us to live; therefore they are going to deport some of us or keep those out who will venture to these hospitable shores. Yet all their attempts have failed, failed miserably. The voice of truth rings more sonorous, more voluminous than ever; it sounds like an approaching thunder, strong, commanding, threatening. Do you see the convulsive efforts of ignorance and brutality? In vain, in vain! The truth, the truth has conquered!

EMMA GOLDMAN

IN 'FRISCO

(Correspondence.)

AS we passed from the arid regions of Utah and Nevada to the green and verdure of the Sacramento Valley, the contrast was no greater than the cold frigidity of the City of the Saints presented to the mellow warmth and single-hearted enthusiasm of the people of 'Frisco. Comrade Emma Goldman was met by 'Frisco's "finest" and was kept under diligent surveillance during her stay in the city. Order was maintained—there was peace—though not the "peace of Warsaw," for ominous murmurs ran through every grade of her large audiences whenever local matters were touched upon. The meetings were tremendously successful, and a very large amount of Anarchist propaganda was accomplished.

The enthusiasm and effectiveness of the work reached their climax on Sunday, April 26th, at the lecture on "Patriotism." Comrade Emma Goldman was at her best, and had her audiences with her to a man—so fervid, so unified, so unmistakable was this "folk" solidarity (and so superior to the State Socialists' mechanical "class consciousness" nonsense), that for the moment I could not help pity the Chief of Police, and sympathize with him in his reported "fear" of Emma Goldman. The following statement was given out, and I insert it in this report as giving a clearer concept of the local situation than any amount of mere description:

"Miss Emma Goldman has been in the City of San Francisco for over a week, and I note with some concern that the cathedrals are as imposing as ever, that the seismograph has given no indication of another earthquake, that the foundation of Walton's Pavilion is still solid, and that the Police Department is still doing business at the same old stand, though in a slightly subdued style. What was the reason that a culpable and subsidized press took it upon itself to take up the trail of Anarchism with such insidious ferocity, such blatant impudence, such unheard-of mendacity? What was the reason that a reformed Police Department took it upon itself to place two hundred or more of its men at the disposal of Miss Goldman, to watch her every move, annoy her, injure her, and who did not hesitate to break

538

890327017

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Wants "No Government" Society / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 28 cm. *In* Common Sense [Los Angeles]. —(May 2, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THERE IS NO ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEORY OF ANARCHY & PRACTICE OF CAPITALISM

You Have Nothing to Lose But Your Chains. Yours to Gain.

COMMON SENSE

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER FOR WORKING MEN

Official Organ of Local Los Angeles Co. Socialist Party of California

Second Year, No. 180 LOS ANGELES, CAL., SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1908 50 Cts. a Year, in Advance

Wants "No Government" Society

Emma Goldman, Noted Woman Anarchist, Seeks to Invert Order of Social Development---Utopia of Individualism.

[illegible] who at [illegible] An [illegible] Sparks [illegible] at Metropolitan [illegible] hand [illegible] ting ex- [illegible] doomed [illegible] to his [illegible] encour- [illegible] attend far- [illegible] ome reading of [illegible] would discover [illegible] ght for in vain in [illegible] n hour or more [illegible] ainst a very ap- [illegible] e of the Eng- [illegible] ishman not only [illegible] understood. [illegible] easy mas- [illegible] ypothesis who is [illegible] ory of the devel- [illegible] ideas, out of the [illegible]. Miss Goldman's [illegible] satisfactory. For [illegible] ved that anarch- [illegible] ism is no vi- [illegible] dream" still [illegible] applied the [illegible] plan in [illegible] in all [illegible]

So it was an easy matter for the speaker by well worn grandstand plays to win the sympathy and applause of her listeners.

Miss Goldman arraigned the present social system, stating that it stands for the oppression and enslavement of mankind. Anarchism, she said, stood for the destruction of this system.

She stated that history was nothing else than a record of the struggle between the individual and the social instincts in man. In their natural forms, she declared, these instincts are not antagonistic.

She cited instances of the high development of the two instincts in the persons of Russell Sage, the miser, and Louise Michel, the altruist. Said Miss Goldman, "Anarchism insists that any society requiring such abnegation and sacrifice on the one hand and promoting such monstrous greed and inhumanity on the other is utterly wrong."

"Anarchism," said the speaker, "is the link which brings into harmony these two elements of individual and social well being."

Majority rule the speaker classed with those factors which had stood in the way of the harmony and proper blending of the two elements of social life.

The nearest the speaker came to solid ground in her trip through the clouds of idealistic vagary was when she explained that the "centralized" system of government was the result of centralization in the methods of production. She, however, steered quickly away from such an earthly doctrine as that of economic determinism by stating merely that this centralization of production and government does not benefit society but that it has destroyed the most important factors that make for social well being.

She waxed eloquent over the fact that all initiative and spontaneity had been crowded out of men and women and that they had become mere hands, with brain as dull as the material with which they work.

But neither here nor elsewhere throughout her discourse did the speaker attempt either to explain the industrial processes which have produced this condition among the workers, or suggest that there was any cause behind social phenomena other than these elemental instincts. Free will, indeed, though not referred to as such, was the utopian fallacy upon which her disjointed propositions were built.

Miss Goldman built out of her abstract ideas of "equality," "justice," a beautiful system of "loosely federated communities of voluntary cooperation for purposes of production."

The main bugaboo of the anarchist is compulsion of any kind. No analogy is drawn between the necessary compulsion in a society made of imperfect human beings and that imposed upon all animal life by Nature herself.

The speaker affected a fine scorn for "governmentalists," referring to all who advocate system and a supposed superior "authority" by which man is to be driven to his task.

Kaspar Bauer will debate with Miss Goldman tonight at Howell Hall, 814 So. Main street, on the question of Socialism vs. Anarchism, which it would well pay those who are still in the logs of utopianism to attend.

W. S. BRADFORD.

No Middle Ground

[illegible] Bar- [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

890413002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Goldman–Bauer Debate / Emma Goldman.– pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* Common Sense [Los Angeles]. –(May 16, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

COMMON SENSE

A WEEKLY MISSIONARY FOR WORKING MEN

Los Angeles Co. Socialist Party of California

LOS ANGELES, CAL., SATURDAY, MAY 16, 1908

50 Cts. a Year, in Advance

Parliament Of The Toilers In Session

Fundamental Principles of Socialism Wrestling With Immediate Demand Issues For Supremacy---An Attempt At Interpretation---No Direct Reports Yet From Delegates---News Items Culled From Press

Perhaps no previous convention has been of such vital importance for the shaping of the political destiny of labor in this country, and for the continued existence of the Socialist Party as a factor.

The giant baby, that had been sitting in the corner, dreaming its dreams and sucking its fingers in wondering expectation, is just trying to get on its feet, and to walk, still with unsteady steps, but with an ever clearer purpose and determined decision to its mind, the purpose and decision to walk, the only way it can walk, and to walk upright.

Only a short while back the monster kid was on its back, or slowly crawling along, a helpless bit of humanity, still disorganized in all its members, and the ailments or even healthy manifestations of the limbs attempted to subordinate the entire as yet unfinished organism to the particular local needs. And so we saw the brain of Wisconsin, the solar plexus of Washington, the farmer heel of Nebraska, the water on the brain of Minnesota, the sore-head of South Dakota, the unity measles of New Jersey, the running sore of Utah, and countless other local ailments at one time or other attempt to occupy the exclusive attention of all other departments of the busy body and of the entire world. In its own mind a little child is the center of the universe, and acts accordingly.

To judge from the reports in the newspapers the baby is just now at a climax of its existence from a combination of teething fever, whooping cough, scarlet fever, diphtheria and publicity sun blisters, but there are hopes that the kid will pull through all right—it has a marvellous vitality.

We draw this parallel in dead earnest, though it may seem funny and farfetched. We speak from the experience for instance with this paper. We receive manuscripts telling us in earnest conviction that unless the Socialist party accepts and advocates the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, it can not win. They are sincere modern apostles, rallying around the "Christian Socialist" of Chicago, Ill. Others tell us in essays that the small farmer is the Alpha and Omega of hope for the Socialist Party, and that if we do not appeal to him first and all, our party is doomed to extinction. Others again want us to drift along patiently wherever the great body of the American Federation of Labor moves almost class instinctively in the line of least resistance, and if we do not drift but want to swim skillfully and with an intelligent purpose, towards a definite final aim, we are called wild-eyed utopians and dreamers. Still others again, brainy fellows on high stilts, almost funny in their pompuousity in challenging the universe, tell us that they are the only righteously anointed Saviors of labor, and that the Socialist Party is doomed to perdition in foul stagnation, corruption and reaction, if the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World are not incorporated flesh, and skin, and all. And then there are those who see the only salvation of the Socialist Party in patching over an effect instead of cutting the root, who advocate prohibition of the liquor traffic instead of abolition of the profit system that creates unnatural cravings in underfed bodies and starved souls.

Just so it seems to be at the national convention of the Socialist Party in Chicago. The delegation of each state is either in toto pledged to one or more "indispensable" issues. And often we see even the spectacle of delegations cut in twain or into more rivaling "indispensable and only" issue advocates. Take California for instance, Japanese exclusion, and anti-A. F. of L. and I. W. W., prohibition and anti, pure and simple woman suffrage and anti, class struggle and anti, Christian and anti. In short, in the delegation of our state all these secondary tendencies are struggling for supremacy over the fundamental issues in common at bottom: overthrow of the capitalist system, abolition of wage slavery, this to be done in a class conscious, level-headed civilized method in political and economic struggles, by organization and education, by an intelligently used ballot that strikes at the root of the evil.

And this multiformity of expression is deceiving to the casual observer and partial reasoner. He will take it as a sign of weakness, of inevitable decay. But he forgets the history of this country of unprecedented individualism, and he overlooks the fact, that the party comparatively in a recent date [illegible] contained hardly any humanity,—except in spots of concentrated production, or for passing immediate demands, or for passing immediate evils of the [illegible] a social revolution, by the [illegible] of the proletariat, that he was part of a social unit. He does not realize that these social instincts are transmuted in partial, or rarely complete class-consciousness, only to that degree to which their individuality is encroached upon by corporations, by those who directly or indirectly step between them and the avenues of their living.

This process of encroachment all along the line, going on in grim silence at a gigantic rate, casting the grey shadows of panic, unemployment, group disintegration into hitherto hardworking but rather unaffected strata of society, is like a nightmare upon everybody, all scramble for an opening. Yet all see first of all their own particular ailment as individuals or as certain groups of individuals, with group interest in common and no consciousness of common interest as yet with all others.

Here it is where the mission of the Socialist Party sets in, where the party must be a true reader of the conditions all over this country, and of the signs of the time, of the trend of the social evolution to lead towards an ultimate social revolution.

Look at little Europe with its manifoldness of Socialist Party expression in the many countries, with its variety of attempts at practical application of socialist principles to present conditions. And yet in spite of all this seeming chaos, apparent contradiction, and seething dissension, we see all along the line united fronts against the powers that be at decisive hours. All these little factions and local differentiations mean nothing more than that the proletariat has to fulfill the mission left unaccomplished by the bourgeoisie before it can fulfill its own mission as a class. But in their present day work of clearing away rubbish and clearing out stumps they keep in their minds ever present the principles of the structure for which they are clearing the ground, and they are guided by party lines, by class lines, though not all may be fully conscious of the fact.

Now if little Europe, of the size of a couple of large counties of a few states, shows such diversity of expression of the awakening social consciousness, and socialism yet thrives and promises to become victorious, have we any reason to be pessimistic in the country of illimited possibilities because we see so many variations of opinions in the delegation for instance of California in which several European countries could be lodged comfortably. Would it not be folly to take one of these side issues and cut it to a national party straight jacket? And is it not scientific not to impose theories but to read the symptoms of the diseased social organism, and then to apply the laws of the life of that organism to remedy the evil?

Will the Socialist Party rise to the true interpretation of all phenomena, and taking in account all details and local differentiations, become the Luther Burbank of politics and economics to deal intelligently, to interfere benevolently with the needs of the sweatshop and factory slaves of the Eastern cities, with the men, women and little children in coal and copper mines, in textile factories, and mills, with the hand of the industrial centers who has no home of his own and with the artisan who vegetates as a cockroach real estate speculator ever anxiously dodging the Damocles sword of mortgages, the blanket stiff of the bonanza farms in Dakota and the small farmer in the grip of a transportation trust, all and every one of these faced by the same conditions that has to be met?

Will the Socialist Party prove not so much the gambling partisan or best man politician, than the needed great educator and creator of a social consciousness and social conscience against which the powers of oppression and darkness will be powerless. Will our chosen men and women be able to grow beyond their hobby and to unite on essentials instead of wasting all their energies on non-essentials second or third in rank and importance? The next few weeks will answer our questions.

In the meantime we quote from the capitalist press:

CHICAGO, May 10—(By Associated Press).—With a whirlwind of oratory, the Socialist Party delegates opened their national convention here today. The first session, which lasted from noon until near evening, developed indications of a clash between urban Socialists and Socialists of the agricultural classes, and already the line of cleavage appears to be sharply drawn.

The issue, according to the tenor of several speeches and addresses by men and women delegates, is whether the Socialist Party shall make a special appeal to the farmers of the country to openly join the ranks of Socialism.

When the convention concluded its day's work the question was still under discussion.

As to the temper of the delegates concerning the presidential nomination, Eugene V. Debs and William D. Haywood, former secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, seemingly are the logical aspirants. The contest between them promises to be close.

The net results of the session were:

A refusal to permit the women delegates to control a majority of the committee on the rights of women, with regard to the Socialist movement, a refusal to name a committee to discuss immigration, and a fight lasting through several ballots on the question of proposed overtures to the farmers and reference of same to a committee of five. The debate and the repeated voting on the last proposition was the significant development of the day.

Representatives of the city membership of the party appeared to be practically unanimous in demanding an appeal to the farmer vote.

New York, Chicago, Milwaukee and other cities voted as a unit in the affirmative. On the other hand, Texas, Oklahoma, and in fact nearly all the distinctly agricultural states, voted against it.

Following the truce on the question, the two-thirds rule of control came up and a spirited debate followed.

Chairman-Secretary Mostserman of the rules committee reported a clause providing that a two-thirds vote should be necessary for the nomination of candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. The debate was scarcely under way when adjournment was taken, and the proposition will be the first order tomorrow.

The credentials committee reported contests over the seating of Delegates McDevitt of California and Goebel of New Jersey.

A provisional committee from the state of Washington also contested the seating of delegates from that state.

In each case the delegates were seated pending further investigation of their credentials.

The rules adopted by the convention provided for the selection of a chairman and secretary each day. Morris Hillquit of New York was named as temporary chairman for today's session, Frank J. Wheat was made temporary secretary. Before the convention proper the delegates assembled at the Garrick theater, where they were welcomed to Chicago by Chicago Socialists. The theater was crowded and many were turned away.

Music was furnished by the United German Societies, the United Scandinavian societies and the Jewish Singing societies. The meeting opened with the singing of the "Marseillaise," in which delegates and visitors joined. C. T. Fraenckel delivered the address of welcome on behalf of the city and he was followed by Morris Hillquit of New York, international secretary of the Socialist movement.

The announcement was made at this meeting that Eugene V. Debs had been detained by sickness in his family.

CHICAGO, May 11.—A lively skirmish occurred today in the Socialist convention over a proposal to make a special appeal to the trades unionists in behalf of Socialist Party principles. While the verbal contest was at its height the Wisconsin delegation threatened to bolt the convention unless it stood by the policy of appealing to the men in the trades unions.

Eventually a committee of seven to consider the situation was ordered appointed.

Indications during the day pointed to a new possibility in the case for the presidential nomination in the person of A. M. Simons of Illinois. Ben Hanford of New York, vice-presidential candidate in 1904, was also discussed informally by the delegates as eligible for the honor.

CHICAGO, May 12.—Delegates to the Socialist—national convention, in session here, made little progress today in the direction of an agreement on policies or candidates. The greater part of the brief session held this afternoon was devoted to arguments by representatives of contesting delegations from western states.

In and out of convention the contest between Eugene V. Debs and William D. Haywood for the presidential nomination was the subject of much discussion, and tonight, with one day intervening before the balloting will probably begin, it was predicted neither would be chosen to lead the Socialist ticket.

A rumor which gained currency during the day that Haywood had withdrawn from the race was vigorously

(Continued on Page 3)

Goldman-Bauer Debate

On Anarchism Versus Socialism—"Artful Dodger" Caught By the Wing and Skillfully Carved By the Wife of Our Managing Editor

That socialism and anarchy as theories of social life are as far apart as the two poles, was the onn point upon which both principals were agreed, in the debate Saturday night, May 2d, at Howell hall on the question of Anarchy vs. Socialism, between Emma Goldman and Kaspar Bauer.

Adherents of these two doctrines chiefly made up the audience, and from the applause which greeted the remarks of the two speakers it was apparent that sentiment was pretty evenly divided.

Though more skillful and vastly more experienced in debate, Miss Goldman was unable to defend her purely idealistic position from the onslaughts of her opponent's scientific argument.

Miss Goldman opened the debate, and from that time to the close Comrade Bauer put her on the defensive and kept the fight wholly within her territory.

The chairman of the evening, Mr. Spading, an anarchists, had referred to the two principals as two different kinds of socialists, or of belonging to two different schools of socialism. Miss Goldman, as the first speaker, set him right on this by stating that socialism and anarchy are as far apart as the poles.

Those acquainted in advance with the temperaments of the two contestants had no reason to expect a tame performance, and in this they were far from disappointed.

Miss Goldman's first point was that humanity is suffering from two evils: first, capitalism, and organized government, which protects capitalism in its robbery of the rights of the individual.

In their desire to abolish capitalism, said the speaker, anarchy and socialism stand on common ground, but that the latter stands for and advocates government and centralization, while anarchy stands for "liberty" and "voluntarism."

Miss Goldman made use of a common trick of the debater who cannot face the issue squarely by attempting to construct straw men for the purpose of knocking them down.

The first bugaboo was the state, and she went to such eminent authority as Marx and Engels themselves in substantiate her in her contention that the socialists believe in the state. If, however, she had been minded to give the audience the benefit of her fuller knowledge on the subject she would have read farther to convince them it was not the class state such as that of capitalism that socialists advocate, and as the manifesto makes plain, and that the manifesto also points out that the "state" according to the present conception, would disappear.

She quoted from Karl Kautsky in his reference to the impracticability of an absolutely equal wage for all work. She also stated that monopoly was only possible because of the force of organized government behind it.

In his first reply Comrade Bauer explained that not ALL of humanity is suffering from capitalism, but the WORKING class. He ridiculed the phrase "anarchist communist," showing how the individualism of the anarchist and the social instinct of communism were incompatible.

Referring to the quotation from the Manifesto, he said that when the movement was young it carried a long string of immediate demands, like the tail of a kite, but that in the process of evolution we had found that we could shorten the tail of the kite and it would fly just as well, even better. He said the state, as the socialist literature referred to it, was not understood by the anarchists—that the class state of the present time was one of oppression but that working man's state would be an entirely different thing.

The liberty of the working man depends upon his ownership of the means of production. He must study these means of production and treat the machine according to its nature in order to get the greatest possible liberty for the individual.

As to an equal wage the socialist stands for an equal opportunity, which

(Continued on Page 3.)

Disciple Revises Warning Voice of Master

TWO LETTERS OF CRITICISM

London, May 12, 1904

The Social Democratic Federation here shares with your German American Socialists the distinction of being the only parties to accomplish the bringing down of the Marxian theory of development to a rigid orthodoxy. According to them, the working man is not to attain to this complete development through an evolution set in operation by his class feeling, but he has to swallow it down immediately as an article of faith and without development. Therefore both remain only sects and come, as Hegel says, from nothing, through nothing, to nothing.

FREDERICK ENGELS.
to F. A. Sorge.

FRIEDENAU, Feb 6, 1908.

Dear Comrades: Gladly I would send you an article to assist in the celebration of the "New York Volkszeitung." But I have not sufficient time. I beg you therefore to be satisfied with a few lines of heartfelt congratulation.

The last celebration of the "New York Volkszeitung" fell just after a glorious electoral victory. And now you celebrate on the eve of an election campaign which promises still more important results. But to me it seems that still more important than probable election victories promises to be the fact that to all appearances at last, at last the ice seems to be broken that weighted down the trades unions of America. That which was started by the Moyer-Haywood trial will apparently be led farther on by the present horrible crisis, which so drastically exposes the fallacy of all revisionist expectations that the trusts were in the field for the special purpose and end to dam the crisis and to regulate the production. For just in the land of the trusts the panic seems to be most terrible. They are not a means to prevent crises, but merely a means by raising of the prices of all products and by keeping down the wages to rob the proletariat of all the fruits which prosperity might have brought to them.

If there is anything to beat into the American workingman dialectics and socialistic viewing of economic facts, it is surely this crisis.

Only one danger I see today for socialism and for the labor movement of America, the danger that by a short-sighted policy of the day they might be opposed into an antagonism to the entire international proletariat, and replace the class struggle by a race struggle. Certainly the immigration of Asiatics threatens American labor with great disadvantages, but it would result in ultimate disaster, should they try to counteract such disadvantages by declaring war upon the Asiatic proletariat instead of supporting all attempts of the proletarians in Japan, China, India to better their miserable condition and to organize.

The unorganized wage worker of eastern Asia remains a dangerous competitor of the American proletariat even if he stays at home, but in his place floods the world market with his products created at cheapest cost.

Only the organization of these cheapest masses of labor can break off the threatening point of their competition. Nothing is more erroneous and more in contradiction to the available facts, than the assertion that Asiatic labor can not be organized. They already are able to show organizations, and it is just from America that those have received their greatest inducement and encouragement in a most promising way.

From the Socialists of America the Socialists of Japan have received their lessons. The aim must be to tie ever stronger bonds between the two. I realize that with the momentary attitude of mind of American labor this is no easy task, and no pleasant task either. It is hardest to withstand and suffer the antagonism of one's own class. Many a man who has calmly and firmly faced unflinchingly persecution and ridicule of opponents, is incapable to resist the public opinion of his own class.

But the "New York Volkszeitung" (with many other American party papers), has proved during the thirty years of its existence, that it always places the fundamental principles of Socialism higher than the successes of the moment; that it appreciates more the lasting interests of the entire proletariat, than the momentary and localized interests of a particular stratum of labor. Your paper is used to struggle against near-sightedness [illegible] international proletariat can leave to your attendance this so difficult and important question. And if there is victory another branch will be added to the laurels won by a brave struggle of thirty years.

May it be given to you to hold many other celebrations of this kind to the spite of the enemies, and to the welfare of the proletariat and with this of humanity.

Pressing your hand, I remain, yours,
KARL KAUTSKY.

In the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of this daily paper of the German-American Socialists.

540

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

89041 4012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Goldman-Bauer Debate / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 3 ; 43 cm. *In* Common Sense [Los Angeles]. – (May 16, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

TITION?

signatures
ion to the
ordinance
r to call a
such ordi-
a vote or

ons city

T PAPER.

a Daily So-
and best
rica. You
it it during

months
ha Chicago
e, both for
the daily.
tles now.

do? I have
ds of
HING
the buyer
at reason-
ND
Angeles, Cal.
tre.

's Cloak & Suit House

ks and Suits made and sold CHEAPER
STORE IN THE CITY
STREET. Near Maple Ave.

For $2.00 | $2.00
will send You
ago Daily Socialist
and
MON SENSE
ONE YEAR
more do you want? | $2.00

OMAS PAINE | Eighteenth Century
as one of the foremost
evolutionists of 1776
MON SENSE"
most important Revolutionary
But that historic pamphlet
s clear a message today as in
If you doubt it, send for the
t "Common Sense" by W. A.
associate editor of this paper.
PRICE 10 CENTS.
MON SENSE PUB. CO., | Twentieth Century
649 SOUTH MAIN STREET
Los Angeles, Cal.

You a Socialist?

hy not patronize home indus-
need PRINTING of some
from
n Sense Publishing Co.
you right and give the right prices
nything you wish printed.
r Shoulder to the Wheel
and Help Push!
ns much toward the "party progress."
Business Promptly Attended to.
Forget the Place and Number,

ORGANIZER RECEIVES DUES.

The organizer is on hand at street meetings, at the reading room during the day and at propaganda meetings. He will issue dues stamps to all comrades applying for them.

The city organizer also has application cards on hand and those who call themselves socialists should carry their convictions to their logical conclusions and make application for membership in the organization which exists for the purpose of advancing the cause they espouse.

GIVE US YOUR PRINTING.

Let every comrade in business bear in mind that Common Sense has a thoroughly up-to-date job plant, equipped with a linotype machine, and that we want your next job of printing, large or small.

The Vanguard

The Best Socialist Monthly.

Do you want the latest thought on socialism for yourself? Do you want the best propaganda for your non-socialist neighbor? Send 50 cents to 344 Sixth street, Milwaukee, Wis., and get the Vanguard for one whole year.

FACTS AND FIGURES

Collected and Condensed by the Man of Leisure For the Man In A Hurry.

L. T. FISHER.

In reading of our public men who have been prominant in the affairs of the nation, it is a notable fact that most of them have ever been ready to aid in their relief of distress, either as public officials or as private citizens. Yet scarcely any of them seem to have discovered that most of the distress has been and still is the result of conditions that in justice ought to be radically changed.

* * *

At the last presidential election nearly a half million socialist votes were cast, yet some forty thousand socialists did the campaign work. Surely, if the friends of socialism will give the matter proper thought, they will get into the ranks and help push things ahead. Our enemy, the exploiters, are thoroughly organized and we must meet them in their own way. We must "fight the devil with fire."

* * *

Distress, as the result of bad economic conditions, is growing more pregnant and widespread, as time passes. Still the same old scramble and grind goes on—more virulent, if anything. The strong persist in pushing the weak into the background. The task seems to grow easier for the shrewd and the greedy to get the best of things; and they compel those who get but little to serve them. There is no possible way for a change for the better except in the absolute overthrow of the present economic system and the adoption of the methods outlined in the program of socialism.

* * *

A fool's rebellion is yet to be inaugurated. It is the fellow with sluggish brain that willingly bends his back to the enforced burden. The taskmaster has generally wielded the bludgeon and the whip; it is the "hired men" who have wielded the pen and the sword—the former have been more or less partially well paid. The latter have ignorantly jeopardized their lives for a pittance. But all that is on the eve of a radical change. The wage slave is getting wiser, and the "good time coming" is already in sight.

* * *

A pitiful remnant of human beings had a reunion a short time since in New York city. They were what was left of the noted Zouaves— or the "red-legged devils," as they were called. This was one of the first regiments to respond to President Lincoln's call for troops. First and last there were 2,400 of them. They are nearly all gone. Those that are left are growing old, grizzled and deaf. Though this regiment numbered 2,400, its roll-call never was more than 600 at a time. General Sherman made no mistake when he said "War is hell."

* * *

The only way to keep men satisfied with their position of servitude is to keep them ignorant. In the ante-bellum days, "dowo sooth," one of the chief tasks of the masters was to peremptorily exclude the schoolmaster—whoever he or she might be. As soon as the negro became intelligent he began to think and investigate. Then he became discontent with his position as chattel slave, and ran away. And they were assisted by many good people who formed the links of the "underground railroad." The infamous "Dred Scott Decision" will forever give those times a prominent place in history. The world is steadily growing wiser. Hence the numerous strikes for better conditions—for liberty. Universal intelligence would quickly bring about universal freedom.

* * *

The socialist cause, as it is presented and advocated today, is the most splendid thing that calls for the admiration and endorsement of the human race. It proposes to abolish want, ignorance, incentive to crime, and everything that tends to suffering or degredation. It calls for an equal share of service from every competent person. It provides for an equal distribution of the products of labor to those who do the service—nothing to the loafer. It guarantees the absolute right to all that will enable each one to make the best of himself. The Socialist Party is the only political organization that ever existed—or ever will exist—that makes such a provision for man.

* * *

The preachers are falling into line. Rev. Dr. Chas. A. Eton, Rockefeller's pastor for many years, was asked this question by four millionaires: "How can we stop this wave of anarchy that is sweeping over the country?" A prompt, sharp answer came at once: "Cease being anarchists yourselves." The preacher then went on to expound philosophic anarchy as presented by Proudhon, in which people were to live ideal lives, without government. Then he referred to the popular idea of anarchy, which is only "cruel, meaningless assassination." This clerical thinker, who has the courage of his convictions, then went on to say that war should not only be waged against these would-be assassins, but especially against "men of whatever degree, who practice that their personal interests constitute the sum total of their duties toward society." Anarchy is individualism. The world is turning to the collective idea—"the greatest good to the greatest number." That is the socialist idea—the co-operative arrangement for the good of all.

* * *

"I find," said Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, "that the great thing in this world is not so much where we stand, as in what direction we are moving." Just now the world movement is the paramount thing to be considered. The superficial aspect is deceiving. Adverse winds sometimes change the course of the stream on the surface, but the normal flow moves steadily along. So in human affairs. They often seem to be going to the bad. But that is only the temporary aspect. A brief historic retrospect makes it quite apparent that the world has grown better. The reactionists are a shallow-minded lot. The student knows better. Today there is a tendency to look more deeply into the economic interests of society. And it is encouraging to know that while the student number is increasing, the investigation is becoming more and more profound and sincere. This is why socialism is growing steadily in favor with honest, thinking people. There is nothing to fear. The intelligent socialist is necessarily an optimist.

* * *

It was Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, if my memory is not at fault, who once said that the punster belongs at the tail-end of the procession of wits. The speech of Rev. Robt. J. Burdette at the recent admiral banquet given in this city is strong confirmation of this view. The reverend gentleman was the chief intellectual jester without the cap and bells. The big fighters, the "leading citizens," and some that were not so leading—but all exploiters of different degree—appeared to enjoy the outgivings of this clerical punster. It was a sort of impromptu mutual admiration society, met for self-glorification. There was a puchback grandeur about the affair that pleased participants. It helped them to forget while they were enjoying their squanderings, an army of starvelings were wandering over this land of plenty.

PARLIAMENT OF THE TOILERS IN SESSION IN CHICAGO.

(Continued from page one.)

denied tonight by Haywood supporters.

Debs was still absent because of illness in his family, but it is thought likely he will appear and take a personal part in the fight before long.

Beside these two men, A. M. Simons of Illinois, Benjamin Hanford of New York and Rev. Carl D. Thompson of Milwaukee are mentioned for the presidential nomination. Rev. Thompson's name, when mentioned in the convention was greeted with enthusiastic cheers.

The committee on platform put in a busy session tonight. The ideas of its members are said to be widely divergent and it is thought a hot fight is brewing over the platform declarations. The matter may come before the convention tomorrow, but it is hardly thought likely that it will be reached before Thursday.

The troubles of the Socialists in the State of Washington monopolized the morning session of the convention. There is a split in the Socialist Party in that state, and two delegations were sent to the convention. The eight delegates of the faction, headed by Dr. Herman F. Titus of Seattle, were seated yesterday, and the convention heaved 219 sighs of relief in the belief that it had settled the Washington dispute. But the defeated faction refused to stay beaten and today the trouble bobbed its head up again through a request that the convention investigate the merits of both sides of the quarrel and pass finally upon the dispute.

CHICAGO, May 15.—Eugene V. Debs of Indiana this morning was nominated for president on the first ballot by the Socialist Party national convention.

CHICAGO, May 15.—Benjamin Hanford of New York was nominated by the socialists for vice president.

Do You Wish To Be

Bored?

Then lets have both arctic and Alaska

BAUER-GOLDMAN DEBATE.

(Continued from page one.)

is far more important.

As to government causing monopoly the exact reverse is true. It is the present economic system, resulting in monopoly, which creates the present form of government.

The anarchists deny the necessity for organization, which means discipline. The anarchists make a hue and cry against the invasion of individual "rights." If the anarchists refuse to attack the capitalist, how is he going to pry him loose? Will he come and say 'Please abdicate in my favor, Mr Capitalist?"

How could a small group of "voluntary associates" operate the modern machinery of production and thereby produce a living?

We believe it is better to count noses than to break heads. When we find by counting our ballots that we have a majority we will simply take over the means of production and free ourselves. If, of course, the capitalist then refuse to abdicate, it will be up to the majority, the working class whose duty it is to organize also industrially, to employ whatever other means that may be necessary to accomplish their will.

Miss Goldman returned to the charge full of fire. She said that not only the working class but also the capitalist class is suffering today, to which Comrade Bauer later retorted, "Ask the capitalist how much he is suffering. Let him tell about his own misery."

Instead of showing how the anarchists propose to oust the capitalist, Miss Goldman confined herself to explaining that the capitalists were the first lawgivers and that all they, the revolutionists, would be doing would be to defend themselves against invasion. She quoted Liebknecht in saying that socialists propose to indemnify the capitalists, whenever such a course would be for the good of the people. To which Bauer retorted that, for that matter, it will not be found to be for the good of the people to indemnify many capitalists when the working class is in power.

Not many new points were brought out in the last speeches. Miss Goldman dwelt mostly on the terrible oppression it would be for the individual to be obliged to work in the time and place dictated by the majority. She seemed to think that it was practicable for each person to dictate for himself when and how he should earn his living. To which Bauer showed how in his own former trade, if the killers and skinners and cleaners, etc., had all come in and worked just when they felt like it, chaos would result. She said so long as we were only changing one despotism for another where was the good in making the change at all. We were exchanging the whip of the Republicans or Democratic boss for that of Mr. Bauer, for instance. Bauer answered easily by reminding her how harshly the Republicans crack the whip over themselves, the Democrats likewise, and suggesting that the same principle would certainly hold good when the people, the workers, themselves held the whip.

Bauer showed that there would be more than a slight difference between the conditions of the workers under capitalism and under a system which would compel from all a few hours of work under pleasant conditions in order to give as much time as possible to each individual to spend exactly as he pleased, much more liberty than he could possibly have under any other method of getting his livelihood.

For instance, he said the wild Indian would be cited by the idealists or anarchists as an example of noble freedom, while as a matter of fact he was the absolute slave to his necessity for just as long a time as it took him to catch his buffalo, after which he was free only so long as his buffalo meat held out. He said that Miss Goldman absolutely denied the materialistic conception of history, and that he had her written statement of ten years ago to hear him out in that, to which Miss Goldman retorted that the statement was absolutely false, as she never denied the "material aspect of life." That was a fair example of the manner in which she eluded points, rather than met them.

It is to be hoped that the many socialists who have been flirting with anarchy, believing it to be a condition to which we will grow when we get good enough, heard this debate in which Miss Goldman showed herself either unconscious of modern economic development or else chose to ignore it and evade it at every turn until her listeners felt inclined to designate her as "the artful dodger."

E. E. B.

SAVE A DOLLAR AT BLANEY'S



Tan Low Shoes
For Ladies

Comrades Lecturing

Santa Barbara, Cal., May 7, 1908.

Jack Wood addressed a good meeting here last night. His listeners were deeply interested while he outlined the socialist program in his characteristic way. The night before he talked to 33 comrades at headquarters, urging upon them the need of cooperative work in the winning of members to the local. He sold considerable literature also.

Santa Maria Cal., May 9, 1908.

Comrade Jack Wood of London, England, has been with us speaking two evening on the street and one in the home of the secretary, on account of heavy wind.

ANNA H SMITH, Secretary.

Arroyo Grande, Cal., May 11, 1908.

Editor Common Sense.

Dear Comrades: We have had the pleasure of entertaining Comrade Jack Wood of your city for two days. He gave us a splendid lecture on Saturday evening and another on Sunday. Good audiences and much interest shown. We all feel greatly encouraged and filled with new enthusiasm for the cause. He goes from here to Cambria to strengthen the weak members and gain new recruits.

Yours for the cause.

(Mrs.) LUCY G. HULETT, Sec.

Orange, Cal., May 7, 1908.

Editor Common Sense.

Comrades:

A free painless dentistry show,
A moving picture show,
A Methodist revival and
A Fraternal Brotherhood banquet.

The above quartette was what Comrade W. V. Holloway was up against when he spoke here in Unity Hall last evening. However we had a fair audience, good collection, and all were well pleased with his able address and insist that we must have him here again when we can get him a larger crowd.

Yours for the cause,

W. H. WRIGHT.

N. B.—Rev. T. H. Leavitte of Watts will deliver an address here next Sunday at 3 p. m., subject, "Socialism, the True Gospel."

Riverside, Cal., May 11, 1908

Common Sense, Los Angeles, Cal

Dear Editor: Comrade W. V. Holloway took Riverside by storm yesterday and carried the most of the people's hearts away with him. We held a meeting at 5 p. m. on the street and he gathered, from 12 to start with, a crowd of 150 people and held them spellbound for over an hour. Not many socialists were out, but the crowd was composed of some of the best citizens of the town. Now if we can have more speakers like Holloway we will make socialists fast. Then in the evening at 7:30 p. m. we had a meeting at the Universalist church, a discussion of the subject, "Are Present Economic Conditions Conducive to Morality." Well, the minister of this church has been having meetings (or rather trying to) to discuss Bible questions, but the meetings dwindled away to nothing, and he had abandoned them. But we got him to start them again along this line. Last evening was the first one, and the house was packed. Holloway spoke the five-minute limit and tried to quit (through courtesy) but the minister wanted him to continue, which he did and treated the subject in a most able and convincing manner. Ten or twelve talked in the meeting, but all were agreed, including the minister, except two gray-haired gentlemen, who differed with us about men becoming down and out because they didn't SAVE their money—old, rich fellows, who made their money to start with twenty-five years ago. We are arousing quite a lot of interest in socialism here in this town. We are getting a socialist play staged here now soon, and think it will be a great boost for the cause, and wish the comrades would take the matter up in their towns. You can easily get a theater to stage them for you if you agree to go out and sell tickets to your friends. They are in for the money, you know, and had as soon make it from a socialist play as any other. Julius Hopp, 415 West 30th street, New York City, is the man to write to in regard to socialist plays. He is publishing a magazine called the Socialist theater; it is 10 cents; would pay any of you to write for it, as the stage is one of the best mediums of reaching the public with any message. Hope you will take the matter up; hope also that the circuit speakers will take this matter up and tell the comrades all around what we are doing and how it will help the cause. Pardon my long letter.

J. M. BOYD.

713 Lemon St., Riverside, Cal.

Editor—Please don't fail to mail me a copy of paper this is in. BOYD.

Am not a subscriber.

(You ought to be!—Ed.)

Chas. Theisen

Musician and Teacher of Music

Manager of the Socialist Propaganda Orchestra

String and Brass Music furnished for all occasions at "Common Sense" prices.

5344 Estrella Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.

Buy your

GAS MANTLES AND GAS FIXTURES

at the

Frush's Incandescent Gas Light Works

649 South Main Street

541

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890206013

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Wood Denounces Y.M.C.A. Directors / Emma Goldman. – p. 12 ; 43 cm. *In* The Morning Oregonian [Portland]. –(May 25, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

WOOD DENOUNCES Y.M.C.A. DIRECTORS

Grills Them for Refusing to Rent Auditorium to Anarchists.

HIS WORDS ARE VITRIOLIC

Savage Attack Made While Introducing Emma Goldman, Who Speaks on Need for Individual Liberty.

Directors of the Portland Y. M. C. A. were censured yesterday in vigorous language by C. E. S. Wood for their refusal to permit Emma Goldman, high priestess of anarchy, to deliver her lectures in their auditorium. The criticism was delivered by Mr. Wood in connection with his introduction of Miss Goldman to an audience of 600 people in Merrill's hall yesterday afternoon. Mr. Wood spoke for 25 minutes and in referring to the difficulty Miss Goldman's followers had experienced in securing a hall for her meetings in this city declared the attitude of the general public towards the lecturer was due to "illiberal and bigoted ignorance." Speaking directly of the action of the Y. M. C. A. directors in causing the cancellation of the contract for the use of their building by Miss Goldman he said:

"This action was taken by the directors who were ignorant of what Miss Goldman would say in her lectures. They did not know what she would say and they did not care, otherwise they would have abandoned their golf links and other places of amusement to come here this afternoon and hear for themselves the message she had to give. But I dare say none of them are here.

Calls Them Easy Christians.

"I have no doubt that a majority of the young men in the Y. M. C. A. are Christians because Christianity is popular and because Christianity is easy. I also doubt seriously that the directors in this institution would have enlisted in the cause of Christianity at a time when in doing so they would be in danger of being bound to the faggot pile.

"Anarchism and What It Really Stands For," was the subject of Miss Goldman's lecture yesterday afternoon. Last night in the same hall she gave a continuation of the afternoon lecture, discussing more specifically the plan and method by which anarchists would place their theory in operation.

"Anarchism stands for the destruction of government," said Miss Goldman in defining her doctrine. "It stands for the destruction of the institutions that have robbed man of his right to live and to enjoy the fruits of his labor. The immediate evil is an economic one and its solution must be an individual and an economic one. The individual and social instincts are never antagonistic to each other and if they are brought into antagonism it is only because the conditions of society are such that the interests of the few are not the interests of the many, as they are.

Education System Wrong.

"It was charged by the lecturer that the present day education tends further to divide society into two classes, masters and slaves, while true education, as viewed by the anarchist, can be acquired only in real life and consists of a knowledge of self, a knowledge of one's proper place in society and a knowledge of one's relation to his fellowman. The centralized method of production was criticised because it degraded man to a mere particle of machinery, robbed him of his personality and initiative and made him the victim of the system and not the system subservient to the human being."

The simultaneous overthrow of centralized production, capitalism and government must be effected before the principles of anarchism can be put into operation. Less government was conducive to greater development, said Miss Goldman, who argued that crime is increasing in the United States. Nine of every ten crimes, it was alleged, are due to the present economic conditions and would be done away with under anarchism and its teachings. Government and organized authority, asserted the lecturer, had failed to bring about less crime, failed to contribute to better conditions in society, had made man no better or nobler and had served still further to separate society into two distinct classes. Based on scientific and philosophical grounds anarchism was recommended as the sole solution.

into shape and was released at his own request.

* * *

Frank Dillon is having a fine time with his legs. He was forced to retire in one of the Seal games. In spite of this the Los Lobos won.

* * *

H. I. Wilson, part owner of the Butte race track, has sold his track mare Gemmel to William Walker for $500. Gemmel won about $8000 for Wilson at Emeryville. Gemmel's first race for Walker's colors was a sad affair.

* * *

Rube Waddell is a real outlaw again. He had a row with Manager McAleer and jumped to the Philadelphia club of the Union League.

* * *

Judge McCredie is going to break up the habit of the sun gods of sitting on the railings in the bleachers. He has instructed a carpenter to tear off the railing and will put up a plank just high enough to keep people from falling off.

* * *

Wright, Eagan and Hogan pulled off a snappy double play yesterday. The pinch hitting business hurt our chance badly.

* * *

Once more Jack O'Connell will grace Portland with his presence. Jack has many friends who will be glad to renew acquaintance. Bull Perrine went South with Oakland.

* * *

Catcher Slattery is sure the luckiest kid. He has a long black account and doesn't care whether he pays half or not. His thick smear of finance makes him a hard player to manage.

* * *

That boy Ryan made a sensational catch of Van Haltren's fine liner in the sixth



C. E. S. Wood, Who Denounced Y. M. C. A. for Refusing Chapel to Emma Goldman.

if there were any [illegible] who admire [illegible] exceptionally good [illegible] for he certainly [illegible] and Re[illegible]

NATIONAL LEAGUE.

	W.	L.	P.C.
[illegible]			
Philadelphia			
Pittsburg			
Boston			
Chicago			
New York			
Brooklyn			
St. Louis			

St. Louis 6, Philadelphia 1

[illegible] May 25. [illegible] opening game of [illegible] St. Louis [illegible]

	R.	H.	E.
St. Louis	6	6	1
Philadelphia	1	4	2

Batteries—Raymond, McGinnity and Ludwig; Stone, Moore and Jacklitsch. Umpires—Rudderham and Emslie.

Chicago 4, New York 0

CHICAGO, May 25.—New York turned two of Evers' errors into runs, one of the locals' three hits into one by timely hitting. Taylor gave way to the ninth and was [illegible]

	R.	H.	E.
Chicago	4	[illegible]	[illegible]

Batteries—Taylor, [illegible] and Kling; McGinnity and Bresnahan. Umpires—O'Day and Emslie.

Cincinnati 0, Brooklyn 2

CINCINNATI, May 25.—Errors by Lobert and Hulswitt in the first inning gave the Brooklyns the only [illegible] they scored. Score:

	R.	H.	E.
Cincinnati	0	5	2
[illegible]			

Batteries—Fraser, [illegible] and Bergen; Lafitte, [illegible] and Bergen. Umpires—[illegible] and Rigler.

OAKLAND TAKES LAST OF SERIES

Beavers Are Shut Out Because They Can't Bunch Hits on Wright.

GREAT CROWD SEES GAME

Paid Admissions Number 5155, and Specialors Overflow Bleachers Onto Field—Errors Contribute to the Score of the Visitors.

PACIFIC COAST LEAGUE.

Yesterday's Results.

Oakland 4, Portland 0.
Los Angeles 6-1, San Francisco 1-0.

Standing of the Clubs.

CLUBS	W.	L.	Portland	Oakland	L. A.	San F.	Per Cent.
Los Angeles		9	8	9	21		525
San Francisco	3		12	9	24		333
Portland	7	8		5	19		[illegible]
Oakland	11	5	4		19		442
Total		13	22	19	73	83	

BY WILL G. MACRAE.

Now didn't those plausible Athenians do us for the opening battle of the series yesterday afternoon, but handed us through the splendid endeavor of the red M. Wright, a collection of goose eggs that would not hatch under any hen yet invented for anything that resembled runs. At that, there's no use expecting to win on all [illegible] while that [illegible] backward we received hurt [illegible] good baseball tossed [illegible] stay to satisfy the [illegible] of Portland's [illegible] and chivalry that rambled the [illegible] the grandstand was [illegible] stuck with people as a hog in a rug and the overflow from the land of bleachers found standing room behind the ropes in the field.

There was a thing wrong with the way the crowd was handled yesterday. Judge McCredie had a rope stretched and took time by the proverbial forelock and had a number of handy policemen on tap to [illegible] the eager ones back out of [illegible] of fair. At that, if the crowd hadn't [illegible] so thick around Bassett [illegible] two double-headers would not have dragged so prominently in Oakland's running for with the people [illegible] who Bassey would have got at least [illegible] of the long swipes.

No, the loss of the game didn't [illegible] much until we returned to the city and learned that Los Angeles had taken the double header from the Seals. Had we captured the Sabbath matinee, Portland would have been at the top of the procession. Wouldn't that rasp you?

Not Bud Perrill's Fault.

Not [illegible] Bud Perrill [illegible] a single run. He was a factor [illegible] was [illegible] but [illegible] pitching work [illegible] was Mr. Wright. He held Manager Mack's pill pounders lashed to the mast. The Portland hitters managed [illegible] Mr. Wright for five singles and [illegible] but try as McCredie's [illegible] could they cluster [illegible] Wright off Mr. Wright. The Oakland leader wasn't giving a donation party, and while it wasn't a bit nice of him, we withhold our anger.

Heitmuller wielded his wagon tongue in the fourth after Rip Van Haltren had [illegible] Bassey made a nice endeavor but the drive had Heiny's beef and brawn behind it and it scarred the paint off the fence. Eagan's out to Danzig advanced Heitmuller to third, and he scored when Hogan scratched a hit between [illegible] and second. Hogan tried to take liberties with Bert Whalen's wing and was caught at second. Several other attempts of the same sort with the same result made them respect Whalen and had some peace [illegible] the rest of the game.

Oakland's second run was a gift. Perrill [illegible] Cook on four wide ones. A fruitless effort to head off things put Haley and Slattery on the pegs. Mr. Wright lifted one to Raffery and Cook scored. Jimmy South put the bunch in [illegible] with a poke to Pernoll. Bud whipped the ball to Whalen and the fire drew Haley off third and he was run down. Whalen to Johnson.

Gets Slattery and Completes Double.



THE ST[illegible]
drink it from [illegible]
who suffer lea[illegible]
When one[illegible]
The barle[illegible]
alcohol is an [illegible]
The prop[illegible]
good for the w[illegible]
comes through[illegible]
But a bee[illegible]
be well aged,[illegible]
That is w[illegible]
the necessary [illegible]
And we age t[illegible]
It gives y[illegible]

Schl[illegible]

cided after the first inning when the Southerners scored three runs and followed their lead in the fifth, when a run was scored and two more in the seventh inning.

The afternoon game, which lasted 11 innings, was a pitchers' battle between Gray and Willis. Los Angeles scored the only run in the last inning. The score:

Morning Game.

LOS ANGELES

	A.B.	R.	H.	P.O.	A.	E.
Oakes, cf	2	1	0	2	1	0
Wheeler, 2b	3	1	1	0	4	1
[illegible]	4	1	1	0	0	0
Brashear, rf	4	1	4	4	0	0
Smith, ss	4	1	1	1	2	0
Ellis, lf	3	1	0	3	0	0
Delmas, ss	4	0	2	1	5	0
Hogan, c	3	0	0	2	4	0
Neale, p	4	0	0	0	1	0
Total	33	6	9	27	17	1

SAN FRANCISCO

	A.B.	R.	H.	P.O.	A.	E.
Hildebrand, lf	4	0	1	3	0	0
Mohler, 2b	3	0	0	1	3	1
Williams, 1b	4	0	1	8	0	0
Melchoir, rf	4	0	1	1	0	0
Zeider, ss	4	0	1	1	1	0
Piper, cf	4	0	0	2	0	0
McAuliffe, 3b	4	0	1	3	1	0
Berry, c	2	0	0	5	2	0
Hutt, p	3	0	0	0	4	0
Total	30	0	5	24	11	1

THE SCORE BY INNINGS

542

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890206013

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Wood Denounces Y.M.C.A. Directors / Emma Goldman. – p. 12 ; 43 cm. *In* The Morning Oregonian [Portland]. –(May 25, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

who were ignorant of what Miss Goldman would say in her lectures. They did not know what she would say and they did not care, otherwise they would have abandoned their golf links and other places of amusement to come here this afternoon and hear for themselves the message she had to give. But I dare say none of them are here.

Calls Them Easy Christians.

"I have no doubt that a majority of the young men in the Y. M. C. A. are Christians because Christianity is popular and because Christianity is easy. I also doubt seriously that the directors in this institution would have enlisted in the cause of Christianity at a time when in doing so they would be in danger of being bound to the faggot-pile."

"Anarchism and What It Really Stands For," was the subject of Miss Goldman's lecture yesterday afternoon. Last night in the same hall she gave a continuation of the afternoon lecture, discussing more specifically the plan and method by which anarchists would place their theory in operation.

"Anarchism stands for the destruction of government," said Miss Goldman in defining her doctrine. "It stands for the destruction of the institutions that have robbed man of his right to live and to enjoy the fruits of his labor. The immediate evil is an economic one and its solution must be an individual and an economic one. The individual and social instincts are never antagonistic to each other and if they are brought into antagonism it is only because the conditions of society are such that the interests of the few [illegible] interests of the many, or vice versa."

Education System Wrong.

It was charged by the lecturer that the present day education tends further to divide society into two classes, masters and slaves, while true education, as viewed by the anarchist, can be acquired only in real life and consists of a knowledge of self, a knowledge of one's proper place in society and a knowledge of one's relation to his fellowman. The centralized method of production was criticized because it "degraded man to a mere particle of machinery, robbed him of his personality and initiative and made him the victim of the system and not the system subservient to the human being."

The simultaneous overthrow of centralized production, capitalism and government must be effected before the philosophy of anarchism can be put into operation. Less government was conducive to great development, said Miss Goldman, who argued that crime is increasing in the United States. Nine of every ten crimes, it was alleged, are due to the present economic conditions and would be done away with under anarchism and its teachings. Government and organized authority asserted the lecturer, had failed to [illegible] Illinois in some [illegible] to more money and [illegible] separate society into [illegible] Based on selfishness and [illegible] principle and [illegible] as the [illegible]

Miss Goldman will deliver [illegible] lectures [illegible] speaking at 8 o'clock tonight, Tuesday and Wednesday nights.

"The Relation of Anarchism to Trades Unionism" will be the subject of Miss Goldman's lecture at Alaska Hall tonight. "The Prison-Night at Mc-Clellan's Hall" will be the most revolutionary lecture which she will deliver in Portland. An admission fee of 25 cents will be charged to cover expenses, but ladies and soldiers in uniform will be admitted free. Tickets may be obtained at the office of the hall. Tomorrow night Miss Goldman will lecture on "The Social Significance of Modern Drama." Wednesday night she will speak on "Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal." Thursday night she will lecture on "The Psychology of Political Violence in Its Relation to Anarchism." Friday night she will speak on "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation." Saturday night she will lecture on "The Hypocrisy of Puritanism." Sunday night she will speak on "The Drama of Modern Life." Monday night she will lecture on "The Individual, Society and the State." Tuesday night she will speak on "The Spirit of the Modern Drama."

Chit-Chat of Sporting World

A WHITE WASH is looking good to Bill Lange. Introducing the Kaiser of baseball to Portland fans at Vaughn street park.

• • •

The New York Giant management has offered [illegible] St. Louis Cardinal $5000 for Pitcher Raymond. The Cardinals [illegible] Raymond the [illegible] and [illegible] Reveral.

• • •

According to a New York ghost [illegible] a native of Gotland [illegible] ever after losing [illegible] come a prize fighter any day now.

• • •

The howl, "Let us alone," may or may not be effective. It all depends upon who "us" is. Just now the Scots are hollering "Let us alone," but Portland is deaf to the plea.

• • •

We said at the time that the airship company's date of sailing, April 1, would be a fool's joke.

• • •

Danny Long has dropped Chief Enola. The big policeman had trouble getting



C. E. S. Wood, Who Denounced Y. M. C. A. for Refusing Chapel to Emma Goldman.

[illegible] If there is any right fielder in the league who can cover more ground than the exceptionally good player we've been looking for he can hang it on Melchoir. He's there and He knows it.

NATIONAL LEAGUE.

	Won	Lost	P.C.
Chicago	18	5	.667
Philadelphia	15	9	.556
Pittsburg	13	9	.591
Boston	10	13	.435
Cincinnati	14	14	.500
New York	14	15	.483
Brooklyn	14	15	.483
St. Louis	11	17	.393

St. Louis 11, Philadelphia 1.

ST. LOUIS, May [illegible]. Eppa's [illegible] for [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

890206017

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Too Large an Army Now / Emma Goldman. – p. 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The Morning Oregonian [Portland]. –(May 27, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

...VES OF NERVE

...k House on Morrison ...et in Broad Daylight.

...PAYS NO ATTENTION

...mcone Come In, but Thinks ...Belong There, and Goes ...eaving Thieves in Posses- ...—Cullin Heavy Loser.

...ylight burglars committed a ... robbery yesterday afternoon ...he hours of 2.30 and 3 o'clock ...idence of Mr. and Mrs. Thom... 453 Morrison street and se... $500 worth of loot in jew... clothing. The robbers made ...ance to the house while Mrs ...ho was at home, gave them ...thinking the noise they made ...ed by another member of the ... They got away half an hour ...er having completely ran... house, and carried off their ... in two suitcases. They were ... domestic employed in the ... the family living next door. ...leisurely exit failed to excite ...rion.

...oldness and coolness with ... crime was committed has ... the police, to whom the mat... immediately reported, and who ...ng every effort to locate the ...whom they were given an ac... description.

Mr. and Mrs. Culler, whose ... jewelry and silverware will ...ate $200, the principal victim ...eft was Harry School, a Mor... ...et merchant, who has a room ...use, and who, in jewelry and ... sustained a loss which lies ...tween $300 and $400. F. Wil... G. Ran & Co., and Miss ...chanan, also roomers at the ...silence, were robbed, but the ...aken from their rooms were of ...alue.

...bery was discovered by Mrs ...ho returned home about 4:30 ... find all the doors wide open ...ooms showing evidence of hav... thoroughly ransacked. She had ...ouse at 2:30 o'clock after hav... what she supposed to be one ...household enter the front door. ...ater developed that she at the ... been the only occupant of the ... the noise she had heard had ...t of the burglars coming in ...e in Mr. School's room, with ... closed, when, thinking that all ... in the house, she departed, ...em in possession. Half an hour ... departure the thieves were ...ave.

... the men is described as a tall ...an of dark complexion, slender ... clean shaven, dressed in dark ... The other is described as a ...ter man of about 150 pounds in ...ight complexion, also clean ...nd dressed in a brown suit. ... is attached to a stranger who ...or a room at this house five or ... previous to the robbery. He ...hout baggage and succeeded in ...e entire house and getting a ... idea of its arrangement. The ... was effected by cutting a hole ...he glass in the front door large ...to permit the introduction of ...r's hand. By this means he ...d the latch and unlocked the ...

...e Vaudeville Theaters

Marquam.

...LMAN E. ADAMS, of the Port... Police Department, went to the ... show at the Marquam Grand ...last night equipped with a pat... ...raight jacket. It was the one ... Sheriff Stevens at the County ...l officer Adams and several ...fficers intended calling the bluff ...at he can slip any device ever ... The big audience was at a ...h of excitement when the well... officer strapped the jacket on ... lacing and locking it so tight ... could hardly breath.

... time it appeared as if Harden ... against a losing game. Officer ...sisted that he work on the open ... When Harden asked for a chair, ...fused him. For ten minutes he ... and twisted, tugged and pulled, ...ompanions and tied himself in ...ock by lock, buckle by buckle ...e fell away, and in the end ...t sent it aside and stood free.

George Barnes and Irene West in grotesque dancing are good, but they ought to keep still for their jokes were written by the well-known humorist, Noah, back in ark days. Jean Wilson sings a new illustrated song with his usual charm and the biograph has a lively comedy dealing with the adventures of a bridal couple.

Grand.

THE show this week runs largely to acrobats, as the two acts of this nature prove to be the features of the programme. The one which attracts the greatest attention, largely because of its novelty and the unexpected surprise at its close, is that presented by Potter and Hartwell. They term their stunt "The Man With Two Heads," and that describes it as well as any other perhaps. There is no use trying to describe it except to say that the performance is at all times skillful and occasionally excruciatingly funny.

The other big number on the bill is supplied by the Seven Samoys a troupe of April acrobats whose pyramid work is exceptionally good. Fred G. Bauer, the illustrated balladist, sings the popular song "As Long as the World Rolls On" in good voice. Marks, Hart and Lamarr present a decidedly amusing comedy skit of New England life called "Uncle's Visit." The majority of the audience took to it greedily and showed the performers to the echo. Harry Holman, billed as a blackface comedian in an act called "The Man in Red," failed to appear, or else altered his act at the eleventh hour and gave a "straight" monologue. The blackface act would probably be a considerable improvement. Lawrence and Harrington contributed a tough boy and girl act which seemed to be quite satisfactory to most of those present.

The moving pictures representing a trip through the infernal regions and to the bottom of the sea were interesting and very well received. While the entire bill is not the best that the Grand has offered in recent weeks, it is in the main quite creditable and shows a desire on the part of the management to provide the patrons of the Grand with the best goods in the entertainment line that can be secured. There will be the usual daily matinee and night performances during the entire week.

BANQUET OF COUNTY BAR

ASSOCIATION DINES AT THE COMMERCIAL CLUB.

Judge Williams and Others Speak at Dinner Attended by 80 Members and Guests.

Judge Williams requested that he be not called upon to address the Multnomah County Bar Association last night, but when the regular programme was ended there was such an insistent call for him that he rose and spoke in vigorous style against the proposed legislation in Congress to take away the power of issuing injunctions by courts of equity.

"I am," said Judge Williams, "as you all are aware, an admirer and supporter of the present administration at Washington. I cannot, however, agree with the President when he advocates taking away from the courts one of the functions imposed upon them by law. I deplore the tendency of the times to destroy the confidence the people have in our courts. What are we to do? Shall the courts of the land be conducted under the dictation of the rabble? Are Samuel Gompers and his followers to dictate what judges may and may not do?"

The occasion was the monthly meeting of the Bar Association at the Commercial Club and was preceded by a banquet. Judge Lionel R. Webster acted as toastmaster and the responses were made by Judge Thomas A. McBride on "Legal Reminiscences, Pious Reflections and Pointless Parables"; Judge Thomas O'Day, "The Judiciary"; Judge E. C. Bronaugh, "The Lawyer's Silent Partner"; Robert G. Morrow, "The Syllabi"; Assistant City Attorney Tomlinson (for Judge Cameron), "Observations from the Police Court." John Manning was also on the programme, but was unable to be present. The subject assigned him was "Criminal Practice."

Tracy Becker, of New York, and Judge Pipes were called upon and responded briefly. The meeting was the first to be held under a departure from the usual order and is to be followed with others of like nature, in an effort to have the bar take renewed interest in the association.

The meeting was held in the small banquet-room adjoining the club office and was attended by about 80 members and guests.

Last Honors to Francois Coppee.

PARIS, May 26. – At the funeral today of the late Francois Coppee, all classes

TOO LARGE AN ARMY NOW

EMMA GOLDMAN TALKS ON "PATRIOTISM."

Arraigns General Funston and Army Officials for Court-Martialing Man Who Shakes Her Hand.

The spacious hall in the Merrill building was fairly well filled last night by a crowd of curious ones who assembled to hear Emma Goldman deliver her widely heralded address on "Patriotism." Many who expected a fierce tirade against the Government were only partially satisfied for the remarks of the high priestess of anarchy were quite moderate.

In the course of her address she took occasion to berate the United States Army and the Government officials roundly for having tried and sentenced an enlisted man at San Francisco to five years in a military prison for having, as she termed it, "merely shaken hands with me" at the conclusion of one of her lectures at San Francisco. According to Miss Goldman, the United States Government is to be compared with the tyranny of Russia in this instance. "The citizens of this United States of America can no longer point the finger of shame at Russia, Germany and other European governments propped up by aggressive militarism," said the woman advocate of anarchism.

Continuing along this line Miss Goldman said: "This man, mind you, an enlisted man in the service of the United States Army, and who had put in 15 years of his life in the service, was condemned by court martial to serve five years for having shaken hands with me after one of my lectures. He did not state that he believed in the doctrines I advocate, but merely did as many of you here in Portland have done: congratulated me on presenting my line of argument in favor of the doctrine of anarchism. Yet for this act he was sentenced to serve five years in prison. General Funston has commuted this to three years, and no doubt General Funston is a good, upright, honest American citizen. He probably goes to church every Sunday, and while there studies out new plans for killing people on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. I tell you, brothers and sisters, we have too much militarism in this country today and the time is coming when the cry for a standing army will be overwhelmingly rejected. We have too large an Army and Navy now, and do not want any more soldiers for the Government to repeat the scenes enacted under General Bell and his troops in Colorado."

During her remarks Miss Goldman was frequently interrupted by applause, which came principally from a few of her fellow anarchists scattered throughout the audience. In conclusion she stated that patriotism was a mistaken idea as prevalent in this country today and that anarchism taught the only genuine style of patriotism extant.

Tonight Miss Goldman will deliver her farewell address in this city at Allisky Hall.

ONE CONCERT TO WAGNER

Venture of Damrosch Programme Meets With Approval.

The announcement that Walter Damrosch and his incomparable New York Symphony Orchestra will give one programme devoted exclusively to the works of Wagner has aroused a tremendous amount of interest and enthusiasm here. The three concerts to be given next Wednesday and Thursday, afternoon and evening, at the Armory, are the musical and social events of the week. The Wagner programme, to be rendered Thursday evening, was given in San Francisco to an enormous crowd, where the papers referred to it as "the perfection of orchestra work," and said, too, "The Wagner programme delights hearers."

Last night the orchestra opened its Northwest tour in Seattle at the Moore Theater, and every one of the 2200 seats was taken, while standing room was at a premium. There was a magnificent house, socially regarded, for [illegible] of the first officers were entertained by the City of Seattle, and all of the boxes were taken by prominent society people who were entertaining their friends among the officers. The coming concerts here will draw enormous crowds, the out-of-town demand being the heaviest ever known. The three concerts here are under the direction of Lois Steers-Wynn Coman, and the seat sale opens Thursday morning at 10 o'clock.

FRINGE TREE IN BLOOM

Rare Foliage and Flowers to Be Seen



THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY

JOHN MANNING INDORSED BY THE PORTLAND MUNICIPAL ASSOCIATION.

District Attorney John Manning has been indorsed by the Portland Municipal Association. This action, upon the part of an organization having for its purpose the improvement of the public morals, was taken in recognition of Mr. Manning's stand for civic reform. These specific acts which he has done, and which have resulted in making Portland a better city in which to live, are familiar to the voters of this county. It is generally admitted that the laws have never been more uniformly enforced, the innocent more securely protected, and the guilty more surely punished than during Mr. Manning's incumbency of the District Attorney's office.

The people know where Mr. Manning stands, and now is the time for the people to sustain a public servant who has made good.

at it from the sidewalk on Fourteenth street. The bloom endures less than a fortnight and will likely be at its full by next Sunday.

CLOTHING SALE.

All our brand new, highest-grade men's clothing a few days only:

$35.00 suits $23.75
$30.00 suits $20.00
$27.50 suits $19.75
$25.00 suits $18.75

Blacks and blues, too. Hewett, Bradley & Co., 344 Washington.

WHERE TO DINE.

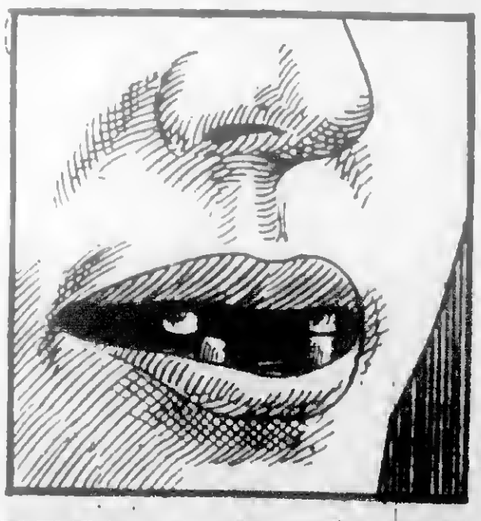
All the delicacies of the season at the Portland Restaurant; fine private apartments for ladies, 305 Wash., near 5th.

Hall's new restaurant, 330 Washington street, now open for business.

TONSETH FLORAL COMPANY

123 6th st. Flowers and plants. Phones Main 5102; A 1102.

The family wealth in Dutch Guiana is put into jewelry, which the wife wears.



TEETH WITH OR WITHOUT PLATES

OUT-OF-TOWN PEOPLE

We can do your entire Crown, Bridge and Plate Work in a day if necessary. Positively Painless Extracting Free when plates or bridges are ordered. Sensitive teeth and roots removed without the least pain. Ten chairs. Only the most scientific and careful work.

20 YEARS IN PORTLAND.

W. A. WISE AND ASSOCIATES
Painless Dentists.
Failing Bldg.,
Third and Washington Streets.
8 A. M. to 8 P. M.; Sundays, 9 to 12.
Painless Extraction, 50c; Plates, $5.00.
Both Phones, A and Main 2029.

Slightly Used, High Grade

THIS WE...

In...

In our wind... pieces chose... tables in th... a solid carl... needed busi... for they are... and mahog... extraordina...

J. G...

... the ch...

BUT W...

the largest s...

No dead wei...

No delays.

No trouble.

Railroad wrecks

They are...

The Por...
Store No. 1...
Store No. 2...
Store No. 3...

544

840514034

The Emma Goldman Papers

En Route / Emma Goldman. – pp. 189-190 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 4 (June, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

thing like a unified movement based on logical necessity is not in evidence in Denver.

Here and there are individuals who, freed from all superstitions and illogical mental processes, have worked out a clear and sane Anarchistic philosophy. They are well-read and mentally able men and women. It is to these individuals, then, that the radical new-comer would naturally turn for support and co-operation in forming a "movement." Here again he is doomed to disappointment. What are these individuals *doing?* Nothing, practically nothing!

Whenever the subject of arranging meetings for an Anarchist lecturer is broached to them, whenever it is suggested to form classes in economies, or to establish a club for scientific study, the would-be organizer is met with indifference and discouragement. These individuals are either too lazy or too cowardly, or too small and short-sighted to exert themselves to arouse an interest in a movement for social and economie freedom.

There is more or less activity among the Jewish Radicals on the West Side of Denver. They can usually be relied upon to lend moral and financial support when called upon. But it is of the American Radicals I write. And it is because I believe the Colorado English-speaking Anarchist is typical of the American Radical everywhere that I cite him as illustrative of indifference and supreme and narrow egotism.

If such is the case, then what is the Radical worker to do? First of all he must attempt to grasp the viewpoint of the American mind. He must study the ideals, the motives and desires of the so-called "native" American. It is useless to try to change the American attitude toward life and values, however much one may deplore it as narrow, hypocritical, and egotistical. It is folly to try to instill humanitarian impulses into the American. He is essentially egoistic. Whatever he does or believes, his actions and beliefs are always the result of mathematical calculation and personal gain. "Is it worth the price?" is the question ever uppermost in his mind. He always counts the cost.

All this is in strange and pitiable contrast to the Russian temperament. And yet, I repeat, it is worse than useless to try to Russianize the American mind.

If there is to be an American movement for social freedom it will have to express itself along the lines of the American temperament and genius. And if such a movement is incongruous and impossible, then, with a few lone exceptions, the work for freedom will be carried on by those who come to these shores in search of liberty and, not content nor silenced with loud protestations and empty words, demand their inheritance as free-born souls—the reality of freedom and justice.

* * *

EN ROUTE

MOTHER EARTH will contain this month such a variety of interesting reports and material anent my work on the Coast, that I shall merely add but a few words.

The gods themselves seem to have favored my tour. Never in all my previous experience have so many things of interest occurred as during this trip.

The brutality of the Chicago authorities, followed by the stupidity of their San Francisco colleagues, helped to advertise my meetings everywhere.

In Portland it was the Y. M. C. A. and a German society, "The Arion," who, in withdrawing their halls less Anarchism uncover the soiled spots of their "white purity," brought out large audiences six nights in succession. And now comes the brutal sentence of the soldier William Buwalda to five years' imprisonment, for which, by the way, Emma Goldman is responsible. At least that's what General Funston says. The General will have to be more original if he wants people to listen to him. The yarn that Emma Goldman is responsible for every violent act during the last fifty years, even before she was born, and for all others that might happen in the next hundred years, is getting stale and monotonous. Besides, General Funston—as a "Christian" and military man—does not believe in violence; of course not. Yet he coldly and deliberately robbed a man of his liberty, almost of his very life, because he dared to attend a public meeting in uniform. Such is the logic and humanity of those who practice legalized violence.

Yes, Portland proved unusually valuable, partly thanks to

545

840514034

The Emma Goldman Papers

En Route / Emma Goldman. — pp. 189-190 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 3, no. 4 (June, 1908).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

the stupidityy of the Y. M. C. A. and the "Arion," but particularly because of the great and generous efforts of Mr. E. C. S. Wood, the most liberal and unique figure on the Coast. The most gratifying feature at the Portland meetings, however, was the great mixture of humanity that thronged the halls: workingmen, tramps, hoboes, lawyers, judges, doctors, men of letters, women of society, teachers, students,—in short, everybody. At the meeting on May 25th a movement was started in behalf of William Buwalda to arouse public indignation against his barbaric and tyrannical sentence; also a fund to help him in every way. The sympathy of the meeting was wired to William Buwalda. We know, of course, that the military authorities at the Federal prison will not deliver the message, but we want all liberal and radical elements of America to know that the outrage perpetrated upon that soldier in Alcatraz prison will not go by unprotested. I shall, of course, continue to raise my voice in his behalf, and I hope the readers of MOTHER EARTH will make their indignation known and felt publicly. Those wishing to contribute their mite to the fund can forward the money either to Mr. E. C. S. Wood, Chamber of Commerce Building, Portland, Oregon, or to MOTHER EARTH.

I shall soon have finished my tour, naturally very tired and fatigued after four months' active work; but never more convinced of the growing interest in Anarchism and the sympathy with those who are engaged in the dissemination of the truth, as to what Anarchism really stands for.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Spokane, Wash., May, 1908.

* * *

LOS ANGELES

(*Report.*)

EMMA GOLDMAN was in Los Angeles from April 28th to May 9th. In that time she delivered seven lectures and held a debate with a representative of the Socialist Party. She also gave two lectures in Pasadena. The local press did not go greatly out of its way to herald her arrival, only one evening paper having

any extended notice, and, with the exception of reports of the first lecture in two morning papers, no criticisms of the various addresses were given. As both the reports mentioned were so worded as distinctly to belittle the lecturer's ability, it cannot be said that the success achieved owed anything to the influence of the press.

It is painful to be obliged to chronicle in this connection that *Common Sense,* the weekly organ of the Socialist Party, declined to accept a paid advertisement of the meetings. This was the course pursued by the *Times* last year, and *Common Sense* then could find nothing too bad to say of the policy that, in its turn, it pursued this year. What was it that Emerson said about politics being derived from "policy, a trick"?

It may be noted further that the *Examiner,* Hearst's organ and always, according to its own protestations, the fearless champion of the workingman, accepted the money for an advertisement, but subsequently returned it. This sheet was the only morning daily to pass the meetings over in entire silence.

If no aid came from the press, opposition of the most serious character was experienced in another direction. Almost to the last moment it was regarded as assured that the gentleman who makes a specialty of staging the leading public speakers who visit this city from time to time on lecturing tours, would handle the entire matter, advertising extensively and securing the best hall, which will seat some two thousand. When it came to the pinch, however, he found himself face to face with a hall boycott and dropped the matter. The amateur committee that took the problem up immediately discovered that only two halls were to be had, each seating only about 350, and one of them greatly out of the way.

Despite these really immense difficulties $440 was taken in at the doors, and literature was sold at the meetings to the extent of $104. Those in sympathy with Anarchism find much encouragement in this, believing that such results, obtained without the aid of sensational puffing and in the face of obstacles that appeared for the moment to be almost insuperable, testify to a genuine interest in the movement.

It should be added that the police acted with a discretion that, apparently, has not been shown elsewhere.

546

The Emma Goldman Papers

890322029

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in Oregon / Emma Goldman. — pp. 295-296 ; 26 cm. *In* The Public [Chicago]. — Vol. 11, no. 534 (June 26, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

EMMA GOLDMAN IN OREGON.

Portland, Oregon, June 14.—Emma Goldman has come, given five lectures, and gone; and we are all laughing at the comedy you Chicago people played for Emma's benefit, and we shoot the lip at your big chief of police.

A small blue-eyed woman, and five interesting lectures. Oh, not nearly so violent as Thomas Carlyle, Bernard Shaw or Wendell Phillips. What's the matter with you people? Are you suppressing free speech just from pure tyrnnny because you don't agree with the thinker, or are you an advertising bureau for Emma?

She tells me she has been dragged off the platform in Chicago nnd New York before she uttered a word. Nice home of the free and land of the brave, this is!

Some of our hysterieni people wnnted her suppressed here. That's a catching disease—suppresaion. The wretch, whose grnndfather wns suppressed by jail or scaffold in Freedom's cause, no sooner gets frcedom for his own ism or ology, hut he immediately wishes to suppress all other isms and ologies. Mayor Lane of Portland told the hysterical ones that a document called the Constitution of Oregon, expressly reserved the right of the people to alter or abolish the govcrnment, and gave to every person the right to freely apeak on any question whatever, subject only to a legal responsihility for the abuse of that right. And Chief of Police Entzmscher said that whenever she violated the law he would arrest her, as he would any one; and meanwhile she had the same right as every other American to utter her ideas. Rcv. Mr. Eliot, the Unitarian minister, offered his church as a home for free speech. But this was not necessary. No diffieulty was found in getting a hall, and Miss Goldman gave five lectures about as turbulent as prayer meetings, or a Chautauqua lecture.

They were attended hy men and women of the dianer hueket, and men and women of the idle rich. Many came from mere curiosity, hut most were thoughtful people, interested to know what Anarchism reaily is. And I am ashamed to say, many were surprised to learn that it is Christian Brotherhood of Mankind—not bomh-throwing. Help for the disinherited and oppressed, not murder of rulers.

True, rulers were considered as useless and oppressive, and forcible government supporting special priviiege was eonsidered a last aurvival of despotic institutions; but the remedy proposed was hy thought and evolution, not hy murder.

Emma Goldman said in a tired, weary way, that she supposed many who came from curiosity, having got their knowledge of her from the newspapers, would be disappointed. "But," she went on, "I have never advocated violence in my life. Anarchism expressly condemns force against peaceahle men. And besides, violence as tactics would he folly. It only entrenches more firmly the ones assailed. Individual force against individual officials is worse than useless. It is not the official who is to hlame; it is the institution; and the only way to deatroy the institution is to make it ohnoxious to the human mind. An act of violence obscures the whole issue; creates sympathy for the one attacked, fear for the peace of aociety, nnd discredits the sanity of the cause."

"Of course," she explained; "poor, excited, unhalaneed individuals do hrood over the wrongs done in the name of government, and rush off to kill. They nre insane; they have my pity. But auch insane people are found among Republicans, as Guiteau; or Democrats, as Booth; or among religious denominations. It is only your ignorance, and the ignorance, or worse, of your newspapers, which makes you helieve that I ever did advocate violence." "I nm afraid," she aaid, in the same weary wny, "if you have come to be excited hy sensational utterances you will he disappointed."

One of her lectures was on the "Revolutionary Spirit of the Modern Drama," dealing in n very aympathetie and inteliectual manner with Ibsen, Hauptmann, Shaw nnd Suderman, hut especially Ibsen. As I witnessed these quiet meetings to discuss high thoughts, I felt how ridiculous the city would have made itself in sending in police, or ahadowing this woman with detectives. You might as well send police to the meetings of the trustees of the Chicago University.

I admit the wisdom of police supervision over n politieni eonvention, or n meeting of the legisiature; hut Emma Goldman! Pshaw! You Chicagoans are making apectacles of yourselves. By the way, by what right do your police prohibit speech before it is uttered?

I notice that The Puhlic has commented on the Buwaida case (p. 220)—the man who, after fifteen years' honorahle service, was court martialed for attending in San Francisco these identical lectures given here in Portland. And for applauding during the lectures, and for shaking hands with Emma Goldmnn afterward, he was sentenced to dishonorable discharge and five years at hard lahor in Alcatrnz prison. (Commuted to three years hy Generai Funston.) Think of it! and this "the land of the free!" Five years' hard iahor and a dishonorahle discharge, after fifteen years' service, for hearing Raiph Waldo Emerson or Ahraham Lincoln! For hearing a woman simply plead for more freedom, iess special priviiege, more humanity, iess exploiting of the masses; for more universai brotherhood and iess of hiind patriotism and glory, so-called, which leads men to destroy other men! Think of Buwalda heing imprisoned for hearing the doctrines of Christ made practical and modern!

It is a shame and a disgrace to American manhood and American intelligence. Nothing hefore that Republican convention in Chicago was as important as thia case of this ohscure soidier, for it is the eternal cause of immortal liherty.

It does not appear that there was any evidence before the court to ahow what Emma Goldman aaid, and what Buwalda applauded. He is court martialed for going to henr Emma Goldman. He is court martialed and convicted on the testimony of two spies—hired detectives. It would he an educational aet if the membors of the court martiai could he compelled to go and hear just what Emma Goldman says in those lecturea. It might at least give them some

890322029

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in Oregon / Emma Goldman. — pp. 295-296 ; 26 cm. *In* The Public [Chicago]. — Vol. 11, no. 534 (June 26, 1908).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

idsas beyond sword belts and Russian militarism! If the Grand Army of the Republic, which fought for human freedom, lets this man suffer in prison, I shall believe the times have changed, and the spirit of liberty is dead.

I suggest that those desiring to do so write to their Congressmen. If we are all selfish cowards and sunk in the mire of gold, with no thought but comfort, let us know it.

C. E. S. WOOD.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, June 23, 1908.

The Republican Convention.

Following the address of Senator Burrows as temporary chairman of the Republican convention at Chicago on the 16th (p. 274), the convention adjourned for the day. On the 17th, after a session of fifteen hours, the committee on credentials reported that the delegates placed on the temporary roll by the national committee were the delegates entitled to seats, and recommended that the temporary roll call be the permanent roll call. The report was adopted without debate. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts was then elected permanent chairman. After speaking half an hour he evoked a long continued expression of enthusiasm with his climax to the following tribute to President Roosevelt:

For his performance of his sworn duty he has been bitterly attacked. It was to be expected. Vested abuses and profitable wrongs cry out loudly when their entrenchments are carried, and some one is sure to be hurt when the bayonets of the law are pushed home. In the great American electorate money has few votes, but it can command many voices and cause many birds to sing. The result is that the President is the best abused and the most popular man in the United States to-day.

The applause lasted 47 minutes.

✣

Meanwhile the committee on resolutions had been in a turmoil over the platform since the assembling of the convention. Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, had appeared before the appropriate subcommittee with a request for the adoption of the following plank in the platform:

The Republican party is in accord with the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, when he declared that "labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and never could have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much more consideration." Through his wise and humane policy the shackles were stricken from the limbs of 4,000,000 chattel slaves. The Republican party has been the stanch defender of property and property rights, yet holds and declares that personal rights and human liberty are and must of necessity be entitled to the first and highest consideration. Recognizing the new conditions arising from our marvelous industrial development, our people and our nation realize the fact that the wheels of industry and commerce of our time require that new law and new concepts of law must be enacted to conform to modern industry and commerce and advance freedom in line therewith. We therefore pledge the Republican party to the enactment of a law by Congress guaranteeing to the wage earners, agriculturists and horticulturists of our country the right of organized effort to the end that such associations or their members shall not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade. We pledge ourselves to the enactment of a law to prohibit the issuance of injunctions in cases arising out of labor disputes, when such injunctions would not apply when no labor disputes existed; and, that in no case shall an injunction be issued when there exists a remedy by the ordinary process of law, and which act shall provide that in the procedure for the punishment of contempt of court, the party cited for contempt shall when such contempt was not committed in the actual presence of the court be entitled to a trial by jury. We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of an amendment extending the existing eight-hour law to all government employes, and to all workers, whether employed by contractors or subcontractors doing work for or on behalf of the Federal government. We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of a law by Congress as far as the Federal jurisdiction extends, for a general employers' liability act, for injury to body or loss of life of employes. We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of a law to the extent of Federal jurisdiction granting women's suffrage and to submit a Constitutional amendment for ratification to the States for the absolute suffrage of women, co-equal with men. We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of a law creating a department of labor, separate from any existing department, with a secretary at its head having a seat in the President's cabinet. We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of a law for the creation of a Federal bureau of mines and mining, preferably under the proposed department of labor, and the appropriation of sufficient funds to thoroughly investigate the cause of mine disasters, so that laws and regulations may be recommended and enacted which will prevent the terrible maiming and loss of life in the mines. We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of a law for the establishment of United States government postal savings banks.

In behalf of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Firemen and Trainmen, Mr. H. R. Fuller asked the adoption of the following plank on the same subject:

We pledge ourselves to such legislation as will

840514036
The Emma Goldman Papers
Defying the Gods / Emma Goldman. — pp. 223-226 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 3, no. 5 (July, 1908).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The court officers began hustling us out; but presently we were recalled. Mr. Wessel, attorney for Weinberg, was asking that the police return Mr. Weinberg's watch and letters which had been kept ever since the arrest. The Judge was endeavoring to be witty. "What!" said he to the police officer, "is there any law in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania which says that because a man makes a fool of himself, the police should therefore take away his watch?" All the sycophants laughed. Personally, I think it was a gratuitous insult, since the Judge had no evidence whatever to suppose Weinberg had "made a fool of himself," and had just been saying he had not. Mr. Wessel arose with a smile, "But, your Honor, what we want now is the watch!"

"O give the man his watch," protested the Judge.

"And the letters."

More talk about the letters, and then the Judge, forgetting his former two-edged cut at the police and at Weinberg, remarked with judicial dignity, "When a man is put under arrest, he is searched, and his property taken charge of for his own protection!" . . .

And so, "for his own protection," the police had been holding Weinberg's watch for four months, while he was out on bail! This is the limit.

I wish to thank all contributors to our defense, and to say that we have still work to do. Four men are in prison, under most rigorous and unjust sentences. We wish to do what can be done towards freeing these men or supporting their families till they are free.

Those who wish to assist in the work may communicate with Joseph Cohen, 859 N. 7th St., Philadelphia.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

* * *

THE man of virtuous soul commands not, nor obeys.
Power, like a desolating pestilence,
Pollutes whate'er it touches; and obedience,
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth,
Makes slaves of men and, of the human frame,
A mechanized automaton.

Shelley.

DEFYING THE GODS

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

THAT the Lord is a spiteful old gentleman everybody knows. He *is* never more content than when he can make his children feel his Almighty power. As to the unfortunate ones born of Lucifer,—such as the Anarchists, for instance,—no punishment is ever adequate to their crime. To deal with them God has created a special tribe, the uniformed species of man. Not that these latter are particularly in love with their Maker, nor do they bother much about his commands. But in their superstitious fear of his Satanic Majesty they are ever anxious to obey the divine rival in a true Christian spirit.

Of late, however, these faithfuls have made themselves too ridiculous to suit even the Lord himself. Disgusted with the conditions below, he determined to call a council to devise the best ways and means of freeing the heavenly State from that most stubborn and unyielding disease, Anarchism.

One of the chief advisers suggested more stringent regulations in watching the portals of the Sacred Shrine. But that had already been tried and found wanting. Anarchists were known to be a gay lot, who never applied for admission to that dull and monotonous place, except as a last resort.

"Deport them," suggested another counsellor, Mr. Oscar Straus, one of the Lord's own chosen people. The suggestion threw the Almighty into a fearful spasm. "Deport them!" he thundered, "shall I begin with my own Son, then? That would prove the scandal of the ages. It's well enough for a father to kill his child, but deport him,—never!"

He that seeeth and knoweth all, however, would not be discouraged by the imbecile advice of the heavenly ministers. "True, Anarchism cannot be destroyed," mused the Divine Father, "it has withstood all forms of persecution. Some Anarchists cannot even be damned; there is that devilish E. G. What have my uniformed angels not done to her; still, here she is, as irrepressible as ever. She has now visited twenty-seven cities and blasphemed me and my sacred institutions ninety times. If she could only be disposed of!"

549

840514036

The Emma Goldman Papers

Defying the Gods / Emma Goldman. – pp. 223-226 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 3, no. 5 (July, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

At last a divine, a heavenly thought: "A flood, a kingdom for a flood!" Casting about, his all-seeing eye beheld that insignificant speck of his domain, the United States, finally resting upon the snow peaks of the Montana mountains. He had once turned their hearts into ice when he had permitted his image to rob the hills and forests of their native sons. He now sent a huge ball of fire to bathe the white caps in a flood of light, and when the mountains beheld the glittering gold it seemed to them the reflex of their own treasures that greed had taken from their bowels and transmuted into tears. It made them weep—but not the subdued, quiet, cowardly tears of the slave; theirs were rebellious tears: wild, passionate tears of anger, rushing in torrents and floods down the white, pale cheeks, tearing and devastating everything in their path. And what the police failed to accomplish, the gods succeeded.

* * *

June first I left for Butte after two very successful meetings at Spokane. On the second of the month I was but seventy-five miles from Butte, only to find that hundreds of miles of railroad track and numerous bridges had been washed away, and that there was no possibility of going on or turning back west, unless one wished to tempt Providence. However, the true rebel is he who defies even the elements. To make these seventy-five miles I travelled twenty-three hundred, on foot, over mountains and canyons, forging on horseback and team creeks six and seven feet deep, by steamer and rail. It was a trip most interesting and difficult, and not without danger. It took two weeks and involved an additional expense of a hundred and seventy-five dollars, but it landed me in Butte and made the Lord ashamed of himself.

Like many other cities that I had visited, Butte promised many interesting features. Rev. L. J. Duncan, a Unitarian minister of broad and revolutionary mind and sweet spirit, tendered me an invitation to speak in his church, which advertised my coming and brought the wrath of the stupid and ignorant upon Mr. Duncan's head. Had I been able to fill my dates at the moment, Butte would have proved most successful. But I arrived two weeks later. Meanwhile the press was silenced by

the Amalgamated: John D. Rockefeller, Morgan, and Clark, the sole owners of everything in that city, including the souls of the people. The mistress of capitalism that thrives on the advertising of gambling resorts, brothels, and mining swindles could not consistently accept such a disreputable ad as the announcement of Emma Goldman's lecture. But in spite of the conspiracy of silence I addressed nine meetings and disposed of a large quantity of literature.

In our next issue I shall bring my impressions of the occurrences and people I met on the tour, and I shall devote considerable space to Butte. So I will say no more about the latter now, except to quote a friend's clever characterization: "Butte is built on a bluff."

Helena, Montana, may not be built on one, but it is one. It is about the snuggest, most self-contented, bigoted, and mentally decrepit little town I have ever visited. I addressed two meetings there and was scheduled for a debate with Mrs. Ida Crouch-Hazlitt, editor of the *Montana News*. But thanks to the malicious stupidity of the City Council the debate did not take place. This body of old fossils hurriedly called a meeting to decree that I should not speak on Anarchism. Yet that very hour, within a stone's throw of the City Hall, I was expounding to a large audience what Anarchism stands for.

Mrs. Hazlitt, one of the few rebellious and broad-minded Socialists, had secured the City Auditorium for the meeting; but when it became known that she was to debate with me, the hall was refused and the deposit returned. However, my Socialist friend was not to be so easily suppressed. Finding the doors of the Auditorium closed, she addressed the assembled mass in front of the hall, handling the City Hayseeds in the most unceremonious manner. Mrs. Hazlitt deserves particular credit for calling the attention of the people to the gross misrepresentation of Anarchism and of myself. It is to be hoped that her spirit of fair play will not be punished by excommunication from the party, as happened in the case of C. Riddle.

Helena completed the most eventful and successful tour of my public career. Everything seemed to conspire to make it so: police malice, newspaper stupidity, and persecution. A great deal of credit, however, for

550

840514036

The Emma Goldman Papers

Defying the Gods / Emma Goldman. – pp. 223-226 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 5 (July, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

my success is due to the untiring efforts of a comrade well-known to the readers of MOTHER EARTH, Alexander Horr. He acted as my advance agent, tramping from city to city, often at the risk of limb and life. Indeed, I know of no one as absolutely oblivious of his own needs and eager to aid the propaganda.

I cannot close this report without expressing my appreciation of the hospitality and kindness extended to me by all the comrades along the route.

* * *

Here I am again, then, at home—with MOTHER EARTH, the child of my heart's desire. Many friends will wonder why the magazine must appear in such scanty attire. It is simply because very little, almost no support is given to the magazine outside of my tour. Even our renewals have been much on the decline, possibly because of the hard times. The expenses of the publication are very considerable, and the magazine requires the undivided time of two persons, especially during my absence. And while they neither ride about in motor cars nor dine at St. Regis', they can not live on air. (There is not enough to go around even of that in New York, particularly in the summer.)

I had hoped to return with a sum sufficient to keep the magazine out of debt during the summer. But the Montana experience swallowed up a great deal more than the receipts in that State.* And so we shall have the usual summer complaint of all radical publications. Yet I am not at all discouraged. On the contrary, I am more hopeful for MOTHER EARTH than ever. I would only request our readers, who for some reason have not yet renewed their subscription, to do so at once; that is really the least any one of you can do if the magazine is to continue.

And now to work and preparation for the coming winter.

* See Sustaining Fund.

THE EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT IN FRANCE

A. BRUCKERE, in *La Guerre Sociale*.

SUFFICIENT time has now elapsed to enable one to form a correct opinion as to the merits of the great working class movement for an eight-hour day, inaugurated May 1st, 1906.

When the Syndicalist Congress at Bourges, having defeated the Reformists, became imbued with the spirit of its revolutionary elements, it decided on a general movement for an eight-hour day—an audacious decision which provoked a tempest of criticism.

"Vain folly," groaned Keufer,* "How much greater results would one obtain by the co-operation of classes, by the mixed committees of workers and masters."

"Anarchy!" cried Guesde,† gnashing his teeth. "To what purpose are these efforts, when it would be sufficient to use the ballot in order to obtain not only the eight-hour day, but also the rest, the total victory."

Who was right?

The agitation for an eight-hour day proved a great object lesson both in perseverance and in Socialism.

The workingman, suffering from his hereditary disease, slow starvation, has always lacked tenacity of effort. But systematic propaganda during eighteen months (September, 1904—May, 1906) imbued the producer with that great virtue—perseverance. The working class gradually became accustomed to long campaigns, concerted plans, and determined action. The results were highly beneficial to the workingmen. They learned to understand that their emancipation could proceed only from their own personal efforts, and that they could not rely on any exterior aid nor on the beneficence of the State.

The eight-hour agitation was also an object lesson in Socialism.

During eighteen months it was the class-war—the true class-war—far better than any electoral campaign. The working class took cognizance of itself. Twenty years of preaching of an abstract doctrine could leave hardly

* Leader of the Conservative Unionists, or Reformists.
† Leader of the orthodox Marxists.

551

The Emma Goldman Papers
890118001
"What I Believe," by Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.– p. 3M ; 28 cm. *In* The World. –(July 19, 1908).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

"WHAT I BELIEVE"---By EMMA GOLDMAN

The Leader of the Anarchists, One of the Most Talked of Women in the World, Declares that She Has Been Persistently Misrepresented, and Writes of Her Creed, Caustically Arraigning Existing Social Conditions---"I Do Not Believe that Acts of Violence Can Bring About the Social Reconstruction"---"As a Promoter of Individual Liberty Government Stands Condemned"---"Ninety Per Cent. of All Crimes Are Property Crimes, Which Have Their Root in Our Economic Iniquities"---"Anarchists Are the Only True Advocates of Peace"---"Marriage and Love Are Not Synonymous."

Emma Goldman, the recognized leader of Anarchists in this country and one of the most talked of women in the world, who herself says that her name is used to frighten children and that she has been persistently misrepresented, here makes her own statement of her creed. Her creed will both shock and astonish, for her document is as remarkable for what the writer says she does not believe as for what it says she does believe. It will afford to readers of the Sunday World an opportunity for the first time to estimate the radical beliefs of this singular woman and of the scattered and rebellious social elements which she represents.

By Emma Goldman.

"WHAT I believe" has many times been the target of hack writers. Such blood-curdling and incoherent stories have been circulated about me, it is no wonder that the average human being has palpitation of the heart at the very mention of the name Emma Goldman. It is too bad that we no longer live in the times when witches were burned at the stake or tortured to drive the evil spirit out of them. For, indeed, Emma Goldman is a witch! True, she does not eat little children, but she does many worse things. She manufactures bombs and gambles in crowned heads. B-r-r-r!

Such is the impression the public has of myself and my beliefs. It is therefore very much to the credit of The World that it gives its readers at least an opportunity to learn what my beliefs really are.

The student of the history of progressive thought is well aware that every idea in its early stages has been misrepresented and the adherents of such ideas have been maligned and persecuted. One need not go back two thousand years to the time when those who believed in the Christian Idea were thrown into the arena to be devoured by lions to realize how little [illegible] are understood. [illegible] written in the blood [illegible] who have dared to express [illegible] the [illegible] women's right to [illegible] modern times, the New [illegible] condemnation [illegible] exempt from a crown [illegible].

What I believe will be rather than a finality. It outlines my faith in and goals and governments [illegible] a human institution. While it [illegible] formulation of [illegible] statement on the subject, [illegible] life is some[illegible] for [illegible] has [illegible] out it is [illegible] much "meat" of [illegible] that is arrogant stupidity and [illegible] a writer.

Anarchism is not only a process, however, that manifests itself in the social economic, culminating [illegible] development, his physical well-being, his latent qualities and innate disposition alone must determine the character and conditions of his work. Similarly will one's physical and mental appreciations and his soul cravings decide how much he shall consume. To make this a reality will, I believe, be possible only in a society based on voluntary co-operation of productive groups, communities and societies loosely federated together, eventually developing into a free communism, actuated by a solidarity of interests. There can be no freedom in the large sense of the word, no harmonious development, so long as mercenary and commercial considerations play an important part in the determination of personal conduct.

II. As to Government.

I believe Government, organized authority or the State, is necessary *only* to maintain or protect property and monopoly. It has proven efficient in that function only. As a promoter of individual liberty, human well-being and social harmony, which alone constitute real order, government stands condemned by all the great men of the world.

I therefore believe, with my fellow-Anarchists, that the statutory regulations, legislative enactments, constitutional provisions are invasive. They never yet induced man to do anything he would and would not do by virtue of his intellect or temperament; nor prevented anything that man has intelled to do by the same [illegible]. Wiers's pictorial description of "The Man with the Hoe," Meunier's masterpieces of the miners that have aided in lifting labor from its degrading position, Ibsen's descriptions of the underworld, Ibsen's psychological analysis of human life could never have been induced by government any more than the spirit which impels a man to save a drowning child or a crippled woman from a burning building has ever been called into operation by statutory regulations or the policeman's club. I believe indeed I know that whatever is fine and beautiful in the human, expresses and asserts itself in spite of government, and not because of it.

The Anarchists are therefore justified in assuming that anarchism—the absence of government—will insure the widest and greatest scope for unhampered human development, the highest [illegible] from the latter's communication to the New York Evening Post of June 20, dealing with the case of Private William Berwalds, which caused such a stir all through the Northwest. "The first duty of an officer or enlisted man," says our noble warrior, "is unquestioning obedience and loyalty to the Government to which he has sworn allegiance. It makes no difference whether he approves of that Government or not."

How can we harmonize the principle of unquestioning obedience with the principle of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"? The deadly power of militarism has never before been so effectively demonstrated in this country as in the recent condemnation by court martial of William Buwalda of San Francisco. Captain Augustus P. Blocksom, the case's military prosecutor, was a man who had a record of fifteen years of continuous service. [illegible] action and conduct were unchallenged," we are told, "with the exception of [illegible] conviction of [illegible] Buwalda's sentence to three years' [illegible] for the manslaughter of a prisoner [illegible] the butt of the officer's club. I believe indeed I know that whatever is fine and beautiful in the human, expresses and asserts itself in spite of government, and not because of it.

The Anarchists are therefore justified in assuming that anarchism—the absence of government—will insure the widest and greatest scope for unhampered human development, the highest [illegible] Buwalda's sentence to three years' [illegible] for the manslaughter of a prisoner [illegible] the butt of the officer's club. I believe indeed I know that whatever is fine and beautiful in the human, expresses and asserts itself in spite of government, and not because of it.

The Anarchists are therefore justified in assuming that anarchism—the absence of government—will insure the widest and greatest scope for unhampered human development, the highest [illegible] from the latter's communication to the New York Evening Post of June 20, dealing with the case of Private William Buwalda, which caused such a stir all through the Northwest. "The first duty of an officer or enlisted man," says our noble warrior, "is unquestioning obedience and loyalty to the Government to which he has sworn allegiance. It makes no difference whether he approves of that Government or not."

How can we harmonize the principle of unquestioning obedience with the principle of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"? The deadly power of militarism has never before been so effectively demonstrated in this country as in the recent condemnation by court martial of William Buwalda of San Francisco. Captain Augustus P. Blocksom, the case's military prosecutor, was a man who had a record of fifteen years of continuous service. [illegible] action and conduct were unchallenged," we are told, "with the exception of [illegible] conviction of [illegible] Buwalda's sentence to three years' [illegible] for the manslaughter of a prisoner [illegible] the butt of the officer's club. I believe indeed I know that whatever is fine and beautiful in the human, expresses and asserts itself in spite of government, and not because of it.

The Anarchists are therefore justified in assuming that anarchism—the absence of government—will insure the widest and greatest scope for unhampered human development, the highest [illegible] from the latter's communication to the New York Evening Post of June 20, dealing with the case of Private William Buwalda, which caused such a stir all through the Northwest. "The first duty of an officer or enlisted man," says our noble warrior, "is unquestioning obedience and loyalty to the Government to which he has sworn allegiance. It makes no difference whether he approves of that Government or not."

How can we harmonize the principle of unquestioning obedience with the principle of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"? The deadly power of militarism has never before been so effectively demonstrated in this country as in the recent condemnation by court martial of William Buwalda of San Francisco. Captain Augustus P. Blocksom, the case's military prosecutor, was a man who had a record of fifteen years of continuous service. [illegible] action and conduct were unchallenged," we are told, "with the exception of [illegible] conviction of [illegible] Buwalda's sentence to three years' [illegible] for the manslaughter of a prisoner [illegible] the butt of the officer's club. I believe indeed I know that whatever is fine and beautiful in the human, expresses and asserts itself in spite of government, and not because of it.

The Anarchists are therefore justified in assuming that anarchism—the absence of government—will insure the widest and greatest scope for unhampered human development, the highest [illegible]



EMMA GOLDMAN.

FACTS ABOUT EMMA GOLDMAN.

Born in Russia about forty years ago.

Educated in Germany. Speaks Russian, German, French and English; also reads and writes Italian and Spanish.

Came to America in 1885, with her parents, who settled in Rochester, N. Y. Worked as a factory girl.

Was married to Jacob Kersner, an alleged anarchist, but separation soon followed because he prevented expression of her own individuality.

Came to New York in 1889.

Led strike of Schirtmaker Girls' Union in 1890.

Arrested and convicted on charge of inciting to riot in a speech at Union Square Aug. 21, 1893. Spent ten months in Blackwell's Island Penitentiary.

Arrested on charge of having incited Leon Czolgosz to the assassination of President McKinley, 1901. Released for lack of evidence.

Was associated with John Most, Alexander Berkman, Justus Schwab and other New York Anarchists in publication of the Freiheit. Subsequently quarrelled with Most and publicly horsewhipped him.

Reported married in May, 1887, to Berkman upon the release after serving a term of fourteen years in the Allegheny, Pa., Penitentiary for his attempt to assassinate Henry C. Frick, the steel millionaire, during the Homestead strike.

Under an assumed name started a hair-dressing business on Broadway, New York City, 1892.

On the authority of Attorney-General Bonaparte in March, 1908, it has been learned that no legal ground can be found for deporting Emma Goldman, nor can she be barred at American ports if she leaves the country and returns.

For five years she has lived in an upper apartment at No. 210 East Thirteenth street.

ism. It might do the same here. For goodness' sake, let's not offend respectability, let's not hurt the religious feelings of the people.

Religion is a superstition that originated in man's mental inability to solve natural phenomena. The Church is an organized institution that has always been a stumbling block in progress.

Organized churchism has stripped religion of its naïveté and primitiveness. It has turned religion into a nightmare that oppresses the human soul and holds the mind in bondage. "The Dominion of Darkness," as the last true Christian, Leo Tolstoi, calls the Church, has been a foe of human development and free thought, and as such it has no place in the life of a truly free people.

VI. As to Marriage and Love.

I believe these are probably the most tabooed subjects in this country. It is almost impossible to talk about them without scandalizing the cherished proprieties of a lot of good folk. No wonder so much ignorance prevails relative to these questions. Nothing short of an open, frank and intelligent discussion will purify the air from the hysterical, sentimental rubbish that is shrouding these vital subjects, vital to individual as well as social well being.

Marriage and love are not synonymous; on the contrary, they are often antagonistic to each other. I am aware of the fact that some marriages are actuated by love, but the narrow, material confines of marriage, as it is, speedily crush the tender flower of affection.

Marriage is an institution which furnishes the State and Church with a tremendous revenue and the means of prying into that phase of life which refined people have long considered their own their very own most sacred affair. Love is that most powerful factor of human relationship which from time immemorial has defied all man-made laws and broken through the iron bars of conventions in church and morality. Marriage is often an economic arrangement pure, furnishing the woman with a life long [illegible], [illegible] and the man with a [illegible] of his kind or a pretty toy. That is marriage, or the training thereto, prepares the woman for [illegible] of a parasite, a dependent, helpless servant while it furnishes to man the right of a [illegible] over a human life.

How can such a condition of affairs have any [illegible] with love? With the exception [illegible] would forever all the wealth of money and power and life in the cruel world of unfreedom of [illegible] an oppressor. But it is not the age [illegible] romanticism of romeo and juliet, Faust and Marguerite or moonlight embraces [illegible] songs. Ours is a practical age. The first consideration is an income. So much the worse for us if we have reached the era when the highest ideals are to be checked. No an atmosphere wherein alone the human plant can grow into an exquisite flower.

VII. As to Acts of Violence.

And now I have come to that point in my beliefs about which the greatest misunderstanding prevails in the minds of the American public. "Well, come, now, don't you propagate violence, the killing of crowned heads and Presidents?" Who says that I do? Have you heard me, has any one heard me? Has any one seen it printed in our literature? No, but the papers say so, everybody says so, consequently it must be so. Oh, for the accuracy and logic of the dear public!

I believe that anarchism is the only philosophy of peace, the only theory of a social relationship that values human life above everything else. I know that some Anarchists have committed acts of violence, but it is the terrible economic inequality and great political injustice that prompt such acts, not anarchism. Every institution to-day rests on violence, our very atmosphere is saturated with it. So long as such a state exists, we might as well strive to stop the rush of Niagara as hope to do away with violence. I have already stated that countries with some measure of freedom of expression have had few or no acts of violence. What is the moral? Simply this: No act committed by an Anarchist has been for personal gain, aggrandizement or profit, but rather a conscious protest against some repressive, arbitrary, tyrannical measure from above.

President Carnot of France was killed by Caserio in response to Carnot's refusal to commute the death sentence of Vaillant, for whose life the entire literary, scientific and humanitarian world of France had pleaded.

Brasci went to Italy on his own money earned in the silk weaving mills at Paterson to call King Humbert to the bar of justice for his order to shoot defenseless women and children during a bread riot. Angelino executed Prime Minister Canovas for the latter's resurrection of the Spanish Inquisition at Montjuich Prison. Alexander Berkman attempted the life of Henry C. Frick during the Homestead strike only because of his intense sympathy for the seven strikers killed by Pinkertons and for the widows and orphans evicted by Frick from their wrecked little homes that were owned by Mr. Carnegie.

Every one of these men not only made their reasons known to the world in spoken or written statements showing the misery that led to their acts, proving that the unbearable economic and social pressure, the suffering and despair of [illegible] women and children prompted their acts. And not the philosophy of Anarchism. These same speaks frankly and ready to stand [illegible] consequences ready to give their own lives.

In diagnosing the true nature of our social disease I cannot condemn those who through [illegible] of their own are suffering from a wide-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890118001

The Emma Goldman Papers

"What I Believe," by Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— p. 3M ; 28 cm. *In* The World. —(July 19, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

human being has palpitation of the heart at the very mention of the name Emma Goldman. It is too bad that we no longer live in the times when witches were burned at the stake or tortured to drive the evil spirit out of them. For, indeed, Emma Goldman is a witch! True, she does not eat little children, but she does many worse things. She manufactures bombs and gambles in crowned heads. Br-r-r!

Such is the impression the public has of myself and my beliefs. It is therefore very much to the credit of The World that it gives its readers at least an opportunity to learn what my beliefs really are.

The student of the history of progressive thought is well aware that every idea in its early stages has been misrepresented and the adherents of such ideas have been maligned and persecuted. One need not go back two thousand years to the time when those who believed in the gospel of Jesus were thrown into the arena or hunted into dungeons to realize how little great ideas or earnest believers are understood. The history of progress is written in the blood of rebels, men and women who have dared to espouse new and unpopular causes, as for instance, the black man's right to be free, or woman's right to be equal to them from time immemorial, the New has met with opposition and condemnation. Why should my beliefs be exempt from a crowd of thorns?

"What I believe" is a process rather than a finality. Finalities are for gods and governments, not for the human intellect. While it may be true that Herbert Spencer's formulation of liberty is the most important on the subject, as a political basis of society, yet life is something more than formulas. In the battle for freedom, as Ibsen has so well pointed out, it is the struggle for, not so much the attainment of, liberty, that develops all that is strongest, sturdiest and finest in human character.

Anarchism is not only a process, however, that marches on with "solemn steps," coloring all that is positive and constructive in organic development. It is a tremendous protest of the most militant [illegible]. It is so absolutely uncompromising, insisting and persisting as a force as to overcome the most stubborn assault and to withstand the criticism of those who really constitute the last trumpets of a decaying age.

Anarchists are by no means passive spectators in the theatre of social development, on the contrary, they have some very positive notions as regards aims and methods.

That I may make myself as clear as possible without using too much space, permit me to adopt the topical mode of treatment of "What I Believe."

I. As to Property.

"Property" means dominion over things and the denial to others of the use of those things. So long as production was not equal to the normal demand institutional property may have had some raison d'être. One has only to consult economics, however, to know that the productivity of labor within the last few decades has increased so tremendously as to exceed normal demand a hundred-fold, and to make property not only a hindrance to human well-being, but an obstacle, a deadly barrier, to all progress. It is the private dominion over things that condemns millions of people to be mere nonentities, living corpses without originality or power of initiative, human machines of flesh and blood, who pile up mountains of wealth for others and pay for it with a gray, dull and wretched existence for themselves. I believe that there can be no real wealth, social wealth, so long as it rests on human lives—young lives, old lives and lives in the making.

It is conceded by all radical thinkers that the fundamental cause of this terrible state of affairs is (1) that man must sell his labor; (2) that his inclination and judgment are subordinated to the will of a master.

Anarchism is the only philosophy that can and will do away with this humiliating and degrading situation. It differs from all other theories inasmuch as it points out that man's [illegible] lies, is possible only to a society based on voluntary co-operation of productive groups, communities and societies loosely federated together, eventually developing into a free communism, actuated by a solidarity of interests. There can be no freedom in the large sense of the word, no harmonious development, so long as mercenary and commercial considerations play an important part in the determination of personal conduct.

II. As to Government.

I believe Government, organized authority, or the State, is necessary only to maintain or protect property and monopoly. It has proven efficient in that function only. As a promoter of individual liberty, human well-being and social harmony, which alone constitute real order, government stands condemned by all the great men of the world.

I therefore believe, with my fellow-Anarchists, that the statutory regulations, legislative enactments, constitutional provisions, are invasive. They never yet induced man to do anything he could and would not do by virtue of his intellect or temperament, nor prevented anything that man was impelled to do by the same dictates. Millet's pictorial description of "The Man with the Hoe," Meunier's masterpieces of the miners that have aided in lifting labor from its degrading position, Gorki's descriptions of the underworld, Ibsen's psychological analysis of human life could never have been induced by government any more than the spirit which impels a man to save a drowning child or a crippled woman from a burning building has ever been called into operation by statutory regulations or the policeman's club. I believe—indeed, I know—that whatever is fine and beautiful in the human, expresses and asserts itself in spite of government, and not because of it.

The Anarchists are therefore justified in assuming that anarchism—the absence of government—will lessen the widest and greatest scope for unhampered human development, the cornerstone of true social progress and harmony.

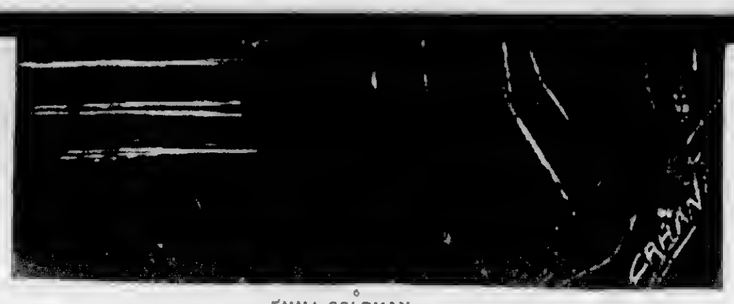
As to the stereotyped argument that government acts as a check on crime and vice, even the makers of law no longer believe it. This country spends millions of dollars for the maintenance of her "criminals" behind prison bars, yet crime is on the increase. Surely this state of affairs is not owing to an insufficiency of laws. Ninety per cent of all crimes are property crimes, which have their root in our economic iniquities. So long as these latter continue to exist we might convert every lamp post into a gibbet without having the least effect on the crime in our midst. Crimes resulting from heredity can certainly never be cured by law. Surely we are learning even today that such crimes can effectively be treated only by the best modern medical methods at our command, and, above all, by the spirit of a deeper sense of fellowship, kindness and understanding.

III. As to Militarism.

I should not treat of this subject separately, since it belongs to the paraphernalia of government. If it were not for the fact that those who are most vigorously opposed to my beliefs on the ground that the latter stand for force are the advocates of militarism.

The fact is that Anarchists are the only true advocates of peace, the only people who call a halt to the growing tendency of militarism, which is fast making of this erstwhile free country an imperialistic and despotic power.

The military spirit is the most merciless, heartless and brutal in existence. It fosters an institution for which there is not even a pretense of justification. The soldier, to quote Tolstoi, is a professional man-killer. He does not kill for the love of it, like a savage or in a passion, like a homicide. He is a cold-blooded, mechanical, obedient tool of his military superiors. He is ready to cut throats or scuttle a ship at the command of his ranking officer, without knowing or, perhaps, caring how, why or wherefore. **I am supported in this contention by no less a military light than Gen. Funston. I quote from the latter's communication to the New York Evening Post of June 20, dealing with the case of Private William Buwalda, which caused such a stir all through the Northwest. "The first duty of an officer or enlisted man," says our noble warrior, "is unquestioning obedience and loyalty to the Government to which he has sworn allegiance; it makes no difference whether he approves of that Government or not."**



EMMA GOLDMAN.

How can we harmonize the principle of "unquestioning obedience" with the principle of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?" The deadly power of militarism has never before been so effectually demonstrated in this country as in the recent condemnation by court-martial of William Buwalda, of San Francisco, Company A, Engineers, to five years in military prison. Here was a man who had a record of fifteen years of continuous service. "His character and conduct were unimpeachable," we are told by Gen. Funston, who, in consideration of it, reduced Buwalda's sentence to three years. Yet the man is thrown suddenly out of the army, dishonored, robbed of his chances of a pension and sent to prison. What was his crime? Just listen, ye freeborn Americans! William Buwalda attended a public meeting, and after the lecture he shook hands with the speaker. Gen. Funston, in his letter to the Post, to which I have already referred above, asserts that Buwalda's action was a "great military offence [illegible] worse than desertion." In another [illegible] statement which the General made in Portland Ore., he said that "Buwalda was a traitor—crime equal to treason."

[illegible] true that the meeting had been arranged by Anarchists. Had the Socialists issued the call Gen. Funston claims [illegible] would have been no objection to Buwalda's presence. Indeed, the General says: "I would not have the slightest hesitancy about attending a Socialist meeting myself." But to attend an Anarchist meeting with Emma Goldman as speaker—could there be anything more treasonable?

For this horrible crime a man, a free-born American citizen, who has given this country the best fifteen years of his life, and whose character and conduct during that time were "unimpeachable," is now languishing in a prison, dishonored, disgraced and robbed of all livelihood.

Can there be anything more destructive of the true genius of liberty than the spirit that made Buwalda's sentence possible—the spirit of unquestioning obedience? Is it for this that the American people have in the last few years sacrificed four hundred million dollars and their hearts' blood?

I believe that militarism—a standing army and navy in any country—is indicative of the decay of liberty and of the destruction of all that is best and finest in our nature. The steadily growing clamor for more battleships and an increased army on the ground that these guarantee us peace is as absurd as the argument that the peaceful man is he who goes well armed.

The same lack of consistency is displayed by those pseudo patriots who oppose anarchism because it supposedly teaches violence, and who would yet be delighted over the possibility of the American nation soon being able to hurl dynamite bombs upon defenseless enemies from flying machines.

I believe that militarism will cease when the liberty-loving spirits of the world say to their masters: "Go and do your own killing. We have sacrificed ourselves and our loved ones long enough fighting your battles. In return you have made parasites and criminals of us in times of peace and brutalized us in times of war. You have separated us from our brothers and have made of the world a human slaughter-house. No, we will not do your killing or fight for the country that you have stolen from us."

Oh, I believe with all my heart that human brotherhood and solidarity will clear the horizon from the terrific red streak of war and destruction.

IV. As to Free Speech and Press.

The Buwalda case is only one phase of the larger question of free speech, free press and the right of free assembly.

Many good people imagine that the principles of free speech or press can be exercised properly and with safety within the limits of constitutional guarantees. That is the only excuse it seems to me, for the terrible apathy and indifference to the outrages upon free speech and press that we have witnessed in this country within the last few months.

I believe that free speech and press mean that I may say and write what I please. This right, when regulated by constitutional provisions, legislative enactments, almighty decisions of the Postmaster-General or the policeman's club, becomes a farce. I am well aware that I was warned of the dangers if I remove the [illegible] in speech and press. I believe, however, that the cure of consequences resulting from the unlimited exercise of expression is to [illegible] more expression.

Mental shackles have never yet stemmed the tide of progress, whereas premature social explosions have only too often been brought about by a mad wave of repression.

Will our governors never learn that countries like England, Holland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark, with the largest freedom of expression, have been freest from "consequences?" Whereas Russia, Spain, Italy, France and alas! even America, have raised those "consequences" to the most growing political factor. Ours is supposed to be a country ruled by the majority, but every politician who is not vested with power by the majority can break up a meeting, drag the lecturer off the platform and club the audience out of the hall in true Russian fashion. The Postmaster-General, who is not an elective officer, has the power to suppress publications and confiscate mail. From his decision there is no more appeal than from that of the Russian Czar. Truly, I believe we need a new Declaration of Independence. Is there no modern Jefferson or Adams?

V. As to the Church.

At the recent convention of the political remnants of a once revolutionary idea it was voted that religion and vote getting have nothing to do with each other. Why should they? So long as man is willing to delegate to the devil the care of his soul he might with the same consistency delegate to the politician the care of his guts. That religion is a private affair has long been exploded by the U.S. Marxian Socialists of Germany. Our American Marxians, poor of blood and originality, must need go to Germany for their wisdom. That wisdom has served as a capital whip to lash the several millions of people into the well disciplined army of Socialists, which [illegible] acts, not anarchism. Every institution to-day rests on violence, our very atmosphere is saturated with it. So long as such a state exists we might as well strive to stop the rush of Niagara as hope to do away with violence. I have already stated that countries with some measure of freedom of expression have had few or no acts of violence. What is the moral? Simply this. No act committed by an Anarchist has been for personal gain, aggrandisement or profit, but rather a conscious protest against some repressive, arbitrary, tyrannical measure from above.

President Carnot of France was killed by Caserio in response to Carnot's refusal to commute the death sentence of Vaillant, for whose life the entire literary, scientific and humanitarian world of France had pleaded.

Brasci went to Italy on his own money earned in the silk weaving mills at Paterson to call King Humbert to the bar of justice for his order to shoot defenseless women and children during a bread riot. Angelino executed Prime Minister Canovas for the latter's resurrection of the Spanish Inquisition at Montjuich Prison. Alexander Berkman attempted the life of Henry C. Frick during the Homestead strike only because of his intense sympathy for the eleven strikers killed by Pinkertons and for the widows and orphans evicted by Frick from their wretched little homes that were owned by Mr. Carnegie.

Every one of these men not only made their reasons known to the world in spoken or written statements, showing the causes that led to their acts, proving that the unbearable economic and political pressure, the suffering and despair of their fellowmen, woman and children prompted their acts, and not the philosophy of Anarchism. They came openly, frankly and ready to stand the consequences, ready to give their own lives.

In diagnosing the true nature of our social disease I cannot condemn those who through no fault of their own are suffering from a widespread malady.

I do not believe that these acts can or ever have been intended to bring about the social reconstruction. That can only be done, first, by a broad and wide education as to man's place in society and his proper relation to his fellows; and second, through example. By example I mean the actual living of a truth once recognized, not the mere theorizing of the life element. Lastly, and the most powerful weapon, is the conscious, intelligent, organized [illegible] protest of the masses through direct action and the general strike.

It is the harmony of organic growth which produces variety of color and form—the complete whole we admire in the flower. Analogously will the organized activity of free human beings endowed with the spirit of solidarity result in the perfection of social harmony—which is anarchism. Indeed, only anarchism makes non-authoritarian organization a reality, since it abolishes the existing antagonism between individuals and classes.

Emma Goldman

TELLING SECRETS AT THE MANICURES.

It is startling to hear the secrets that are told in semi-public places. Most people have heard queer bits of talk of a private nature in street cars above or below ground, and on trains. Bowers do [illegible] Junction [illegible] at a Turkish bath as at the manicure's.

Sitting with her finger tips in those of her manicure sets the average woman's tongue goes with wonderful rapidity. Manicures are usually smiling, self-possessed little women who know how to give just the right amount of apparent interest while they listen their eyes and deftly deal with patients. Often, though, they are not listening half as intently as they seem to be and when they are they are as much amused as edified by the secrets poured out upon them.

We-Read women will sit and talk about their husbands and their mothers-in-law and their surgeries or the hateful ways of their most intimate friends to the women who give an occasional half hour to their finger nails. Not even a dressmaker, to whom much is told, hears half as much about her customer's secret worries and troubles as the manicure who holds one hand and then the other for revenue only.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890322031

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Leaves the Question of Violence Entirely Alone / Emma Goldman.– p. 388 ; 26 cm. *In* The Public [Chicago]. –Vol. 11, no. 538 (July 24, 1908).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

but the shores of the estuaries and harbors. The News urged that the case should be appealed, declaring that it would be indeed unbearable if all the holiday pursuits of the public at the seaside should have to be dependent upon the kind permission of some land magnate, and it cited the mountain precedent:

> The Access to Mountains hill establishes the principle that for all ordinary purposes of rambling or climbing the tourist is not to be hindered from making the mountains his playground. The same principle should be applied to the seashore, and with even better reason. Some money is spent in the mountains in reference to game preserving. The beach is barren and useless save for purposes of pleasure. The owner who should try to keep the public from it would be the supreme instance of the dog in the manger. But so selfish are some landowners in England, and to such an extent has the idea of private property in the surface of the earth taken possession of the minds of many of our governing class, that doubtless attempts will be made to keep the public from what should be inalienably their own. Would it be possible to enlarge the Access to Mountains bill, and make it apply also to the seashore? If such a course were possible, without endangering the original measure, it might be well to adopt it.

\+ +

Emma Goldman Leaves the Question of Violence Entirely Alone.

Miss Goldman has written Mr. C. E. S. Wood in regard to his report of her visit to Oregon, published as Editorial Correspondence in The Public of June 26th, that she can afford to pass without notice the misrepresentations of the hostile press, but she cannot afford to leave uncorrected the misrepresentations of her friends. She states that in fact she has never said that violence as tactics would be folly, for it only more firmly intrenches the one assailed; or that individual force against indvidual officials is worse than useless, because she has never argued these questions at all, nor does she look upon them in that light. She writes that she does not propagate violence and never has done so; but not because she is particularly sentimental about life, so much as that she does not believe in inducing any one to act under the influence of any power save his own reason and the dictum of his own soul. And she adds, "Besides, so long as I am not to pay the penalty of the act, I do not feel justified in inducing another person to do it." She also says that neither does she wish to be understood as classing the men who commit violence as unbalanced or insane; that the psychological cause which induces some to act against all consideration of self, while others will only lisp a mild indignaton against the social order, is to her of the greatest interest.

\+ +

Tolstoy Indicts the Russian Government.

What one isolated citizen can do to halt the bloody progress of a nation, the aged Tolstoy has done with his terrible denunciation of the hideous reign of terror being maintained by the Russian autocracy. Appearing in the London Daily Chronicle of the 15th, his letter immediately created a profound impression, and was regarded by the labor and socialist groups in England as justifying their protests against the King's recent visit to the Czar (p. 326). The meagre excerpts from the letter which were cabled to America on the day of publication, gave no space to the urgings to land reforms which appear here and there in the letter, and redeem it from hopelessness. In another department of this Public will be found fuller extracts, which are reproduced from what purports to be the full text. That this letter of Tolstoy's will produce immediate results in Russia, few will expect; but as surely as day follows night, the hours of this bestial imperialism, revealed now in all its bloody squalor, are being counted out to their ending.

\+ + +

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION.

Once more has democracy shown itself capable of self-government. Once more has direct legislation through the initiative and referendum amply fulfilled the predictions of its advocates and refuted the arguments of its opponents.

The election held in Oregon on the first of last June aroused great interest, not only in the State itself, but quite generally throughout the nation. For the sake of having in compact form a summary of the chief events that have occurred in Oregon in connection with direct legislation, the following resumé has been prepared. All the figures are official.

After ten years of effort in favor of the measure, and after a favorable vote for it by two legislatures had been secured, a direct legislation amendment to the Oregon constitution was adopted by the electors of the State on June 3, 1902, by a vote of 62,024 for, and 5,668 against it; being a majority of eleven to one in its favor.

First Enactments Under Direct Legislation in Oregon.

On the 6th of June, 1904, the electors enacted at the polls two laws, one for local option in temperance matters, and one for direct primaries.

840514038

The Emma Goldman Papers

George Pettibone / Emma Goldman. — pp. 253-254 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 3, no. 6 (Aug. 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

and the dramatic method. The dramatist, the orator, and the writer, to be effective, must take the vague, general idea, personify it, and fit it to the here and now. He must take the mere abstraction that, applicable anywhere and at any time, would only faintly stir the few, and individualize it; making it walk across his platform, or stare from his page, so boldly that it leaps to the dullest eyes.

Pray do not think that I am praising Emma Goldman as Emma Goldman. I am using her to individualize my own argument, and, moreover, I try to recognize and account for a fact when it strikes me full in the face. Emma Goldman's success as an agitator is a fact, and I believe it to be a further fact that she, having the invaluable dramatic instinct, which forces its fortunate owner always to make the practical point, and being herself a member of an essentially practical race, instinctively confines herself to facts. This, I submit, is the secret of her strength; the strength of the scientific method.

A thoughtful and cultured Anarchist, who has read this article carefully, says: "Yes; but your entire programme is destructive. The people ask what is to be done, and you have nothing to offer." Should this article prove acceptable, I will show next month the illimitable field of constructive work that lies fallow, yearning for those who will work it by thrusting their spade boldly into the fruitful soil of actual, present-day fact. This will give better results than addling your brains with the pseudo-scientific, sectarian flap-doodle with which the Socialist movement has been rotten these many days.

GEORGE PETTIBONE

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

OF all the interesting figures it has been my good fortune to meet on my tour, that of Pettibone looms up like a star upon the firmament.

He died a few days ago at Denver, his home, from the effects of an operation for cancer.

Like all people who had witnessed from a distance Mammon's attempt and failure to slaughter three men on the block in that great social drama of the West, I knew little of Pettibone except that his great cheer and humor had never left him during the entire year of suspense and waiting in the Idaho penitentiary. When I saw him at Los Angeles, thin and worn from great physical suffering, yet with a face full of hope and cheer, I could readily understand what an inspiration he must have been to his two comrades in prison.

Stricken at San Diego, Cal., with violent stomach trouble, he had to be removed to Los Angeles, where he was kept under constant care and absolute seclusion. But when he heard of my arrival, he sent a mutual friend to ask me to call, "because I had wanted so much to see you all these years," he said, when I held his feverish hand. On that day he had enjoyed his first nourishment in weeks: an orange. I can still see the beaming face and his great joy that he would soon be well enough to resume his post in the battle against oppression and poverty.

He talked of many things. Of the judicial murder in Chicago, in 1887, that had proved a great factor in awakening his rebellious spirit, as it had in mine. He spoke of the events that were to furnish a second 11th of November, but instead had turned into a red-letter day for the labor forces in this country. He related many incidents of his experience with the bloodhounds, the Pinkertons, and how he used to make game of their ignorance and stupidity. He spoke of the authorities having attempted to induce him to turn against his comrades. "Just think of it! They appealed to my interests as a business man, and what chances I'd have to get free and become prosperous. How were these soul-

555

840514038

The Emma Goldman Papers

George Pettibone / Emma Goldman. – pp. 253-254 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 6 (Aug. 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

and mind-impoverished creatures to know that I would have preferred death a thousand times rather than to hurt one hair of the other boys."

Somehow it seemed to me that I had heard these big, loyal sentiments before. It was Albert Parsons, America's revolutionary pioneer, who refused to sign away his comrades' lives by securing clemency for himself. "Do you want me, the only American among the arrested, to free myself by tightening the noose around the necks of my comrades the more securely?" Parsons is reported to have said. He preferred to die with his brothers, even as Pettibone would have done.

The life of Parsons, claimed in 1887, paved the way for the liberation of Pettibone two decades later. Such is the inexorable price of progress.

Had Albert Parsons chosen his heir, he could not have selected a fitter personality than George Pettibone. His was a spirit all aglow with an intense fire against every form of tyranny; one that was at all times ready to stake everything for a great, liberating cause.

"I want so to get to Denver. I know I would grow well there. I do not really want life for its own sake, but to help the cause and those wo are making such a brave fight. It's for that I crave life so." And how he craved life! He clung to the hope of reaching Denver with every fibre of his being. That was three months ago. And now he is no more

The united efforts of greed and power to enact at Boise a second 11th of November have failed. But they were quite successful in undermining the health of Pettibone. When he was thrown in the bull-pen he was strong and vigorous. When he was rescued from the clutches of his jailers he was doomed to die from the cancer of the stomach.

There are not many Pettibones in this land of ours. But to know that he had lived, to have been able to grip his hand, to have looked into his firm yet tender face, is to have realized the great possibilities that the new dawn will witness in this country.

THE CAREER OF A JOURNALIST

A CONFESSION.

OURS is an era of deep social unrest; the finest minds and souls are filled with it; the social conscience will no longer be silenced.

The much-dreaded class of muck-rakers is steadily growing. Their criticism stops short at nothing, not even the most cherished institutions. In fine, we are witnessing the most radical transvaluation of all values.

One institution, however, our social critics have hitherto spared. Journalism, the disgrace of our age, the most shady profession of civilization, they dared not touch. The press, the supposed harbinger of truth, the bearer of culture, the teacher and moral guide of the people, was ever considered unassailable.

At last one came to the front who would not halt before the "sacred" shrine; one who found the necessary courage to tear the veil from the treacherous face of the press, so that the beguiled public may see, as it has never seen before, journalism at work.

Mr. William Salisbury, with his work, "The Career of a Journalist,"* has rendered society a great service by his graphic and able portrayal of the corruption and degradation of the American press. Having worked on the leading papers of New York, Chicago, and Kansas City for more than nine years, he is well equipped with the necessary experience to substantiate his charges.

Radical critics have ever maintained that journalism under the capitalistic régime has degenerated into a trade that condemns its votaries to mental prostitution. It is, therefore, encouraging, indeed, to find these contentions verificd by one who speaks from personal experience. And what are Mr. Salisbury's experiences? Simply this: Every newspaper of to-day is under the lash of the political shade and business interests of his paper. Personality, intelligence, judgment, conscientiousness must make room for the holiest of all Trinities, Profit, Sensation, Lies. Indeed, the highest salaried editor, down to the ohscurest penny-a-liner, must bend his knee before

* E. W. Dodge & Co., New York.

556

890109005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[What I believe. In Italian] Quello che io credo / Emma Goldman.– pp. 1-2 ; 29 cm.
In Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. –no. 32 (Aug. 8, 1908).
Permission to reproduce or quote in any fonn must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

ANNO VI. BARRE VERMONT, SABATO 8 AGOSTO 1908 Num. 32



Entered as second-class matter July 3rd, 1903 at the post-office at Barre, Vermont under Act of Congress of March 3rd, 1879. — S. BOTTELLI Publisher.

QUELLO CHE IO CREDO

Il mio credo è stato ludibrio le mille volte ai sarcasmi dei pennivendoli. Hanno sul mio conto diffuso tante storie e così tenebrose che non è punto a meravigliare se il popolino al solo udire il nome di Emma Goldman si sente addosso i brividi e lamenta che sia lontano nella storia il tempo in cui le streghe si mandavano al rogo o si sottomettevano alla tortura che le liberava provvidamente dallo spirito maligno.



EMMA GOLDMAN.

E per certo Emma Goldman è una strega. Non divora più, forse, i bimbi indocili, ma ne fa di ben peggiori: manipola bombe e le scaraventa sulle teste co-

progresso sociale non assistono come spettatori indifferenti e passivi; ma ne vivono, al contrario, gli episodii più agitati, hanno i loro criteri positivi, i loro propositi, i loro metodi.

Io cercherò di riassumere chiaramente, senza abusare della vostra ospitalità questi criterii, questi propositi e questi metodi ed avrete così lo schema di **quello che io credo:**

I. LA PROPRIETA'.

La proprietà significa il dominio che taluni, ad esclusione degli altri, hanno sopra determinate cose; e finchè la produzione non fu in grado di soddisfare al bisogno si può dire che l'istinto della proprietà avesse un tal quale giustificazione, una ragione di essere. Oggi il primo economista venuto è in grado di farvi toccar con mano che la produttività del lavoro umano si è in questi ultimi decennii così spaventosamente accresciuta da eccedere, di qualche migliaio di volte, i bisogni normali denunciando nella proprietà individuale non soltanto l'ostacolo più grave all'umano benessere ma una barriera morale ed una terribile minaccia a tutto il progresso, alla civiltà tutta quanta.

Noi dobbiamo a questa privata proprie-

i governi sono stati apertamente condannati da tutti i grandi pensatori del mondo.

Io credo quindi, cogli anarchici miei compagni, che disposizioni statutarie, provvedimenti costituzionali e legislativi sono pura usurpazione. Essi non hanno potuto ottenere mai che un individuo facesse ciò che per virtù del suo intelletto o del suo temperamento non avrebbe voluto fare, come non hanno mai potuto impedire che un individuo facesse ciò che dal suo intelletto o dal suo temperamento era portato a fare.

Le suggestive rappresentazioni pittoresche del Millet, il suo magnifico quadro: **L'uomo dalla vanga**; i capolavori del Meunier sul dolente "calvario dei minatori" hanno certo contribuito a trarre dalla sua angosciosa degradazione il lavoro, ad elevarlo ed a nobilitarlo, ma come il governo non ha saputo nè ispirare nè determinare le tragiche emozioni che Gorki riflette nelle sue descrizioni nelle sue rivelazioni dei vagabondi, nè l'acuta analisi psicologica della vita umana che pervade l'opera letteraria e filosofica dell'Ibsen, così nessun statuto, nessun codice, nè alcun randello di poliziotto può determinare l'irresistibile spirito di solidarietà, l'incoercibile impeto per cui l'uomo si butta a capo fitto

nostri sentimenti e nella nostra esistenza sopravvive e fermenta di spietato, di selvaggio, di inumano; e Leone Tolstoi non ha torto quando chiama **assassino professionale** il soldato che non uccide pel gusto di uccidere come i primitivi, che non uccide nell'impeto cieco della passione come un impulsivo, ma uccide freddamente, pacatamente, meccanicamente senza chiedersi nè il perchè nè il come nè il quando, in ossequio alla disciplina eviratrice della caserma, in omaggio ed in obbedienza all'ordine dei superiori.

In questo giudizio del resto conviene con noi anche un luminare dell'esercito, il generale Funston, il quale occupandosi nel **New York Evening Post** del caso di William Buwalda 2) così si esprime:

"Il primo dovere di ogni ufficiale, di "ogni soldato, è la cieca obbedienza, l'il-"limitata devozione al governo cui ha "giurato fedeltà, sia che gli atti del go-"verno egli, nella propria coscienza ap-"provi o disapprovi .....
.....

Io ritengo fermamente che il militarismo — un esercito ed un'armata stanziale in ogni nazione—sia l'indice di una infausta decadenza dello spirito di libertà e dei sentimenti più generosi e più nobili

ticolo dello Statuto, da una deliberazione del Congresso, dagli editti sovranni del General Postmaster o dal randello di un poliziotto, il mio diritto si risolve in una burla. Io sono ben sicura che sottraendo alle manette ed al bavaglio il diritto alla libertà di parola e di stampa si ovvierebbero le rappresaglie inevitabili, convinta come sono che il più sicuro rimedio contro le eventuali conseguenze di un illimitato esercizio della libertà, sia ancora nella libertà in una maggiore libertà. Le ritorte intellettuali non hanno mai trattenuto il fiotto incoercibile del progresso, mentre, per converso le premature esplosioni sociali sono state più delle volte determinate da uno stupido maroso di repressione.

Ricordino i nostri governanti che in Inghilterra, in Olanda, in la Norvegia, in Svezia e in Danimarca in cui la libertà di pensiero, di parola, di stampa, la libertà di espressione, è la più larga, gli **attentati** sono assolutamente sconosciuti, mentre la Russia, la Spagna, l'Italia, la Francia e, ahime! l'America, hanno elevato questi **attentati** (3) al grado di fattori politici di primaria importanza.

Quì, presso di noi, nella grande Repubblica Americana che presume essere governata dal suffragio universale, dalla

557

890109005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[What I believe. In Italian] Quello che io credo / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-2 ; 29 cm.
In Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. —no. 32 (Aug. 8, 1908).
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

strega. Non divora più, forse, i bimbi indocili, ma ne fa di beu peggiori: manipola bombe e le scaraventa sulle teste coronate. V'è da inorridire !

Tale l'impressione che il pubblicò ha di me e dei miei principii, ond'è che io debbo essere grata al **World** 1) il quale mi offre alla perfine l'opportunità di mostrare ai suoi lettori che cosa, in realtà, sieno le mie convinzioni.

Coloro che conoscono uu po' la storia del progresso sanno che ogni idea è stata al suo primo apparire fraintesa e che i suoi araldi sono stati calunniati e perseguitati ferecemente; e non occorre rimontare questi duemila anni di storia ai primi credenti nel verbo del Nazzareno dati in pastò alle belve del Circo o sepolti nel Mamertino per vedere in qual modo le pietose credenze sieno divenute le grande religioni, per qnali vie abbiano quegli umili apostoli trionfato.

La storia del progresso è stata scritta col miglior sangne degli uomini e delle donne che hanno saputo sfidare tutti i dileggi e tutte le collere sposando le cause più impopolari, il diritto dei negri al proprio corpo, il diritto delle donne alla propria anima, per non citare che nn esempio. Se da tempo immemorabile il **nuovo** non ha trovato mai che persecuzioni e condanne, come posso io sperare che non calchino snl mio ideale la corona di spine?

Del resto "**quello che io credo**" più che una finalità è un processo. Le finalità possono essere la gioia degli dèi e governi non dell'umano intelletto. Può darsi che la teoria della libertà formulata da Herbert Spencer abbia in materia una importanza capitale, come quella che può essere assunta a base politica della società; ma la vita è ben altro che una formnla. E nelle battaglie per la libertà è, nou 'la vittoria finale, ma la lotta che sviluppa ed esprime quanto di più nobile, di più forte, di più eletto è nell'indole umana.

L'anarchismo non è qnindi che un processo il qnale svolgendosi in cupe spire colora quanto di positivo, qnanto di costrnttivo è nel losvilnppo organico. È una protesta dell'indole più fiera e più temeraria.....

E gli anarchici a questo dramma del

1) Il presente articolo che è, come i lettori possono giudicare, nna magnifica e coraggiosa sintesi delle nostre aspirazioni, è la traduzione fedele di un'intervista che Emma Goldman ha avuto con un redattore del ***World***, sul quale è apparsa prima alla data del 19 Luglio u. s.

cia a tutto il progresso, alla civiltà tntta quanta.

Noi dobbiamo a questa privata proprietà delle cose se milioni e milioni di lavoratori sono mere quantità trascurabili, poveri corpi senza un bagliore di originalità o d'iniziativa, povere e fragili macchine di carne e di sangue che edificano **per gli altri** le fortune paradossali riservando a sè stessi un'esistenza triste, sconsolata, miserabile.

Ed io non credo che vi possa essere reale prosperità, prosperità sociale, fino a tanto che la fortuna e l'agiatezza si comprano a prezzo di giovani e di vecchie esistenze, a prezzo d'innumeri sacrifizii umani.

È giudizio concorde di tutte le menti elevate che la causa fondamentale di questo terribile stato di cose è in questo triste binomio: nell'uomo condannato a vender il suo lavoro; nel suo pensiero, nella sua anima soggetti alla volontà di padrone.

L'anarchismo è la dottrina che a questo nmiliante stato di cose preconizza nn termine, e differisce dalle altre dottrine in questo: che soltanto lo svilnppo dell'individno, la sua salute fisica, le sue tendenze latenti od innate determinano dell'iudividno il carattere e l'attitudine al lavoro, così come il sno stato mentale e fisico soltauto determinerauno i snoi bisogni.

La realizzazione di questo ideale, secondo che io credo, non può essere che opera di una società fondata snlla cooperazione volontaria dei suoi grnppi produttivi, comnnità e società liberamente federate, ed avviate, sulla via maestra degli interessi comuni solidarizzati, verso le forme ultime del comnnismo libertario. La libertà nel senso più largo della parola, lo sviluppo armonico e cosciente d.lla società non sono possibili finchè ad inspirare ed a dirigere le nostre azioni rimangono le preoccupazioni grette, venali, mercenarie che dominano tutta la società attuale.

IL GOVERNO.

Io credo che nella necessita di mantenere e di proteggere la proprietà ed il monopolio sia la **sola** ragione del Governo, dell'autorità organizzata, dello Stato. In questa funzione soltanto esso ha mostrato di saper fare qualche cosa. Come custodi della libertà, come promotori dell'umano benessere e dell'armonia sociale, che sono le sole garanzie dell'ordine pubblico, nessun codice, le meno indegne di polizíotto può determinare l'irresistibile spirito di solidarietà, l'incoercibile impeto per cui l'uomo si butta a capo fitto nelle onde a salvare il bimbo che affoga od a strappare alle fiamme voraci che inghiottono la casa la povera inferma che vi geme.

Io credo qnindi, e so, che quanto di generoso e di nobile freme nell'umana creatura si esprime e si afferma non **perchè'** vi siano uu governo ed una legge, ma **malgrado** vi siano un governo ed una legge.

Non hanno quindi torto gli anarchici quando credono ed affermano che l'anarchismo — assenza di governo — aprirà al progresso umano la via più larga e più sicura, ce nenterà la pietra angolare del. l'armonia e del progresso sociale.

È nn abusato luogo comune che il governo costituisca un freno al vizio ed al delitto, è nna ritrita menzogna convenzionale a cui non credono neppnre i legislatori. Nessun paese spende qnanto il nostro tanti milioni di dollari per costringere tra i mnri e le inferriate della galera i snoi "criminali", e in nessun paese la delinquenza si diffonde e si inasprisce come in America. E questo infausto progresso non si deve certo all'insufficienza della legislazione Il **novanta per cento dei delitti ha la sua fonte nella proprieta'** ha la sua ragione nella disnguaglianza nell'iniquità economica che regola tutti i rapporti sociali. Certo vi sono reati che hanno nna remota radice ereditaria, ma è anche certo che a curarli e ad eliminarne le cause la legge è assolutamente inefficace e sterile, e possouo solo recarvi rimedio sensibile e salutare i metodi più illuminati della scienza medica moderna e, sopratutto nn profondo spirito di solidarietà, un sentimento diffuso e coscieute di fratellanza e di bontà.

IL MILITARISMO

Non accennerei in modo particolare a questo soggetto, che è tra gli attributi essenziali del governo, se i più feroci oppositori delle mie idee non fossero i più ardenti apostoli del militarismo.

Il fatto è questo che gli anarchici sono i soli araldi sinceri della pace, la sola gente che gridi nn **basta** ! energico alle tendenze militariste che delle gloriose tradizioni di questa libera repnbblica lastricano le vie alla libidine imperialista ed autocratica onde sono pervase le classi dominanti.

Lo spirito militare è tutto ciò che nei [illegible] le in ogni nazione—sia l'indice di una infausta decadenza dello spirito di libertà e dei sentimenti più generosi e più nobili onde un popolo si avvivi. Il clamore assordante con cui si reclamano un esercito più poderoso, una più formidabile marina, col pretesto che in essi sia una più seria e più durevole garanzia di pace, è argomento così assurdo almeno quanto quello del pacifico cittadino che per amor della tranquillità passeggia armato fino ai denti. Il curioso è poi che cotesti amanti della pace i quali non si stancano mai di chiedere un maggior numero di reggimenti o di navi, e che si recherebbero ad orgoglio il tempestare bombe da un areostato dello stato maggiore sull'odiato nemico, sono anche i più feroci persecutori degli anarchici, come di criminosi apostoli della violenza.

Io credo che la piaga del militarismo sarà sanata soltanto il giorno in cui gli amanti della libertà diranno ai loro padroni: **andate voi stessi ad ammazzare coloro che odiate. Noi abbiamo combattuto anche troppe battaglie vostre. Voi ci avete in compenso resi parassiti e criminali; ci avete separati dai nostri fratelli, avete insanguinato il mondo di carneficine.**

Noi non vogliamo combattere piu' per la nazione che ci avete rubato i

E sono intimamente convinta che la fratellanza umana e la solidarietà spazzeranno dall'orizzonte per sempre le striscie sauguigne della guerra e della distruzione.

LIBERTA' DI PAROLA E DI STAMPA

Mostrano di credere i più che i diritti alla libertà di parola e di stampa si possano, entro i limiti delle gnarantigie costituzionali, esercitare convenientemente e senza pericolo. Ma più che salda convinzione è questo il sofisma con cui cercano le maggioranze giustificare l'ignobile apatia, la criminosa indifferenza da esse serbata di fronte a continui selvaggi attentati degli organi e degli ufficiali dell'ordine contro la libertà di pensiero, di parola, di stampa.

Io credo che **parola libera, stampa libera** indichino che io ho il diritto di dire, di scrivere qnello che più mi piace. Se questo diritto mi è limitato da un arbitrio qualunque—sia l'indice di una infausta decadenza dello spirito di libertà e dei sentimenti più generosi e più nobili onde un popolo si avvivi. Il clamore assordante con cui si reclamano un esercito più poderoso, una più formidabile marina, col pretesto che in essi sia una più seria e più durevole garanzia di pace, è argomento così assurdo almeno quanto quello del pacifico cittadino che per amor della tranquillità passeggia armato fino ai denti. Il curioso è poi che cotesti amanti della pace i quali non si stancano mai di chiedere un maggior numero di reggimenti o di navi, e che si recherebbero ad orgoglio il tempestare bombe da un areostato dello stato maggiore sull'odiato nemico, sono anche i più feroci persecutori degli anarchici, come di criminosi apostoli della violenza.

Io credo che la piaga del militarismo sarà sanata soltanto il giorno in cui gli amanti della libertà diranno ai loro padroni: **andate voi stessi ad ammazzare coloro che odiate. Noi abbiamo combattuto anche troppe battaglie vostre. Voi ci avete in compenso resi parassiti e criminali; ci avete separati dai nostri fratelli, avete insanguinato il mondo di carneficine.**

Noi non vogliamo combattere piu' per la nazione che ci avete rubato i

E sono intimamente convinta che la fratellanza umana e la solidarietà spazzeranno dall'orizzonte per sempre le striscie sauguigne della guerra e della distruzione.

LIBERTA' DI PAROLA E DI STAMPA

Mostrano di credere i più che i diritti alla libertà di parola e di stampa si possano, entro i limiti delle gnarantigie costituzionali, esercitare convenientemente e senza pericolo. Ma più che salda convinzione è questo il sofisma con cui cercano le maggioranze giustificare l'ignobile apatia, la criminosa indifferenza da esse serbata di fronte a continui selvaggi attentati degli organi e degli ufficiali dell'ordine contro la libertà di pensiero, di parola, di stampa.

Io credo che **parola libera, stampa libera** indichino che io ho il diritto di dire, di scrivere qnello che più mi piace. Se questo diritto mi è limitato da un arbitrio qualunque, che non tiene calla maggioranza nè l'investitura, nè il potere, ha il diritto di sciogliere le pubbliche riunioni, di precipitare gli oratori dalla tribuna, di bastonare il pubblico e di disperderlo; ed il Postmaster generale, che neppure tienè dal suffragio e dalla maggioranza il proprio ufficio, può sopprimere e confiscare ogni e qualsiasi pubblicazione.

E le sue decisioni sono inappellabili come gli nkases del Piccolo Padre, lo czar.

In verità, pare a me che sia giunta l'ora di una nuova Dichiarazione D'Indipendenza ! Non ha più nn Jefferson' nè un Adams la Grande Repubblica ?

LA RELIGIONE

In un recente Congresso gli nltimi sparuti campioni di quella che fu pure un'idea rivoluzionaria, i socialisti, hanno decretato che religione e voto nou hanno tra loro nulla di comune.

Perchè ? Perchè fino a quando un uomo delega al demonio la cura della propria anima delegherà ad un politicante la cura dei propri diritti. La religione è nn affare privato della coscienza individuale: hanno sentenziato i Bismar...xisti socialisti d'Allemagna, ed i nostri marxisti Americani, poveri di sangne e d'originalità, sono costretti a dare a balia in Germania la loro saggezza. La quale saviezza poi è stata la frusta sapiente con cui si sono sospinti nelle file socialiste beu addomesticate parecchi milioni di lavoratori.....

La religione è una superstizione che ha le sue origini nella mentale incapacità dei primitivi a penetrare gli enigmi della natura : la chiesa non ha mai avuto altro ufficio che di sbarrare le vie de progresso.

Essa ha estirpato dalla religione quanto poteva avere d'ingenuo e d'innocente trasformandola in nn incubo sciagurato dello spirito nmano. Il regno delle tenebre, come l'ha chiamato Leone Tolstoi, non è che la persecnzione implacata dello sviluppo nmano e del libero pensiero, e non può come tale aver posto nella vita di un popolo veramente libero.

2) È l'ufficiale che fu mandato in galera per avere alla fine di una conferenza, stretta la mano ad Emma Goldman.

3) La Goldman teramente scrive "consequeuces" ma non è qui il caso d'usare le reticenze che ad essa erano imposte dal momento e dal giornale arciborghese che intervistava.
N. d. R.

890109005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[What I believe. In Italian] Quello che io credo / Emma Goldman.– pp. 1-2 ; 29 cm.
In Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. –no. 32 (Aug. 8, 1908).
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

MATRIMONIO ED AMORE

È in questo paese l'argomento più scabroso: non si può parlarne senza scandalizzare la vereeonda pndicizia di tanta "gente per bene".

Eppure non v'è forse altro argomento in cui prevalgano tanti pregiudizii e tanta ignoranza; eppure uulla gioverebbe più al soggetto, a eui è legata tanta parte del benessere individuale e sociale, che un'aperta, spregiudicata ed iutelligeute discussione.

Matrimonio cd amore non sono sinonimi, sono anzi il più delle volte in aperto antagonismo. Certo, molti matrimoni sono la conseguenza e l'espressione dell'amore, ma nelle anguste pareti del matrimonio troppe volte il tenero fiore dell'affezioue è condannato ad avvizzire.

Il matrimon o è una istituzione che frutta alla chiesa una rendita paradossale e quel sicuro mezzo di frugare ogni più intima latebra della vita degli individui, che le elassi superiori hanno ritenuto sempre ritennto eome il più stretto e più sacro dei loro doveri.

L'amore è il più potente fattorc delle relazioni umane e, da che mondo è mondo, ha disprezzato sempre olimpicamente le leggi manufatturate dagli uomini, ha sempre spezzato violentemente le ritorte dioxi la chiesa e la morale hanno cercato avvilupparlo.

Il matrimonio è uua eombinazione economica, nella parte maggiore dei casi, in cui la douna riceve una polizza d'assicurazione sulla vita, mentre all'uomo è offerta o una magnifica pupattola o l'orgoglio di potersi riprodurre.

Il matrimonio è la seuola della domesticità che della donna farà un parassita della vita, una serva, una schiava impotente, mentre accorderà all'uomo il pieno diritto d'ipoteca sopra una vita umana.

Che cosa può avere di comunc coll'amore? coll'amore che per un attimo fuggente di passione darebbe tutte le ricchezze, sfiderebbe tutte le forze della terra e della vita?

Gli è che i erepuseoli romantici sono da un pezzo dileguati, e sono lontani Remeo e Giulictta, Faust c Margherita e gli estatici chiari di luna e i sogni e i fiori.

È secolo di pratiei il nostro.

La nostra prima preoccupazione è la rendita.

Ma se due individui si vogliono bene, a che cosa serve il matrimonio?

—È una salvaguardia per la donna, pei figli, per la famiglia, per lo Stato.

— Ma non è una garanzia per l'amore.

miea, l'ingiustizia politica mauifesta, flagrante.

Tutte le nostre istituzioni poggiano sulla violenza, non respirano che la violenza, sì che tutta l'atmosfera sociale ne è impregnata. E finchè dura tale sciagurata eondizione di eose pretendere di sopprimere la violenza è proposito eosì pazzo almeno eome quello che intendesse ad arrestare le eascate del Niagara.

Ho già rieordato ehe le uazioni le quali ispirano ad uu certo rispetto per la libertà i loro istituti non conoscono quasi gli atti di violenza. Quale morale deduruc? Uua sola, molto semplice: ue sun attentato anarchieo è stato determinato da preoceupazioni di profitto personale, di ingrandimento e di guadagno, ma è stato per converso la protesta indignata e eosciente contro determinati atti di repressione c :oprusi tir:nn ci dell'alto.

Il presidente Carnot è stato da Caserio uceiso in seguito al rifiuto da Carnot opposto alla domanda che il mondo letterario, scientifico ed umanitario gli aveva rivolto perchè eommutasse nella deportazione la seuteuza capitale prouunciata dall'atterita giurìa della Senna in odio di Edoardo Vaillant.

Bresei andò in Italia a spesc proprie, coi denari che aveva penosamente guadagnati nei setifici di Paterson, per chieder conto al re Umberto delle fucilazioni in massa da lui ordiuate durante i tumulti della famc, negli scioperi uilanesi del maggio 1898.

Angiolillo giustiziò il primo ministro Canovas del Castillo perchè questi aveva nelle putride segrete del eastello di Montjuich risuscitati gli orrori spaventosi dell'Inquisizione di Spagna.

Alessandro Berkman atteutò alla vita di Henry C. Frick, spinto soltanto dalla simpatia per gli undici scioperanti di Homestead mitragliati dai Pinkertons, spiuto dalla pietà per le vedove c per gli orfani scaceiati su ordine del Friek dalle loro capanne, erette sulla proprietà del Carnegie.

E questi uomini noa hanno soltanto rivelato al mondo, eolla parola e cogli scritti, le eause ehe ad insorgere li avevauo determinati dimostrando che l'oppressione economiea e politiea, le ineffabili sofferenze dei loro compagni, delle loro donne, dei loro b mbini—con la fi cs ofia dell'anarchismo—li avevano tratti al disperato cimento.

Ma apertamente e coraggiosamente dei loro atti hanno assunto la responsabilità e l'hanno pagato colla vita.

LA GUERRA SERVILE

Episodi e Documenti.

20 Giugno. — Prima giornata di sciopero generale. La città presenta una certa animazione. L'astensione del lavoro è pressochè generale. Solo i tramvieri, non essendo riusciti a trovarsi d'aceordo sul da fare, lavorano in attesa della nuova riunione che devono tenere a mezzogiorno. I luoghi pubblici, le banche, gli edifici di qualehe importanza sono sorvegliati dalla truppa. I liberi lavoratori, vanno di negozio in negozio raccomandando ai padroni di non chiudere, però, poco per volta, per tema di disordini, i negozi vengono chiusi.

Corre voce ehe Oltretorrente, il quartiere più popolarc e più ribelle di Parma, siano avvenuti gravi disordini.

L'**Internazionale** riporta un esteso resoconto del discorso detto ieri dal De Ambris all'assemblea della Camera del Lavoro. In esso si legge:

"La borghesia parmense devc convincersi ehe per quanto dura possa avere la la testa noi sapremo lo stesso spezzarglie la. E non creda di poter giuocare troppo alla buona con noi. Sappiamo che i **volontari**: spie, "soutneurs", ladri, vogliono quest'anno ripetere le gesta dei pattuglioni bolognesi, eleggendosi anche liberi poliziotti. Ebbene, questa sera promettiamo a noi stessi ehe nou sopporteremo l'insulto; e che spezzeremo le coste a chiunque, di cotesti masealzoni, intendesse prenderci per il petto! Ed un'altra promessa ancora, o compagni, vogliamo: Se domani quelcuno di noi dovesse essere tolto dalla circolazione, questo non dovrebbe per voi avere un valore superiore all'ineidente comune ehe può capitare a qualunque di uoi. Non sia questo fatto nè ragione di seonforto, nè di maggiore esasperazione. Prolungherete comunque lo sciopero; altri, in luogo nostro, prenderà la direzione del movimento".

Verso le nove del mattino un numeroso corteo di scioperanti uscendo dalla Camera del Lavoro, s'è inoltrato per le vie adiacenti imponendo la chiusura dei negozi. A metà della via Mazzini, incontratosi con nn forte gruppo di volontari lavoratori armati di rivoltella, subito nasce un grande tafferuglio; mentre i volontari sparano colpi di rivoltella in aria, gli scioperanti tiranno sassi. A questo punto giunge un plotone di cavalleria

gli arrestati, nasce un nuovo conflitto fra la forza pubblica e gli scioperani. I carabinieri impongono la chiusura delle finestre e sparano colpi di moschetto.

Corre voce vi siano morti e feriti, fra i quali un soldato di cavalleria assai gravemente ed un ragazzo di 13 anni ferito ad una mano. È probabile che molti scioperanti feriti si siano nascosti per evitare d'essere arrestati.

I fatti del parmense hanno avuto, come potevasi attendere, la loro ripercussione nell'aula parlamentare. Ad analoga interrogazione dei deputati Berenini e Guerci, Giolitti ha dichiarato limitarsi a leggere le informazioni ricevute, dalle quali risulta che gli scioperanti di Parma tentarono di imporre la chiusura dei negozi; che furono lanciate tegole e sassi contro i soldati; che l'autorità giudiziaria è investita del mandato d'investigare e decidere se ci sia stato il prévio concerto. Si terrà conto — ha detto — di questa esistenza o no del previo concerto, che trasformerebbe la Camera del Lavoro di Parma in una associazione a delinquere.

Berenini ringrazia il ministro della risposta e dice che le ultime notizie danno ai fatti una versione meno impressionante di quella che si era dato loro prima.

Auguriamoci — continua — che questo sia l'ultimo episodio del conflitto, che si era mantenuto nelle forme più civili di lotta. Se si dovesse stabilire la responsabilità dei fatti, si dovrebbe risalire alle cause del conflitto agrario; e la responsabilità dovrebbe essere ripartita fra le due parti contendenti.....

Ammette che il prefetto di Parma esercitò sempre un'azione pacificatrice.

URSUS.

LA PROTEZIONE
dei nostri emigranti

Io non so se fra gli uffici protettivi che il governo italiano sussidia con i 73 mila dollari annui che preleva dal fondo dell'emigrazione che è costituito col dollaro e sessanta soldi di tassa che ciascun emigrante è obbligato a pagare, sia compresa anche la Protection Emigration Company, la quale mi pare che abbia gli uffici in Bleeker St.; so che pure questo ufficio tutore ed aiutatore dei lavoratori esplica la sua funzione cammoristica

tetzione dell'Emigratiou ehe prende due dollari annui a ciascuu individuo e con certezza è sussidiata dal fondo dell'emigrazione?

Il nostro ambasciatore nella famosa intervista che concesse al redattore del **N. Y. Times** non si disse ce auche questo pseudo uffieio, che presta gli stessi servizii degli informatori dei campi di lavoro, è sussidiato, ma scommetterei che sì.

Ma passo alla beneficenza.

Questa istituzione, verso la quale rivolgono lo sguardo tanti vampiri e chiedono il guiderdone per le loro beuemerenze patriottiehe, è sussidiata dal fondo della emigrazione. Ma diffieilmente si entra se non arrivano le raccomandazioui giuste chè per i veramente bisognosi uon vi sono mai posti, essendo questi per lo più occupati da quelli ehe possono pagare cinquanta soldi al giorno. Diavolo! sono earetti quei signori lì; alle botteguccee di Mulberry si esce con venti e veutieinque soldi.

Queste notizie me le diedero alcuui ricoverati quando veune iu America la commissione parlamentarc, e proprio nel momento ehe essa visitava lo stabilimento, mentre io attendevo per vedere il deputato Ettore Cieeotti, mia conosceuza personale. Un altro fatto aneora che dimostra l'assistenza di questo istituto filantropico ai bisognosi.

A dicembre saranno due anni, Raffaele Novello il quale aveva avuto un piede rotto dalla ruota di un earro, chiese ed ottenne dal console il biglietto semi-gratuito per rimpatriare, ma siccome il piroscafo sul quale doveva viaggiare partiva sette giorni dopo, alla Beneffcenza si diresse per essere ricoverato e per quel tempo gli chiesero una cosetta di tre o quattro dollari. Che beneficenza!

Quando mi ricordo e considero il fremito cd il furore che produsse la blanda ed oggettiva prosa del Barzini per lo schizzo degli antri di Mulberry, penso che se il corrispondente del "Corriere della Sera" coraggiosamente avesse detto quanto di scandaloso, di turpe si commette da tutti i ladri in guanti gialli, gli spostati evasi alle patrie galere, e che il governo italiano per togliere d'addosso scaraventò in questa Ameriea dei sogni e delle illusioni per la conquista della ricchezza e degli onori, a quest'ora sarebbe stato linciato! Ma punto per ora.

D. NUCERA ABENAVOLI.

Sharpsburg, 20 Luglio.

559

890109005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[What I believe. In Italian] Quello che io credo / Emma Goldman.– pp. 1-2 ; 29 cm.
In Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. –no. 32 (Aug. 8, 1908).
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Ma se due individui si vogliono bene, a che cosa serve il matrimonio?

— È una salvaguardia per la donna, pei figli, per la famiglia, per lo Stato.

— Ma non è una garanzia per l'amore, e senza amore non v'è una casa felice; senza amore nessun bimbo dovrebbe essere dato alla luce; senza amore non deve la donna abbandonarsi ad un uomo.

La paura che l'amore non sia sufficiente garanzia per la donna, non ha alcun fondamento serio. Io credo che la prima aurora dell'emancipazione della donna si annunzierà, che sarà proclamata la sua prima Dichiarazione d'Indipendenza quando essa cercherà ed amerà il suo compagno per le doti della sua mente e del suo cuore non pei biglietti da mille che può avere in saccoccia. La seconda dichiarazione d'indipendenza squillerà allora quando essa saprà onestamente amare senza alcun bisogno di sanzioni inconcludenti di intrusi. La terza è la più grande delle sue affermazioni d'indipendenza la donna realizzerà nella maternità libera.

In una madre libera, in un padre libero sono le più sicure garenzie della protezione dei figli. In essi soltanto possono essere la forza, il vigore, l'armonia che costituiscano la pura atmosfera in cui la pianta umana possa germogliare i suoi fiori squisiti.

GLI ATTI DI VIOLENZA

Ed ora attingiamo del mio credo un punto intorno al quale prevalgono nel pubblico americano i giudizi più temerarii e più aberrati.

— Ci siamo, sta bene, non propagate voi la violenza, la strage delle teste coronate, dei Presidenti.....?

— E chi vi ha detto questo? qualcuno m'ha dunque udito a predicare l'assassinio? qualcuno l'ha tinto alle nostre pubblicazioni di propaganda?

No: ma i giornali lo dicono, lo dicono tutti, dunque deve essere vero.

— Oh, diligenza, lo scrupolo e la logica del pubblico!

Io credo che l'anarchismo sia la sola filosofia di pace, la sola dottrina, la sola teoria di consociazione sociale che la vita armoni coi bisogni e calcoli sopra ogni altra cosa.

So che parecchi anarchici hanno commesso atti di violenza, ma so pure che a determinare tali atti non fu l'anarchismo sì bene la stridente disuguaglianza economica e sociale, la quale, mentre da un lato ammucchia ricchezze favolose, dall'altro lato lascia languire nella miseria più nera, nella più squallida ignoranza, nella più desolante abbiezione, milioni di esseri umani.

Ed è appunto la filosofia dell'anarchismo—li aveva tratti al disperato cimento.

Ma apertamente e coraggiosamente dei loro atti hanno assunto la responsabilità e l'hanno pagato colla vita.

E facendo la diagnosi del malessere onde tutta la nostra società è inquinata, io non saprei condannare davvero coloro che, senza propria colpa, soffrono di una epidemia tanto diffusa.

Non credo poi che tali atti possano o intendano ricondurci alla ricostruzione della società.

Alla ricostituzione sociale arriveremo soltanto con una larga e profonda opera di educazione in rapporto al posto occupato nella società dall'individuo, ed alle sue relazioni coi compagni. Coll'esempio, non teorizzando all'infinito sugli elementi della vita, ma diffondendo il patrimonio delle verità riconosciute ed uniformando la propria vita al proprio pensiero.

L'arma più potente rimane poi la protesta economica cosciente, intelligente, organizzata delle masse quale erompe dall'azione diretta e dallo sciopero generale.

Così come la varietà di colore e di forme che noi ammiriamo nei fiori sono la risultante dell'armonia che presiede al loro sviluppo organico — la coordinata attività degli esseri umani costellati da un alto sentimento di solidarietà ci darà per risultante la più alta perfezione dell'armonia sociale che è l'anarchia.

L'anarchia soltanto può realizzare una forma libertaria di consociazione sociale; soltanto l'anarchismo che abolisce l'antagonismo esistente tra gli individui e le classi.

Emma Goldman

Scienza e Fede

Abbiamo avuto, omaggio cortese dell'autore, l'ultimo volume di Nicola Barbato: **Scienza e Fede**, in cui si riprende e si sviluppa la tesi già brillantemente e vittoriosamente sostenuta dal Barbato in pubblico contradditorio col pastore evangelico Buggelli: **E' utile che continui ad esistere l'idea di dio secondo le religioni rivelate?**

Ne parleremo diffusamente in uno dei prossimi numeri.

lavoratori armati di rivoltella, subito nasce un grande tafferuglio; mentre i volontari sparano colpi di rivoltella in aria, gli scioperanti tiranno sassi: A questo punto giunge un plotone di cavalleria poi un altro, i quali fra le urla, i fischi e la sassaiuola, caricano la folla. È un momento terribile.

Sopraggiunge altra truppa, ed incomincia una nutrita scarica di fucileria. Molti fuggono, altri salgono sui tetti dove gettano numerose tegole sulla truppa. Le fucilate si incrociano colle tegole, le rivolverate. Anche i soldati salgono sui tetti e sparano.

Un plotone di fanteria, zappatori, prende d'assalto la Camera del Lavoro, ne atterra la porta a colpi d'ascia, l'invade, arresta quanti incontra (oltre 70 persone), sequestra tutte le carte che trova, fracassa tavole, sedie, scansie, quanto trova. Fra gli arrestati sono tutti i membri della Commissione Esecutiva della Camera del Lavoro, l'anarchico Zavattero appena giunto da Genova, il ferroviere Salmi ed altri.

Qua e là, nei borghi, la sassaiuola sulla truppa e sugli agrari continua nutrita. I soldati hanno sparato numerosi colpi di fucile specialmente nel Borgo Carra e Miuelli. In quest'ultimo luogo, esseudo stato visto il De Ambris, i poliziotti gli danno una caccia infernale, sparando colpi di rivoltella in tutte le direzioni. Appare evidente il proposito della poliziottaglia — alleata dell'Agraria — togliere di mezzo, ad ogni costo, i dirigenti dello sciopero.

Riunitisi, alla sede del giornale l'**Idea**, i rappresentanti della Federazione nazionale dei lavoratori della terra e della Confederazione generale del lavoro, in unione ai rappresentanti locali del Partito socialista, dopo breve discussione deliberano che Valmaggi, Bellelli, Faraboli, Bindo Pogliani, Albertelli, Guido e Aristo Isola, si recbino dal prefetto per protestare contro le violenze perpetrate al mattino dai volontari e dalla polizia e dichiarare che **sono pronti ad assumere l'incarico di pacificare gli animi,** e di sorreggere i lavoratori nella lotta intrapresa.

Il prefetto ha ricevuto "gentilmente" la commissione ed ha dichiarato di esser disposto a far rispettare rigorosomente la legge e d'informarsi circa i fatti lamentati.

Mentre vengono trasportati in carcere e sa anche la Protection Emigration Company, la quale mi pare che abbia gli uffici in Bleeker St.; so che pure questo ufficio tutore ed aiutatore dei lavoratori esplica la la sua funzione cammoristica proprio a pochi passi del Consolato Italiano, il tutore e papà dei nostri connazionali.

Questo sedicente Ufficio di Protezione ha adottato un metodo di sfruttamento semplicissimo; una specie di assicurazione sulla vita.

Un esercito di spostati gira di villaggio in villaggio, nelle campagne, luugo le linee delle ferrovie, dovunque si soffre e si lavora, alla caccia degli illusi che abboccano all'amo insidioso. Dietro pagamento di due dollari annui danno una tessera della compagnia la quale garantisce di agevolarli in qualunque controversia, essere di protezione e di aiuto in tutte le amare sorprese della terra straniera; ma più di tutto e sopratutto promette di difenderli gratuitamente negli infortuni che possono capitare sul lavoro.

Vediamolo all'opera.

Due sono ad Haverstraw, N. J., La Rock Company, gestita da tre ebrei, da tre di questi maledetti dal signore, i quali, mercè questa maledizione comandano il mondo con il furto dei capitali, fallì o finse di fallire, senza pagare tre e più mesi di salari ad oltre duecento operai. Molti di questi avevano la tessera della Protection Emigration C. a cui per diversi anni avevano pagato i rispettivi due dollari e ad essa ricorsero e presentarono i documenti per la liquidazione dei salari dall'amministrazione giudiziaria della Rock Company.

Era passato più di un anno ed i protetti della Protetion Emigration Co. nulla sapevano e ne potevano sapere; alcuni altri chiesero l'intervento del console, a cui presentarono i documenti, ma lo zelo spiegato dal funzionario ufficiale non fu differente da quello della Protection Emigration Co.

Conosco però alcuni altri che affidarono i loro interessi alla Protetion Emigration Co., e dopo due anni gli avvocati riuscirono ad ottenere le liquidazioni, ma presero la metà o due terzi.

Bella protezione!

Tutti sanno che gli avvocati americani accettano le cause degli infortuni sul lavoro e per altre controversie, contentandosi del 25 o 30 per cento, rare volte prendono la metà. Qual'è dunque la prosarebbe stato linciato! Ma punto per ora.

D. Nucera Abenavoli.

Sharpsburg, 20 Luglio.

Repubblicani di ieri, e repubblicani d'oggi

Dunque, il presidente della Repubblica francese, Fallières, dimentico delle tradizione più gloriose della grande Rivoluzione, lasciò ieri Parigi per recarsi in "missione diplomatica" presso le corti del nord, ossia a Copenhaghen, a Stokolma, indi a Reval, ove il 27 corrente dovrà incontrarsi con Nicola II, l'abbietto e feroce assassino di tutte le Russie.

E fu davvero una triste giornata quella di ieri, una giornata di cordoglio pei graudi "priucipii" della repubblica. La natura stessa, quasi conscia dei fasti umani, volle apportare la sua nota di tristezza maggiore, velando l'astro immenso e scatenando una pioggia autunnale insistente.

Nou volli privarmi dello spettacolo contrastato, davvero troppo deholmente! della partenza di Fallières. Prima delle sei del mattino mi trovai nei pressi della stazione del Nord in attesa del corteo presidenziale. Approfittando dei momenti d'attesa, entrai nella vasta stazione, curioso di ammirare gli ornamenti fatti per la speciale occasione e che alcuni giornali del giorno innanzi avevano descritto "spleudidi e severi". La stampa è spesso servile, grottesca! Il "salone d'onore", decorato di fiori, di piante e di bandiere, assunse ai miei occhi l'aspetto d'una camera ardente. I poliziotti, in borghese, vestiti a festa e dai visi patibolari, apparivano dei veri e proprii becchini. Tutto era per ispirare tristezza.

Più tardi, alla spicciolata, giunsero in vettura i ministri Clemeuceau, **Briand,** Thomson, Picquart, Milliès-Lacroix, **Viviani,** Cruppi, Doumergue, Maujan e Simyau, poi il prefetto de Selves e l'immancabile Lepine, ndi giuuse il presidente Fallières accompaguato dal suo seguito e da uu numero assai limitato di parlameutari. I curiosi, che di solito abbondano in queste occasioui, furono piuttosto scarsi.

840514042

The Emma Goldman Papers

Labor Day / E[mma] G[oldman]. – pp. 297-299 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 3, no. 7 (Sept. 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

of 1905, along with innumerable false promises of changes, have been aimed at the growing peasant discontent. All real concessions were made during or after the time of hundreds of armed peasant revolts.

And what is the outcome? The peasants feel that they have forced the government to terms. They are not grateful as they would have been had the changes been freely granted. They are only crying for more. Nothing short of full social and economic freedom will satisfy them.

The Russian upheaval is a conscious social movement, and this is why it may develop into the most portentous historic event. Like former revolutions and civil wars in Europe and America, it claims for the citizens the political rights of men. But unlike any preceding national cataclysm, it insists on social as well as political rights, on economic equality, on the right of every man to as much land as he can till, and of no man to more, and on the right of all the people to all the land for all time.

This evolutionary process is in the direction of Anarchist Communism, as can easily be gathered from the interviews the author of "Russia's Message" has had with many distinguished Russian thinkers. It is, therefore, to be regretted that Mr. Walling uses, in a certain passage, the term Anarchy in the popular sense, that of chaos. A literateur of his calibre, one who is undoubtedly conversant with the philosophy of Anarchism, should never stoop to such misrepresentation.

Three giant names, Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Tolstoy, point the way to liberation: Bakunin as organizer, Kropotkin as the scientific expounder, and Tolstoy as the awakener of the social consciousness.

"Russia's Message" will render important service to the revolutionary movement of Russia, as well as that of the entire world. It is to be hoped that this work may receive the recognition it merits so well.

LABOR DAY

A PAPER PREPARED FOR THE MEETING OF THE UNEMPLOYED AT COOPER INSTITUTE, SEPT. 7TH.

LABOR DAY! What a deep and significant meaning that term implies! Labor, the creator of wealth, the nourisher of the human race, the harbinger of peace and happiness,—Labor having its day, Labor arisen from the abyss, from out of the mines and mills and shops, from out of its pale, trembling, cringing condition. Labor, the mighty giant, conscious of its power, celebrating its great day of regeneration. What a wonderfully sublime and inspiring vista!

Such it might be, nay, will be some day. But to-day, what is it to-day? A ghastly lie, a caricature, a mocking, fiendish monster, sapping the very life element from its slaves, that its masters may become more powerful, more exacting. Yes, look at the thousands of workers who are marching to-day, I mean those whom the fiend labor holds in its clutches, what has labor done for them? True, it has given them bread for the moment, a cover over their heads, and possibly an extra coat, but what has it not taken in return, oh! what has it not taken from its ever yielding victims? It has taken their souls, their dignity, their self-respect, it has condemned them to carry the burdens of the world, a hard, cruel, merciless world, wherein they have no place, no rights, no chances. It has stolen their liberty that others may better enslave them.

And you, army of unemployed, you men and women of the road and the street, you countless numbers, who carry the banner, month after month, week after week, you, with empty stomachs and dull, heavy heads, with hunger and despair lurking in your eyes, what has labor done for you?

Hundred thousand men out of work in the city of New York—homeless, shelterless, clothless, foodless, in this city of wealth and affluence. Who dares speak of Labor Day in the face of this awful spectacle?

The "Evening Post" of September 5th in discussing the significance of Labor Day says: "It is a well-established tradition of American business affairs that Labor Day marks the end of holiday and idleness. On the morning

561

840514042

The Emma Goldman Papers

Labor Day / E[mma] G[oldman]. – pp. 297-299 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 3, no. 7 (Sept. 1908).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

of the Tuesday following the first Monday in September, the average American, metaphorically speaking, throws his coat off and gets to work." What wonderful wisdom our newspapers feed their readers on.

A well-established tradition, indeed; we Americans are full of traditions, but whoever lives up to them? We also boast of well-established tradition of free speech, press and assembly, yet we could not have marched without the grace of the police commissioner, yet we could not express ourselves, if the club should decree against it, yet men and women are dragged off the platforms and imprisoned, if they dare exercise that "well established tradition." Ah, we have loads of traditions, we Americans, *on paper.*

"Labor Day marks the end of holiday and idleness." You men have had a holiday and have been idle, not by choice, but by grim, iron necessity. Have you enjoyed either? Have you been merry-making with your wives and children? Have you feasted on nature's gifts? Have you strengthened your body in the invigorating embrace of the ocean? Or has not the street, the alleys, the gutter, the filthy quarters of tenth-rate saloons, the road, the box cars, been your holiday places?

To-day is to mark the end of idleness, and you, average Americans, are to throw off your coats and begin work?

Is there any one here who is not ready for it? But where, where is that all powerful, omnipotent God—Labor —that will give you a chance?

The end of idleness, yes, some day, when Society will have embraced the human family into a great brotherhood, —the end of idleness only when man realizes that labor has the power of his Liberation and not his damnation. When you and I will become conscious, that you and I must make labor subservient to us, to our needs, our happiness, our joy, and that *we* must stop being subservient to labor. Not until then will the end of idleness come.

But what now? What is to be done with the great host who are only too ready to throw off their coats—tatters would be a more appropriate term—and to set to work:

First and foremost to organize, to organize the unemployed from the Atlantic to the Pacific into a great body of men, not cringing slaves, who are satisfied with a chunk of bread and a cup of coffee, men, who want food, and who will demand it as loud as their stomach dictates.

Men, who will demand that some of the money, that city officials appropriate for themselves, should be used in building homes, where the unemployed shall find rest during the day and sleep at night, men who will insist that kindergartens and playhouses shall be erected, where the children of that vast army will be looked after. Who will demand that the cities shall have fewer churches, and fewer policemen, and that the money spent in keeping these breeders of superstition and crime shall be used in building large dining-halls for the unemployed.

I realize that these demands are but paliative, that they can not eradicate the unemployed question, but there is nothing that can eradicate that awful problem, except organized stalwart, brave, daring demands.

When we have learned to demand these immediate reliefs, we will also have learned to demand labor's true day—the day that will feast the dawn of human brotherhood and social well-being.

E. G.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

FRANCE.

The recent savage outbreak of the authorities failed to weaken the combative powers of the General Federation of Labor.

The officers of that powerful organization who have been incarcerated after the bloody skirmish at Villeneuve —Saint-Georges, Griffuelhes, Pouget, Yvetot, Maucolin, Dret, and Marie, were replaced by a new Executive Committee, the latter immediately taking steps for the preparation of monster protest meetings against the outrageous prosecutions.

The French proletariat is displaying great solidarity. At the very moment when the entire bourgeois press is clamoring for the dissolution of the Federation, the Miners' Union, with a membership of 60,000, has joined that organization as a protest against the government and in evidence of solidarity with their struggling brothers.

The Typographical Union recently held a tremendous meeting condemning the massacre of workingmen and severely criticizing the opportunistic labor leaders.

The revolutionary workers of France are not alone in

562

840514040

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Latest Police Outrage / Emma Goldman. — pp. 273-275 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 3, no. 7 (Sept. 1908).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

MOTHER EARTH SUSTAINING FUND

RECEIPTS.

J. Nielsen, Denver, Colo.	$1.00
P. Stcenstra, Paterson, N. J.	1.00
Group "Freiheit," Paterson, N. J.	3.00
N. Y. *World*, article by E. G.	150.00
Subscriptions and Renewals	31.50
Total	$186.50

EXPENDITURES.

Deficit, as per July account	$351.03
Cost and office expenscs, July M. E.	180.00
Total	$531.03
Total expenditures	$531.03
Total receipts	186.50
Deficit	$344.53

* * *

NOTE

We have issued, in pamphlet form, "What I Believe," an article by Emma Goldman which recently appeared in the New York "World." Price, 5 cents. Per hundred, $3.00.

LA PACE

Militant Anti-Militarist Organ

GENOA, ITALY

PRICE, 3 L. (60 cents)

10c. A COPY $1 A YEAR

MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature

Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Proprietor, 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. III SEPTEMBER, 1908 No. 7

THE LATEST POLICE OUTRAGE

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

POLICE brutality and outrage against Anarchists have become such an every-day occurrence, that one no longer feels inclined to refer to them.

However, the latest "bravery" is so flagrant, so unspeakably brutal, that we can not possibly keep silent.

Comrade Alex. Berkman and a young girl friend, Miss E., were arrested, at a meeting of the unemployed, at Cooper Union, on Labor Day without the slightest provocation. They were brutally hustled out of the hall and fairly dragged to the station house. There they were received by a wild, raging, foaming human beast, Lieutenant Brenner, with the "kind and Christian" remark, "Yous ought to be brought here on a stretcher."

This disgraceful member of the human family must have waited for such a golden opportunity to show his heroic devotion to his trade of bullying people. At any rate, when Comrade H. Havel called at the station house to see Berkman, and asked on what charge he was being kept, the uniformed bully fairly yelled in his face, "We'll land him this time," and he kept his promise.

Until midnight Attorney Meyer London and H. Havel waited in the station to assist our arrested friends, when they will be taken before the night court. But they were assured that the hearing will not take place until morning.

No sooner had the lawyer and Havel departed, when Miss E. and Berkman were hustled over to court and tried without a chance of hearing or counsel. Comrade

563

840514040
The Emma Goldman Papers
The Latest Police Outrage / Emma Goldman. – pp. 273-275 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 7 (Sept. 1908).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Berkman was railroaded to the workhouse for five days and Miss E. fined $10. Fortunately, dear staunch friend Bolton Hall had rushed to the scene and paid her fine, else she too would have had to go to the Island.

The charge against her was vagrancy, as she refused to give her address, not wishing to annoy the people she was living with. Berkman was tried on disorderly conduct.

The morning press was full of bloodcurdling accounts of the "intentions and doings" of the Anarchists, and how the prompt action of the police prevented a "riot."

The newspaper flunkeys, about as coarse and vulgar as their uniformed brothers, glory in the fact that the officers lauded one boy a blow in the jaw and knocked another one down.

Wonderful spirit of liberty and human decency, is it not?

Now, what are the real facts about the whole matter?

The Brotherhood Welfare Association of New York held a parade and meeting of the unemployed, at Cooper Union.

Dr. Ben. L. Reitman, Chicago organizer of that Association, had been invited, as one of the speakers. Unfortunately he caught a severe cold, and, unable to concentrate on what he had intended to say at the meeting, he asked me to prepare a paper, which he would read. The Doctor probably thought that most of the speakers were either unfamiliar with the conditions of the unemployed, or too weakkneed to treat it in a radical manner.

That Dr. Reitman is well known and liked by society outcasts was very apparent by the ovation he was given when he began to read the manuscript, his voice hardly being audible. But the enthusiasm reached high tide when our Hoba friend announced, in his usual frank manner, that the paper was prepared by Miss Emma Goldman. (The readers will find the speech on another page.)

Naturally a commotion followed, especially among the "Gentlemen" speakers, who felt compromised. A certain Oberwager, well known as the worst lickspittle and yellow dog in trade union ranks, launched into the Doctor and Anarchism, in a most ferocious manner boasting of his great feat in having just knocked down a boy for distributing the anarchistic panic pamphlets.

Comrade Berkman quietly rose and called the speaker's attention to the fact that Dr. Reitman was no longer in the hall, and that it was unfair, to say the least, to attack a man who could not reply.

Thereupon several detectives fairly jumped on Berkman and Miss E., pulling, kicking and dragging them out of the hall.

The audience protested, but American audiences have too terrible an awe for the sacredness of authority to show a really vigorous and manly protest which would teach the uniformed bullies a lesson, once for all.

In no country, Russia not excepted, would the police dare to exercise such brutal power over the lives of men and women.

In no country would the people stand for such beastliness and vulgarity. Nor do I know of any people who have so little regard for their own manhood and self-respect as the average American citizen, with all his boasted independence.

Poor outraged, abused Goddess of Liberty, no foreign land has so little place for you as your own native soil.

❦ ❦ ❦

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

RUSSIAN roubles are ever sufficiently plentiful to induce "highly respectable" American lawyers to act as the agents of the Tsar's Third Section. But that Russian influence has grown so powerful with our Federal government as to dictate the decision to extradite a political refugee is a development urgently requiring serious consideration.

We have taken powerful strides within recent years along the road of imperialism and autocracy. Yet, there are some among us who still cherish old-time republican traditions. And the most sacred of them is the right of asylum for the victims of a tyrant's persecution. It has ever been our proud boast that we welcome the political refugees of the Old World. And though we should exclude Tolstoy as one who disbelieves in organized government, still we have never yet stooped to the rôle of gendarme for the malicious cretin on the banks of the Neva.

564

840514041

The Emma Goldman Papers

To Our Readers / Emma Goldman. – pp. 279-280 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 7 (Sept. 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

learns to fight for his rights; when both make common cause against a mutual exploiter, then only will the first step have been taken toward solving the negro question.

* * *

John Mitchell, former president of the United Mine Workers of America, has been promoted by the Civic Federation to a highly salaried position as an official of that organization.

A very profitable transaction—for Mitchell and the Federation. The former, as the exploiters' most loyal servant among influential labor leaders, fully deserves his promotion. The Federation now feels itself better equipped to achieve its objects: to hypnotize the workingman into a Nirvana-like contentment, leaving his interests to the loving care of the honorable gentlemen of the Civic Federation. Mitchell is the very man to assist in the "pacification" process. He declares that he will do his utmost to help "harmonize the mutual interests of labor and capital."

The tribe of Powderly, Sargent, and Mitchell will gradually help to open the eyes of labor. The workers are beginning to realize that slave and master can have no "mutual" interests. They will soon awaken to the treachery of their leaders who exploit labor as a stepping-stone to personal advancement. When the producers shall have fully awakened to the situation, they will have done with leaders. They will cease waiting for a Messiah to lead them out of the Egypt of wage slavery. They will do their own liberating.

* * *

Says Gompers: "Organized labor is intelligent enough to choose for itself the party which will best represent its interests." And he adds: "Workingmen, vote for Bryan! Those who take issue with my position are political renegades."

TO OUR READERS

A LITTLE over a year and a half ago I received a letter from our most ardent champion in Australia, Comrade Fleming, asking me to come to that far-off country. Comrade Fleming has for many years carried on a valiant fight against all superstition, and especially against that of politics, which has befogged the minds of the workers in Australia.

Of late there seems to have been quite an awakening among the more thoughtful people there, as to the futility of parliamentary action; and while Anarchism is far from being widely known in Australia, Comrade Fleming no doubt thinks that the soil is about ripe for our ideas. That must have been his reason for inviting me on a lecture tour; possibly also because our untiring comrade realized the impossibility of a single-handed fight.

At that time my thoughts were far from Australia. MOTHER EARTH had passed through a great deal of trouble after the Czolgosz number of October 1906, and I had all I could do to confine myself to our own needs. As it is, we are about as poor of active workers, not to speak of lecturers, as our movement is in Australia. Then, too, there was no reliable man to remain at the post in New York for any length of time. And last, but not least, a trip to Australia seemed to me quite an adventure which eighteen months ago, I had neither strength nor spirit to undertake.

Comrade Fleming, however, kept on urging me, assuring MOTHER EARTH a great success, if I would only come. After careful consideration, and now that our magazine is in the safe hands of Comrades Alexander Berkman and Hippolyte Havel,—the latter having been a silent, but most devoted worker on the magazine for over a year,—I have decided to venture the trip. Besides, since the American fleet has been so royally welcomed by the Australians, I feel confident that the publisher of MOTHER EARTH will receive no less a reception. Don't you think so?

To be able to sail for Australia in January, I have decided to begin my tour early this time, in the latter part of October. I shall have three months to cover a pretty large area between New York and San Francisco, at which port I shall embark. I shall therefore be able to

565

840514041

The Emma Goldman Papers

To Our Readers / Emma Goldman. – pp. 279-280 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 7 (Sept. 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

give cities along the route from one to two lectures.

Friends, this tour is to represent the battle royal for MOTHER EARTH. It is to be my last supreme effort to secure the magazine financially.

That MOTHER EARTH has friends—staunch and devoted friends—is best proven by this month's accounts of the Sustaining Fund,* in response to a personal letter, which the summer's hardships compelled me to send out. But the few who could and did help are not numerous enough to cover the monthly deficit; besides, I would rather not continue the magazine than burden my friends who have been so generous.

My last tour was undoubtedly a success, and, if added to this, I can cover new ground, I may be reasonably sure of accomplishing my cherished aim. The comrades who want to help make my tour a success, who want to arrange meetings, will communicate with me at once, as we have no time to lose. I shall have to give preference to the cities from which I hear first.

My list of subjects is not yet completed. I intend, however, to treat of the following themes:

The Dissolution of our Institution.
Puritanism, the Great Obstacle to Liberty.
The Psychology of Violence.
Marriage and Love.
Comrades, to Work!

Other subjects will be added.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

THE GENUINE TYPE IS ALWAYS SIMPLE

By W. C. OWEN.

"DON'T!" vehemently exclaims one of the characters in Oscar Wilde's "A Model Husband." "Don't use big words; they mean so little." It seems to me that nowadays, when hundreds of thousands make their living by appearing learned in literature, artistic criticism, and the various departments of what we are pleased to call the intellectual life, this is one of the most important lessons to take to heart. If Tolstoy had done

* See p. 303.

nothing else, surely he would have laid us all under an inestimable debt for his insistance on this fact. In our daily, bread and butter life—the life that deals with the things with which we are entirely familiar and that, therefore, we know—we appreciate all this. There we do our best to bring people to the point; we try to get them to be clear, to tell us just what they mean, to drop the non-essential. This is the way in which we always act as regards things that seem to us of real importance.

But when we pass to the consideration of public affairs it seems that we are not so particular, although we are then entering on a domain with which we are less familiar, for we cannot know the affairs of millions of human beings so intimately as we know our own. Here, therefore, the footing is less secure, and it becomes the more necessary that the light should be clear; that we should not tolerate those who strive to confuse us by introducing long arguments on matters about which they cannot be positive. Above all, when we consider how inevitable it is that those who find themselves elevated to the position of leadership should quickly come to believe in the magic of their own high-sounding phrases, ought we to insist more strenuously than ever on the rules that we observe in ordinary life.

I doubt if Miss De Cleyre can believe more firmly than I do in emotion, since I consider it the most powerful of facts; but what I am convinced of is that emotion is excited by what we know, or, at least, by what, for the time being, we think we know. Here is a man wild with passion because he has been cheated, slandered, or otherwise injured. To him, for the moment, this is the actual fact in life; something entirely different from a vague, historical theory; and for that very reason he is profoundly moved. Nothing is of any importance as compared with the righting of that wrong; and it is this frame of mind that must be called into existence before the talk of overthrowing institutions, so deeply rooted as those we now complain of, can be other than wild vaporing.

But if facts are all-important, logic is still more so; for logic is the process by which facts, which standing alone would be comparatively weak, are shown to be linked together, forming a powerful combination. I take an illustration from the recent Socialist convention at Chi-

566

890222013

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Berkman's Partner Abuses the Police / Emma Goldman. — p. 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(Sept. 14, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

BERKMAN'S PARTNER ABUSES THE POLICE

Cheers When Emma Goldman Says They're Not Worth Powder to Blow Them Up.

STENOGRAPHER ON WATCH

Brought In by Detectives and Has to Record a Defense of "Affinities" and Other Stuff.

Emma Goldman the Anarchist, closed a long defense of "affinities" yesterday with an attack on the police, in which she said the detectives of this city were not worth powder to blow them into perdition, even if she did not use the word "profession." The sentiment was hoisted on [illegible] by 300 or more men, women and children packed in a hall at 9[illegible] East Broadway.

Detectives Raftery and Bloom of the Police Bureau sat a few feet away from the speaker with a Police Headquarters stenographer taking down the speech, which was in German. They had been sent there by Acting Police Commissioner Ebser with instructions to stop the meeting should there be any violent demonstration against the police as a result of the arrest of Alexander Berkman last week. [illegible] took no action.

[illegible] about the east side [illegible] for the express purpose [illegible] demonstration, although [illegible] the Russian [illegible] Berkman, [illegible] Blackwell's Island [illegible] Berkman's [illegible] Emma Goldman's name, and [illegible] sprung each Berkman [illegible] Blackwell's Island [illegible] Berkman's [illegible] the platform [illegible] Miss Goldman [illegible] the police. She [illegible] Berkman and his sentence in the [illegible] to the [illegible] Anarchist [illegible] Anarchist [illegible] would not do again what [illegible] of [illegible] desired [illegible] Some of them [illegible] kept out of the [illegible] women should not live [illegible] not peer through [illegible] beat her husband in [illegible] his letters. [illegible] go into his room and [illegible] affairs [illegible] the meeting were told [illegible] of the publication of [illegible] which Berkman [illegible] getting out [illegible]

"BUFFS" CELEBRATE.

Gay Doings at an Engine House Raffle in Great Jones Street.

KNICKERBOCKER NOVELTIES.

J. B. Regan Has Brought New Grill-Room Devices from Europe.

The grillroom and main restaurant of the Hotel Knickerbocker, Broadway and Forty-second Street, both redecorated throughout the Summer, were reopened last night. The Astorbilt restaurant, which was opened last June to provide for open air dining, was closed. James B. Regan, proprietor of the hotel, who has recently returned from Europe, said that he had obtained there a number of things for both the grill and the main restaurant which will be innovations for an American hotel.

From France he brings 2,000 dozen pieces of chinaware for serving coffee in the grill. The pots and cups and saucers are made to match. The china pots will take the place of the customary silver pots. Also from France comes a number of big champagne glasses, made large enough to hold a French peach and champagne. The peach, costing $1—is pricked with a fork and put in the bottom of the glass, after which the champagne is poured in. This is supposed to flavor the drink, and after the champagne has disappeared the peach is left to be eaten.

All the Knickerbocker waiters, Mr. Regan said yesterday, will be furnished with silver cigar cutters from Berlin for preparing cigars for the guests of the hotel. He brought back, he said, a lot of solid silver funnels for straining old wines. All decanters will be of cut silver hereafter at the Knickerbocker.

"One of the most interesting things I found," he said, "was a ham boiler. I found that in Switzerland. It is heavily plated in the bottom on a raised base. Over it fits the [illegible] cut on a bias, and is inserted and the frame closed up, [illegible] in a tight hold with it on. The water is then able to get out slowly [illegible] of the ham or [illegible], as is wanted, without [illegible] it with the juices."

The grillroom has been decorated anew by James Wall Finn and Frederic J. Remington's picture of the Indians has been put in a new and better setting than the other one that used to be in the grillroom has been done away with, and thus we have gained [illegible] The grill, to dig [illegible]

Indeed, all the [illegible] the grillroom by [illegible] Bank the Amer[illegible] people to dance [illegible] and I shall [illegible] to dance [illegible] better [illegible] here from [illegible]

Mr. Regan spoke [illegible] the [illegible] in Paris. He [illegible] that it was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

840514044

The Emma Goldman Papers

Apropos of My Lecture Tour / Emma Goldman. – pp. 318-319 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 8 (Oct. 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Thirty years ago Germany stood foremost in the ranks of advanced thought. It was Germany that led in science; it was Germany to which the freethinkers and would-be emancipators of an enslaved world turned with ever growing hope. And to-day Germany is the most Kaiser-ridden, military-cursed country in the world, Russia not excepted. The Emperor rules, a true autocrat, and the worker may boast that he belongs to a party that has forty-three representatives in the Reichstag, making from time to time most eloquent speeches, but the bottom fact is that the moment he opens his mouth to complain of his unhappy lot the authorities throw him into prison.

That is what the ballot has done for him. Have you fared better?

Neither the old parties, mere agents of the plutocracy, nor the new party of political Socialists will or can ever do anything for you. It makes no difference for whom you vote. You only choose masters to still further oppress and enslave you. Cease to be their submissive tool. Stop being a sheep. You need no masters. Be a man; start to think and act for yourself. You will remain a slave as long as you are willing to delegate your powers.

Politics is a delusion and a snare. The workingmen can expect nothing from it. When they will cease to delegate their powers; when they will begin to produce for use, instead of for the employers' profit, then only will they win their freedom and independence.

❦ ❦ ❦

APROPOS OF MY LECTURE TOUR

THE announcement of my coming tour through America and Australia in the last issue of MOTHER EARTH has awakened considerable interest among friends and foes. The latter,—I mean the daily press,—are quite overjoyed, it seems, that America will soon be rid of such an evil as Emma Goldman.

Much as I sympathize with our bourgeois neighbors, I have to inform them that I have no desire to shake the dust completely of such a glorious land as ours. Besides, I believe in prevention of cruelty to animals, even to two-legged animals at the editorial helms of the New York *Times* and their colleagues who wrote such gleeful editorials about my departure. To leave America for good

means to deprive these poor creatures of the only interesting object to write about. Where are their little brains to turn to for material of Anarchist plots and conspiracies, if I am not here? And therefore, if for no other reason, I shall have to return.

That our friends and comrades are interested in the coming tour they have proven by numerous requests for lectures from various cities along the route that I am to take.

I am therefore already able to announce that I will lecture on:

Oct. 18th-20th at Rochester, Germania Hall, Clinton avenue, N.
Oct. 21st at Pittsburg, Turn Hall, Fourth street.
Oct. 22d-24th at Cleveland.
Oct. 25th at Cincinnati, Vine Street Church.
Oct. 26th at Cincinnati.
Oct. 27th-29th at Indianapolis.
Oct. 30th to Nov. 1st at St. Louis.
Nov. 3d-6th at Kansas City.
Nov. 7th-13th at Omaha.

Meetings are also being arranged at Lincoln, Neb., Council Bluffs, Des Moines, Sioux City, Minneapolis, Fargo, Bismarck, Butte, Spokane, Seattle, and Portland. After that I shall go to California, where I expect to spend a month.

In cities where we have but few comrades, Dr. Ben L. Reitman will act as advance agent, in order to save time and break new ground. I ask the comrades to give him every assistance possible.

Below are the subjects I will discuss on my present tour:

The Dissolution of Our Institutions.
The Psychology of Violence.
Puritanism: the Greatest Obstacle to Liberty.
Life versus Morality.
Marriage and Love.
The Drama: the Strongest Disseminator of Radicalism.
The Political Circus and Its Clowns.

Mail intended for me should be addressed, as usual, to 210 East Thirteenth Street, New York City.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

568

890206006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Says She Is Coming Back / Emma Goldman.— p. 5 ; 40 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(Oct. 17, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

EMMA GOLDMAN SAYS SHE IS COMING BACK

Despite the Hopes Entertained That Australia Will Keep Her There.

SPEAKS A FAREWELL PIECE

Complacently Declaring for Everything That Will Hurt Existing Order— Profitable Audience of Girls.

In ... to take her farewell piece ... Emma ... Powers in Anarchy and ... at ... Hall, 114 Clinton Street, ... before starting on a long tour, of this country and Australia, but she dashed ... hopes which had been entertained that ... would voluntarily remain out of ... America.

"For ... of you all, and The New York ... particular," she said ... that I have my faith in the devil taking good care of me in the next year or so as ... that I shall come back!" ...

She ... in her old style to the ... many of them girls in the ... who crowded Clinton Hall to hear her at 25 cents a head. She has been talking at least once a week for some ... three months there, but Police ... Bingham always had ... on the audience to suppress any ... disturbance, and be ... to take down what she said. Miss Goldman understood that ... drew money at the box office ... if she wasn't good.

But ... was her last in New ... and she ripped ...

"I ... I am not hostile ... the agitation ... standing ... and order, and ... deeply ... I am for the ... yielding up ... all ... in here and now."

In ... Miss Goldman Alexander Berkman ... that ... street would ... "The Eternal ... Devil." "She ... does not ... her readers and turn ... ass," she ... "She is quite ... work ..."

... after which Miss Goldman ... She registered ... at the ... of the devil and ... Walt Whitman.

... other ... the ... had produced ... a ... of ... at ... ing ... and ... a ... which was wrong. She ... went on.

"... age is ... and ... Nature is not ... and ... irrational and ... ing ... Women ... slaves of ... and conventions. They get ... but they'll learn to break the ... some day.

Whitman was about the only real poet and consequent truth teller that this country has produced, she said. She referred copiously to her various magazines and pamphlets, which could be purchased at the door, and pleaded with her audience to ... for her magazine Mother Earth.

Miss Goldman appeared to be in excellent ... She knows she will not go to Australia with ... but remains here to keep the ... of Mother Earth coming ...

GRAYSON IS SUSPENDED.

Socialist Calls His House of Commons Colleagues "Murderers."

LONDON, Oct. 16. Albert N. Grayson, the Socialist member of the House of Commons from ... Yorkshire, who created a scene in the House yesterday by denouncing the members for not succoring the starving thousands on the streets of London after which he was obliged to leave the House, amid the cries of disapproval from his colleagues, was to-day suspended

SAYS LOEB MISLED HIM.

Ellis Island Caterer Threatens to Fight Loss of Contract.

There is likely to be trouble on Ellis Island at 2 o'clock this afternoon, for at that time the contract of Harry Balfe, caterer on the island, expires, and the Government intends to turn over the business of feeding immigrants to Fritz Brodt, a rival bidder. Mr. Balfe asserted yesterday that he would not give up without a fight, since he declared that statements of Secretary Loeb and Assistant Secretary Wheeler, made when Mr. Wheeler was Acting Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, led him to believe that he was to be continued as caterer, and acting on this belief he made contracts for supplies.

These statements of Mr. Loeb and Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Balfe asserts, were made to him, when, upon learning that other bidders were after his contract, he went to Oyster Bay to see the President. He did not see Mr. Roosevelt, but declares that Secretary Loeb assured him there was no cause for worry, and that the President looked upon him with favor. Later Mr. Balfe asserts, Mr. Wheeler, in the hearing of Commissioner of Immigration, Robert Watchorn, gave him a renewal of the contract.

Commissioner Watchorn would not say yesterday whether or not he had heard the contract awarded to Balfe, but he declared that Balfe had told him that he should give way to Brodt without trouble. Balfe, however, has retained lawyers and threatens to fight his dismissal.

CLASH IN STANDARD OIL SUIT.

Objection to Government Counsel Shaking His Fist at Witness.

CHICAGO, Oct. 16. Cross-examination of W. D. Harbur, expert traffic witness called by the defense, brought out several clashes between counsel for the Government and for the Standard Oil Company similar to the bearing of the railroad phases of the Government's suit to dissolve the Standard Oil Company.

... that Judge Franklin Ferris was appealed to by Attorney Rosenthal to ... Frank B. Kellogg, Government counsel, to stand further away from the witness and stop shaking his fist in the face of the witness.

Judge Ferris told Mr. Rosenthal that he had seen no ... part of ... government attorney, and Mr. Kellogg ... that he had shaken his fist.

"... shaken my glasses," said Mr. Kellogg, "but not my fist."

"I object to your shaking your glasses, then," said Attorney Rosenthal.

"... attitude has been allowed counsel on both sides," said Judge Ferris. "Let the cross-examination proceed."

JESUIT BISHOP CONSECRATED

Ceremony for Laurenus Veres of Mexico Held In Washington.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 16. With ... ceremonies ... directly or indirectly ... Pope, ... was consecrated in the presence of Mgr. Diomede Falconio, the Papal Delegate, the Right Rev. Laurenus Veres of the Diocese of Mexico was to-day consecrated a Bishop. The service was ... at Trinity Church, West Washington.

The day ... was held in this city in accord with the wishes of President Diaz of Mexico that the consecration by the Papal Delegate to the United States ... furnishes one of the few instances of a Jesuit being made Bishop in a Catholic church, the members of the society being almost exclusively teachers and pastors. Bishop Veres will return shortly to Mexico.

To Launch Largest Ocean Tug To-day.

The Mary F. Scully, the largest ocean tugboat afloat, will be launched to-day from the yard of her builders, the Staten Island Shipbuilding Company, at Port Richmond. The new tug was built for the Scully Towing Company of New York. She is of steel 150 feet long, 27 feet beam, 15 feet draught, and will carry 500 tons of coal.

She is fitted with a powerful searchlight, wireless telegraphy, and wrecking pumps, and will cost $150,000.

THE UNITED SERVICE.

The Army.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 16. ... Capt. S. J. B. Schindel, Sixth Infantry, relieved from duty at Army War College Oct. 31 and will join his regiment.

First Lieut. J. C. Ballard, Medical Reserve Corps, will proceed to Fort Sam Houston, Texas, for temporary duty ...

NEGRO BULLY SHOOTS TWO WHITES HERE

His Face Battered to a Pulp When the Police Reserves Rescue Him.

SHOT A CONDUCTOR FIRST

Then Fled Through Brooklyn Street, Overturning a Little Girl, and Put a Bullet In Man Who Caught Him.

The crowd in a Bergen Street trolley car bound for Manhattan about 7 o'clock last night thereabouts enjoyed a fight which began when the car got to Rogers Avenue, Brooklyn, between the conductor, Henry Bellikoff, and a big negro who had refused to pay his fare and had afterward purposely placed himself on the running board, so that the car could not proceed without danger to him because of a wagon drawn up between the tracks and the curb. But the amusement changed to anger when the negro suddenly threw a ... over and ... Bellikoff in the left ...

A dozen ... sprang from the car as the conductor fell and ran toward the negro, ... what ... were raised on all sides. The negro realized his danger, and ... across Bergen Avenue turned down ... past the Union League Club, knocking down a man in evening clothes as he ran, and swung into Dean Street ... one of his pursuers.

Several ... were standing on the ... corner, and ... noticed an old and ... man ... short ... and ... should- ... stop running. ... crowd ... little, although ... ... and ... negro ... Avenue, ...

840514046

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Joys of an Agitator / Emma Goldman. – pp. 347-350 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 9 (Nov. 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

That describes the psychological status, which characterizes the results of the 11th of November, 1887.

The Black Friday grows to be more and more the day of the international proletariat; the day of mourning, but also the day of resentment, the day of the militant revolutionary spirit.

That the event of the 11th of November happened in a country reputed to be politically the most free and progressive in the world, in a republic which proclaims as its basis liberty and equality, gives it a special significance.

The 11th of November caused in many thinking minds the dissolution of this political superstition, and proved to be the failure of such a politically free country as far as the liberation of the modern proletariat is concerned. The condemnation of our comrades, with all its criminal and detestable tricks, showed that the tyranny which rules from behind the pedestal of the "sovereign people" is of a social and economical nature; and that "political freedom" and "equality before the law" are only cheap disguises to hide this fact from the multitude.

The 11th of November clarified the knowledge regarding the essential nature of modern republics and proved that exploitation and its institutions may reign supreme under any political mask, whether it be an absolute monarchy or a free republic. Under both forms of government these institutions are sacred, and those who doubt them and attack them must be crushed.

From this point of view the 11th of November was a great revelation to the international proletariat, and in this sense the Chicago crime of the Black Friday is commemorated in memorial meetings, which take place every year in November in many of the large cities in Europe.

They hold such memorial meetings in Barcelona and Madrid, in Rome and Milan, in Berlin, Vienna, and Zurich.

In his book "Paris and the Social Revolution," Alvan F. Sanborn writes on page 149:

"The anniversary of the death of Ravachol is celebrated by a pilgrimage of the faithful to the tomb of Diderot, who is regarded as a precursor of Anarchism (Montbrison, where Ravachol is buried, being too far

away for Parisians); and every anniversary of the deaths of those who have died for the cause, and every funeral of a *camarade* is made a pretext for keeping alive the morbid cult. But the great saint day of the French Anarchist calendar is the 11th of November, the anniversary of the Anarchist executions at Chicago.

"All Anarchistic (one might almost say all revolutionary) Europe honestly believes that the Chicago hanging was as flagrant a violation of human rights, and the preceding trial as disgraceful a travesty of justice, as the worst absolute monarchy has ever had the audacity to perpetrate. Whatever the influence of this dramatic execution may have been in America, it was highly inflammatory in Europe. Under a practically free immigration system America will be indeed fortunate if it does not, sooner or later, import long stored-up rancor, originating from this event."

But the American proletariat? It does not, so far, understand the meaning of the 11th of November, but a revolutionary trade union movement will, must spring up from our unbearable social and economical conditions, and this movement will join, correspond with the movement of 1885-86, which resulted in the conspiracy of money and government to kill the tender buds of the revolutionary spirit of American labor.

* * *

THE JOYS OF AN AGITATOR

MUCH has been said and written of the great pioneers who attempted to break through the darkness of religious superstition. Yet whatever persecutions they may have endured, it does not seem to me likely that their obstacles were so hard to overcome as those one meets to-day in the attempt to destroy the political spook. After all, the religious superstition, while based on ignorance, also rests on the naivety of heart, on the childish belief in the power of the miraculous. Not so the political ghost. There is hardly an earnest and intelligent man in the country who really believes in its power, or has faith in politics. Yet that superstition has so eaten into the heart of the people, so dulled their senses that they are absolutely incapable of listening to

570

840514046

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Joys of an Agitator / Emma Goldman. — pp. 347-350 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 3, no. 9 (Nov. 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

or appreciating anything that opposes that awful condition. The religious nightmare calls people to account for their mistakes, urges them to reform, to do better, to sin no more. The political monster opens up the very gates of hell, of all corruption and rottenness, and robs the stanchest hearts of what is good and fine in them.

Never was this more apparent than in the present campaign. Political pigmies, whom one wouldn't trust with one's purse, worked the political superstition with such skill that the people laid down their very souls, abdicated their reasoning and their self-respect.

Indeed, we who live in large cities, away from the political rabble, have not the faintest idea of the degrading, unnerving influence of politics upon the masses.

That I should have started my lecture tour at a time when the fiendish monster politics is celebrating mad orgies, with its victims paralized drunk, staggering in their blind worship, shows how naive we are, who live far removed from that disgusting spectacle.

Needless to say, my meetings were poorly attended, barely paying expenses. For some reason, Pittsburg turned out a large audience to hear the lecture on "The Political Circus and Its Clowns." Indianapolis, where six hundred people came to learn "What Anarchism Really Stands For," was saved by the police. The meeting was stopped in the same brutal, arbitrary manner as has often happened in other cities. Thus our contention that free speech and assembly is a myth has been proven true again. To be sure, the Indianapolis Mayor said that the police overstepped their power; but, of course, he could not go against the Department. No, not likely that one rogue will go against the other. The Chief, too, said that the stopping of the meeting may have been bad law, but it was good common sense. That the post of Chief of Police necessitates commonness no one will deny; surely no refined man would apply for the position of a ruffian. But when the Indianapolis Chief spoke of sense he must have been joking. Every child knows that the police have less sense than pigs.

I left New York with a large deficit for MOTHER EARTH, and lots of debts for literature investments and various miscellaneous things. I had hoped to accomplish enough during two weeks to warrant our reappearance in 64 pages. But the political muddle has frustrated my plans. I raised $133.00, while I had $165.00 expenses. MOTHER EARTH has no support; even the subscribers seem to consider it a special favor to pay up their subscriptions. I have no claim on any one who does not feel the impetus to assist. Nor do I propose that any one should have a claim on me. Therefore MOTHER EARTH will continue in its present size until I can make my meetings pay. We need every inch of space; besides, since none of the comrades seems to feel interest enough to help when the magazine is struggling for life, there is no reason why I should feel the necessity of keeping them posted whether MOTHER EARTH has enough to eat. As Anarchists we are under no mutual obligations, I take it. Henceforth there will be no accounts in MOTHER EARTH, either of our receipts or our expenditures, except an acknowledgment of contributions. Those who have assisted us staunchly, I mean the few faithful friends, will at times be informed as to our *status quo*.

* * *

Public activity in America would be unendurable if it were not for an occasional spirit one meets, who is like a bright spot upon a cloudy sky. Mr. Wm. Marion Reedy, of the St. Louis *Mirror*, is such a bright spot. Fearless, staunch, and liberty-loving,—that alone would stamp him a rarity among publishers and newspaper men. But he represents more than that. He is a bright, intelligent, and splendidly posted man in every line of thought. Nor does he lack that broad-mindedness which can appreciate ideas at variance with his own. He is, indeed, one of the rare exceptions among public men in this great land of ours. Thanks to Mr. Reedy's cooperation I had interesting and well attended meetings in St. Louis. I shall not mind whatever hardships I may yet have to overcome, if only it may be my good fortune to meet in every city a kindred spirit like Mr. Wm. Marion Reedy.

* * *

My tour will continue as follows:

Omaha .....November 7—14
Des Moines..... " 15

571

840514046

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Joys of an Agitator / Emma Goldman. – pp. 347-350 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 9 (Nov. 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Minneapolis	November	17—22
Winnipeg	"	24—30
Fargo	December	2
Butte	"	6— 7
Spokane	"	9—11
Seattle	"	13—14
Vancouver	"	15—16
Portland	"	17—28
Los Angeles	First week in January.	

EMMA GOLDMAN.

November, 1908.

* * *

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS OF 1909

IN accordance with the resolution taken by the Amsterdam Congress (August 24-31, 1907), a new international Congress will take place during the summer of next year; it will be the first to be held by the Anarchist International since its foundation, and at which we shall have to examine the work done during the last two years and try to take stock, for the future, of the experience of this first trial of an international Anarchist organization.

That the Congress should have the full importance it deserves and that it may have the help of comrades from distant lands (Argentine, Japan, etc.), it is necessary to begin at once its preparation.

We invite therefore the comrades of all countries to obtain as many adherents as possible, to communicate to us any ideas and propositions concerning the Congress which they would like to submit to the general discussion by publishing them in the *Bulletin*.

The exact date of the Congress, the town in which it shall be held, the conditions of admission, the questions to be discussed—these are all points to be decided upon. We shall only be able to do it when the general opinion of the comrades will be expressed.

As simply an organ of communication, the Bureau has only to register the wishes of the comrades and to coordinate them so as to satisfy the greatest possible number. But, while fulfilling the mandate received at Amsterdam to convene the new Congress, we believe to rightly interprete the intentions of the Amsterdam congressists as well as the spirit of our Association by extending the invitation not only to groups and individuals adhering to the International, but to all Anarchists—and we hope that all tendencies and shades in the Anarchist cause will be largely represented at the Congress.

As there is no engagement to be taken in advance, and as the resolutions that might be passed by those present would only bind those who approve of them and for as long as they approve them, no one need fear for his independence or his full liberty of initiative, while we all shall be able to gain from the discussion and from eventual understandings which may arise from the exchange of ideas and the personal intercourse established. For the internal business of the Association, private sittings will be held reserved to the adherents only. Those who would like to take any private decisions concerning any practical question, will find all necessary facilities accorded them by the meeting.

We also think—and we ask the comrades to take the thing into serious consideration—that it would be useful to limit the agenda to a few of the more important questions, and not to surcharge it with a number of subjects for which no time will be left for serious discussion, but which will only interfere with the time given to the chief subjects.

In any case—with the exception of the date and place, which must be decided in advance—the Congress remains master of its composition, its agenda, and of everything that concerns it.

We count on the enthusiastic activity of all Anarchists, and especially of those who, by their adhesion to the International, have shown their belief in the utility of a permanent organization between the Anarchists of all countries.

THE CORRESPONDENCE BUREAU
OF THE ANARCHIST INTERNATIONAL.

Anarchist journals and reviews are requested to reproduce this appeal.

572

The Emma Goldman Papers
890206009
[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Anarchism Will Mean Absolute Equality and Freedom for Women with No Dual Code / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. —(Nov. 1, 1908).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Y MORNING, NOVEMBER 1, 1908.

Is Easier for Post-Dispatch Ad Answerers Than for Other People

PAGES 1—8

Emma Goldman Says Anarchism Will Mean Absolute Equality and Freedom For Women With No Dual Moral Code

She Tells Marguerite Martyn -That When Perfection Is Achieved Men and Women Will Be Equal.

Weaker Sex Will Achieve Glorious Equality by Demanding the Worship They Have Always Given.

BY MARGUERITE MARTIN.

EMMA GOLDMAN, leader of anarchy, whose speech and actions have shown nothing but defiance and hatred of what we term law, she who has been called the red-mouthed enemy of law, has more laws in her own heart than Blackstone ever recognized, and she obeys the laws she knows as proudly and willing as all "respectable" people obey our man-made laws.

She is by no means a lawless woman, as you might think, for she acknowledges all the laws of nature.

"Nature spells harmony. Even the dullest, the least impressionable of us is affected and influenced by the calmness and grandeur of nature when we come in contact with the great out-of-doors," she said.

We agree with her. Then why are we not all of Emma Goldman's belief? And why has she been pictured and written of as an implacable enemy of law?

These questions I was left to ponder upon after a talk with her. O, she is most convincing.

"The Devil Exonerated."

SHE is staying with her anarchist friend, Mrs. E. I. Adams of 1327 Franklin avenue, and is giving four lectures at Druid's Hall, Ninth and Market streets, before her departure on Monday for Australia.

"The Devil Exonerated," Sunday, at 3 p. m., at which meeting Mr. Marion Reedy will preside, is built upon the recent dramatic craze, "The Devil," and it is expected to attract the attention of many professional men.

She is a vividly impressive personality. One must have a good deal of imagination to fancy Joan of Arc as a more potent power in leading a revolution. And yet with all her railing against existing conditions, she has as yet led no armies to violence.

I asked her if it is her opinion that the wholesale murder of oppressors will be necessary and inevitable.

"The signs of the times are more and more reassuring," she replied. "Books, the drama and many of our most influential forces are preaching anarchy. But you know the pain and hardship it costs a mother to bring one little child into the world. I do not see how this complicated child, Society, is to be brought into a new being without pain and hardship.

"I love life," she continued. "The big, human universe. I by no means prefer riot and bloodshed and death. But anarchists are not passive spectators in the theater of social development. And through all ages the spirit of rebellion has been the spirit of progress."

The Greatest Problem.

THEN, while I made a fine drawing of her, I asked her to draw a word picture of what woman's position will be when the theories of anarchism prevail.

"You touch upon what I should consider the most vital subject in the world—the sex problem—if society were not so complex as to make it impossible to decide just what is the most important force.

"Woman's position should mean woman's freedom—her total emancipation; absolute sex equality. When perfection is achieved there will be that they are not George Sands, with absolute disregard of morality.

"This narrow, puritanical vision has banished man as the disturber from their life.

"Man was not to be tolerated at any price, except, perhaps as the father of a child, since a child could not very well come to life without a father.

"We have [illegible] the tragedy of the economic emancipation of woman, since she can choose her own trade or profession. We have seen her exchange the narrow walls and lack of freedom in her home to the narrowness and lack of freedom of office, department store or factory. We have seen her attempt to compete with men in business and professions prove futile under existing conditions.

"Nevertheless, the position of the working girl is far more natural and human than her seemingly more fortunate sister. You will say that with leisure and wealth a woman may have more opportunity for freedom. True, herself, so long will she be treated as such.

"She is no more responsible for the perpetuation of the race than are men, although she has shouldered the whole responsibility always. Anarchists do not believe with Socialists that so much as you produce so much should you consume.

"We do not talk of quantity, but of quality. The quality of woman's contribution to society would be equal to man's under proper conditions.

Woman's Highest Sphere.

"THE highest sphere of woman lies in developing her individuality, and she needs the whole world as a setting when she can shine resplendent.

"Those roses," and she alluded to a tall stalk of American Beauties which stood at her side, "would lose their effect without the green foliage to set them off. Just so does woman need her complimentary colors and

"Because refined people consider that phase of life their own, their very most sacred affair. No church or state has the right to the means of prying into it; no president has the right to dictate it, as Theodore Roosevelt has the impertinence to do. He would not have the right, if he were the father of all the large families [illegible] altitude of patriarch.

"Your love affairs are no more the business of your neighbor than [illegible] many times you have clean [illegible]

"What do you think of the [illegible] 'Three Weeks,' as a [illegible] independence?" I now asked, with trepidation.

Her Idea of "Three Weeks."

"AS a literary work I do not consider it, and at first I inclined not to read [illegible] had been misrepresented to me. I been given the impression heroine used her fine passion a means to an end, which



573
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890206009

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Anarchism Will Mean Absolute Equality and Freedom for Women with No Dual Code / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. –(Nov. 1, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

knowledges all the laws of nature.

"Nature spells harmony. Even the dullest, the least impressionable of us is affected and influenced by the calmness and grandeur of nature when we come in contact with the great out-of-doors," she said.

We agree with her. Then why are we not all of Emma Goldman's belief? And why has she been pictured and written of as an implacable enemy of law?

These questions I was left to ponder upon after a talk with her. O, she is most convincing.

'The Devil Exonerated."

SHE is staying with her anarchist friend, Mrs. E. I. Adams of 1327 Franklin avenue, and is giving four lectures at Druid's Hall, Ninth and Market streets, before her departure on Monday for Australia.

"The Devil Exonerated," Sunday, at 3 p. m., at which meeting Mr. Marion Reedy will preside, is built upon the recent dramatic craze, "The Devil," and it is expected to attract the attention of many professional men.

She is a vividly impressive personality. One must have a good deal of imagination to fancy Joan of Arc as a more potent power in leading a revolution. And yet with all her railing against existing conditions, she has as yet led no armies to violence.

I asked her if it is her opinion that the wholesale murder of oppressors will be necessary and inevitable.

"The signs of the times are more and more reassuring," she replied. "Books, the drama and many of our most influential forces are preaching anarchy. But you know the pain and hardship it costs a mother to bring one little child into the world. I do not see how this complicated child, Society, is to be brought into a new being without pain and hardship.

"I love life," she continued. "The big, human universe. I by no means prefer riot and bloodshed and death. But anarchists are not passive spectators in the theater of social development. And through all ages the spirit of rebellion has been the spirit of progress."

The Greatest Problem.

THEN, while I made a line drawing of her, I asked her to draw a word picture of what woman's position will be when the theories of anarchism prevail.

"You touch upon what I should consider the most vital subject in the world—the sex problem—if society were not so complex as to make it impossible to decide just what is the most important force.

"Woman's position should mean woman's freedom—her total emancipation, absolute sex equality. When perfection is achieved there will be no more of this absurd idea of the dualism of sex. Man will possess enough of the womanly quality of gentleness—woman will possess enough of the manly quality of strength.

"The equalization of the forces of gentleness and strength will eliminate the undesirable forces of weakness and brutality – men and women will be perfect companions and the most enduring love is founded upon comradeship.

"Women Not George Sands."

"WOMAN has achieved some civil rights. Equal suffrage, gained in some localities, was a good demand. But the emancipated woman has been so misrepresented by yellow journalists and milk-and-water literateurs that the exponent of woman's rights rebelled, and lacking a sense of humor, has exerted her energy to prove that they are not as bad as they are painted; that they are not George Sands, with absolute disregard of morality.

"This narrow, puritanical vision has banished man as the disturber from their life.

"Man was not to be tolerated at any price, except, perhaps as the father of a child, since a child could not very well come to life without a father.

"We have seen also the tragedy of the economic emancipation of woman, since she can choose her own trade or profession. We have seen her exchange the narrow walls and lack of freedom in her home to the narrowness and lack of freedom of office, department store or factory. We have seen her attempt to compete with men in business and professions prove futile under existing conditions.

"Nevertheless, the position of the working girl is far more natural and human than her seemingly more fortunate sister. You will say that with leisure and wealth a woman may have more opportunity for freedom. True, but what freedom of thought or action she allows herself must be hidden behind closed doors at the peril of losing her position. And her cage is no less irksome for being a gilded one.

Where Emancipation Begins.

"NOT until woman possesses some attraction besides her sex will she have a mental or moral footing to stand upon. And the true emancipation begins neither in the courts nor at the polls. It begins with the woman's soul. Women are to achieve this glorious sex equality by demanding the respect, the worship for themselves that they have hitherto given the opposite sex. So much as woman demands, so much shall she receive. The more she receives from the world, the more she is in a position to give.

"There is no reason why she should always be merely a means to an end. So long as she makes a doormat of herself, so long will she be treated as such.

"She is no more responsible for the perpetuation of the race than are men, although she has shouldered the whole responsibility always. Anarchists do not believe with Socialists that so much as you produce so much should you consume.

"We do not talk of quantity, but of quality. The quality of woman's contribution to society would be equal to man's under proper conditions.

Woman's Highest Sphere.

"THE highest sphere of woman lies in developing her individuality, and she needs the whole world as a setting when she can shine resplendent.

"Those roses," and she alluded to a tall stalk of American Beauties which stood at her side, "would lose their effect without the green foliage to set them off. Just so does woman need her complimentary colors and environment. No woman who confines herself to the four walls of a home can advance with the world, so she is an obstacle to her own and her children's progress.

Finds Purity in Free Love.

"BUT you have no idea how many couples are living quietly and beautifully in what you call free love. The higher the mental development the more difficult to find a suitable mate—but the flower of such a union is the more perfect.

"I have in mind a man and his sweetheart who are too well known to mention, who, with their child, are examples of its exaltation. I know another radical couple who have lived side by side until now their sons are entering Yale and have proven the efficacy of the theory."

"But why don't we hear of them, since they have the courage of their convictions?" I asked.

"Because refined people consider that phase of life their own, their very most sacred affair. No church or state has the right to the means of prying into it; no president has the right to dictate it, as Theodore Roosevelt has the impertinence to do. He would not have the right, if he were the father of all the large families he so approves of, much less from the altitude of patriarch.

"Your love affairs are no more the business of your neighbor than how many times you have clean lines."

"What do you think of the novel, 'Three Weeks,' as a declaration of independence?" I now asked, without trepidation.

Her Idea of "Three Weeks."

"AS a literary work I do not consider it, and at first I was inclined not to read it, as I had been misrepresented to me. I had been given the impression that the heroine used her fine passion only as a means to an end, which would have been wholly wrong. But as the love story developed it was magnificent—a masterpiece.

"No, I do not believe Elinor Glyn is an anarchist. I rather think she relies upon her strong social position in defying conventions, and the success of her claim humor her, as an eccentric freak."

I asked her if she had distanced the numerous descriptions I have seen of her as having fierce black eyes, somber hair and masculine physique.

"No," she replied, "I have no desire to make myself felt in that way even for the sake of the strength such appearance might imply. I think you can see that I resort to no such tactics. And yet I love a rousing, sparkling black eye."

Her eyes are blue, her skin [illegible] soft and colorful. Her hair is a light brown, almost blonde, and waves gracefully back from a smooth brow. Her waist is [illegible] but none the less womanly. She wears the comfortable but not [illegible] costume of the Russian [illegible] dents.

"I do not try to [illegible] clothes for myself," she [illegible] admire any unusual [illegible] which is entirely [illegible] on. I have a [illegible]



only people I'd get would be lunatics. That's all right, too. All the manicures would be dead if it wasn't for the lunatics.

SEPTEMBER 13—I've lost the ring Fred gave me. I don't care so much about the ring, but it's the association. That's a white lie, and I'll take it back right now. The ring cost $5 and has not a chip diamond concealed in it somewhere, but it only shows in the sun. Fred told me when he gave it to me that I mustn't value it on account of its intrinsic (that right?) worth, but on account of the purity of the sentiment involved. Now, what do you think of that?

SEPTEMBER 14—Oh! I believe I have found the man. He's at least thirty-five, but he is the darlingest darling in Chicago, and he isn't married. When I told pa, he said to wait a month or two, because the worst spavined horse looks all right in the twilight. Pa's getting to be a pessimist. I wonder if Clarence has any money. Honestly, I wouldn't care if he only had $8 a week, but it will be awful if he gets $12.

SEPTEMBER 15—I saw Clarence again. He doesn't look quite so good in daylight. When I asked him where his folks lived he said everybody he ever had in the world was dead and he had to face the world alone. It was awfully pathetic. I'm going to reserve judgment on Clarence. I don't believe he's spavined, but he looks collargalled. Anyway, you can't tell much about a man until he's taken you to dinner and you find out whether he eats Worcestershire sauce with his fish. I never saw a right man yet that didn't want Worcester with his fish and give the waiter 50 cents. He says that kind of a man that gives the waiter 50 cents will make his wife do the washing and trim over her last year hat. Clarence has little flecks of gray hair on the side. He looks intellectual, but I heard him say, "Don't want none," to the [illegible] car conductor that wanted [illegible] him transfers. [illegible] come in phases.

574

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890206009

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Anarchism Will Mean Absolute Equality and Freedom for Women with No Dual Code / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. —(Nov. 1, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ge Sands, with
morality
ical vision has
disturber from

olerated at any
as the father
could not very
out a father
the tragedy o'
pation of wom-
hoose her own
We have seen
row walls and
r home to the
f freedom of
ore or factory
mp' to compete
and professions
g individuals
per
be
ul
ld
ul
ul
ul

890206007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Devil Called a Benefactor by Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 16 ; 42 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. –(Nov. 2, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

DEVIL CALLED A BENEFACTOR BY EMMA GOLDMAN

His "Bad Impulses" Have Inspired All Progressive Movements, She Says.

"The Devil, the first free thinker and first benefactor the world has ever had," according to Miss Emma Goldman, the high priestess of anarchy, in a startling address Sunday afternoon at Druid's Hall.

"Religion has created the monstrous doctrine that all things connected with the flesh are evil," she declared. "The Devil has been blackened with the charge that he is responsible for the passions of the body. I say that the passions of the body are holy and beautiful, and that their demand for expression is a perfect justification for their satisfaction.

"If the Devil is responsible for the outbursts of passion against the conventional restraints which so-called morality has placed upon them, then everybody owes him an immense debt.

Devil in Literature.

"The Devil has been in all literature, from Marlowe's 'Dr. Faustus' to Mollnar's 'The Devil,' the angel of revolt and rebellion against conventions. All the great forward movements in civilization have been inspired by the bold impulses which have been ascribed to the Devil.

"No woman of today ever asks her fiance whether he has had a past. She knows that if he hasn't had one he is no man, but an imbecile."

William Marion Reedy introduced Miss Goldman as an "agitator possessed of the most powerful of all emotions—an idea."

"On behalf of myself and [illegible] distinguished citizen of St. Louis I take pleasure in welcoming Miss Goldman to this city," he said.

Miss Goldman's language in discussing free love was none the less restrained because she spoke to a mixed audience, several women being present. Most of the men greeted her declaration of individual liberty in love with cheers, but the women listeners mostly sat with bowed heads, blushing.

Advice to Golfer.

"De Clumsy: If I don't hit this time, it's the fault of the ball."

Miss Cobbe: "Of course! You should play golf with a football."

FOR AGED PEOPLE

Old Folks Should be Careful in Their Selection of Regulative Medicine.

With advanced age comes inactive bowel movement and sluggish liver. Nature is unable to perform her proper functions and requires assistance. Otherwise, there is constant suffering from constipation and its attendant evils. Old folks should never use physic that is harsh and irritating.

We have a safe, dependable and altogether ideal remedy that is particularly adapted to the requirements of aged people and persons of weak constitutions who suffer from constipation or other bowel disorder. We are so certain that it will cure these complaints

MOTHER HOPES DIVORCEE WILL WED VORHEES

"Miss" Farrar Declares She Has Gifts Professor Needs in a Wife.

ARE MENTALLY MATED

Mrs. Farrar Thinks Schoolteacher Would Make an Ideal Son-in-Law.

If Prof. George L. Voorhees and Miss Giralda Farrar marry, there will be one person made proud and happy that day. That person is Miss Farrar's mother. Miss Farrar says so herself.

She has given out a statement in Chicago declaring Mrs. Voorhees, who plows, who milks cows, who labors in the fields as the peasant women of Europe labor to provide for her eight children on the farm near Upper Alton, to be unworthy her intellectual husband.

Miss Farrar, divorcee, Saxon blonde, confessing to 40 summers, naively admits that wherein Mrs. Voorhees is lacking, she (Miss Farrar) is endowed with just the tastes and the mental gifts to glorify and make radiant and sweet the life of the principal of the Samuel E. B. Morse School in Chicago.

Thus stands the situation in the Voorhees affinity case and the divorce proceedings now pending in Chicago.

Mother Anxious for Wedding.

"The members of my family are very anxious for me to marry Mr. Voorhees," Miss Farrar told a Post-Dispatch reporter. "My mother says there is no one on earth whom she would be prouder of than Mr. Voorhees for a son-in-law."

Miss Farrar was not always Miss Farrar. Once she was Mrs. George McMillan. She lived with McMillan but five weeks. Six years ago she got a divorce. Non-support was the charge.

Voorhees is an old friend. Twenty-five years ago the Voorhees and the Farrar families were near neighbors in Chicago. The friendship between Miss Farrar and Prof. Voorhees, formed then, has grown with time.

"Should the courts grant Prof. Voorhees his freedom, would you marry him?" Miss Farrar was asked.

"I can only say that my mother would be very glad to see me marry him," was the reply. "The close relations between Prof. Voorhees and my family have existed for nearly a quarter of a century. I esteem him highly, very highly, indeed. Prof. Voorhees is an intellectual man. When my mother and myself went to live at 286 Rush street we went there to make a home for him. Previous to that time he never, in my estimation, had a home. His domestic life was not happy. The intellectual atmosphere necessary to a man of Mr. Voorhees' temperament was lacking.

"I surely will not be the one to blame a man for seeking intellectual society.

Double Trac

Lo

25c Corset Embroidery, 15½c
Beautiful wide Corset-Cover Embroidery, in blind and open effects; as an extra special; 3 yards to a customer, only 15½C
Main Floor—Aisle 3.

25c Cashmere Hose 14c
(1 to 1)
All cashmere, in black, tan, blue and other colors; light and heavy weight; for 2 hours only 14C
Main Floor—Aisle 8.

We

Rousing Hour Spec

$4 Jackets, $1.98
9 TO 10 A. M.
Nobby Fall Coats of all wool materials; stylish make and perfect fitting; for one hour Tuesday. $1.98

$8 Mi
Misses' S
checked
med
braid a
one hou

75c Taffeta Silk, 29c
Splendid assortment of plain and fancy Taffeta Silks, all colors, including black; also new satin stripe fancy silks 29

25c Red and White Damask, 14
200 yards 54-inch Red and White Damask, in beautiful patterns, as an extra special while it lasts, only 4 yards to a customer 14
Main Floor—Aisle 3.

$1 Kayser Gloves, 38c
Kayser's 2-clasp Silk Gloves, black and white, all sizes. Paris Point embroidered back, special 38C

15c
Large as
Silk Tr
good sh
white
per doz

Ev

When you come to wa
milks are like it.
Then insi

How Quality is

576

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

840514048

The Emma Goldman Papers

En Route / Emma Goldman. — pp. 351-355 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 3, no. 10 (Dec. 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ers are not warned from time to time that the people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let them take up arms. . . . The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure." Ask any school child if he was ever taught that the author of the Declaration of Independence, one of the great founders of the common school, said these things, and he will look at you with open mouth and unbelieving eyes. Ask him if he ever heard that the man who sounded the bugle note in the darkest hour of the Crisis, who roused the courage of the soldiers when Washington saw only mutiny and despair ahead, ask him if he knows that this man also wrote, "Government at best is a necessary evil, at worst an intolerable one," and if he is a little better informed than the average he will answer, "Oh well, *he* was an infidel!" Catechize him about the merits of the Constitution which he has learned to repeat like a poll-parrot, and you will find his chief conception is not of the powers withheld from Congress, but of the powers granted.

Such are the fruits of government schools. We, the Anarchists, point to them and say: If the believers in liberty wish the principles of liberty taught, let them never intrust that instruction to any government; for the nature of government is to become a thing apart, an institution existing for its own sake, preying upon the people, and teaching whatever will tend to keep it secure in its seat. As the fathers said of the governments of Europe, so say we of this government also after a century and a quarter of independence: "The blood of the people has become its inheritance, and those who fatten on it will not relinquish it easily."

(*To be continued in the next issue.*)

EN ROUTE

IN my last report I remarked that I should not mind the hardships of touring, if only my good star would occasionally let me meet a kindred spirit like Wm. Marion Reedy. I am sorry to say that until now fate, while quite generous with hardships, has not been so with the Reedys. Not that we lack thinking and feeling men and women in America. On the contrary; the number of people in all walks of life who have awakened to the realization of social and economic iniquities is simply astounding. In Kansas City, Mo., a new field to me, I had a constant stream of callers of both sexes. Not mere curiosity seekers, but people intensely interested in Anarchism, eagerly listening to its real meaning. Everyone found life barren and hard to bear; all agreed that ours is the most cruel, heartless, merciless age, with no recognition of individual worth or integrity. Everyone wants a change, but few there are who are willing and strong enough to voice their discontent in a loud, unmistakable protest against our system.

Although Dr. Reitman came to Kansas City but two days in advance of me, and in the very height of the election convulsion, the 2nd of November, he performed the miracle of arranging three meetings: one in Kansas City, Kansas, and two in Kansas City, Mo. The most interesting gathering was at the afternoon meeting of Nov. 6th, quite a number of professional and literary people turning out to hear "The Devil Exonerated." November 2nd and 3rd I lectured in Springfield and Liberal, Mo. In the former, a staunch, devoted, solitary soul, Comrade Fred Young, is making truly heroic efforts to keep our colors flying. The meeting in Liberal, though on election night, was interesting and gratifying because of the quality of the audience. Mostly sturdy farmers, of a simplicity and genuineness of soul that were really refreshing. Mr. Libscomb, who arranged the meeting, is a Socialist, of a tolerance and kindness of spirit that would put to shame the majority of our Eastern Socialists with their frantic effort to appear respectable.

In Omaha, Neb., preparations had been made for my coming some two months ago, a theatre rented, and the city covered with posters and cards. At the very last moment the owner of the theatre backed out, and we were

577

840514048

The Emma Goldman Papers

En Route / Emma Goldman. – pp. 351-355 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 10 (Dec. 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

compelled to look for other quarters. Halls were finally secured, and I was able to deliver eight lectures before fairly good-sized audiences. The most notable event of the week in Omaha was an 11th of November meeting, the first commemoration in this city of that cruel black Friday. It will interest the readers of MOTHER EARTH to know that in 1884 Albert Parsons, while on one of his brilliant lecture tours, also spoke in Omaha. But since that time until the 11th of November, 1908, no one enlightened the people of Omaha as to the greatest crime greed and authority committed in America. The police, who were quite disgusted that I should be allowed to speak, were in full force at our meeting. I was particularly bitter on that evening. Who would not be, with the memory of that horrible outrage of 1887 still turning his blood into fire? Everything went along smoothly that evening. But the next day the bluecoats retaliated with ferocity. They arrested Comrade Herman Michailowitch, a man whose untiring zeal and devotion to the cause compensate one for the lethargy and indifference so often met with in the radical ranks. Another man, who affected the nerves of Omaha's "finest," was brutally beaten on the head and kicked in the abdomen. Thanks to the efforts of a Single Tax friend, L. J. Quinby, Comrade Michailowitch was discharged the following day, while the other chap was kept in the county prison until his bruises would heal up. I hear now that he has been set free and furnished with transportation to South Dakota, his home, but that he is still in a bad condition as a result of the brutality of the police. Still, our good citizens insist that the world would go to perdition if laws and police were put out of business. I wonder how many drubbings the American lover of law will yet receive before he will learn to do without that criminal, vulgar, brutal institution, the police department. Omaha can be proud of one thing, however, the Women's Socialist Union, consisting of a group of women remarkably advanced, broadminded, and eager to keep abreast with modern ideas. It takes a long time before woman breaks with superstition and prejudice. But when she at last makes herself free, she rarely does so halfway, as is the case with most men, though the latter have always enjoyed greater opportunities to think and learn. The members of the little Omaha

group are particularly to be congratulated on having eliminated puritanical mock modesty. The sex question is indeed one of the most vital of our time. Nowhere does one meet such density, such stupidity, as in the question pertaining to love and sex. Even radicals are still permeated with bourgeois morality in matters of sex, thanking the Lord they are not like the other fellows. Not so the women I have met in Omaha. Their breath of view and human appreciation of life's most vital elements were a great joy to me.

How little time and energy is indeed needed to arrange successful meetings for me, has again been demonstrated in Des Moines. Friend Reitman arrived in that city Friday morning, and Sunday we had two large meetings; in fact, so far the most successful on this tour. True, the newspapers and also the Chief of Police of Des Moines contributed to the success. A delegation of Jews and ministers called on the Chief urging him to stop me. To his credit be it said, he displayed greater judgment than is the usual heritage of his colleagues in other cities. He said that I "may" speak if I would observe the law. Fortunately, I am beyond good and evil, as far as laws are concerned. Since I do not believe in the necessity of laws, I am not in a position either to obey or break them. At any rate, no interference took place, and our halls were crowded.

Minneapolis and St. Paul did not make the usual showing. The comrade who arranged the meetings, though very earnest, lacks both experience and judgment, probably also time, as he works hard during the day. The hall was too far from the centre of the city, and but few cards were distributed. However, the situation was partially saved by the energy of Comrade Michailowitch, who had come to Minneapolis, and Dr. Reitman.

Winnipeg is, as ever, a splendid field for Anarchism, if only our Jewish comrades would devote more time to the English-speaking section of their city. But as with us in the States, the Jewish comrades in Winnipeg are still too Jewish, I fear, to really appreciate the great necessity of a wide-spread agitation in the language of the country they live in. At any rate, the Winnipeg comrades were less active in behalf of my meetings than on former occasions.

578

840514048

The Emma Goldman Papers

En Route / Emma Goldman. – pp. 351-355 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 3, no. 10 (Dec. 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The Canadians are still in the clutches of the Church, so that no admission can be charged on Sunday, and no literature sold. Yet Sunday is the best day for meetings. There were at least fifteen hundred people at both of my lectures on that day. I also had a debate with one of the leading Socialists, J. D. Houston, who ran as the Socialist party candidate for Parliament. The gentleman put forth the usual argument: "The State is an injurious, invasive institution, but we must make use of it until we have changed the system"; "Parliament has debauched many Socialists, but we must send our men there," etc., etc. However, there is one thing to be said about Mr. Houston—he is at least honest; he admits he knows nothing of Anarchism. He is very young in the Socialist movement, and therefore also knows little of the workings of that party. Else he would realize that, though as yet they have but little power, they have already become arbitrary, despotic, and compromising on every step. What would they be if they really had power? Fortunately the Lord has taken care that trees should not grow into heaven. An amusing feature of the debate was a Jewish convert to Christianity, now minister of the Baptist church which holds its services in the hall rented for the debate. When this soul baiter learned that I was to speak in "his" church, he called the wrath of his Lord and the police on my head, and vowed, cost what may, Emma Goldman shall not speak in Silkirk Hall. To the great chagrin of the pastor, God was busy attending to other matters, and the police refused to interfere. The janitor turned the keys over to us, and on Tuesday morning our boys took possession of the hall. The poor "servant of Christ" was beside himself and offered to pay the expenses and loss, about $130.00, if only Emma Goldman would not "desecrate" his church. Much as MOTHER EARTH needs cash, we refused the offer, as we thought the baptized Reverend needed a lesson.

I left Winnipeg not overburdened with gold, but with the satisfaction that much good had been accomplished by my visit there.

Since I wrote last, my meetings have considerably improved financially, but the net results are still far below those of my last tour, partly because the crisis is only now showing itself in all its cruelty. People were idle all

summer, with no means to prepare for the necessities of the cold season. However, I am hopeful. I feel that though MOTHER EARTH will have to continue in its present form for some time, the danger of discontinuing altogether is past.

With greetings to all my friends,

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

THE DAUGHTER OF THE DREAM

WILLIAM MARION REEDY in the St. Louis *Mirror*.

. . . She sees in the world nothing but the material to be remolded into something nearer to her heart's desire. And what is her heart's desire?

Freedom—absolute, unconditional, uninvasive freedom. That is Anarchy. There shall be no constraint of law upon the soul or the body of man. There shall be no duties except one's duty to one's self. There shall be no modification of any right, save a sense of and regard for the rights of others. Each individuality is to be a law unto itself. There shall be no institutions. Man and woman, too, shall be beyond man's rule. And the essence of all relations shall be—love. Free love, ask you? No. Just love, which is not love, if it be not free. Free of all the conventions, free of all ceremony, free of all influence save the promptings of love itself. There shall be no gods, no priests, no rulers, no judges, no policemen in the world she would make over. And before the world can be made over all present institutions must be destroyed —yes, all, except the I. Destroyed, how? By bombs? No. By ideas, by the new ideal of the sacred uninvasive privacy of man's being.

How she burns with the flaming ardor of her apocalyptic vision! How she sees it in the painting of Boecklin and of Stuck, in the rhapsodies of Nietzsche, in the chantings of Whitman and of Edward Carpenter, in the music of Wagner before "Parsifal," in Ibsen's drama, in Hauptmann's mysticism, in Gorky's brutal realism, in Rodin's statues, in D'Annunzio. She can see the airy oriflammes, can hear the dimly rising songs of intellectual revolt. The idea she can feel growing in the minds of thinkers. The ideal she can hear growing in the hearts

579

890222018

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Everett Ought to Be Annexed to Russia / Emma Goldman. – p. 4 ; 28 cm. *In* The Everett Morning Tribune. – (Dec. 15, 1908).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Washington Libraries. Institutional Location: Manuscript Collection.

government ex-
e of this con-
States will re-
prohibition. The
s been a menace
se of his attitude,
s been a mark for
f the out-of-a-job
ted Oriental compe-
Columbia has enough
to remain a disturb-
e labor market of the
on this side of the
ortion is so small that
effectively up the fu-
anti-Japanese senti-
ed, should be placid.

—o—

that Lieut.-Gov. Hay's
paign expenses reads
f the provisions of
ry law. If it is true
is expenditures were
hibited, he stands in
sition of being open
when he comes to
The law says that
campaigns in ways
disqualify a candi-
and Mr. Hay's enu-
uses covers various
treating. It will be
in the time of the
torney general's of-
newspapers of the
e of indefiniteness
f the law as to ne-

EMMA GOLDMAN SAYS EVERETT OUGHT TO BE ANNEXED TO RUSSIA

Last evening Emma Goldman [illegible] mud of Everett from her indignant feet and with her business agent, Dr. Reitman, departed for Bellingham, where the doctor has several college mates who have promised to hold a little reunion and the police have promised to arrest the belligerent Emma if she shall attempt to publicly proclaim her seditious doctrine.

In the absence of Mayor Jones the members of the police and fire commission yesterday afternoon conferred on the matter of allowing the apostle of anarchy to speak here, and it was decided that it was for the best interests of the city that she be denied this privilege. Chief Marshall accordingly notified Miss Goldman that he would arrest her if she tried to speak in public, and she promised that she would leave the city without making any demonstration.

Miss Goldman has found few opportunities of addressing audiences in this state on her present tour. Spokane refused to allow her to talk, and in Seattle Sunday evening she was headed off at the door of the hall which a crowd of about 200 sympathizers had broken into, and was taken to police headquarters where she was allowed her liberty on promise to leave the city and on payment of $1.50 to replace the broken lock. The landlord claimed: no arrangements had been made to lease the hall.

As one of the leading anarchists of the world Miss Goldman is an interesting personage. She is of short and rather pudgy figure, and not at all prepossessing. She dresses plainly but well as to quality of her apparel. In conversation one is impressed with her pugnacity, which is evidenced whenever the subject of interference with her liberty to speak is mentioned. Great muscles stand out on her neck when she grows indignant, and one can easily imagine her at the head of a mob or inciting her followers to violence. It is evident she is sincere in her crusade. She is a woman of education and has written much anarchistic literature. After she had been notified that she would not be allowed to speak here she came to the Tribune office to leave a parting protest.

"I am surprised," she said, "to find Russian methods in Everett. I offer your good people this:

"Resolved, that the city of Everett, in the state of Washington, should be taken off the American map and turned over to the dominion of the Russian czar.

"Free speech! Free assembly! What a glorious principle! We alone, the children of a free country, can lay claim to it. Indeed, we give it to our children with their mother's milk; we give it to them in the schools. How it makes their hearts kindly and bosoms swell with that great refrain: Free speech, free press, free assembly! And yet, and yet, a handful of men, in a stuffy room in the city hall of Everett, decided on this day of the Lord, Dec. 14, 1908, that freedom of speech may be all right for America but it's all wrong for Everett. Their decision being backed by the power of the club, and might being right, free speech was grabbed by the throat and choked to death. 'My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty.'

"Friday, Dec. 12, Dr. Ben L. Reitman, acting as my manager, secured Fraternal hall for a meeting to take place this evening. A deposit was paid after a contract was signed turning over Fraternal hall to Emma Goldman. No doubt the gentlemen of that hall are law-abiding citizens. The law provides that a contract is binding. Yet these very law and order people are the first ones to break the thing they believe in and demand. They refuse the hall, but forget that they have made themselves liable to damage.

"Another hall is secured, but the chief of police, who also believes in law, the law which guarantees free speech and assembly, this great patriot breaks his allegiance to American liberty and orders that Emma Goldman shall not speak. The city fathers, who certainly believe in law, aid and abet the conspiracy to throttle free speech.

"And so it has come to pass that American officials should Russianize an American city and that henceforth Columbia shall blush with shame over the treachery of her child Everett.

"Yes, but Emma Goldman is an anarchist. Oh, horrors! But what is anarchy? How are we to know if Emma Goldman is stopped from expression of her views or telling us what anarchism means? That's just it. Not Emma Goldman but free speech was stopped. As to anarchy, after all I do not blame the chief of police or the city fathers. Anarchism is a theory of human development, is therefore opposed to stagnation. Anarchism stands for freedom and non-interference, and is therefore opposed to the club. Anarchism stands for righteousness, and is therefore opposed to our social and economic iniquities; to crime and criminals. In short, anarchism believes in fellowship and brotherhood. Don't you see why it is offensive to a chief of police and city fathers?"

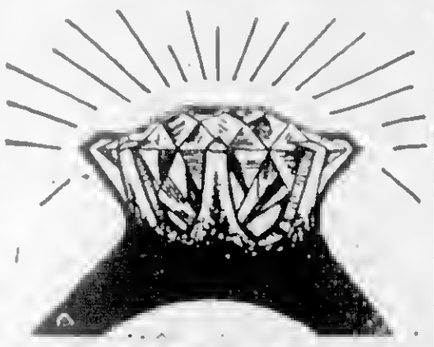
good or silverware.

WILLIE,
with the
PACIFIC
HARDWARE CO.

Endless Varieties

Reduced
Coats, Suits
and
Waists

DOLSON
"The Store Th
EVERETT T



DIAMONDS
—at the—
Little Jewelry Store
—with the—
Largest Stock
Buy here and save Money
H. N. SKINFER
The Optical Jeweler
1712 HEWITT AVE.

Waterfront Notes

The British steamer Belfast, which struck Seal rock last Friday night and was beached in Dugula bay will be towed to this port tomorrow evening and placed on the Everett marine ways for repairs. Two of the American Tughoat company's boats, the Mary C and the Edison, were sent to the scene of the wreck and with the aid of a piledriver the Belfast was lightened of about 150 tons of freight.

The scene of the wreck is a short distance this side of Deception pass. The Belfast struck Seal rock with force enough to cut a hole in the bow and the vessel at once began to fill. She was beached in shallow water at Dugula bay but the flood tide nearly covered her.

Fred E. Sander Sails.

In tow of the stout little tug Rosalie, Captain Ackles, the schooner Fred E. Sander departed from the City dock with a cargo of lumber for Rendondo. The Rosalie towed the schooner as far as Possession point, where the windjammer picked up a breeze and bowled away down the strait for the cape.

Talks To Business Men Of Work Of Y.M.C.A.

William E. Sweet, of Denver, last evening addressed the directors of the Y. M. C. A. and a number of business men on the value of Y. M. C. A. work in cities. Mr. Sweet is a wealthy business man of Denver. He gave $25,000 toward the erection of the association building in that city, and is president of the association, chairman of the state executive committee and is one of the most active members of the national association. He told of experiences in the way of securing do
wealth and
new building
the principal
Y. M. C. A
Yakima, and
he is enthu
the associati
learn of prog
Sound cities,
left on the O
B. C.

MINOR RAIL
SUES F

Summons
case of Marti
H. Christopb
litem vs the
way was fil
for judgment
$1,999 and c



Pay Less and Dress Better
—AT THE—
Norman Suit House
THE ONLY EXCLUSIVE SUIT HOUSE IN EVERETT
We Carry
High Art Clothing
PRIESTLEY'S RAINPROOF CRAVENETTES
And an Immense Line of
UNCALLED FOR ORDERS
Which sell at One-half the Regular Price
The

A U
XMA
The
Dish so
of—
Clea
Safe
Conv
It is ec
ation a
at.
Pric
Everett

FILES! FILES! FILES!

We Tell Ayer's Non-Alcoholic Cherry Pectoral
COMPLETE FORMULA
Each Fluid Ounce Represents

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

580

890209048

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Married State Attacked / Emma Goldman. – p. 16 ; 28 cm. *In* The Oregonian [Portland]. –(Dec. 21, 1908).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.



to pass these marvelous values—Take advantage

Men's $15.00 Suits at $ 7.50
Men's $20.00 Suits at $10.00
Men's $25.00 Suits at $12.50
Men's $30.00 Suits at $15.00

$20.00, $25.00, $30.00 overcoats at one-half price—Young men's $15.00 to $30.00 suits at one-half price—Boys' $10.00 to $15.00 suits at one-half price—Little boys' Russian blouse and sailor suits at one-half price—Men's $25.00 cravenettes at one-half price—Be Here Early Today



terns; regular $2.25 values, at, each.. $1.74
7-piece nickel-plated Nut Sets—1 cracker and 6 picks; wonderful values, at, the set.. 19c
200 Candlesticks with fancy colored shade; regular $2.50 values, at, each.. $1.89
Bohemian Glass Nappies, gold handle; best $1.25 values, on sale at, special, ea 89c
50 nickel Chafing Dishes, 2-pint size, regular $3.75 values, on sale at, each.. $2.99
50 nickel Chafing Dishes, 3-pint size, regular $5.00 values, on sale at, each.. $3.95
Regular $6.50 nickel Chafing Dishes, ea.. $4.99
$2.50 nickel or brass 5 o'Clock Teas, at.. $1.88
Great Christmas sale of Carving Sets, best styles:
Regular $ 3.25 Carving Sets on sale for $2.59
Regular $ 4.50 Carving Sets on sale for $3.57
Regular $ 6.50 Carving Sets on sale for $4.79
Regular $ 7.50 Carving Sets on sale for $5.95
Regular $10.00 Carving Sets on sale for $7.95

know you cannot equal anywhere in town

Great special sale of silk and wool Batiste Tailored Waists, made with broad pleats, pin or ½-inch tucking and embroidered designs; plain styles, fancy stripes, polka dots and plaids, all colors; values up to $8.50 each, on sale at this low price, ea.. $3.95
Women's Net and Messaline Silk Waists, fancy-trim'd, with yokes of lace, silk embroidery or braid; applique effect medallions and pin tucks; long sleeves, trimmed with tucks and lace; white, pink, light blue, mais and dark colorings; very handsome assortment to select from; grand values, special at.. $6.45
Special lot of taffeta silk, messaline silk and net Waists, made with fancy round yokes of lace, Gibson effect, in wide embroidered filet fronts of ½-inch tucking, with rows of Persian bands; white, lavender, blue, cern, canary, green, etc.; large variety to select from; unusual values, at this low price, ea.. $5.45

MARRIED STATE ATTACKED

EMMA GOLDMAN TALKS OF FREE LOVE.

Says Wives Have No Privacy and Women Lose Their Independence When They Wed.

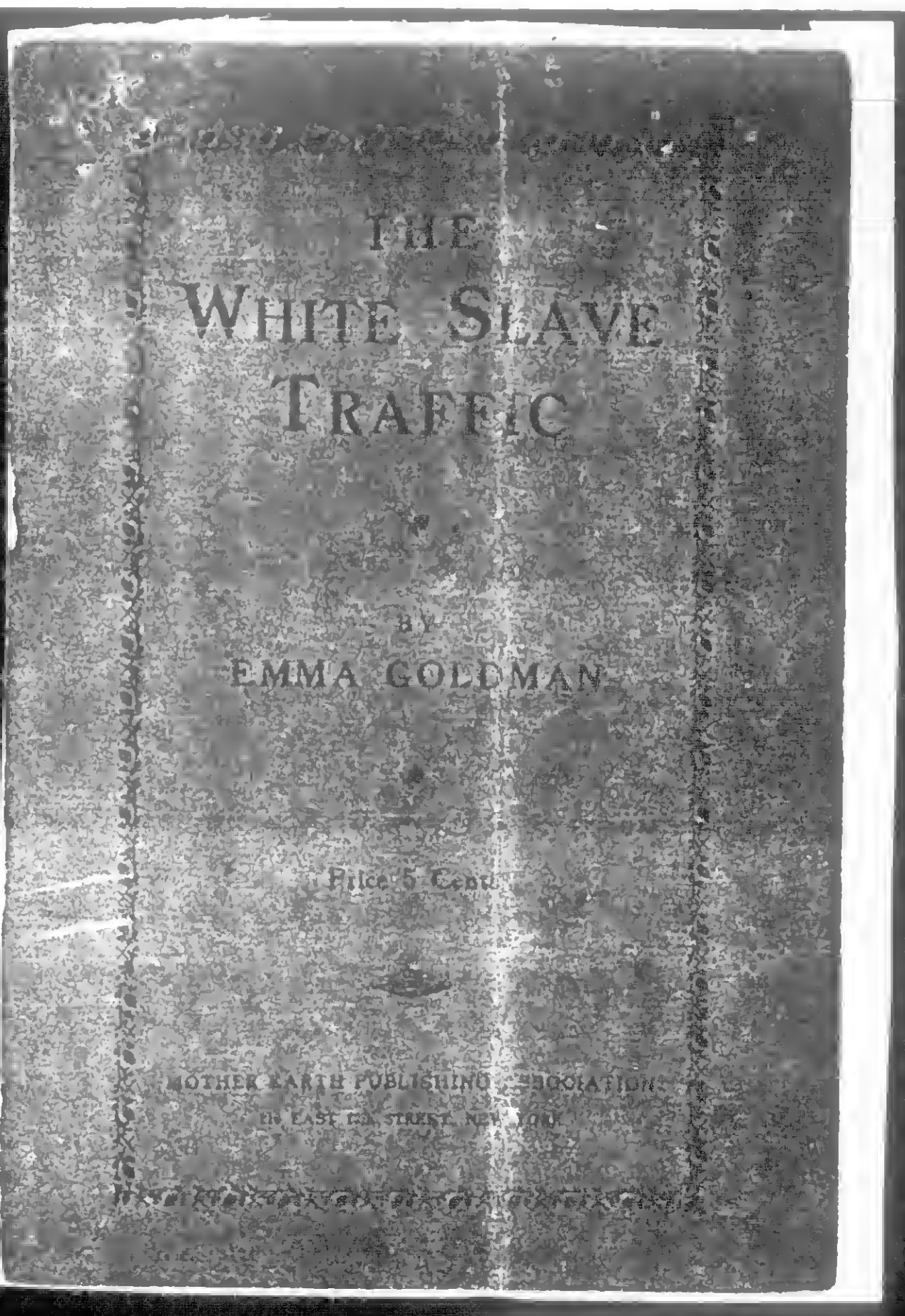
Miss [illegible] woman [illegible] of priestess of what [illegible] very distressed [illegible] interesting [illegible] to have [illegible] E. S. Wood [illegible] [illegible] her and she [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

89061041

The Emma Goldman Papers

The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1909]. – 12 p. ; 19 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.



THE

WHITE SLAVE

TRAFFIC

BY

EMMA GOLDMAN

Price 5 Cents

MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

55 EAST 125TH STREET, NEW YORK

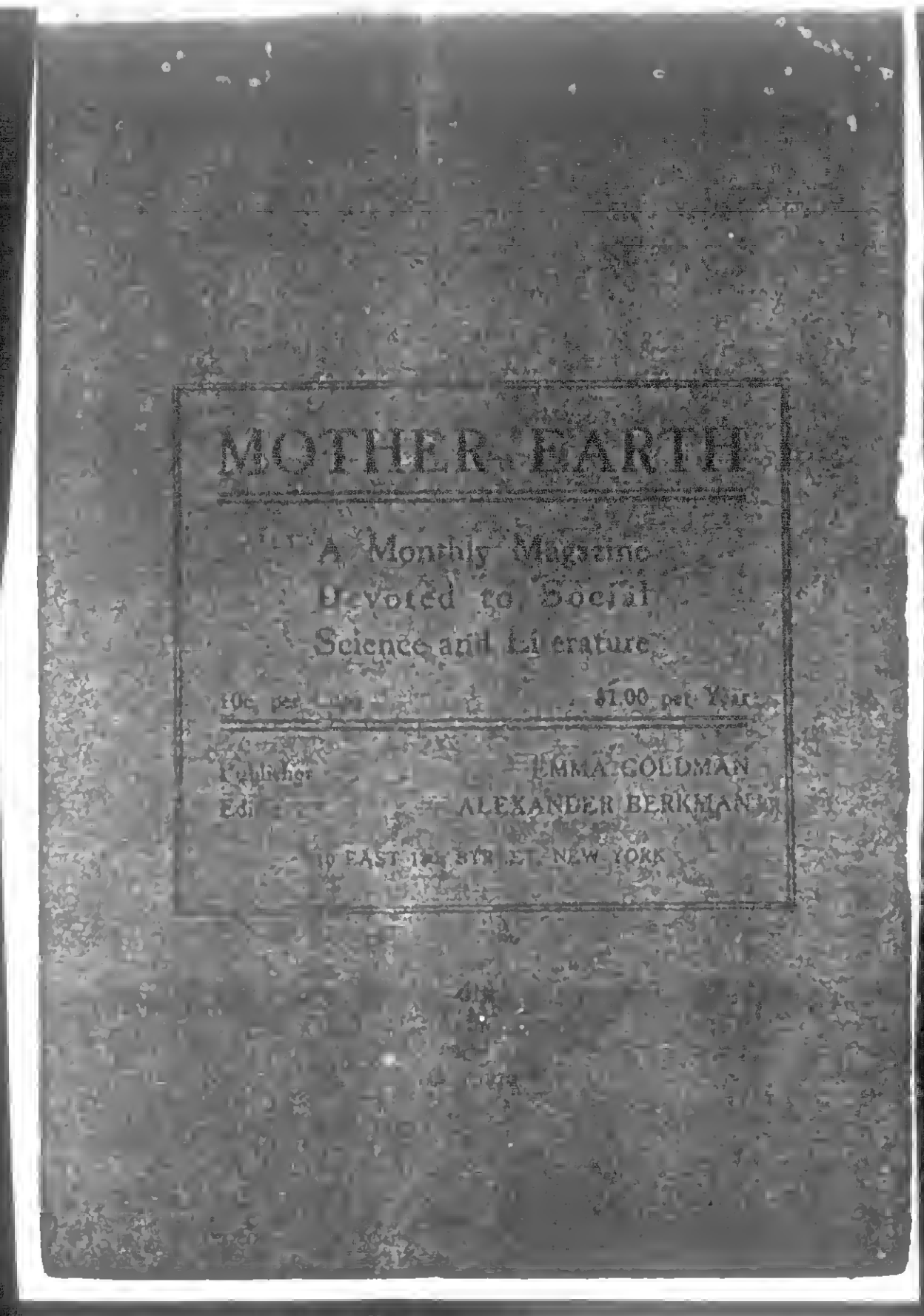
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

89061041

The Emma Goldman Papers

The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1909]. — 12 p. ; 19 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890611041

The Emma Goldman Papers

The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1909]. — 12 p. ; 19 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

OUR reformers have suddenly made a great discovery: the white slave traffic. The papers are full of these "unheard of conditions" in our midst, and the lawmakers are already planning a new set of laws to check the horror.

How is it that an institution, known almost to every child, should have been discovered so suddenly? How is it that this evil, known to all sociologists, should now be made such an important issue?

It is significant that whenever the public mind is to diverted from a great social wrong, a crusade is inaugurated against indecency, gambling, saloons, etc. And what is the result of such crusades? Gambling is increasing, saloons are doing a lively business through back entrances, prostitution is at its height, and the system of pimps and cadets is but aggravated.

To assume that the recent investigation of the white slave traffic by George Kibbe Turner and others (and by the way, a very superficial investigation), has discovered anything new is, to say the least, very foolish. Prostitution was and is a widespread evil, yet mankind goes on its business, perfectly indifferent to the sufferings and distress of the victims of prostitution. As indifferent, indeed, as mankind has so far remained to our industrial system, or to economic prostitution.

Only when human sorrows are turned into a toy with glaring colors will baby people become interested,—for a while at least. The people are a very fickle baby that must have new toys every day. The "righteous" cry against the white slave traffic is such a toy. It serves to amuse the people for a little while, and it will help to create a few more fat political jobs—parasites who stalk about the world as inspectors, investigators, detectives, etc.

What really is the cause of the trade in women? Not merely white women, but yellow and black women as well. Exploitation, of course: the merciless Moloch of capitalism that fattens on underpaid labor, thus driving thou-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890611041

The Emma Goldman Papers

The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1909].— 12 p. ; 19 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

HQ251
G6

sands of women and girls into prostitution. With Mrs. Warren these girls feel, "Why waste your life working for a few shillings a week in a scullery, eighteen hours a day?"

Naturally, our reformers say nothing about this cause. George Kibbe Turner and all other scribblers know the cause well enough, but it doesn't pay to say anything about it. It is so much more profitable to play the Pharisee, to pretend an outraged morality, than to go to the bottom of things. Yet no less an authority than Dr. Sanger, the author of "The History of Prostitution,"* although not a radical, has this to say:

"A prolific cause of female depravity can be found in the several tables, showing the description of the employment pursued and the wages received by the women previous to their fall, and it will be a question for the political economist to decide how far mere business consideration should be an apology on the part of employers for a reduction in their rates of remuneration, and whether the savings of a small percentage on wages is not more than counterbalanced by the enormous amount of taxation enforced on the public at large to defray the expenses incurred on account of a system of vice, *which is the direct result, in many cases, of insufficient compensation of honest labor.*"

The economic reason given for prostitution in the above quotation can be found in all works of any consequence dealing with the question. Nor is it necessary to seek information in books; one has but to observe everyday life to realize that there are thousands of girls working for two or three dollars a week, withering away in factories and shops, while life passes by in all its joy and glory, leaving them behind. What else are they to do? However, our present-day reformers would do well to look into Dr. Sanger's book. There they will find that out of 2,000 cases under his observation, but few came from the middle classes, from well-ordered conditions, or pleasant homes. By far the largest majority were working girls and working women. Some driven into prostitution through sheer want, others be-

* It is a significant fact that Dr. Sanger's book has been excluded from the U. S. mails. Evidently the authorities are not anxious that the public be informed as to the true cause of prostitution.

585

890611041

The Emma Goldman Papers

The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1909]. – 12 p. ; 19 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

cause of a cruel, wretched life at home, others again because of thwarted and crippled physical natures (which I will speak of again later on). Also it will do the maintainers of purity and morality good to learn that out of 2,000 cases 490 were married women, women who lived with their husbands. Evidently there was not much of a guarantee for their safety and "purity" in the sanctity of marriage.

The very last to cry out against prostitution is our "respectable" class, since it was that class that ushered in prostitution, from Moses to Trinity Church. Dr. H. Ploss, Dr. Alfred Blaschko, Dr. W. W. Sanger, and other eminent writers on this subject convincingly prove that prostitution originated with the so-called upper classes. I quote Dr. Sanger:

"Our most ancient and historical records are believed to be the books of Moses; according to them it must be admitted that prostitutes were common among the Jews, many centuries before Christ. Moses appears to have connived at the intercourse of Jewish young men with foreign prostitutes. He took an Ethiopian woman himself. Assyrian women, Moabites, Midianites, and other neighbors of the Jews established themselves as prostitutes in the land of Israel. Jephtha, the son of a prostitute, became none the less Chief of Israel."

Moses evidently believed that therein lay the greatest safeguard for the daughters of his own people. We shall see presently that the Christians were not so considerate of their own daughters, since they did not employ foreigners for that purpose.

The history of the Christian Church will also serve as a history of prostitution, since the two always went hand in hand and furnished thereby great revenues for the Church.

Dr. Sanger cites the case of Pope Clement II., who issued a bull that all prostitutes were to pay a certain amount of their earnings, and that those living on prostitution were compelled to give half their income to the Church. Pope Sixtus IV. received 20,000 ducats from a single brothel, which, incidentally, he himself had built. Nor is it unknown that a great many cloisters and nunneries were in reality nothing else than brothels.

In modern times the Church is a little more careful

586

89061 1041

The Emma Goldman Papers

The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1909]. – 12 p. ; 19 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

in that direction. At least, it does not openly demand tribute from prostitutes. It finds it much more profitable to go in for real estate, like Trinity Church, for instance, to rent out death traps at an exorbitant price to those who live off and on prostitution.

Much as I should like to, my space will not admit speaking of prostitution in Egypt, Greece, Rome, and during the Middle Ages. The conditions in the latter period are particularly interesting, inasmuch as prostitution was organized into guilds, presided over by a Brothel Queen. These guilds employed strikes as a medium of improving their condition and keeping a standard price. Certainly that is more practical a method than the one used by the modern wage slave in society.

Never, however, did prostitution reach its present depraved and criminal position, because at no time in past ages was prostitution persecuted and hounded as it is to-day, especially in Anglo-Saxon countries, where Phariseeism is at its height, where each one is busy hiding the skeletons in his own home by pointing to the sore of the other fellow.

But I must not lose sight of the present issue, the white slave traffic. I have already spoken of the economic cause, but I think a cause much deeper and by far of greater importance is the complete ignorance on sex matters. It is a conceded fact that woman has been reared as a sex commodity, and yet she is kept in absolute ignorance of the meaning and importance of sex. Everything dealing with that subject is suppressed, and people who attempt to bring light into this terrible darkness are persecuted and thrown into prison. Yet it is nevertheless true that so long as a girl is not to know how to take care of herself, not to know the function of the most important part of her life, we need not be surprised if she becomes an easy prey to prostitution or any other form of a relationship which degrades her to the position of an object for mere sex gratification.

It is due to this ignorance that the entire life and nature of the girl is thwarted and crippled. We have long ago taken it as a self-evident fact that the boy may follow the call of the wild, that is to say that the boy may, as soon as his sex nature asserts itself, satisfy that nature, but our moralists are scandalized at the very thought

587

890611041

The Emma Goldman Papers

The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1909]. — 12 p. ; 19 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

that the nature of a girl should assert itself. To the moralist prostitution does not consist so much in the fact that the woman sells her body, but rather that she sells it to many.

Having been looked upon as a mere sex-commodity, the woman's honor, decency, morality, and usefulness have become a part of her sex life. Thus society considers the sex experiences of a man as attributes of his general development, while similar experiences in the life of a woman are looked upon as a terrible calamity, a loss of honor and of all that is good and noble in a human being. This double standard of morality has played no little part in the creation and perpetuation of prostitution. It involves the keeping of the young in absolute ignorance on sex matters, which alleged "innocence," together with an overwrought and stifled sex nature, helps to bring about a state of affairs that our Puritans are so anxious to avoid or prevent. This state of affairs finds a masterly portrayal in Zola's "Fecundity."

Girls, mere children, work in crowded, overheated rooms ten to twelve hours daily at a machine, which tends to keep them in a constant over-excited sex state. Many of these girls haven't any home or comforts of any kind; therefore the street or some place of cheap amusement is the only means of forgetting their daily routine. This naturally brings them into close proximity with the other sex. It is hard to say which of the two factors brings the girl's over-sexed condition to a climax, but it certainly is the most natural thing that a climax should follow. That is the first step toward prostitution. Nor is the girl to be held responsible for it. On the contrary, it is altogether the fault of society, the fault of our lack of understanding, of lack of appreciation of life in the making; especially is it the criminal fault of our moralists, who condemn a girl for all eternity because she has gone from "the path of virtue"; that is, because her first sex experience has taken place without the sanction of the Church or State.

The girl finds herself a complete outcast, with the doors of home and society closed in her face. Her entire training and tradition are such that the girl herself feels depraved and fallen, and therefore has no ground to stand upon, or any hold that will lift her up.

588

890611041

The Emma Goldman Papers

The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1909]. – 12 p. ; 19 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

instead of throwing her down. Thus society creates the victims that it afterwards vainly attempts to get rid of.

Much stress is laid on white slaves being imported into America. How would America ever retain her virtue if she didn't have Europe to help her out? I will not deny that this may be the case in some instances, any more than I will deny that there are emissaries of Germany and other countries luring economic slaves into America, but I absolutely deny that prostitution is recruited, to any appreciable extent, from Europe. It may be true that the majority of prostitutes of New York City are foreigners, but that is only because the majority of the population is foreign. The moment we go to any other American city, to Chicago or the middle West, we shall find that the number of foreign prostitutes is by far a minority.

Equally exaggerated is the belief that the majority of street girls in this city were engaged in this business before they came to America. Most of the girls speak excellent English, they are Americanized in habits and appearance,—a thing absolutely impossible unless they have lived in this country many years. That is, they were driven into prostitution by American conditions, by the thoroughly American custom for excessive display of finery and clothes, which, of course, necessitates money, money that can not be earned in shops or factories. The equanimity of the moralists is not disturbed by the respectable woman gratifying her clothesophobia by marrying for money; why are they so outraged if the poor girl sells herself for the same reason? The only difference lies in the amount received, and of course in the seal society either gives or withholds.

I am sure that no one will accuse me of nationalist tendencies. I am glad to say that I have developed out of them, as out of many other prejudices. If, therefore, I resent the statement that Jewish prostitutes are imported, it is not because of any Judaistic sympathies, but because of the fact inherent in the lives of these people. No one but the most superficial will claim that the Jewish girls migrate to strange lands unless they have some tie or relation that brings them there. The Jewish girl is not adventurous. Until recent years, she had never left home, not even so far as the next village or town, unless it were to visit some relative. Is it then

589

890611041

The Emma Goldman Papers

The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1909]. — 12 p. ; 19 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

credible that Jewish girls would leave their parents or families, travel thousands of miles to strange lands, through the influence and promises of strange forces? Go to any of the large incoming steamers and see for yourself if these girls do not come either with their parents, brothers, aunts, or other kinsfolk. There may be exceptions, of course, but to state that a large number of Jewish girls are imported for prostitution, or any other purpose, is simply not to know the Jewish psychology.

On the other hand, it speaks of very little business ability on the part of importers of the white slaves, if they assume that the girls from the peasant regions of Poland, Bohemia, or Hungary in their native peasant crude state and attire would make a profitable business investment. These poor ignorant girls, in their undeveloped state, with their shawls about their heads, look much too unattractive to even the most stupid man. It therefore follows that before they can be made fit for business, they, too, must be Americanized, which would require not merely a week or a month, but considerable time. They must at least learn the rudiments of English, but more than anything else they must learn American shrewdness, in order to protect themselves against the many uniformed cadets, who prey on them and fleece them at every step.

To ascribe the increase of prostitution to alleged importation, to the growth of the cadet system, or similar causes, is highly superficial. I have already referred to the former. As to the cadet system, abhorrent as it is, we must not ignore the fact that it is essentially a phase of modern prostitution,—a phase accentuated by suppression and graft, resulting from sporadic crusades against the social evil.

The origin of the cadets, as an institution, can be traced to the Lexow investigation in New York City, in 1894. Thanks to that moral spasm, keepers of brothels, as well as unfortunate victims of the street, were turned over to the tender mercies of the police. The inevitable consequence of exorbitant bribes and the penitentiary followed.

While comparatively protected in the brothels, where they represented a certain value, the unfortunate girls

590

890611041

The Emma Goldman Papers

The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1909]. — 12 p. ; 19 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.

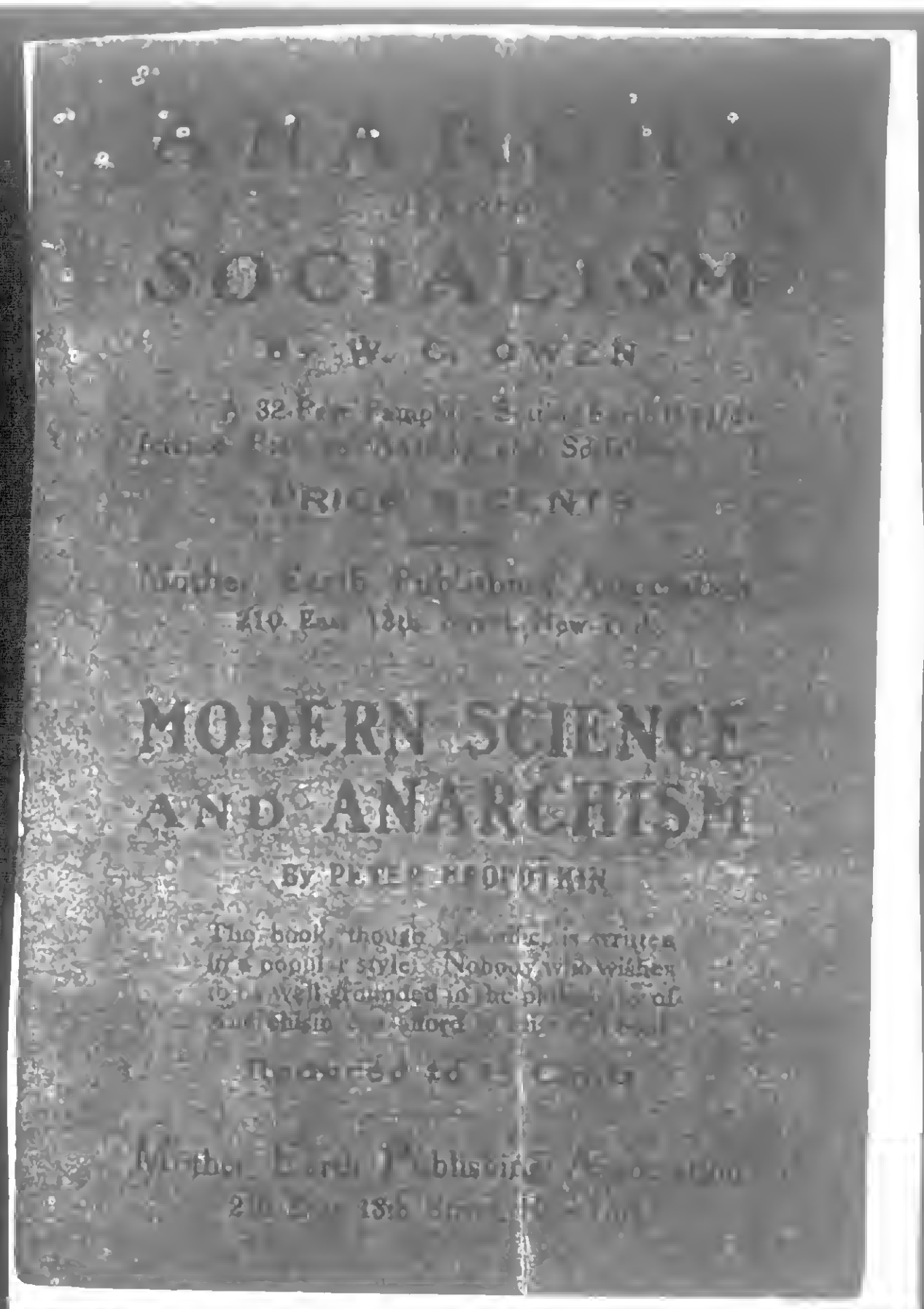
now found themselves on the street, absolutely at the mercy of the graft-greedy police. Desperate, needing protection and longing for affection, these girls naturally proved an easy prey for cadets, themselves the result of the spirit of our commercial age. Thus the cadet system was the direct outgrowth of police persecution, graft, and attempted suppression of prostitution. It were sheer folly to confute this modern phase of the social evil with the causes of the latter.

The serious student of this problem realizes that legislative enactments, stringent laws, and similar methods can not possibly eradicate, nor even ameliorate this evil. Those best familiar with the subject agree on this vital point. Dr. Alfred Blaschko, an eminent authority, convincingly proves in his "Prostitution im 19. Jahrhundert" that governmental suppression and moral crusades accomplish nothing save driving the evil into secret channels, multiplying its dangers to the community. In this claim he is supported by such thorough students as Havelock Ellis, Dr. H. Ploss, and others.

Mere suppression and barbaric enactment can serve but to embitter and further degrade the unfortunate victims of ignorance and stupidity. The latter has reached its highest expression in the proposed law to make humane treatment of prostitutes a crime, punishing anyone sheltering a prostitute with five years imprisonment and $10,000 fine. Such an attitude merely exposes the terrible lack of understanding of the true causes of prostitution, as a social factor, as well as manifesting the Puritanic spirit of the Scarlet Letter days.

An educated public opinion, freed from the legal and moral hounding of the prostitute, can alone help to ameliorate present conditions. Wilful shutting of eyes and ignoring of the evil, as an actual social factor of modern life, can but aggravate matters. We must rise above our foolish notions of "better than thou," and learn to recognize in the prostitute a product of social conditions. Such a realization will sweep away the attitude of hypocrisy and insure a greater understanding and more humane treatment. As to a thorough eradication of prostitution, nothing can accomplish that save a complete transvaluation of all accepted values—especially the moral ones—coupled with the abolition of industrial slavery.

591

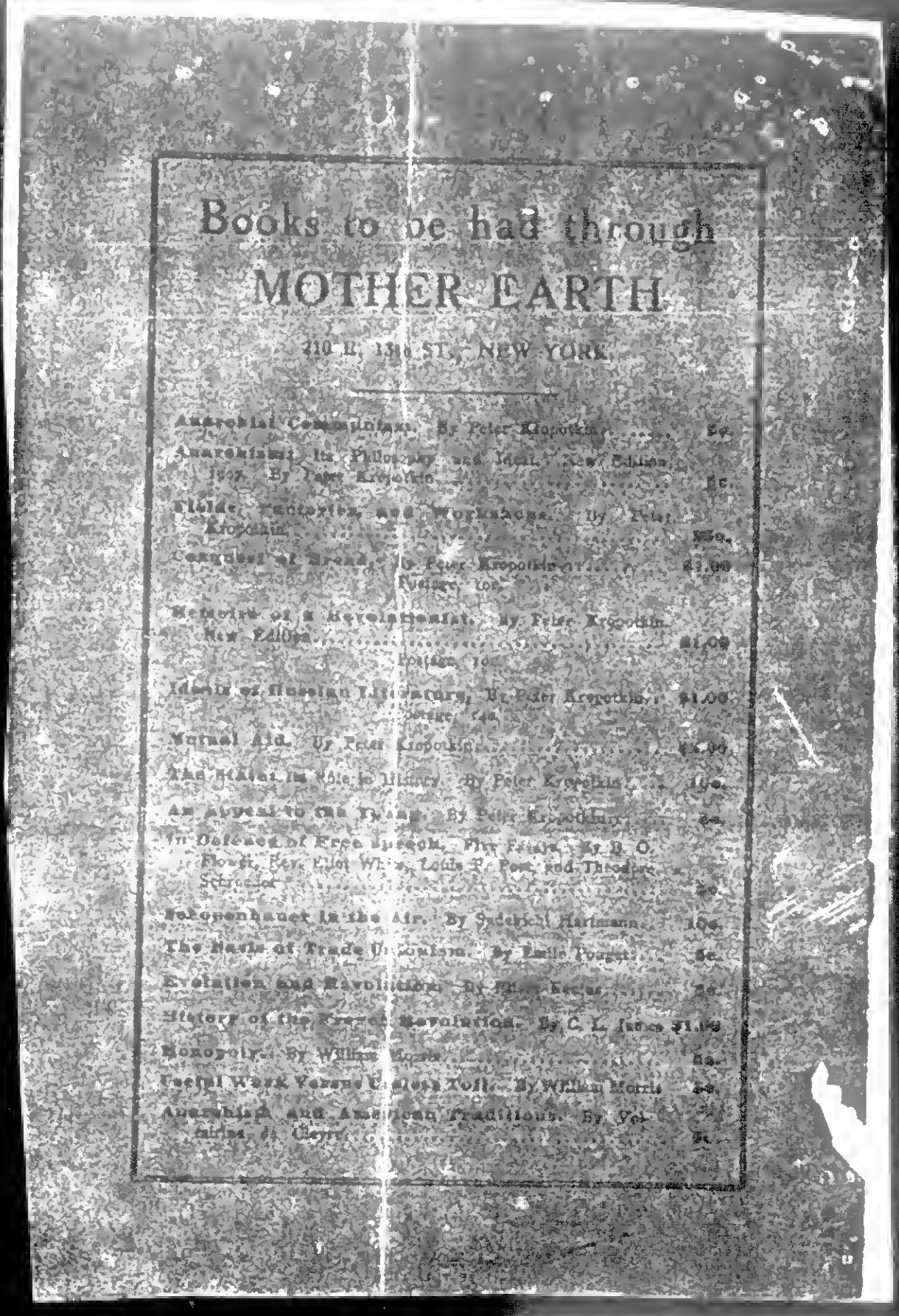


BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

The White Slave Traffic. Emma Goldman. ... New York: Mother Earth Pub. Assn. [1909]. ... 12 pp. ... 13 cm.

Pamphlet reprinting ... Paper read ... Mother Earth ... Vol. 4 No. 1 (March 1909) ...



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

830719010

The Emma Goldman Papers

A New Declaration of Independence / Emma Goldman.— New York : [Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n?], 1909.— 2 p. ; 14 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: Roger N. Baldwin Papers.

fruits of his efforts; that each and every individual has the unquestionable and unabridgeable right of free and voluntary association with other equally sovereign individuals for economic, political, social and all other purposes, and that to achieve this end man must emancipate himself from the sacredness of property, the respect for man-made law, the fear of the Church, the cowardice of public opinion, the stupid arrogance of national, social, religious and sex superiority, and from the narrow puritanical conception of human life. And for the support of this Declaration, and with a firm reliance on the harmonious blending of men's social and individual tendencies, the lovers of liberty joyfully consecrate their uncompromising devotion, their energy and intelligence, their solidarity and their lives.

Published in "Mother Earth", Vol. IV— 1909-10.

A New Declaration of Independence



830719010

The Emma Goldman Papers

A New Declaration of Independence / Emma Goldman.— New York : [Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n?], 1909.— 2 p. ; 14 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Princeton University Library. Institutional Location: Roger N. Baldwin Papers.

A NEW DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

By Emma Goldman

When in the course of human development, existing institutions prove inadequate to the needs of man, when they serve merely to enslave, rob, and oppress mankind, the people have the eternal right to rebel against, and overthrow these institutions. The mere fact that these forces—inimical to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—are legalized by statute laws, sanctified by divine rights, and enforced by political power, in no way justifies their continued existence.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all human beings, irrespective of race, color or sex are born with the equal right to share at the table of life; that to secure this right, there must be established among men economic, social and political freedom; we hold further that government exists but to maintain social privilege and property rights; that it coerces man into submission and therefore robs him of dignity, self-respect and life. The history of the American kings of capital and authority is the history of repeated crimes, injustice, oppression, outrage and abuse, all aiming at the suppression of individual liberties and the exploitation of the people. A vast country, rich enough to supply all her children with all possible comforts, and insure well-being to all, is in the hands of a few, while the nameless millions are at the mercy of ruthless wealth-gatherers, unscrupulous lawmakers and corrupt politicians. Sturdy sons of America are forced to tramp the country in a fruitless search for bread, and many of her daughters are driven into the streets, while thousands of tender children are daily sacrificed at the altar of Mammon. The reign of these kings is holding mankind in slavery, perpetuating poverty and disease, maintaining crime and corruption; it is fettering the spirit of liberty, throttling the voice of justice and degrading and oppressing humanity. It is engaged in continual war and slaughter, devastating the country and destroying the finest qualities of man; it nurtures superstition and ignorance, sows prejudice and strife and turns the human family into a camp of Ishmaelites.

We, therefore, the liberty-loving men and women, realizing the great injustice and brutality of this state of affairs, earnestly and boldly do hereby declare—, That each and every individual is and ought to be free to own himself and to enjoy the full fruit of his labor; that man is absolved from all allegiance to the kings of authority and capital; that he has by the very fact of his being, free access to the land and all means of production, and entire liberty of disposing of the

890713007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Drama: The Strongest Disseminator of Radical Thought / Emma Goldman. — pp. 19-23 ; 18 cm. *In* The Suppression of Free Speech / edited by Alden Freeman. — East Orange : East Orange Record Print, [1909].

Obtained from the Wayne State University Libraries.

prophets who dissipated the clouds of superstitution and ignorance and prejudice which had for centuries enveloped the minds of men and who let in the sunlight of truth and science aud reason.

It may he said without exaggeration that Thomas Paine and Charles Darwin were in turn the Elijah and the Elisha of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries of the Christian era. One hundred years ago today Thomas Paine let fall his mantle of light upon the infant shoulders of Charles Darwin and vanished in a chariot of fire that shall blaze the trail of the seeker after truth from generation unto generatiou.

"Where liberty dwells, there is my country"—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Introduction of Miss Goldman.

In introducing Miss Goldman, Mr. Freeman said:

It occurred to the managers of The Open Forum that this one huudredth anniversary of the death of the great agitator of the American Revolution could not he more fittingly observed than by listening to au address hy the most conspicuous agitator for freedom of thought and speech in America today. The Forum has therefore invited Miss Emma Goldman to deliver her lecturo on "The Modern Drama, the Strongest Disseminator of Radical Thought." Miss Goldman has delivered this lecture in the chief cities of the United States, and you have an intellectual treat in store. The Forum does not ask you to agree with all you hear from its platform. That you could not possihly do, for we endeavor to give a hearing to views which are widely opposed. The motto of The Forum is, "Prove all things. The Truth shall make you free."

I sometimes ask people why they consider this speaker or that "dangerous," and whether they would he themselves afraid to hear them speak. They iuvarlahly reply, "Oh, no; of course not dangerous for me to listen. But exceedingly dangerous for poor people and ignorant people to listen to." Well, my mind is at easc tonight, for it is well known that everyhody in East Orango is well-to-do and very intelligent.

I am glad that East Orange and New Jersey have this opportunity to observe that Miss Goldman has neither hoofs nor horns, and that she is not a witch, riding on a hroomstick in her journey across the Jersey meadows to speak in East Orange.

When in future you weep over the ill-usage and martyrdom of the heroine of Charles Kingsley's novel, "Hypatia," I would ask you to consider whether the teacher of Greek philosophy to the youth of ancient Alexandria has not her counterpart in America today. I have too much confidence in the clemental common sense of the American people to believe that the manhood and the womanhood of the great nation established hy Thomas Paine and George Washington, by Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, will permit Emma Goldman to share the fate of Hypatia.

I have the honor to introduce Miss Goldman.

THE DRAMA

The Strongest Disseminator of Radical Thought

[This is the Lecture which the Police of New York and East Orange refused to allow Emma Goldman to deliver in Halls hired and paid for by her.]

596

890713007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Drama: The Strongest Disseminator of Radical Thought / Emma Goldman.– pp. 19-23 ; 18 cm. *In* The Suppression of Free Speech / edited by Alden Freeman. – East Orange : East Orange Record Print, [1909].
Obtained from the Wayne State University Libraries.

The purpose of this lecture is to show that the drama, more than any other vehicle of human expression—such as the essay, article, or speech – has awakened radical thought. That this is so can be best proven by illustrations from various countries, with the possible exception of Russia and France.

Russia, with its terrible political pressure, has made people think and has awakened their sympathies, because of the tremendous contrast which exists between the intellectual life of the people and the despotic regime that is trying to crush that life. So, while the great dramatic works of Tolstoi, Tchechov, Gorki and Andrejev closely mirror the life and the struggle, the hopes and aspirations of the Russian people, they did not influence radical thought to the extent the drama has done in other countries.

France, on the other hand, with its struggle for liberty of centuries' duration, can be looked upon as the cradle of radical thought, and as such she, too, did not need the drama as a means of awakening the consciousness of her people. And yet the works of Brieux - such as "Robe Rouge," portraying the terrible corruption of the judiciary—and Mirbeau's "Les Affaires sont Des Affaires," picturing the destructive influence of wealth on the human soul, have undoubtedly reached wider circles than many of the articles and books which have been written in France on the social question.

In countries like Germany, Scandinavia, England, and even in America -though in a slight degree—the drama is that vehicle which is really making history, disseminating radical thought in ranks otherwise not to be reached.

Let us take Germany, for instance. From '48 till the 80's men of brains, of ideas and of the greatest integrity, made it their lifework to spread the truth of human brotherhood, of justice, among the oppressed and downtrodden of that country. Socialism, that tremendous revolutionary wave, was to the victims of a merciless and inhumane system like water to the parched lips of the desert traveler. Alas! The cultured people remained absolutely indifferent; to them that revolutionary tide was but the murmur of dissatisfied, discontented men, dangerous, illiterate trouble-makers, whose proper place was behind the bars.

Self-satisfied as the "cultured" usually are, they could not understand why one should fuss about the fact that thousands of people were starving, though they contributed towards the wealth of the world. Surrounded by beauty and luxury, they could not believe that side by side with them lived human beings degraded to a position lower than a beast's, shelterless and ragged, without hope or ambition.

This condition of affairs was particularly pronounced in Germany after the Franco-German war. Full to the bursting point with its victory, Germany thrived on a sentimental patriotic literature, thereby poisoning the minds of the country's youth by the glory of conquest and bloodshed.

Intellectual Germany had to take refuge in the literature of other countries, in the works of Ibsen, Zola, Daudet, Maupassant, and especially in the great works of Dostoyevsky, Tolstoi and Turgeniev. But as no country can long maintain a standard of culture without a literature and drama related to its own soil, so Germany gradually began to develop a drama reflecting the life and the struggles of its own people.

Arno Holz, one of the youngest dramatists of that period, startled the Philistines out of their ease and comfort with his "Familie Selicke." The play deals with society's refuge, men and women of the alleys, whose only subsistence consists of what they can pick out of the garbage barrels. A gruesome subject, is it not? And yet what other method is there

597

890713007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Drama: The Strongest Disseminator of Radical Thought / Emma Goldman.— pp. 19-23 ; 18 cm. *In* The Suppression of Free Speech / edited by Alden Freeman. — East Orange : East Orange Record Print, [1909].
Obtained from the Wayne State University Libraries.

to break through the hard shells of the minds and souls of people who have never known want and who therefore assume that all is well in the world.

Needless to say, the play aroused tremendous indignation. The truth is bitter, you know, and the people living on the Fifth Avenues of Berlin hated to be confronted with the truth.

Not that "Familie Selicke" represented anything that had not been written about for years without any seeming result. Only the dramatic genius of Holz, together with the powerful interpretation of the play, could not help making inroads into the widest circles and setting people to thinking about the terrible inequalities around them.

Sudermann's "Ehre," too, dealt with a vital subject of that time. I have already referred to the sentimental patriotism so completely turning the head of the average German as to create a perverted ridiculous conception of honor, the doubting of which was considered a most heinous crime. Duelling became an every-day affair, costing innumerable lives. A great cry was raised against the fad, especially by the well-known writer and noblewoman, Bertha Von Suttner, and many other leading people. But nothing acted as such a clarifier and exposer of that national disease as the "Ehre."

Not that the play deals with duelling; it merely analyzes the real meaning of honor, proving that it is not a fixed inborn feeling, but that it varies with every people and every epoch, and it depends particularly on one's economic station in life. For instance, Sudermann tells us, the man in the brownstone mansion will necessarily define honor differently from the type described in the "Familie Selicke." Or, as Count Trast, the principal character in the "Ehre," a man widely conversant with the customs of various climes, relates that in his many travels he chanced across a savage tribe whose hospitality expressed itself, among other things, in offering the tribe's women to the stranger. The refusal to accept such hospitality was considered a mortal insult.

Thus Sudermann's "Ehre" helped to disseminate radical thought by showing the stupidity and absurdity of fixed conceptions of honor.

The dramatist who not merely disseminated radicalism, but literally revolutionized the thoughtful Germans, is Gerhardt Hauptmann. His first play, "Before Sunrise," refused by every leading German theatre and first performed in a wretched little playhouse behind a beer garden, acted like a stroke of lightning, illuminating the entire social horizon. Its subject matter deals with the life of an extensive land owner, ignorant, illiterate and brutalized, and his economic slaves of the same mental calibre. The influence of wealth, both on the victims who created it and the possessor thereof, is shown in the most vivid colors, resulting in drunkenness, idiocy and decay. But the most striking feature of "Before Sunrise," the one which brought a shower of abuse on Hauptmann's head, was the question as to whether or not a poor woman should bring children into the world indiscriminately; whether she is not the only one having a right to decide how many victims she is to place in this cold, cruel world.

During the second performance of the play a leading Berlin surgeon almost caused a panic in the theatre by swinging a pair of forceps over his head and screaming at the top of his voice: "The decency and morality of Germany are at stake if childbirth is to be discussed openly from the stage." The surgeon is forgotten, and Hauptmann stands a colossal figure before the world.

Hauptmann is one of the most versatile dramatists of the world, and his critique of social arrangements has taken up every stratum of society. "Kollege Kramton" treats of the economic struggle and artists un-

598

890713007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Drama: The Strongest Disseminator of Radical Thought / Emma Goldman. — pp. 19-23 ; 18 cm. *In* The Suppression of Free Speech / edited by Alden Freeman. — East Orange : East Orange Record Print, [1909].

Obtained from the Wayne State University Libraries.

willing to prostitute their art. Kramton, a painter of great genius, is driven to the wall by a number of superficial, would-be artists whose talents consist of making ugly, shriveled, wealthy old ladies appear young and handsome. Thus "Kollege Kramton" proves that the economic struggle, with all its accompanying horrors, is not merely the curse of the workers, but is also gradually undermining the life of all classes.

Max Halbe's "Jugend" and Wedekind's "Fruhling's Erwacken" are dramas which have disseminated radical thought in an altogether different direction. They treat of the child and the dense ignorance and narrow puritanism that meet the awakening of the child's nature. Particularly is this true of "Fruhling's Erwacken." Young girls and boys sacrificed upon the altar of ignorance and of our sickening morality that prohibits the education of the youth in questions so imperative to the health and well-being of society, the origin of life and its functions. It shows how a mother and a truly good mother, at that keeps her fourteen-year-old daughter in absolute ignorance as to all matters of sex, and when finally the child falls a victim to her ignorance, the same mother sees her child killed by quack medicines. The inscription on the child's grave reads that she has died of anaemia, and morality is satisfied.

Like every new idea, the modern drama in its infancy was met with a great deal of opposition, even on the part of those who claim to be quite advanced and liberal. Thus Hauptmann was denounced by liberal papers and magazines as a degenerate.

Scandinavia, like Germany, was advanced through the drama much more than through any other channel. Long before Ibsen appeared on the scene, Bjornson, the great essayist, thundered against the inequalities and injustice prevalent in those countries. But his was a voice in the wilderness, reaching but the few. Not so with Ibsen. His "Brandt," "Doll's House," "Pillars of Society," and "The Enemy of the People," have considerably undermined the old conceptions and replaced them by a modern and real view of life. One has but to read "Brandt" to realize the modern conception, let us say, of religion. Religion, as an ideal to be achieved on earth; religion as a principle of human brotherhood of solidarity and kindness. Modern indeed compared with the conception the average preacher of this country entertains. Religion to our clergy serves as a bait for the foolish and as a means to fill the coffers of the church.

And then again, "Pillars of Society." What a tremendous indictment against the social structure that rests on rotten and decayed pillars, pillars nicely gilded and apparently intact, yet merely hiding their true condition. And what are these pillars? The owners of the world's wealth, the supposed upholders of morality and truth; they who make the laws of the land and who oppose, condemn and hound the social protestants.

Ibsen, though dealing with his own country, has at once described the conditions in our very midst, and by bringing us face to face with this state of affairs he has made us think and feel. Therein lies the greatest attribute that it also makes us feel and think.

England with her great pioneers of radical thought, the intellectual pilgrims like Godwin, Robert Owen, Darwin, Spencer, William Morris and scores of others, with her wonderful larks of liberty, like Shelley, Byron, etc., serves as another example of the influence of the dramatic art. Within, comparatively, a few years, the dramatic works of Shaw, Barrie, Pinero and Butler Yeats have carried radical thought to the ears formerly deaf even to Great Britain's wondrous poets. And thus a public which will remain indifferent reading an essay by, say, Robert Owen, on the destructive influence of poverty, or ignore Bernard Shaw's Socialistic Tracts, was made to sit up by Shaw's "Major Barbara," wherein poverty is described as the greatest crime of Christian civilization. Poverty makes people weak, slavish, puny; poverty creates disease, crime prostitution; in fine, poverty is responsible for all the ills and evils of the world. Poverty also necessitates dependency, charitable organizations, institutions that thrive off the very thing they are trying to destroy. The Salvation Army, for instance, as shown in "Major Barbara," fights drunkenness; yet one of its greatest contributors is Badger, a whiskey distiller, who furnishes yearly thousands of pounds to do away with the very source of his wealth. Bernard Shaw, therefore, concluded that the only real benefactor of society is a man like Undershaft, Barbara's father, a cannon manufacturer, whose theory of life is that powder is stronger than words.

America is still in its dramatic infancy. Most of its attempts along this line, to mirror life, have so far been wretched failures. Still, there are hopeful signs in the attitude of the intelligent public toward modern plays, even if they be from foreign ground.

Fifteen years ago Ibsen was played to empty houses. Today three or four different companies perform Ibsen's dramas before packed houses. The same is true of Shaw's and other dramatic works dealing with the pressing problems of the day. This is particularly true in regard to the last few years. True, our dramatic critics and the general public often miss the mark in their interpretation of the moral of some particular

drama, as, for instance, in the "Servant in the House." With few exceptions the theatre-going public saw in Kennedy's masterpiece nothing but a religious revival, the reincarnation of Christ. Yet nothing could be further from the truth. The radical thought in the "Servant in the House" is not represented by the Bishop of Benares, but by Robert, that coarse, filthy drunkard, whom respectable society has repudiated. Robert, the sewer cleaner, is the real hero of the play; nay, its real and only Saviour. It is he who volunteers to go down into the dangerous sewer, so that his comrades "can 'ave light and air." After all, has he not sacrificed his life always, so that others may have light and air?

The thought that Labor is the Redeemer of social well-being has been cried from the housetops in every tongue and every clime. Yet the simple words of Robert express the significance of labor and its mission with far greater weight.

The only real drama America has so far produced is "The Easiest Way," by Eugene Walter. With powerful art it teaches the lesson of the destructiveness of our social and economic arrangements to all truth, justice and beauty. It further depicts the fatalism, cruel and senseless, conditioned in Laura's set.

These two features put the stamp of universality upon this first great American play and destine it to prove the strongest indictment against modern society.

These examples, though few, serve sufficiently to substantiate my belief in the importance of the modern drama in the dissemination of radical ideas and of a truer and nobler conception of human relationship.

East Orange's Barn Storming

[Leading Editorial on June 9, 1909, in THE NEWARK EVENING NEWS, the most important newspaper in the State of New Jersey, with an average daily circulation of nearly 70,000 copies. Excluding Sunday editions, which it does not issue, this journal is more popular as an advertising medium than any New York

599

840514050
The Emma Goldman Papers
The Joys of Touring / Emma Goldman. – pp. 370-379 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 11 (Jan. 1909).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The too gaudy dress, the too red lips, too bright eyes, too tense nerves
Bespoke her calling. She was one of those who from olden times
Have in all civilized countries sat in the gates of the cities,
To sell their bodies. She knew in her own life the misery of society;
It made her kind. She put her fair arms about the unkempt, dirty woman,
She bent her head to receive the sickening, disgusting, pitiful caresses,
The craven gratitude of the poor starved soul unused to any kindness.
They went away together, two victims of society's curse.
And so I saw the kindness of the poor.

* * *

THE JOYS OF TOURING

Amid all the hardships and difficulties of an unpopular propagandist touring for an unpopular cause, there is one redeeming feature: the train! The train?! I hear my dear friends exclaim, who look upon modern achievements with horror. Yes, the train, with its tremendous speed of forty miles an hour, rushing through the wilds of the West, over huge mountains and through canyons, daring everything, halting at nothing. The train that takes one out of civilization, of stuffy cities, and still stuffier meeting-rooms; that separates one from friend and foe, strife and anxiety; that brings one back to himself, to his own thoughts and fancies, back into a world undisturbed by foreign invaders. At least that's what the train means to me. I don't know how I could possibly weather the storm and stress of meetings, discussions, and debates, were it not for the occasional respite in my only place of refuge—the train. Whatever the end of the journey may bring, while it lasts one is free from police persecution, hall difficulties, bad management of comrades, and even the well-meant care of friends. True, trains have the bad habit of banging up one's body, but they do not tax the brain at least. It is left free to follow its flights, no matter how foolish, and to prepare for new battles and defeats. No doubt,

there are plenty of credulous people who believe that propaganda tours are a continuous performance of fun and ease. But, then, what's credulity if not the belief in the impossible.

Speaking of fun, it really is funny to put oneself up against a world of stupidity, mental laziness, and moral cowardice. If there is anything the world hates, it is to be conscious of itself, to be brought face to face with its own decrepit, hypocritical, rotten self. But the funniest of all things is to witness the frantic efforts of this world to shout and howl down the voice that cries in its wilderness. It's truly a farce comedy. See what mischief riding on a train does. Instead of reporting the joys of touring, I wandered off to the air castles of philosophy. If I were at least a Salvationist, I could sing "I am so happy, Jesus loves me," but being an Anarchist in pursuit of friends for MOTHER EARTH, I can only sing, "I ought to be happy I still have my neck." Which only goes to prove that it must be a bully neck if it could withstand the pulling of the last few weeks.

"Ours is a peaceful country. No room for violence." To be sure, except when we can hoist an Anarchist neck. Everyone wants to have a hand at that, from the bear hunter in the White House down to the policeman on the beat, from the soul-saving minister to the vote-catching Socialist. To all of them an Anarchist neck is like a red rag to the bull; simultaneously they make a dash for it. Poor fools! Will they ever learn that it is perseverance and tenacity that have stiffened Anarchy's neck, till it can withstand the fiercest onslaughts?

But what about the "Joys of Touring"? Well, after we had exchanged Canadian freedom for American despotism, I mean when we left Winnipeg and got to Fargo, N. D., the indefatigable Dr. Reitman succeeded in arranging a meeting within a few hours. He paid for his zeal with a day's chill and fever. Still, we had a splendid meeting and disposed of considerable literature, leaving for the city that is built on a bluff—Butte, Montana.

When I visited this stronghold of the Catholic Church and the smelter owners for the first time, last June, it was only after a strenuous battle with the elements and an expenditure of nearly two hundred dollars. And

600

840514050
The Emma Goldman Papers
The Joys of Touring / Emma Goldman. – pp. 370-379 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 11 (Jan. 1909).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

when I finally reached this "promised land," I found that all halls had been refused to Emma Goldman, save one dark little, out-of-the-way place. I consoled myself with the thought that every truth had to make its way through obscure and underground channels before it became recognized as such. That my visit of six months ago had not been in vain, was best proved by the interest of those who remained behind and who spared no effort to make my second visit a success. It was altogether due to Comrade Robinson and our dear old friends Annie and Abe Edelstadt, and a few others, that the Auditorium, which was refused last time, could be obtained, and the meetings extensively advertised. The attendance was not very large. Butte boasts of being a strict union town, yet in no other city are the workers so completely in the clutches of the Moloch Capitalism as in Butte. Here he shows himself in all his monstrosity, lurking in every corner, ever ready to devour his victims. As a result, few miners have the courage to attend a public meeting, especially an Anarchist meeting. Those who came certainly deserve admiration. They have proven that even Butte cannot entirely subdue the spirit of liberty. The Social Science Club, which I have organized while here, will—I hope—serve as a nucleus for bringing together the earnest men and women, for study and work. If there is any city that especially needs rebellious, intelligent fighters against our social wrongs, it is Butte, Montana.

Some years ago, when I first visited the State of Washington, I was informed that it rains thirteen months in the year on Puget Sound. I wonder if that accounts for the muddy state of mind of some of its people. At any rate, everything looked muddy, felt muddy, and was muddy in the State of Washington. Spokane was busy showing her apples, and luring credulous people into buying real estate, which is surely the muddiest of all propositions. And as the foolish are ever on the increase, the town was overflowing with that prolific species of humanity. Every hotel and furnished room taken, at double the usual prices. Ditto churches, saloons, and other places of amusement, including halls.

Seattle seems to have muddled up the judgment and

discretion of several comrades. At any rate, every meeting was a muddle, excepting one, which was saved by our getting to the city two days earlier than expected. It was held at the Labor Temple, Sunday, December 13th. Unfortunately, the proceeds of that meeting had to cover the loss of three other meetings. The crowning episode of the Seattle visit was the arrest of Dr. Reitman and myself, which, though not of grave importance for the moment, caused no end of trouble in other places. All this could have been avoided, if the arranger of the meeting had not hypnotized himself into the belief that he had rented the hall, and if he had also not hypnotized the Doctor into believing that a deposit had been paid. Ben Reitman, though young in the movement, is a strong believer in direct action. He thought the hall ours, and simply took possession of it. We found out later, to our sorrow, that our comrade was laboring under an hallucination. The proprietor of the hall felt his miserable property rights outraged and called the police. They came when I was about to get into the hall. They probably wanted to "save me" the climb, so they put me under arrest. After paying the "injured property man" $1.50, we were released. Such are the beauties of ownership. It will drag people to the station house, and even throw them into prison, for the paltry sum of $1.50.

It was only when we reached Everett and Bellingham that we were made to feel the full consequences of the Seattle experience. In Everett the Chief of Police so frightened the city fathers with ghost stories of danger that they decreed I should not speak. Of course, the Chief meant only "my safety," bless his mud-soul. He informed me that I would be thrown into the river, tarred and feathered, lynched and quartered. I assured him that I should enjoy such gracious treatment, but he would not listen to me. Of course, the meeting could not take place. The only thing accomplished in Everett was the statement which the editor of the Everett *Tribune* was brave enough to publish, and which we herewith reproduce for the edification of our readers:

After Emma Goldman had been notified that she would not be allowed to speak here, she came to the *Tribune* office to leave her protest.

601

840514050

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Joys of Touring / Emma Goldman. – pp. 370-379 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 11 (Jan. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

"I am surprised," she said, "to find Russian methods in Everett. I offer your good people this:

"Resolved, that the city of Everett, in the State of Washington, should be taken off the American map and turned over to the dominion of the Russian Tsar.

"Free speech! Free assembly! What a glorious principle! We alone, the children of a free country, can lay claim to it. Indeed, we give it to our children with their mother's milk; we give it to them in the schools. How it makes their hearts kindle and bosoms swell with that great refrain: Free speech, free press, free assembly! And yet, and yet, a handful of men, in a stuffy room in the City Hall of Everett, decided on this day of the Lord, December 14, 1908, that freedom of speech may be all right for America but it's all wrong for Everett. Their decision being backed by the power of the club, and might being right, free speech was grabbed by the throat and choked to death. 'My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty.'

"Friday, December 12th, Dr. Ben L. Reitman, acting as my manager, secured Fraternal Hall for a meeting to take place this evening. A deposit was paid after a contract was signed turning over Fraternal Hall to Emma Goldman. No doubt the gentlemen of that hall are law-abiding citizens. The law provides that a contract is binding. Yet these very law and order people are the first ones to break the thing they believe in and demand. They refuse the hall, but forget that they have made themselves liable to damages.

"Another hall is secured, but the Chief of Police, who also believes in law, the law which guarantees free speech and assembly, this great patriot breaks his allegiance to American liberty and orders that Emma Goldman shall not speak. The city fathers, who certainly believe in law, aid and abet the conspiracy to throttle free speech.

"And so it has come to pass that American officials should Russianize an American city, and that henceforth Columbia shall blush with shame over the treachery of her child Everett.

"Yes, but Emma Goldman is an Anarchist. Oh, horrors! But what is Anarchy? How are we to know if Emma Goldman is stopped from expression of her views or telling us what Anarchism means? That's just it. Not Emma Goldman but free speech was stopped. As to Anarchy, after all I do not blame the Chief of Police or the city fathers. Anarchism is a theory of human development, is therefore opposed to stagnation. Anarchism stands for freedom and non-interference, and is therefore opposed to the club. Anarchism stands for righteousness, and is therefore opposed to our social and economic iniquities, with its crime and criminals. In short, Anarchism believes in fellowship and brotherhood. Don't you see why it is offensive to a Chief of Police and city fathers?"

Bellingham will go down in history as the muddiest of all places. The brain of its Chief of Police (Cade is his glorious name; Cad would be much more appropriate) was so muddled, that he could see nothing but

"treason, conspiracy, and outlawry" in the simple attempt to hold a meeting. He arrested Reitman and myself on sight, "with due procedure of law," if you please. He swore out a warrant that deserves to be placed on record. It ran: "Emma Goldman and Dr. Ben L. Reitman, Anarchists and outlaws, having conspired to hold an unlawful assembly," etc. Wonderful rhetoric, isn't it? The detective who began to read to us this Solomonic paper, was so awestricken by the wisdom of his Chief that he lost his nerve and could not proceed. We were escorted to the station house and there ordered to leave the city at once, or enjoy the hospitality of the cells. As this was the first real Washingtonian hospitality, we decided to accept it. Chief Cade did not expect us to be so ready. At any rate, he gave us another chance, at midnight. We again declined, having quite settled down to a night's wake. In the morning we were brought before a mummy, commonly called Judge, who kindly placed us under $5,000.00 bail. Not much for Anarchists, do you say? That's the beauty of living in a democratic country. Every Chief of Police or Judge on the bench is just as good as the Russian Tsar.

The situation was so tragi-comical that we should have dearly loved to see how far the stupidity of authority could go. But I had dates to fill at Vancouver. Therefore we decided to relieve the Chief of the predicament of having made an ass of himself (with apologies to the ass). On the day of reckoning Bellingham will be doomed to perish, not because of its sins, but for its stupendously absurd Chief of Police and its equally stupid Judge. Its ignorant inhabitants may be redeemed in the personalities of Attorney Schamel, who volunteered his services gratis, and of a certain Mr. Lynch, who offered to go bail. Indeed, they were the only bright spot on that horizon of muddy humanity at Bellingham.

Just compare the action of the Bellingham authorities with that of Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, O. The latter not only refused to stand for police interference, but when I lectured in Cleveland, October 22d, the Mayor gave me the use of the public square, where I addressed three thousand people, with only two officers present. If Chief Cade were not such a hardened rascal, Mayor Johnson's liberality would strike him dead.

602

840514050

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Joys of Touring / Emma Goldman. – pp. 370-379 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 11 (Jan. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The more insignificant one's authority, the more important he is apt to imagine himself. This certainly seems to have been the case with the Immigration Inspector on the Canadian side of the border. He had no instructions to annoy us, but his bureaucratic heart swelled with pride at the possibility of saving Canada from one whom the papers had just heralded as an outlaw and conspirator. Poor fellow, he was really much more humane than his trade would indicate. When he saw the "dangerous creatures" in his wretched office, he assured them that he meant no harm. He tried to amend for the trouble he caused by playing the host and serving us with good coffee. And when the wire from Ottawa ordered the Inspector to let us proceed, he became quite talkative and chummy. Never before did the machinery of government seem such a grinding mill to me than when I watched that Inspector in his filthy, squalid little office. Here was a man, apparently well read, intelligent, not unkind, living in dismal, monotonous, dirty surroundings, annoying, bullying, and interfering with people who have never harmed him—all for the sake of a miserable pittance. What could not a man like that do in a sane society? But, then, ours is a mad world. That's why the servants of the law pass their lives where the masters would not permit their dogs to dwell. I sometimes think that the servants are a greater curse to the world than the masters. They are much more numerous and, alas! much more stupid.

After one has enjoyed the blessings of democracy for a time, one is apt to appreciate monarchical rule for a while. I felt quite relieved in Vancouver, after the democratic bulldozing we had received in our own free country. Not a policeman in sight at any meeting. And those who are on the street, courteous and obliging. If it were not unfair to the people of Vancouver, I would suggest that we send our police down there to learn how to mind their business, and not to interfere with free speech. And that is not the only thing "those inferior Canadians" can teach us. In the States a Mark Antony would have to speak before empty benches, unless the yellow journals heralded him as the real Brutus. Sensationalism is the curse of our country. No real interest in anything unless it be a sensation. In Canada

the people are frightened away by sensation. They come to a meeting because they are interested, or not at all. Shall we ever be cured of that terrible poison, yellow journal sensationalism?

Coming to Portland during Christmas week, one could not expect much in the line of meetings. Still, it was worth the effort, if only to rest up from the stress and strife of the Puget Sound experience. Some real hospitality, this time of friends, was for me sufficient recompense for the scanty attendance at the lectures.

The important events of the Portland visit were two debates. One with a Jeffersonian Democrat, Mr. J. V. Barnhill, a man of considerable courage and some reading, who talked about everything under the sun, except Democracy. He expressed grave fear that under Anarchism he would not be able to sell his products. Mr. Barnhill did not impress me as if he could produce anything that others would care to buy. Still, I assured him that he would have all the liberty he wished, without let or hindrance.

The second debate was with Mr. Walter Thomas Mills, a Socialist. I was rather anxious to meet Mr. Mills, as I had heard a great deal about his cleverness and ability. But probably Mr. Mills does not believe in living up to his reputation. At any rate, I could see little of his ability, unless it be his voice, which is so shrill and loud it reminds one of the trumpets at the walls of Jericho. Thus Mr. Mills makes up in quantity of sound for quality of reasoning.

It is interesting to note how our worshippers of majority rule set that fetish aside when it suits their purpose. Mr. Mills was thrown out of the Seattle Socialist Party. Yet when I called his attention to the despotism of the majority, he replied, "Not for me. I am still in the Party, and I have my membership card." Which is analogous to General Bell's exclamation, "To hell with the Constitution!" Logic would ask, Why majority rule, or Constitution at all?

However, there is a great deal more to be said in behalf of Mr. Mills, than for his comrades in Seattle, who were instrumental in his expulsion. He is cultured, impersonal, and fair in dealing with opponents. Not so the present dictator of the Seattle Socialists, Dr.

603

840514050

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Joys of Touring / Emma Goldman. – pp. 370-379 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 3, no. 11 (Jan. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Titus. I debated with the latter six months ago. The arrogance, superficiality, and lack of principle on the part of Titus were appalling. I had quite decided never to meet him in debate again. Alas, the Socialists of Seattle are so poor in brain and character, that I had to accept Titus in preference to a certain Louis. This man, who claims he does not know Emma Goldman, nevertheless seems to know that she is in the employ of the capitalist class. Fortunately I believe in preventing cruelty to animals, else that insect would have received his deserts. As to Dr. Titus, I hoped that he had read up a bit during the last six months. Not on Anarchism. No, that would be expecting too much from a Catholic whose bible is the Communist Manifesto. The Doctor does not even know his Socialism. Else he would not have made himself ridiculous by telling the audience that Socialists do not bother about the future, that they deal only with the present. Just think of it! The Socialists, who have the most iron-clad programme as to regulating life from its very conception till death doth part, by the industrial mechanism of society. But, then, the Doctor knows better. Just as he knows that Kropotkin is not a bourgeois, that Marx did not annihilate Proudhon, that Bakunin did not disrupt the International, that Emma Goldman is not a tool of the capitalist class, that Anarchism does not mean assassination. He knows all that very well, indeed. Just think of a man using such rot as "arguments" in a debate on Socialism versus Anarchism. Poor Socialism, you have been degraded, compromised, and dragged into the gutter by just such men and such methods. What a disgusting spectacle!

In closing my report of the Joys of Touring, I must not forget to pay tribute to that band of brave warriors who recently beat their way in box cars to attend the I. W. W. Convention at Chicago. Brave, sturdy boys, full of the spirit of revolt, thoroughly disgusted with all political machinations. "Slum proletarians" they were recently called by Pope Pius De Leon. Yes, real proletarians whom political charlatans have misused, only to renounce them when they awakened to their own strength. If ever a real revolutionary industrial movement will draw up its lines to settle accounts with the despoilers of human life, it will owe much to the courage of the

I. W. W. boys of Butte, Spokane, Portland, Vancouver, and other cities.

Altogether, this was an interesting and profitable month. Profitable, though not in worldly goods. Far from it. What does an Anarchist want with that, anyhow? Experience may not pay the printer's bills right away. But it will, in the sweet bye and bye.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

En Route.

* * *

BLOODY SUNDAY

By VICTOR ROBINSON.

> Refuse not to succor your people; give orders without delay to representatives of all classes in the land to meet together. Let capitalists and workmen be present; let officials, priests, physicians, and teachers all come and choose their own delegates. Let all be free to elect whom they will, and for this purpose let the elections to the Constituent Assembly be organized on the principle of universal suffrage. This is our principal request, on which everything else depends. It is the best and only plaster for our open wounds, without which they will ever remain unhealed, and hurry us on to death. There is no one panacea for all our ills; many are needed, and we now proceed to enumerate them, speaking plainly and candidly to you, Sire, as to a father.—*From the Petition of January 22, 1905.*

Thousands, thousands, thousands,—more than twice ten thousand, all marching to the Tsar. Cruelly cold was St. Petersburg, but that vast multitude walked bareheaded. Loyal subjects of the throne were they, ready to die for the Emperor. They were led by a priest with cassock and cross. In the front rank ikons waved, and pictures of Nicholas II. were held on high. The streets of the capital rang with song, but it was not the Marseillaise they chanted,—it was the Hymn of the Imperial Family. No red flag, like a red eagle, rose in air. No one carried a gun. No double-edged swords clanked at their sides. They had not even stones in their pockets. Was ever before so huge an army so helpless? Their only weapons were yellow faces in which the anguish

604

831121077

The Emma Goldman Papers

Dear Friend / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – (Jan. 26, 1909, leaflet). – 1 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

LABADIE COLLECTION

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., JANUARY 26TH, 1909.

DEAR FRIEND:

You have no doubt heard of the latest police outrage on free speech and our comrades Emma Goldman, Dr. Ben L. Reitman and others. Without the shadow of an excuse, and after our first meeting was inadvertently permitted to take place unmolested, Emma Goldman and Dr. Ben L. Reitman were arrested and charged with conspiracy to incite to riot, etc., on eight separate counts each, and placed under $16,000 bail in cash (or double that in property). The object, seemingly, of placing their bail at such an exorbitant figure was to crush our comrades by the mere magnitude of the threat involved. As a matter of fact, it did succeed in keeping our comrades in prison and did break up our meetings, with the resultant financial loss to all concerned, and most of all to the injury of Mother Earth.

The police department was evidently under the impression that they had only to deal with the handful of obscure comrades within easy reach, for when the country promptly responded to the occasion their bail was reduced to $2800, then their bail waived on the eight charges and they were put on trial on a new charge of attempting to hold an unlawful assembly for the purpose of opposing all government and the advocacy of Anarchism, (this, presumably, is due to the fertility of the District Attorney's office, in order to make good on the novelty of the charge as against the malicious imbecility of San Francisco's "Finest"), and were released on $500 bail—quite a drop, from $16,000 to $500.

These tactics in open court is equivalent to a confession of culpability on the one hand and on the other hand it indicates a well-defined pupose to prosecute to the limit. Emma Goldman has been arrested times without number; this, however, is the first time that the authorities have actually put her on trial; and, judging by the venom, cunning and brutality that characterized the arrest of our comrades, the breaking up of our meetings, the clubbing of our friends and the general handling of the situation, there seems to be a determined effort on the part of the prosecution to convict at any cost, and it is up to us, who are on the ragged edge of this battle-field, to see that these malignant plans shall [illegible] nd well-conducted defense can make it fail. For this purpose we need a defense [illegible] r means supplied by local comrades, and you are asked to contribute according to your means, at once, and to constitute yourself a committee of one to get others to contribute.

If, in spite of all our efforts, these comrades of ours should be convicted, they will go to jail, for they scorn to appeal from one grade of tyranny to another; and some of the rest of us will also go to jail, and we hope that others will make it their business (whether Anarchists or not) to go to jail in such numbers that the public conscience may be roused to a realization of the infamy of attempting the suppression of free speech, **for mark this**: if Emma Goldman and Ben L. Reitman are railroaded to prison on this police-made excuse for a statute it will be impossible for them or any other Anarchists to speak anywhere in California, that the precedent will be followed up by other States with lively enthusiasm, and this will effectively check the Anarchistic propaganda in this country. This is not **all**. If the attempted suppression of the legal right of Anarchists to freely express their opinions and freely assemble for the discussion of their views, plans and purposes will succeed, it will be considered a mere wedge that Tyranny will hammer in the armor of Free Speech, and the next victims will be the **Socialists, the Single-Taxers, the Mormons, the Prohibitionists and any and all minority movements that may stand in the way of plutocracy and respectable vice,** and so we call on all liberty-loving people, without regard to differences on other matters, to join us in this fight with the common enemy. Piece-meal the enemy can cut us into mince-meat, but working together we are invincible. In the words of the elder Adams: "If we don't hang together we'll hang separately."

NOTE.—We are deeply involved in the defense and expense accounts, and we must have funds immediately to meet pressing obligations.

Address all communications to EMMA GOLDMAN, care of Alex. Horr, 1260 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

Cassius V. Cook
Emma Goldman
Reitman

EMMA GOLDMAN,
DR. BEN L. REITMAN,
ALEX HORR,
CASSIUS V. COOK,
COMMITTEE.

605

840514052

The Emma Goldman Papers

On Trial / Emma Goldman. — pp. 411-417 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 3, no. 12 (Feb. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The political policy of the American Federation of Labor received such a crushing blow at the polls, it must be assumed it did not represent the opinions of the rank and file. Are they revolutionary or wedded to the old political parties?—that is the sole question. That they are not wedded to Socialism or semi-Socialism, is quite positive. The sentence of Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison, three of the most prominent labor leaders in the country, was to be expected, but the skill with which it was postponed until after election moves us to admiration. Unless President-elect Taft exercises his prerogative of pardon, the chances of Gompers et al. serving their sentences is excellent. Meanwhile the aforesaid leaders have capitulated and withdrawn the boycott, which is a clear victory for capital. Mr. Taft has an excellent opportunity to ingratiate himself in the hearts of Simple Septimus Labor, by pardoning the convicted men, if they promise to be good.

Roosevelt has demonstrated that presidents and kings can lie just like ordinary mortals. After denying indignantly that he intended to appoint certain labor leaders to office as a reward for supporting his creature, Taft, he promptly appointed them immediately after the election.

We are not vitally interested in Roosevelt's quarrel with Congress, or their mutual quarrels. We allways knew that there are dishonest men in Congress, and that Roosevelt is a man devoid of moral sense and decency. The result of the controversy does not surprise us, nor should it have surprised any sane student of political conditions. The growth of the Secret Service and violations of all sense of honor and fair play in the Post Office should not have astonished us; but even we have some illusions yet, and this was one of them. The disregard of personal liberty is indeed disquieting. 1908 saw us robbed of a few more of our precious rights.

Secretary Wilson of the Bureau of Agriculture reports that seven billion seven hundred and seventy-eight million dollars' worth of farm products were produced in the United States during 1908; in other words, about $90.00 per head of the population. Considering that we were in the midst of a panic, with from 30 to 75 per cent. of the members of certain trades out of work during the

larger part of 1908, $90.00 worth of foodstuffs per head is rather considerable. We have seen only partial statistics, but we do not believe the average number of unemployed in the cities and industrial centers at any time during the past year was less than 30 per cent. Formerly we had but one bread line; now we have several in New York City alone. When Judge Gary, one of the heads of the Steel Trust, recently paid a visit with a party of friends to the Bowery Mission, there were some fifteen hundred men in that bread line. The Police captain of the district, a man not too sympathetic to the 'line," said that there were not over 2 per cent. of the "regulars" present. Ninety dollars a year of foodstuffs per head *at the farm*, and bread lines of starving men.

For good or evil, 1908 has faded into the past and left nothing but memories and lessons. All in all, we are inclined to say, Sir, it was a great year!

* * *

ON TRIAL

DEAR FRIENDS:

Police brutality and outrages have become such every-day affairs, no one pays the slightest attention to them. We are a novelty-loving people. We like variety: The news of a lynching, one day; an earthquake, the next; a big fire, the third; some sensational murder, the fourth; a prize fight, the fifth; the deportation of an Anarchist, the sixth, and so on, and so forth. Only not one and the same thing two days in succession; that would never satisfy our sensational tastes. Besides, brutality to Anarchists is but true American spirit. "Them foreigners have no business here, anyway; why don't they leave this country?"

However, the police outrage in San Francisco, while common enough, was really unusual in its extraordinary stupidity. It is for this reason that we have taken the trouble to record it at all.

We were charged with "Conspiracy and riot, making unlawful threats to use force and violence, and disturbing the public peace," etc., charges so "grave," indeed, that the Judge felt $16,000 bail for each defendant was but a trifle. But suddenly, four days after our arrest,

606

840514052
The Emma Goldman Papers
On Trial / Emma Goldman. – pp. 411-417 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 3, no. 12 (Feb. 1909).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

these "grave charges" were set aside, and a new charge concocted, that of "unlawful assemblage, denouncing, as unnecessary, all organized government, and preaching Anarchist doctrines." O horrors! On this "wise and dangerous" charge I was put on trial, Dr. Reitman to follow, after I shall have been given a vacation at the expense of the City of the Golden Gate.

I wish I were gifted with the power to describe the performance. The gravity of the Judge; the important air of the District Attorney; the mysteriousness of the detective witnesses for the State; the scared faces of the men called to serve on the jury. Each one anxiously watching the other fellow, lest he might be an Anarchist, which means dynamite and bombs. It was a spectacle for the gods. And then our lawyer, Mr. Ernest E. Kirk, a young and vivacious Californian, with the true Celtic spirit of humor and mischief. How he sweated every venire-man! How he made him sit up and listen. Listen and hear, for the first time in his life, things as they really are, and not what a prostituted press has fed its readers on for years. "What do you know about Anarchism?" "The papers say, it teaches bombs and dynamite." "What do you know about the defendant?" "The papers say, she induces people to kill." The papers, the papers! The only source of information, of knowledge, of the American people. The poisoners of the mind, the corrupters of the human soul. The villifiers and misrepresenters of the truth, America's greatest scourge and pest, the arch-enemies of all that is big and fine and true. If ever the day of judgment should arrive, not in heaven, but here on earth; if ever the forces for and against human regeneration shall meet in open battle, the men of the newspaper profession will be the first ones to face the wrath of an outraged, cheated, defrauded people. It has always been my opinion that the police department is recruited from the most contemptible human material; but my experience in San Francisco has taught me that, compared with the human species which is polluting American journalism, the police are as white and virtuous as the proverbial angels.

It required almost superhuman patience to clear the superstition and rubbish from the minds of a hundred and twenty men, before twelve could be selected as jurors

capable at least of a semblance of fairness. However, it was our good fortune to find in Mr. Kirk not only an earnest and sincere man, but a mental athlete with the tenacity of a bull-dog. Once in his grip, no man escaped until every vestige of cobweb was torn, and he made to see that Anarchism resembled the newspaper stories about as much as the average penny-a-liner resembles the cherubim. We knew, of course, that the evidence gathered by the prosecution was so flimsy and absurd, that even the densest jury would acquit. "Denouncing, as unnecessary, all organized government, and preaching Anarchist doctrines." We pleaded guilty, not only to that, but even to more. We insisted that all government is criminal, destructive of liberty and well-being, and that it must be abolished by every method at our command. But, while the police and the courts of this country have gone beyond the limit in suppressing free speech and press, they could not, by the widest stretch of the imagination (which, by the way, they sorely lack), make it a crime to denounce anything as "unnecessary." Of course, no one can tell to what contemptible measures detectives and prosecuting attorneys would stoop. Because of that, Mr. Kirk's method of examination, of sifting and selecting the jurors, was an admirable one. Besides, our trial was not only for the purpose of vindicating free speech, but also to propagate Anarchism, which, while an alleged crime in a hall, was perfectly legal in the court room, you see. And we did preach Anarchism, every phase of it, more thoroughly and effectively than I could have done in a dozen meetings. This was particularly apparent from the change of attitude of the Judge.

Police Judge Deasy is but two months on the bench. He is therefore still humane, when dealing with the victims of a cold and cruel world. I have watched for four days, when poor, hungry, shivering, body and soul broken humanity was brought before him. Not once did I hear an unkind word, or even a reproach. "What is a man to do, your Honor, when he can find no work, and is hungry? He must beg or steal." "Yes, yes, I know, I do not blame you. I do not think you a criminal. You are only unfortunate." No, dear Judge, it is not even that. It's our damnable economic and social iniquities, our mad world of greed and money and power;

607

840514052

The Emma Goldman Papers

On Trial / Emma Goldman. – pp. 411-417 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 3, no. 12 (Feb. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

the heartless, bloody mill of commercialism that grinds the dignity and self-respect out of these unfortunates; the system you believe in and maintain, Judge Deasy, is responsible for that horrible panorama that passes you daily. You are a party to it, like the rest of your class, like everyone who is indifferent to the terrible life about him. Fat, self-satisfied, contented, narrow minded, and narrow hearted Philistines.

But the Judge was kind, so he quite won my heart. I should not have cared, were he to send me to prison. He was humane with the victims of an inhuman society.

Of course, when Anarchists were brought before Deasy, he turned to stone, becoming cold and rigid and stern. He, too, had been poisoned by the newspapers. He, too, had read that Anarchists were human beasts, forever thirsting blood and plotting murder. Little wonder that he should be prepared to use his authority to send them where they would no longer disturb the "peace" of the community.

We do not flatter ourselves to have turned Judge Deasy into an Anarchist. That would mean to make him see the criminality of his position. But we did succeed in bringing a little light into his head. Light which will make him realize that the Anarchists are, indeed, dangerous; not because of their dynamite and bombs, but because they threaten every vested interest. Because they do not compromise, because they have declared war on every institution of to-day, based on hypocricy, sham, and the destruction of life and happiness. Yes, Judge Deasy became humane even to the Anarchists. He was really fair, as fair as any one can be in the capacity of a Judge.

And the evidence? A detective who had listened to my lecture for over two hours, and could only remember me saying, "The judiciary and police take your money, that's all they do for you." Pretty good for the memory of a detective, is it not? Further, that the audience was orderly and applauded good-naturedly. That nothing violent or boisterous occurred, and so forth. "Is that all?" asked the Judge.

The prosecuting attorney, the most amusing clown in the circus, became confused, fidgety, and nervous. He finally mastered spunk enough to say, "Your Honor, I want to show that the Industrial Workers of the World

is an Anarchist organization, that the members wear red shirts and neckties." Everybody in the court room leaned forward to look at the jury box. Three jurors wore red neckties. Were they too, I. W. W. members? "But what have red shirts and the I. W. W. organization to do with the defendant Emma Goldman?" asked the Judge. Nobody knew, least of all the poor little District Attorney. He sat down in despair, large drops of perspiration running down his dear little, fat pig's cheeks.

We were disgusted. Here we had prepared ourselves to meet a gladiator, but alas, it turned out a louse.

There was nothing left to do, but to instruct the jury to render a verdict of not guilty. Mr. Cameron King, the partner of Mr. Kirk, delivered a beautiful address, which we hope to publish in the next issue of MOTHER EARTH. His address was intended for the Judge and the jury, but the logic of the law will have it that the twelve men, who have the power to rob one of his freedom, may listen to the prosecution, but must not hear the defence. Can there be more striking proof of the law's stupidity? The jurors were ordered to leave the court room, like little boys and girls are ordered out of the room, when grown-ups are talking about things which good little children must not hear.

Judge Deasy listened attentively, and seemed quite impressed by Mr. King's address. When the latter had finished, the jury was recalled, and the Judge instructed them to render a verdict of not guilty. Within a few minutes the farce was over, the clowns retired, and the circus was cleared. Of course, all other charges against Dr. Reitman and myself were dismissed.

Poor, stupid police. It was not their intention to help the cause of Anarchism to such a victory. But they did it, just the same. In appreciation thereof I suggest that we club together and buy a little dog's collar with red ribbons, for Detective Sergeant Bunner and District Attorney Ward.

Dogs are not so stupid, did you say? Quite right. Only in this case it was really a stroke of genius to arrest us, break up our meeting, and club the people out of the hall. For three reasons. First, my meetings would have been a failure, because of the heavy downpour of rain. (God, in his goodness, seemed to feel that

608

840514052

The Emma Goldman Papers

On Trial / Emma Goldman. — pp. 411-417 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 3, no. 12 (Feb. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Frisco's corruption, filth, and rottenness needed a bath. It has been raining for three weeks, and if that won't wash this city clean of its sins, she is doomed to perish). Second, nothing awakens public interest so much as persecution of an idea. Third, our trial furnished us the grandest opportunity to expose the lies and rascality of the American press in general, and the San Francisco newspapers in particular; the latter positively the most rotten in the country. A victory almost worth going to prison for. However, the Anarchists are a discontented sort. That's our greatest forte. There yet remained the reinstatement of free speech, which the police attempted to throttle with the club.

Within two days the largest hall in the city was hired, and a meeting advertised: "Emma Goldman Not Guilty, Monster Reception," etc. Sunday evening, January 31st, two thousand people streamed into the hall, and Emma Goldman spoke with her soul in her mouth.

The police were there; of course; so were our attorney and stenographer, and our dear, energetic bondsman, Cassius V. Cook, all ready to meet the "gentlemen of the force." But whether they had enough of the Anarchists, or whether they did not dare to act, I do not know, nor do I care. I only know that the meeting sealed our victory, and that the police must have felt like whipped curs.

Of course, I am not yet through with the Golden Gate City. I have inflicted myself on her "great hospitality" for the next four weeks. During that time I will deliver the series of lectures which the uniformed ruffians prevented two weeks ago. They have caused us a loss in actual expenses of two hundred dollars, not to mention the regular receipts. Some comrades have suggested that the city be sued. I know they mean well; but they seem to overlook the fact that Satan takes care of his ilk. That it would therefore be a loss of time and money on our part; besides, it were inconsistent to ask the help of the very institution we abhor more than any other —government.

The experience was, of course, costly and trying, but it was worth while, at least to me. It demonstrated the spirit of solidarity on the part of the Anarchists in this city. No matter what their differences, they all acted

as one. It proved the generosity of our Los Angeles comrades, C. J. Sprading and the Foresters, who promptly sent the necessary bail. And, indeed, the solidarity of our comrades and friends all over the country. But the greatest joy to me during the last trouble was the staunchness of a few, who are still very young in our movement. Wm. Buwalda came out of prison December 31st. When he was arrested in connection with our meetings, he was asked why he persisted in associating with such bad people as the Anarchists, or Emma Goldman. Staunch Buwalda, who had faced fire more than once in the service of that insatiable monster, Uncle Sam, waved his jailers aside and proudly declared his right to associate with whomever he pleased. I shall soon acquaint our readers with Buwalda, the man and his character. Meanwhile I ask our friends to join me in a vote of thanks to the military authorities. They have annihilated the soldier, but have given birth to a *man*. Buwalda's "case" was dismissed.

Then there is Dr. Reitman. He has been locked up many times for vagrancy. But so long as a man is not an Anarchist, he is still considered respectable. It is the Doctor's first experience to be arrested for such an awful crime as "denouncing, as unnecessary, all organized government." But he stood his ground handsomely. He is rather disappointed that he missed the chance to swing between two thieves.

Thus Anarchists came out with flying colors, and the police look as stupid as ever, and a little more.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

San Francisco, Feb. 2d.

* * *

PROPAGANDA IN CALIFORNIA

(*Report.*)

ANARCHISM and brains have been very closely associated in the public mind in sunny Southern California of late, for Comrade Emma Goldman has been here, and wherever she goes the mentally alert are sure to take advantage of the opportunity to hear her.

Her series of lectures this year showed a remarkable versatility; in each sphere of thought she assayed to enter,

609

890713003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Mills and Goldman Debate the Question / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 22 cm. *In* The San Francisco Call. – (March 1, 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Mrs. Alice Farnsworth, on Way to California, Becomes Insane

[Special Dispatch to The Call]

KANSAS CITY, Feb. 28.—Displaying evidences of insanity, Mrs. Alice Farnsworth, 70 years old, here alone en route from London, Ont., to Stockton, Cal., has been turned over to the police.

"I'm going to a picnic," she said to a salesman at the union station, "don't stop me, for John Quincy Adams is going to be there and I want to see him."

The depot matron took charge of the woman and found that she was plentifully supplied with money, although plainly dressed. Several $20 bills were found in a skirt pocket, in the bosom of her dress and in her mittens.

BURGLARS SECURE MANY VALUABLE ARTICLES

Jones Street Residence Entered While Man and Wife Are Out

When W. V. Smith and his wife returned Saturday morning to their home, 1020 Jones street, they found that burglars had effected an entrance, getting away with several hundred dollars' worth of jewelry. The missing articles consisted of two diamond rings, one turquoise ring, one amethyst ring, three breastpins set with diamonds, pearls and garnets; one gold cross, two garnet set earrings, a gold bracelet and $5. The jewelry is valued by Smith at $450.

A. M. Bachener, a machinist, was held up in Pacific street during the night and relieved of a gold watch and some money. Charles A. Meyer of 115 Sutter street met a stranger in Market street, who appropriated his watch as the two were hobnobbing over a

Pickpockets were encountered by

stronger currents until I have reached the 'death limit.' I suppose some day it will get me, all right, but I have to go somehow, and I can make a lot of money at this, so what's the difference?"

For a man weighing 143, Quill has been reduced, he says, through the effects of the tests, to 126 pounds. One of the experiments today was the lighting of a carbon which Quill held between his teeth from a current as it came with terrific force from the end of a wire. The shock threw his body back several times before he was able to overcome it sufficiently to get the end of the carbon to the sputtering flame. He also lighted a wax candle from sparks coming from his fingers.

MILLS AND GOLDMAN DEBATE THE QUESTION

Socialist and Anarchist Present Opposing Views

Emma Goldman the anarchist and Walter Thomas Mills the socialist took part in a joint debate yesterday afternoon and last evening in the Auditorium pavilion before large audiences.

The leader of anarchists said that the working men could never be organized in a movement to annihilate the forces of capital as long as they are divided religiously. She referred to all forms of religion as stumbling blocks in the way of the advance of the working classes. She said that muscular resistance and physical strength were the methods the working class should adopt to better themselves.

Mills assailed the ideas of Miss Goldman and said that the socialist had decided on an educational campaign and were endeavoring to appeal to reason. He asserted that the only way to defeat the capitalistic class was by organizing the voters, and to accomplish this end the socialists were compelled to admit to their ranks men of different religious beliefs.

the flight being made from the Dwight way baseball park at 2:20 o'clock. The ascent was made under the direction of P. A. Van Tassell, a veteran aeronaut of 30 years' experience in this country and Europe, who occupied the basket beneath the huge bag with C. C. Bradley, paying teller of the Crocker national bank of San Francisco, an enthusiastic member of the club. During the morning preparations for the flight were made by a force of men under the watchful eye of Van Tassell, and at 1:30 o'clock this afternoon the work of filling the great bag was begun.

Ordinary illuminating gas, furnished by means of special pipes laid by a local company, was utilized, about 50,000 cubic feet being necessary for proper inflation.

AIR CURRENTS TESTED

Shortly before the big balloon was cut loose a smaller bag, 20 feet in diameter, was liberated for the purpose of testing the air currents. This pilot rose rapidly and drifted in a northwesterly direction toward San Pablo bay. Without a hitch the preparations for loosing the larger balloon were carried out. Three bags of sand were shipped as ballast, and Van Tassel and his passenger took their places in the basket amid the instruments for testing temperature and pressure.

With the assistance of willing spectators, the guide ropes were loosed at Van Tassell's command, and with a rush the huge craft shot upward to a height of 2,000 feet. Part of the contents of one sandbag was cast overboard, and the balloon continued its ascent until it became a mere speck in the sky. Coming in contact with a cross air current at the higher elevation, the balloon was shuttled rapidly in a direction exactly opposite to that taken by the pilot, floating eastward in the direction of Grizzly

the chief aeronaut made [illegible] remain in the air for three hours. He stated that he would stay only long enough to take his observations and test the efficiency of the craft after which he would descend upon the discovery of a convenient landing place.

The ascent was undertaken by the members of the club in an effort to stimulate interest in the sport of aeronautics in this state, and several more flights will probably be attempted during the spring and summer.

FALL SAYS McHARG TOLD A FALSEHOOD

Reply Made to Charge Against His New Mexico Record

EL PASO, Tex., Feb. 28.—In a statement here tonight Judge A. B. Fall answers charges made against his record as attorney general for New Mexico.

According to Judge Fall, McHarg told a falsehood when he informed the senate committee on territories that he had been hampered by the attorney general of New Mexico in his land fraud investigations.

Failure of statehood he attributes to an unwillingness to allow the wealth to pass into the control of eastern or western legislators.

ALBUQUERQUE, N. M., Feb. 28.—In a telegram from Albany, N. Y., Herbert J. Hagerman, former governor of New Mexico, denies the truth of the statement sent out from Washington yesterday that he had declared the people of New Mexico unfit for statehood and climate was absolutely false.

PIONEER OIL MAN DIES—Pittsburg, Feb. 28.—William Miller McKinney, one of Pennsylvania's pioneers, oil operator and one of the first men in the United States to become interested in Portland cement, died here today from [illegible]

Ready Now

Harry Lauder's



Hear Melba

In her three new

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

610

880819008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Dawning Era Will Crush President / Emma Goldman.— 35 cm. *In* The San Antonio Daily Express. —(March 15, 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

FAT POSSUMS FOR PRESIDENT TAFT ON TEXAS VISIT

Senator Warnell of Missouri Arranges Golf Links on Taft Ranch.

EXPECTED NOW IN LATE OCTOBER

Persons in San Patricio County will head chartered cars from now on and will feed on the fat of Gulf coal country products until next fall, when President William Howard Taft comes to visit Texas and to enjoy a few weeks golf and hunting on the Taft ranch near Sinton. Senator T. J. Warnell of Liberty Mo., who with John M. Green of Kansas City, arrived in San Antonio last night from the Taft ranch, where Senator Warnell has been laying out a golf course for the President's use.

"There are a couple of niggers at the ranch who know the ways and haunts of possums at every season of the year," said Senator Warnell last night at the St. Anthony Hotel and I understand that these negroes will at the next hog killing can from other people will have all the good meat on the Taft ranch needed with the promise when the President arrives if President Taft doesn't admire a fat pig that Texas possum and San Patricio county corn yet takes twice the Georgia variety off the table it must be the fault of the people down in that section.

In October or November.

While the exact date of the President's visit to Texas and to the Taft ranch was not definitely set it will be during the October or November. Two weeks ago, when John M. Green was here in Washington he said that he was eagerly looking forward to his visit to Texas and that he could not postpone it later than fall. Texas has a high place in his regard and man seldom is separated for travel on account of the location here of Fort Sam Houston. It is the President's intention to make one of his mixed-food visits when known. From here he will go directly to Augusta, Charles P. Taft's magnificent country place on Corpus Christi Bay where Senator Warnell has just been laying off a golf course so that the President may enjoy him to worlds sport while he is at the ranch.

Senator Warnell selected a site for a golf and on the bay front for the course and will the work which will be done on the first it will be one of the best eighteen hole turf links in the State when the President arrives.

Senator Bing in Dividend and the party will have a fine outing before driving across and the finest packs of hounds ever in Southwest at their disposal will be used in the chase over the splendid stretches of traffic automobiles will be used in and when I leave here this week I expect to take the train at one stop that has been built of the Coleman-Fulmore Company, who operated the ranch, as he is also the owner of the ranch. Senator Warnell has been in San Antonio for the resident manager of the Taft ranch, who will be the official host to the party, is one of the executive committee of the Texas Cattle Raisers Association and is now in Fort Worth attending the convention when he will be here with Senator Warnell is manager of the ranch. Several Both Mr. Warnell and John M. Green leave late morning for Fort Worth to attend the convention.

Dr. F. A. Piper, Osteopath.
513-14 Hicks Bldg. Cal phone 1488.

Drs. Stephens and Strum, Osteopaths.
Fifth floor Moore Bldg. Telephone.

Watching a Stomach Digest Food

Was the Means Whereby Science Made Possible the Cure of Dyspepsia.

The Abbe Spallanzani was the first scientist to study systematically the chemical powers of the gastric juice, but it was by the careful and convincing experiments of Beaumont that the foundation of our exact knowledge of its composition and action was laid.

Beaumont was an army surgeon located at an obscure military post in Michigan while it was yet a Territory, and was called upon to treat a gunshot wound of the stomach in a Canadian voyageur—Alexis St. Martin. When the wound healed a permanent opening was left by means of which food could be placed in the stomach and gastric juice taken from it.

Beaumont made scientific experiments with his strange means and wrote a book which today is recognized among the classics of physiology.

Beaumont blazed the way for other scientists so that today medicines know what the stomach does with food and what food does to the stomach.

Science also knows what the gastric juices are and how to make them best for the system.

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets, thanks to the poor army surgeon and Alexis St. Martin, give man a means of digesting food, replenishing the exhausted juices, quieting the nerves and correcting dyspeptic conditions of the stomach.

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets are natural fruit and vegetable essences reduced to concentrated form and by tremendous power compressed into a tablet. These wonderful little digesters are known all over America and Canada. Full meals have been digested by them in glass tubes and they are sold by every druggist.

Physicians to the number of 53 say use them. They are meritorious and harmless. Go to your druggist and buy a package today, price 50c., or send us your name and address and we will send you a trial package by mail free. Address F. A. Stuart Co., 150 Stuart Bldg., Marshall, Mich.

EVERYONE
Wanting Perfect Health and Beauty
ought to see
The True Vibrator
Free Demonstration.
MME. JORDAN'S BEAUTY PARLORS,
710 Grand Avenue.
Only week only.

BOARD OF CONTROL FOR ELEEMOSYNARY INSTITUTIONS

New Asylum Superintendent and State Health Officer May Get Measure Before Session.

PLANS TRAINING SCHOOL FOR THE ASYLUM HERE

Dr. J. R. Nichols of Greenville, formerly head of the Terrell Asylum and lately appointed to succeed Dr. W. L. Bates as superintendent of the Southwestern Insane Asylum, arrived in San Antonio yesterday. He will take charge of the institution this morning.

Impressed with the urgent need of a large addition to the Southwestern Asylum, and also the necessity of improvements in the medical staff and system of treatment, and further tabulating some radical changes in the system of management, Dr. Nichols promises to become very active in urging appropriations from the State through the Legislature.

One of the principal ideas in management which Dr. Nichols favors is the passing of all the State eleemosynary institutions under the management of a board of control. He yesterday conferred with Dr. William Brumby, State Health Officer, in the matter. It is understood that a bill embodying the idea has already been drawn up and placed in the hands of Senator Neal. The board of control is to consist of physicians paid for their services, who are to supervise the management of all the institutions, both scientifically and financially. This bill, after introduction can be considered in the extra session Legislature only through a special message by Governor Campbell, but as it is known that the Governor favors measures looking to the improvement of the State eleemosynary institutions it is believed that the idea will be put at effect this year. This system is in operation in many States.

That the Southwestern Insane Asylum is and will in need of appropriations to be used in enlarging it but that the modern treatment and the force of attendants should also be increased and added is in the statement of Dr. Nichols. To this end he will use all his influence and endeavor in getting the Legislature to make larger appropriations. He expresses himself that the bill providing for the doubling of the capacity of the asylum will be passed, but added that he will not be satisfied with just this.

"One of the principal and most effective treatments of the insane is diversion," said Dr. Nichols. "With the fund we now have access is practically no diversion whatever can be afforded the inmates of the institution.

"The medical staff also should be improved and added to. It is now inadequate."

Dr. Nichols is considering the installation of a training school that is employed in other States in the State asylums. He is also endeavoring to secure appropriations to be used in securing medical assistants from among the graduates one year of the State Medical College of the county. The position is to be offered each year as a sort of a prize to the graduates standing first in their class.

"Though he would not say whom he has selected for the positions Dr. Nichols does say that there are still eleven positions yet to be filled upon the staff of the institutions of which he today assumes the control. These appointments are to be made within a few days. They include the staff surgeon, druggist and assistants.

URGES BIG APPROPRIATION.

Perry J. Lewis Tells of Needs of Southwestern Asylum.

San Antonio is sent in line for a large asylum appropriation and I am very hopeful that the Legislature will give us a big living appropriation at its special session," said Perry J. Lewis, new president of the board of managers of the Southwestern Insane Asylum. Both Austin and Terrell want more money, it is true, for their asylums, but their claims are not so good as ours and the Legislature understands it.

"My asylum authorities have to consider the best working maximum for the number of patients to be handled in one hospital establishment. Both the Austin and Terrell hospitals have capacities now for above 1,500 or nearly 500 patients and are therefore overly or practically at the economic maximum. San Antonio, on the other hand has a capacity for only 750, less than half that of the other two and considerably under half the maximum, so it follows naturally that this asylum should get the next large appropriation, Governor Campbell agrees with this view and the asylum authorities generally do.

"By doubling the capacity here, as we wish to do with the $500,000 appropriation, we could lessen the cost per capita to the State for the patients in the hospital here. But if the Terrell and Austin Hospitals are increased in size the cost of administration, instead of decreasing per capita, will tend to increase, because the hospitals have practically reached their economic maximum. That is because the chief for taking care of a capacity of 1,500 is much the same as that for a smaller institution and the charges for superintendent and corps of assistants are largely the same. Of course the larger hospital has the larger charges for plant and payroll, but not in the same ratio to the individual patients that the charges are in the smaller hospital. Moreover, asylum authorities agree that it is not best to go above 1,500 patients in one hospital.

"Not only has the San Antonio hospital the best claims for an appropriation on account of its smaller size, but it has the healthiest location of any of the three hospitals, has the biggest tract of land, has more river land, in short, has the best natural equipment for a perfect insane asylum.

"During the past two years the hospital administration has been especially active in developing the industries in connection with the hospital. We have more land in cultivation than we ever had before, we have a big irrigated garden, we have a dairy where they are milking 30 cows a day, we have a fine chicken farm, all in connection with the hospital, and the hospital patients do most of the work in these industries. Of course, the patients are under careful supervision all the time, but it is the very best possible thing for them when they can be allowed to do work and to do work in the open air. All the patients like to get out and many of them take great interest in the work. The man in charge of our irrigated garden, one of the finest gardeners in this section, is a patient at the institution.

"With the appropriation for enlargement we can add to these industries. Our plan is to produce everything we can for the hospital's use on the premises and to do all the work for the hospital that we can with the hospital's own equipment. One addition which I favor if we get the appropriation is a water plant. Our water bill, at a minimum is now put a month in the city and is steadily runs up higher than that. That amount would represent interest you see, on a large investment, and I believe that the time has come when the institution should own and run its own water plant.

EMMA GOLDMAN SAYS DAWNING ERA WILL CRUSH PRESIDENT

Noted Anarchist Says the Car of Progress Is About to Overrun Taft and the Republicans.

WILL LECTURE HERE TOMORROW NIGHT

Emma Goldman, the world-renowned anarchist, is in San Antonio today and is stopping at the St. Anthony Hotel.

Miss Goldman, together with her traveling companion and the manager of her lecture tour, Dr. Ben L. Reitman, better known to the reading public as the "King of Tramps," arrived from El Paso last night at 9:45 o'clock.

The itinerary of her present tour has taken in New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle and smaller cities along the route, besides visiting Vancouver, B. C. and other cities in the British possessions.

"I am really off my scheduled trip now," said Miss Goldman, and the length of my stay in San Antonio will depend altogether on the treatment that is accorded me."

It will be recalled that about two months ago Emma Goldman and her manager, Dr. Reitman, were "suppressed" in San Francisco for denouncing the Government and preaching what was there termed anarchy. They were held in the sum of $1,000 each, cash bail, and kept in jail for a week, when money was raised from all parts of the country and sent to them to secure their freedom. A sensational jury trial followed, but before



EMMA GOLDMAN.

the case went in the jury the court decided that it was not unlawful to denounce the Government and that she had a right to preach anarchism. The judge then instructed the jury to acquit them, which was done.

Dr. Reitman said that Miss Goldman is seldom interfered with by the police and that she was treated royally at El Paso. The only trouble one meeting and that was contemplated interference here from the city authorities or others.

He said, further, that while there has been a great deal of propaganda work done in the last twenty-five years that this is the first time an anarchist has ever been feted.

Forsees Taft's Doom.

"Mr. Taft is the most reactionary President ever elected," said Miss Goldman. "The most prominent thing about him is his fat. For instance, right in the midst of the progressive movements embracing modern thought and great radical development work in the country, which has so permeated Bryan and kept him up to his work seems never to have touched Taft at all. In short, he represents the staggering capitalism that is just about to be crushed by the car of progress and he and his party will be lost in oblivion in the coming era that is dawning on America.

He seems to have forgotten what is going on in the world. He has lived in the back yard of the Republican party so long that he hasn't got a good look at the swing of the new generation that is going to give every man an equal opportunity and do away with monopoly that is strangling the American people on every hand.

She said that in every instance where Mr. Taft has been called upon to decide a question involving the interests of labor against capital he invariably leaned toward the capitalist, while Mr. Bryan has demonstrated that he is at least progressive.

Miss Goldman does not want to be understood as favoring any political party, however, as she disclaims any preference, further than to say that Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party might at least be making a step in the right direction, while the Republican party and Mr. Taft stand for stagnation and ruin.

Lecture Tomorrow Night.

The first lecture to be delivered in San Antonio by this famous anarchist will be on "What Anarchism Really Stands For", and will be "Marriage and Love." They mean to have one meeting, at least, and, if well received the second will follow and possibly they will remain a week.

"Anarchists do not believe in religion, politics, marriage or government. They believe in free society of individuals," said Dr. Reitman, and in her lecture Miss Goldman will set forth these views fully and clearly."

Tuesday night at 8 o'clock is the time fixed for the first lecture, though up to a late hour last night the place for holding the meeting had not been arranged.

Dr. Reitman is the author of several works on social conditions and kindred topics. "The Psychology of Tramps" is his best known work, which deals with the abnormal conditions that exist in society which have produced the tramp. He has also delivered lectures on the subject at Johns Hopkins University, the University of Pennsylvania and at Ottawa, Mich., during the last two years.

Miss Goldman and Dr. Reitman were on the train that was wrecked at Hardeman, though they escaped injury.

Notice to Contractors.

Bids are wanted on a brick and stone head building for Seaton State Bank, Eagle Pass, which will be opened on 8th March, 1909, at office of bank. Plans and specifications can be seen at office of Geo. D. Mathieu, Eagle Pass, and at my office.

ALFRED GILES, Architect,
San Antonio, Tex.

KRUPPS WILL ENLARGE MEXICAN POWDER MILLS

Germans Take Contract From the Republic to Extend the Government's Works.

WILL MAKE SMOKELESS POWDER AND GUNCOTTON

Special Telegram to The Express.

CITY OF MEXICO, March 14.—Arrangements have just been completed by the War Department with the Krupp people of Germany for the installation of an extension to the Mexican military powder house at Santa Fe, a short distance from this city, for the purpose of manufacturing smokeless powder and guncotton.

The news of the final arrangements having been consummated comes coincident with the completion of the quarters that will contain the machinery. Fourteen buildings of steel, of sand, and in accordance with the requirements for the manufacture of powder, have been erected on the banks of a little stream on the outskirts of Santa Fe.

The old factory of the government at this point has been given to the sole manufacture of black powder, and this marks the first departure by this government into a wider field of manufacture of powder and firearms.

The negotiations with the Krupp people have been going on for over a year. The Krupp representative is Dr. Max Bloch, while the Krupp engineer that will direct the installation is Mr. Mierlein. The equipment of the plant will be modeled closely after the factory of the Krupp people in Germany.

All of the machinery will be imported, and a number of first-class powder workers will be brought over.

The method of manufacturing powder to said to be perfectly safe. Mr. Bloch, who has been connected with powder manufactories for the greater part of his life, is quoted as saying that though the explosive is one of the most terrible made there is no danger in the vicinity from the presence of the powder works. He has as it may, however, the new mining claims in that famous district. He is carrying on extensive development work in all of his mines and will press day within the near future be shipping a large quantity of ores to the smelter here.

Word has been received from Chihuahua of the death of Charles O'Neil, an old timer in Mexico. Mr. O'Neil was in charge of one of the bridge gangs at the time the Mexican Central was first building its main line from El Paso to the City of Mexico. He was 81 years of age.

Oils in Saltillo.

Special Telegram to The Express.

SALTILLO, Mexico, March 14.—Julita Rodrigues de Hori, wife of D. T. Hoyt of Saltillo, died yesterday after a short illness. She leaves, besides her husband, a daughter Carmen Hoyt, and numerous other relatives. Interment took place yesterday afternoon in the Panteon de Santiago.

Are Presented With Bowling Trophies

Special Telegram to The Express.

MONTERREY, Mexico, March 14.—Last night the members of the regular bowling team of the Young Men's Christian Association were presented with the three trophies won in the recent interstate bowling tournament at a special dinner presided over by General Secretary [illegible] Babcock of the City of Mexico, who happened to be here on one of his regular visits.

Hear Address by W. C. T. U. Lecturer.

Special Telegram to The Express.

MONTERREY, Mexico, March 14.—In the auditorium of the Laureno Institute this afternoon at 4 o'clock a large number of people heard an interesting talk by Miss Nelle O. Burger, said to me the youngest and yet one of the most famous lecturers and organizers of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. She has been spending some time in this country in the interest of that association.

Are Interested in Brownsville Bridge.

Special Telegram to The Express.

MONTERREY, Mexico, March 13.—Much interest is being taken locally in the report that arrangements here finally been made through agreement between the various railroads concerned and the two governments whereby a great international bridge will shortly be constructed between Matamoros, Mexico and Brownsville, Tex., joining the St. Louis, Brownsville & Mexico Railway with the Matamoros branch of the National, and making the construction of the line from Matamoros to Tampico a sure proposition.

Drouth Around Monterey is Broken.

Special Telegram to The Express.

MONTERREY, Mexico, March 14.—The long looked for rain has come and people living in Monterey and Northern Mexico, although shivering with the accompanying cold spell, are feeling better than for many months, as the drouth has been broken and good crops are assured.

Expect Another Cut in Price of Oil.

Special Telegram to The Express.

CITY OF MEXICO, March 14.—A further cut in the price of oils, as a result of the war being waged between S. Pearson & Son, Limited, and the Waters-Pierce Oil Company, is expected this week. Since the war began last August the price of oil has been cut more than 50 per cent.

Brown Confers With Harriman.

Special Telegram to The Express.

CITY OF MEXICO, March 14.—E. H. Brown, president of the National Railways of Mexico, returned here last night from the west coast, where he went several days ago to confer with E. H. Harriman. Mr. Brown's visit to Mr. Harriman is taken as significant and has caused considerable speculation here. Upon his return Mr. Brown refused to give out any information about the conference with Mr. Harriman.

Cheapest Good Abstracts.
Ever Made in San Antonio.
Bring the Cash—no Credit.
The Alamo Abstract Co., 20 Washer Bldg.

SHERIFF'S COLUMN.

Guadalupe County.

Strayed or Stolen—One bay mare, about 14½ hands high, heavy build, has on three shoes, star in face; wire cut scar on right forefoot, no brand. I will pay $25 for label and mare, or reasonable reward for mare. Phil P. Meeks, Sheriff Guadalupe County, Seguin.

If you can't spare the time to call, but our solicitor call upon you at your home. Drop a card.
ANSTEIN & SOSA, 118 Main Plaza.

L. T. Waters Undertaking Co.
211 East Commerce St. Both phones 666.

DOES HE WANT A FEDERATION.

Looks Like President Zelaya Has This Object in View.

CITY OF MEXICO, March 14.—It is reported here that unimpeachable evidence has been obtained that President Zelaya of Nicaragua is endeavoring to embroil Costa Rica in the present Central American difficulty. To that end it is stated he has built a number of forts and stockades along the border, in which he has sent large stores of ammunition.

The motives are incomprehensible to the well informed here, unless he hopes in force the federalism of the five republics.

EXPOSITION AT GUANAJUATO.

It Will Celebrate Centennial of Mexico's Independence.

Special Telegram to The Express.

CITY OF MEXICO, March 14.—City officials of Guanajuato have issued circulars announcing a centennial to be held at Guanajuato in 1910, celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the independence of Mexico.

Silaos, Puebla has announced the postponement of its exposition in 1910, the exposition at Guanajuato promises to be the biggest affair of next year.

The city is receiving the support of the State in arrangements for the exposition.

Planned With Tepic Timber Lands.

Special Telegram to The Express.

TORREON, Mexico, March 14.—Gen. F. Madero, a well-known capitalist of Wash. Tex., is in the city today having just returned from a trip into the Tepic Territory, where he went to examine timber lands. Being well pleased with them, he has closed the deal with Terrazas brothers for the purchase of a large tract there.

To Build Railway to San Juan Mines.

Special Telegram to The Express.

TORREON, Mexico, March 14.—According to recent information, received through reliable sources a railroad is shortly to be built between Gomez Palo on the Mexican Central, and the San Juan mining properties, in the Mapimi district. Engineers are now in the field making the preliminary survey, and when this is completed it is expected that active construction work will be commenced immediately. The road will be about eighteen miles long and will be used almost exclusively in freighting the ores from the San Juan mines to the main line.

Find Man Dead in Ditch.

Special Telegram to The Express.

EL PASO, Tex., March 14.—A drowned man was taken from the storm irrigating ditch, running through the heart of



That Man

Who goes to a credit store, has his suit charged and pays at the end of the month—

THINKS he's doing a great saving stunt. But he just thinks so—it has actually cost him about $4 to $8 more than that same suit would have cost him here. We have a reason for making this broad assertion — it's easy to see why—we sell for cash.

$20.00 Suits, Our Cash Price, $14.32
$25.00 Suits, Our Cash Price, $19.80
$30.00 Suits, Our Cash Price, $23.10

Aaron Frank Clothing Co. 309-311 East Houston Street

FIGHT ON THE RULES AFFECTS TARIFF BILL

Continued From Page One.

forgents" have thirty-four members in line for the fight on the rules.

Representative Goldfogle of New York, who is suffering from a serious affection of his knee, is determined to be present if his physicians will permit. He will have to be carried in his seat if he attends.

Hope for the Democrats.

Mr. Clark learned tonight that several Democrats who, it was feared would not get here, would be on hand. Representative Clark of Florida, who is at Baldwin's Sanitarium, arrived last. Representative Currier of New Hampshire had promised him that he would be paired.

Representative Legare of South Carolina, who has been ill for some time, is claimed here to be paired with a Republican member. Champ Clark received a telegram today which indicates that the successor of Representative Davey of Louisiana would be here with his certificate in time to be sworn in tomorrow, thus giving the Democrats an additional one expected vote.

The "regulars" have been as active today as the "insurgents," and the Democrats have been filing in their forces. They are more reticent than [illegible]. Much will depend upon the action of the Democratic caucus tomorrow, where an effort will be made to have the various bills itself to the resolution which the steering committee of the "insurgents" and the Democratic leaders have compromised upon.

Representative Fitzgerald of New York, recognized as one of the ablest Democratic parliamentarians, issued a statement tonight in which he opposed the plan to elect a committee of fifteen to [illegible] the various resolutions of [illegible], and declared that [illegible] thought are made to the rules under before the tariff bill is reported so that is the most important question that has been before the House for [illegible] years.

Representative Lassiter of Virginia presented a proposition to amend the rules so that a motion to [illegible] the Speaker and appeal from a decision of members will be considered a question of highest privilege.

SHEPPARD IS RELATIVE.

Texas Congressman Will Not Leave Washington Today.

Special Telegram to The Express.

WASHINGTON, March 14.—Congressman Morris Sheppard, now en route to Washington from Texas, where he went from St. Louis that he would not be able to reach the city before this morning's afternoon owing to trains being cancelled on account of high water. Mr. Sheppard left Houston in time to be at the opening of Congress Monday, but missed connection at Denison.

Champ Clark, minority leader, is [illegible] nervously anxious to have every Democrat in his seat when the session of the House is called to order to aid the movement for a revision of the rules. Mr. Sheppard is [illegible] disappointed at his inability to answer the first roll call.

TWENTY PERISH IN COLLISION.

One Steamer Sinks Another Off Dutch Coast.

ROTTERDAM, March 14.—The steamer Maasmel, bound for Sunderland, collided today with the German ship Mannheim, for Hamburg, about twenty miles west of the Maas lightship.

The Mannheim sank almost immediately, twenty of the crew being drowned. The six remaining members of the crew were saved.

The Maasmel returned here with a big hole in her bow.

S.S.S. THE REMEDY FOR SORES AND ULCERS

The combination of healthful vegetable ingredients of which S. S. S. is composed, makes it an especially desirable and effective remedy in the treatment of sores and ulcers of every kind. Since an impure condition of the blood is responsible for the trouble, a medicine that can purify the blood is the only hope of a successful cure; and it should be a medicine that not only cleanses the circulation, but one that at the same time restores the blood to its normal, rich, nutritive condition. S. S. S. is that kind of a remedy. It is made entirely of healing, cleansing vegetable properties, extracted from nature's roots, herbs and barks of the forest and field. It has long been recognized as the greatest of all blood purifiers, possessing the qualities necessary to remove every impurity in the blood. When S. S. S. has purified the circulation, and strengthened and enriched it, sores and ulcers heal naturally and surely, because they are no longer fed and kept open by a continued discharge into them of irritating disease-laden matter from the blood. S. S. S. brings about a healthy condition of the flesh by supplying it with rich, nourishing blood and makes a permanent and lasting cure. Book on Sores and Ulcers and any medical advice mailed free to all who write.

THE SWIFT SPECIFIC CO., ATLANTA, GA.

DR. W. A. WOMBLE, Specialist
Chronic and special diseases of men and women. Diseases of Kidney and Bladder, Blood and Skin, Rheumatism, Catarrh, Stomach, Eczema, Weakness, all Genito-Urinary Diseases. X-Ray and all modern appliances to treat you. Consultation free. Office, 3d floor Hicks Bldg., rooms 313-314. Hours 9 a. m. to 5 p. m.

Alamo Sash & Door Co.
—MANUFACTURERS OF—
SASH, BLINDS, DOORS, WINDOW FRAMES, PORCH COLUMNS
STAIRS AND GRO MILL WORK OF ALL KINDS
OLD PHONE 988. HEARF ST., NR T. & P.

Houston Street Store
FOR RENT
Long Lease, Cheap Rent—the very best location on the street, only two doors from Wagner's Drug Store (the busy corner)! apply
GUARANTEE SHOE CO.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

Alamo City Commercial College
WHY NOT YOU?
Others here risen from lowly conditions to command responsible positions in the business world. They may be yours if you employ the means available. The A. C. C. & B. C. here and you will soon be fitted to grasp the opportunity that is offered those and [illegible] spaces who are do "the work the world needs done."
Cor. Houston and Soledad Sts. SHAFER & DOWNEY, Proprietors San Antonio, Tex.
REASONABLE AND UNIFORM RATES.

BUSINESS COLLEGE LEAVES ALAMO PLAZA
PUBLIC TAKE NOTICE!
Nelson & Draughon Business College
Leaves Alamo Plaza and moves to Elks' old halls, 118 West Commerce Street, Alamo Beak building. Splendid light, thoroughly equipped, commodious and remodeled rooms. Our patronage. J. F. Draughon, Vice president, Manager, San Antonio.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

611

840514054
The Emma Goldman Papers
The End of the Odyssey / Emma Goldman. — pp. 47-51 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 4, no. 2 (April 1909).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

to keep strictly within facts. Even the title was altered accordingly. His subject is declared to be, not the future improvement, but the past history and present prospects of mankind. In the substance of his reasoning there was one modification which his opponents naturally worked for all it was worth. In the edition of 1798 he had described the positive checks on population as "Vice and Misery," the preventive as based upon "the fear of them." A criticism, in which he admitted force, was that he had said nothing about hope. Ambition, the desire of improving one's condition, is certainly a chief cause of continence, and this is something more than fear of vice and misery for oneself or his posteritty. Acknowledging this, the tone of theorizing is certainly more optimistic than before. This change in Malthus' language, rather than his meaning, together with the confession that he should have been more explicit at first, is the basis of the criticism often made by Coleridge and others, that the theory is a truism from which nothing can be inferred. That it is no truism, but an extremely complicated equation, may certainly be inferred from the facility with which critics misunderstand it, the multiplicitty of ways in which they manage to do that, and the oft-recurring argument *ad verecundum*—it is very strange that Menu, Confucius, Moses, Solon, Cato, even the ascetic Roman Catholic publicists, should have held up increasing the species as a sacred duty; and that discovering the direful results of doing so should have been reserved for Malthus!* Of the four subsequent editions, nothing need be said here, except that they become progressively more statistical, comprehensive, and bold, until even friendly critics thought he would have been clearer for taking less pains to be clear.

* George, whose "refutation of Malthus" is useful because it gives in epitome those of every one else, with exquisite consistency, suggests both these views; sometimes wondering ironically that this great truth never was discovered before; sometimes intimating that it does not amount to a great truth, because everybody knows all the truth there is in it, and governs himself accordingly. That Malthus actually stated all the truth there is in this, would never be suspected by a reader of George.

(To be continued.)

THE END OF THE ODYSSEY

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

"PERSEVERANCE and postage stamps will get any article published"—is a favorite slogan of a friend of mine.

On several occasions, when I have sent contributions to some of the leading magazines, they were returned. Indeed, it would have been nothing short of a miracle had my articles been accepted. "Progressive ideas are all right, if presented in moderate form and by respectable writers. But Emma Goldman, who is neither . . . Dear me! How can we compromise our good standing." And so I stopped wasting Perseverance and postage stamps.

However, I can bear my friend out in the truth of his claim. Perseverance is indeed a wonderful factor in helping to overcome difficulties, especially when combined with postage stamps or their equivalent.

He who travels on the wings of imagination travels far—sometimes. At least I thought so last October, when I took leave of my few but faithful friends to begin my tour around the world.

Ere I had gone very far I had occasion to verify my friend's opinion as to Persevcrance and postage stamps.

In India the people are often overtaken by famine epidemics, bringing great disaster to that John Bull ridden country. But how insignificant is the harm wrought by such awful outbreaks when compared to our national pest—election. Its poisonous effects are being felt at all times, but at no time does it assume such monstrous form as during a presidential campaign. Electiomania, America's greatest malady, far worse and more destructive than cholera. Will medical science never invent some serum to relieve us from its ravages? Just fancy talking reason or ideas to a feverish, delirious brain.

Perseverance and postage stamps suggested that cold compresses of reason have often broken the most stubborn fever. So for a month I diligently applied the eold-cure method. By the latter part of November my methods were crowned with suecess. The audiences began to show signs of normal temperature and an appetite for wholesome food. High-spirited and light-hearted, I swiftly

612

840514054

The Emma Goldman Papers

The End of the Odyssey / Emma Goldman. – pp. 47-51 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 2 (April 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

moved along the route of success for MOTHER EARTH, nearing to the Pacific Ocean and Australia.

But a new spectre appeared now on the firmament, black and sinister, challenging the utmost vigilance and perseverance— Christmas. What? The month of glad tidings—of peace on earth and good will to all—a spectre? Yes, a hideous, black, deceiving spectre, that has held the human mind in bondage for almost two thousand years. The legend of the birth of the Redeemer, like all legends, is based on a lie. It has gone on perpetuating itself, until to-day it serves but as an excuse for commercialism, greed, and petty speculation. Christmas—a howling, pushing, scrambling, obsessed bargain huntress; with no interest or time for anything, least of all for Christ himself, were he to chance into the madhouse at Christmas time.

Hopes were low, and postage stamps few. But Perseverance shook his mane and cried, Onward! Nor did he relax his grasp when confronted with police brutality and persecution.

In January I reached Los Angeles, very much depressed and weary. But the balmy clime of the sunny South, coupled with the devotion and thoughtfulness of friends, rejuvenated my spirit. Comrade Claude Riddle's skillful management of my meetings did the rest. I left the Angel City relieved from a heavy burden in the form of a considerable debt, with a hundred and fifty dollars for MOTHER EARTH'S friend, the enemy—our printer. But all that was as nothing compared to the hope and strength that were mine, thanks to the love and kindness of my Los Angeles friends.

San Francisco was to be my last battlefield, the date of my departure for Australia having been set for January 23d. The comrades of that city, with Alexander Horr as prime mover, left nothing undone to insure success; but the treacherous Conspiracy of Circumstances assassinated our efforts.

The Conspiracy of Circumstances! Who does not know its power, its quiet, persistent, merciless power. Unlike a foe of flesh and blood, one cannot meet it in open battle, or even escape it. It is always with you. Never in my experience did I feel its blind, relentless fury as during my stay in San Francisco. It was this inanimate, dumb, blind force that was ever at our heels, using a thousand

conceivable tricks to frustrate our every plan. More than once the Conspiracy of Circumstance was near succeeding. But Perseverance was no easy mark; especially the combined tenacity of sturdy warriors who met the enemy with unsheated sword.

It was a desperate battle, with Perseverance as victor, the Conspiracy of Circumstances eloping with all the postage stamps. No equivalent at hand to pay transportation to Australia, there was nothing left to do but to steer back to the little home of MOTHER EARTH. But Perseverance would not yield. The South, the South! it urged. Why not?

In all my travels I had never visited the South. Somehow the very thought of it conjured up horrible pictures—pictures of little victims in the cotton fields, of bodies dangling from trees, bodies mutilated to cinders and ashes. But when the idea of going to Texas was suggested to me, I recollected the wise saying, "He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone." Remembering the sweatshops of the East with its countless victims, how could I condemn the South? Mindful of the race feuds in New York City, the burning of negroes in Springfield, Illinois, how could I cast stones?

After visiting Los Angeles, where I had two good meetings and a debate, I proceeded to Texas. It was indeed a rich experience—though not in postage stamps.

My first stop was El Paso, a city containing, among other nationalities, thirty thousand Mexicans, whom an American administration subservient to that monster Diaz, would not permit to hold public meetings addressed in Spanish. Perchance these poor victims might tell the horrors of their country, the terrible despotism, the appalling poverty, more terrible than in the domain of the Bloody Tsar.

The press of El Paso, with the exception of the *News*, thrives on the Judas Iscariot gold pieces, ground out of the Mexican peons. No wonder it was so venomous in its denunciation of Anarchism. But with all that we had one meeting in El Paso and disposed of some literature. The principal good, however, was done by the intelligent and fair editorial of the *News*, which of course would never have been written had I not visited the South.

San Antonio, the most southern city of Texas, with its

613

840514054

The Emma Goldman Papers

The End of the Odyssey / Emma Goldman. — pp. 47-51 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 4, no. 2 (April 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

lazy, quiet, and easy-going exterior, with its old market place where slaves were bought and sold (selling and buying still continues with less cost to the modern master and with the consciousness of the slave that he is now *free* to sell himself). No hall could be procured in this city, except at a very high rent, and as the outlook was not promising, we decided to hold no meeting. But some propaganda was accomplished by several decent accounts in the local newspapers of interviews.

Houston looks like the average American city, but unlike others, it can boast of a miracle: the Chief of Police and Mayor offering the City Hall for a lecture by Emma Goldman. Who can say that the twentieth century lacks wonders? Having enjoyed the hospitality of the police so often without my consent, I could not accept their offer voluntarily. We secured a hall from some Catholic order, but when it became known that I would speak, the brethren thought Satan broke loose. Terror-stricken, they sent a committee to pay all our expenses and begged to be released from their contract. Who ever heard of a Catholic bargain with Hell?

For a time it looked as if Houston, too, would remain in darkness as to the real meaning of Anarchism. But, thanks to a few brave Houstonians, that city has now some excuse for being on the map. A group of Single Taxers came to our rescue in the freest and kindest spirit. The Single Tax "Log Cabin," donated by one of their comrades, Mr. J. J. Pastoriza, an extraordinary man in many respects, was turned over to our use. The Cabin is on the outskirts of the city, crude and rugged, with a romantic air about it, to satisfy the most poetic imagination. With lamps dimly lighting the place, and the men and women closely pressed together, it was nevertheless the most inspiring meeting of my entire tour. When I looked into the earnest faces, so near that I could almost touch them, I forgot the hardships of the past and the disappointments of the future—all I felt was the warm pulse of humanity, a rich, great, beautiful possibility of human brotherhood.

Man is greater than all theory. It is therefore of little moment whether Single Tax, economically, is but a petty reform and that, politically, it is hanging on the coat-tails of the Democratic party. As men I have found them the

bravest and staunchest champions of liberty in the widest sense. And that is a great deal more than can be said of the party which has a mortgage on "scientific" Socialism, with a premium on the densest kind of stupidity. Its cowardice of authority and intolerance of everything not baptized in the holy church of the Marxian-Engels rites, are really sickening. Of course, there are exceptions, but they merely prove the rule. The few Socialists of independent mind and spirit are not very long tolerated by the Holy Synod.

With two meetings in Fort Worth I closed the tour of Golgotha, and reached New York nailed to the cross of necessity.

Reviewing the struggle of the last six months, I can say that but for Perseverance it would have been impossible. But it was not that alone. My friends and comrades have a big share in the accomplished feat. Especially is this true of the San Francisco and Los Angeles comrades, whose efforts were truly heroic. By that I do not mean to undervalue the assistance of comrades in other cities. Indeed not. Everyone helped in his own way. The way may not always have been the right one, but that is only because most of our comrades make up in idealism what they lack in practical judgment.

However, more than anything else, the unfaltering optimism, the great zeal, and the cheerful bohemianism of our friend, Ben L. Reitman, helped to conquer many obstacles.

My tour to Australia is not abandoned; only postponed —until I can discover the eloped postage stamps. That I do not lack Perseverance our readers know.

Meanwhile I shall deliver a series of lectures in New York, the first to take place Sunday, April 11, 11 a. m., at Lyric Hall, Sixth avenue, near Forty-second street.

The subject of my first lecture will be : "The Psychology of Violence."

The series will be continued during April and May, the lectures to take place Sunday mornings at Fraternity Hall, 100 West 116th street, corner Lenox avenue, New York.

614

890308014

The Emma Goldman Papers

[In the United States of America. In German] Vereinigte Staaten / Emma Goldman. – 33 cm. *In* Der Freie Arbeiter [Berlin]. – (April 10, 1909).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Merseburg, Germany.

14

Der freie Arbeiter (Berlin)

Nr 15

10 Apr 1909

Vereinigte Staaten.

In „Mother Earth" veröffentlicht Genossin Emma Goldmann einen Brief, der sich mit ihrer und des Genossen Dr. Reitmann Verhaftung in San Franzisko, die jedoch mit der Freisprechung der Angeklagten endigte, anlässlich einer Propagandatournee befasst, dem wir folgendes entnehmen:

„Wir waren angeklagt des „Aufruhrs und der Verschwörung, ungesetzlicher Bedrohung mit Gewalt und Zwang, und Störung des öffentlichen Friedens" usw. Anklagen, in der Tat so schwer, dass der Richter sich veranlasst fühlte, eine Bürgschaft von 16.000 Dollars für jeden Angeklagten als eine Kleinigkeit zu betrachten. Aber plötzlich, vier Tage nach unserer Festnahme, wurden diese „schweren Anklagen" zurückgestellt und eine neue Anklage ausgebrütet, die auf „ungesetzliche Versammlung, die Bezeichnung jeder organisierten Regierung als unnötig, und das Verkünden anarchistischer Doktrinen" lautete. O Schrecken! Auf Grund dieser neuen und gefährlichen Anklage wurde ich in Untersuchungshaft genommen, ebenso Dr. Reitman, so hatte ich nun Ferien auf Kosten der Stadt am goldenen Tor.

Ich wünschte, ich hätte das Talent, die ganze Vorstellung würdig zu beschreiben. Den Ernst des Richters, das wichtige Getue des Distriktsanwalts, das geheimnisvolle Benehmen der Detektives, die als Zeugen da waren, die Gesichter der Gerichtsdiener. Der eine den anderen ängstlich beobachtend, ob er nicht ein Anarchist sein könnte, was gleichbedeutend mit Dynamit und Bomben ist. Es war ein Anblick für Götter.

Unser Rechtsanwalt, Mr. Ernest E. Kirk, ein junger lebhafter Kalifornier, mit echt keltischem Humor ausgestattet, wie brachte er diese Scheinmenschen in Hitze. Wie sie dasassen und lauschten.

Was wissen Sie vom Anarchismus? Die Zeitungen sagen, Anarchismus ist die Lehre von Dynamit und Bomben. Was wissen Sie von den Angeklagten? Die Zeitungen sagen, sie veranlassen das Volk, zu morden. Die Zeitungen, die Zeitungen! Die einzige Quelle des Wissens und der Information der Amerikaner. Sie vergiften den Geist und verderben die menschliche Seele. Die Herabwürdiger und Verunstalter der Wahrheit, Amerikas grösste Plage und Pest, die Erzfeinde alles Guten, Schönen und Wahren. Wenn jemals der Tag des Gerichts kommen sollte, nicht im Himmel, aber hier auf Erden, wenn jemals die Streitkräfte für und gegen den Niedergang der Menschheit sich in offener Schlacht treffen sollten, diese Zeitungsprofessionisten werden wohl die ersten sein, die dem Zorn eines beschimpften, betrogenen und beschwindelten Volkes stand zu halten haben werden. Es ist immer meine Meinung gewesen, dass die Polizei sich aus dem verachtungswürdigsten Menschenmaterial zusammensetzt, aber meine Erlebnisse in San Franzisco haben mich belehrt, dass, verglichen mit der Menschenart, die den amerikanischen Journalismus entweiht, die Polizei so weiss und tugendhaft ist, wie die sprichwörtlichen Engel."

Wir wussten natürlich, dass der Beweis, den die Anklage zusammensuchen wollte, so locker und absurd ausfallen würde, dass selbst der dümmste Richter zu einer Freisprechung kommen musste.

Wir erklärten uns schuldig bezüglich der Behauptung, dass jede Regierung ein Verbrechen ist, dass sie Freiheit und Wohlbefinden zerstört, und dass wir darnach trachten müssen, sie abzuschaffen, mit allen Mitteln, die uns zur Verfügung stehen. Aber wann schon die Polizei und die Gerichte dieses Landes in der Unterdrückung der Rede- und Pressfreiheit über ihre Befugnisse hinausgegangen sind, können sie doch nicht bei noch so grosser Einbildungskraft ein Verbrechen darin finden, dass man etwas als unnötig bezeichnet.

Das Verhör war nicht nur von Nutzen für die Verteidigung der Redefreiheit, sondern auch für die Propaganda des Anarchismus, schon deshalb weil vor Gericht vollkommen gesetzlich sein kann, was in einem öffentlichen Saal ein Verbrechen ist. Und wir predigten den Anarchismus, jede Phase desselben, gründlicher und wirkungsvoller, als es in einem Dutzend Versammlungen möglich gewesen wäre.

Polizeirichter Desay, der erst seit zwei Monaten seines Amtes waltete, hatte ein offenes Herz für die durch Not und Elend zu Verbrechern gewordenen Unglücklichen. Niemals hörte ich ihn einen Vorwurf oder ein unfreundliches Wort gegen diese aussprechen. Ganz anders aber war sein Auftreten gegen uns Anarchisten. Da auch er durch die Zeitungen belehrt wurde, dass die Anarchisten menschliche Bestien seien, die sich nur nach Mord und Totschlag sehnten. Es wäre das nicht zu verwundern gewesen, wenn er seine Macht dazu benutzt hätte, uns dahin zu befördern, wo wir den Frieden der menschlichen Gemeinschaft nicht mehr hätten stören können.

Nachdem Mr. Kirk seine Verteidigungsrede beendet hatte, zogen sich die Geschworenen zurück und der Richter belehrte sie, dass ein Freispruch angebracht sei. In wenigen Minuten war die Farce vorbei, die Clowns zogen sich zurück und der Zirkus wurde gesäubert.

Binnen zwei Tagen nach der Freisprechung hatten wir den grössten Saal der Stadt gemietet und eine Versammlung wurde angekündigt: „Emma Goldman nicht schuldig! Riesen-Versammlung" usw. Am Sonntag, 31. Januar, abends, strömten 2000 Personen in den Saal, wo Emma Goldman eine begeisterte Ansprache hielt.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

615

840514056

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Woman Without a Country / Emma Goldman. – pp. 81-82 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 3 (May 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

since they consisted in the daily find of toads or lizards, which may take up all a Digger Indian's time, is, in Malthus' language, "accidents." Some of these accidents were blessings very terribly disguised. One of the most important was the Black Death, which killed serfdom throughout the greater part of Europe, by reducing the number of laborers, and exciting such competition for their services that they could no longer be kept from migrating in search of high wages. Such "accidents" would do the laborer no permanent good, if he were quite the shiftless being which some bourgeois writers represent him. But, though generally ignorant and stupid, he has certain "strong instinets and plain rules," which serve his turn. He will not work for less (real) wages than he is used to getting. Even down to the state of chattel slavery we can see this. Coolies may work for rice gruel; but it would never do not to make negro slaves more comfortable than many white men are. The "standard of comfort" among laborers, raised, from time to time, by "fortunate accidents," and kept from falling by strikes, peasant insurrections, increase of continence, in short by the laborer's determination to keep it up at whatever hazard, has been the guarantec of progress; for it is these struggles which increase knowledge.

Examples of the "accidents" are numerous. The breaking up of the Roman Empire killed chattel slavery, which requires extradition not to be obtained under the loose rule of the Barbarians. The restoration of slavery, though favored by circumstances in the colonies, has been stoutly withstood, and, in Malthus' time, was evidently failing. The discovery of America, by relieving pressure in Europe, raised the standard of comfort there; and legalization of Trades' Unions is evidence that it will not fall. The French Revolution made the peasants landowners, and the restored Bourbon dared not rob them; etc. Evidently, Malthus' economy is not a dismal science. Believing a high standard of comfort the condition of social improvement, he was no prophet of "parsimony." He encouraged, indeed, saving by retrenchment of expenses upon the lower appetites; but with a view to enjoyment, not mere money-making. The English proletaire who denies himself gin, if at all, that he may have good clothes, a furnished house, a lease, a library, is wiser than the French peasant who lives on black bread that he may buy more land. Malthus went further than perhaps any economist reckoned "orthodox" in recognition of the great truth that exchange is the chief source of riches and that starving to get ahead of each other, like the Coolies and the Jews in many places, makes all the people absolutely poor whomever it makes relatively rich. Thus his view of "progress and poverty" differed from Ricardo's, it has been said, as Arminianism from Calvinism. Malthus refers everything to the individual, Ricardo to certain institutions, such as land ownership, which he took for granted. In the minds of Socialists, Ricardo's principles tend to passive reliance on the Omnipotent Goodness of the State, those of Malthus to repudiation of the State, or Anarchism.

(To be continued.)

A WOMAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY

THE United States government in a mad chase after Emma Goldman.

What a significant title for a funny story. What rich material for a cartoon!

By the decision of the Federal government, Emma Goldman, the terrible, may now be deported. Well, serves her right. What on earth made her select our dear country, anyway? It's different with us Americans. We are here through no fault of ours. But for her to come voluntarily, to live here twenty-five years, and to go on as if she were at home—that is strong, indeed!

What didn't our government do to get rid of her?! For seventeen years the police have camped on her trail; her meetings were broken up; her audiences clubbed innumerable times, but that didn't seem to help. Then she was arrested again and again—not for what she said, but for what she was going to say. Why, she was actually sentenced to Blackwell's Island penitentiary once, for inciting to riot which didn't take place, but which might have taken place. Well, what happened? When she came out, she was worse than ever. In 1901 she was held under twenty thousand dollars bail, while our poor government spent thirty thousand dollars to connect her

616

840514056
The Emma Goldman Papers
A Woman Without a Country / Emma Goldman. — pp. 81-82 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 4, no. 3 (May 1909).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

with McKinley's death. In short, every conceivable method was used to relieve the anxiety of the United States government. But that woman simply sticks and sticks. However, if there is anything Uncle Sam cannot do, we should like to know it. Hasn't he men in the secret service patriotic enough to do any kind of a dirty job for money? Well, we sent some of them to a city called Rochester, where, many years ago, a man had the misfortune to marry that there Emma Goldman. He was a good man, you know; for no American citizen can be a very bad man. But that marriage was a blotch on his citizenship. So, out of Christian kindness and American loyalty, his naturalization papers were annulled. Wasn't that a clever idea? Of course, it cost quite a lot. Some people in Rochester had to be cajoled, intimidated, threatened, frightened, and possibly bribed. But it was done all right, and the country might now breathe easy if—but there is Emma Goldman, still enjoying *our* air, looking at *our* sky, counting *our* stars, basking in *our* sun, and dreaming un-American dreams,—can there be a greater indictment against any human being? Not enough of that, she actually disbelieves in our or any government, and insists that they are only here to divide human interests. She attacks the entire system; she will have it that it is a life-and-soul-destroying mechanism, and that it strips man of the finest and best in him.

Did anyone ever hear of such treason?

Were she an American citizen, we might some day hang or electrocute her. But an alien—what's left for us to do but to deport her. The trouble is, where, oh where can we send her?

Poor, poor United States government! Yours is, indeed, a difficult task. True, your hard, persistent labors have been crowned with some success. You have Emma Goldman's citizenship. But she has the world, and her heritage is the kinship of brave spirits—not a bad bargain.

Emma Goldman.

WM. BUWALDA'S LETTER TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT*

Hudsonville, Mich.,
April 6, 1909.

Hon. Joseph M. Dickinson,
Secretary of War,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:—After thinking the matter over for some time I have decided to send back this trinket to your Department, having no further use for such baubles, and enable you to give it to some one who will appreciate it more than I do.

It speaks to me of faithful service, of duty well done, of friendships inseparable, friendships cemented by dangers and hardships and sufferings shared in common in camp and in the field. But, sir, it also speaks to me of bloodshed—possibly some of it unavoidably innocent—in defense of loved ones, of homes; homes in many cases but huts of grass, yet cherished none the less.

It speaks of raids and burnings, of many prisoners taken and, like vile beasts, thrown in the foulest of prisons. And for what? For fighting for their homes and loved ones.

It speaks to me of G. O. 100, with all its attendant horrors and cruelties and sufferings; of a country laid waste with fire and sword; of animals useful to man wantonly killed; of men, women, and children hunted like wild beasts, and all this in the name of Liberty, Humanity, and Civilization.

In short, it speaks to me of War—legalized murder, if you will—upon a weak and defenseless people. We have not even the excuse of self-defense.

Yours sincerely,

Wm. Buwalda,
R. R. No. 3, Hudsonville, Mich.

* Copy of the letter Wm. Buwalda sent to the U. S. government when returning the medal awarded him for faithful service in the Philippines.—*Ed.*

617

840514057
The Emma Goldman Papers
The Easiest Way / Emma Goldman. – pp. 86-92 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 3 (May 1909).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

as one who is useless and undeserving of even the humblest seat at the banquet table, and yet why should he debauch and stultify his soul by making himself proficient at something he has no interest in. Why? Speaking to one of our best known and most libertarian clergymen and to one of the ablest and most successful public school principals in New York—a woman of force and character—I was informed by both that work was in itself a noble thing, and in one case that we should feel our life well spent if we earned a living for ourselves—at anything honest, though obnoxious. Why one should consider work, which has no social value and is personally objectionable, as noble or self-satisfying merely because it is done well, is quite beyond us. By all means encourage, stimulate, and help the youth to discover that form of occupation which Bancroft, the historian, said would be a pleasure and solace in his old age, for by so doing you not only people the earth with efficient men and women, but you people it with *free* human beings.

* * *

THE EASIEST WAY

An Appreciation

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

HIPPOLYTE TAINE assures us that the real criterion of the development and culture of a people is its literature. No doubt Taine used the term in a broad sense, including also the drama. Is not the latter one of the strongest, if not the strongest, medium of literary interpretation of life? If so, we must assume that America had hitherto neither culture nor development, since its drama, at least, was of the poorest quality indeed. The people at large still consider the theater a place of cheap amusement and relaxation from the daily grind, while the melodramatic impossibilities serve as a vehicle to inflame the imagination of the street gamin or the hero worship of the boarding school miss.

However, the last fifteen years have wrought a great change from the nerve-racking mechanism of our existence to a deeper and finer appreciation of the true relations of life.

This awakening is the natural sequence of a commercialism which has about reached its zenith. This condition it is which furnishes the stimulus to a real American drama worthy of the name.

If it be true that nature will use up a great deal of human material to mold one genius, why may it not be equally true that innumerable dramatic attempts had to be made before the real drama could be born?

"The Easiest Way," by Eugene Walter, can be considered the first American work of real dramatic art. The artistic merit of this drama lies not so much in its harmony of details, itself extraordinary, but rather in its faithful and bold portrayal of life. After all, what is art but life? Life, not in the exceptional, but in its every-day, ordinary manifestations. When truly great, art merely aids us to see with the inner eye, the human eye. Thus, when we look at Rodin's masterpiece, "Old Age," representing an ugly, shriveled woman in the process of decay, we will at once behold the panorama of a thousand incidents and events. We can see the child's joys, the youth's dreams and aspirations, the intensity of mature love, with all its ecstasy and pain; we see a thousand blighted hopes, and an endless struggle against the inevitable laws of life, and the final dumb submission and despair. Looking upon art from this viewpoint, I consider "The Easiest Way" truly great. Of the five characters whose lives are unrolled before us, none represents the exceptional. No such spirit as of a Mrs. Alving, or the colossal figure of Brandt or Dr. Stockmann can be found in "The Easiest Way." Much less are we called upon to divine the complex temperament of Anna Mar or Heinrich the Bell-forger. Nothing but every-day people, living every-day lives; yet so vividly brought before us as to hold the rapt attention for hours and to dissolve themselves in our very blood till they become part of us.

No wonder respectability became enraged. To think that "disreputable" beings can suffer, that they, too, cling to life, and struggle and lie and cheat for "a bit of love, happiness, and peace!" Why, they even have a code of morals. The men clinging to their "honor," even though it costs a human soul. The women striving to become "respectable and decent" through matrimony. How per-

618

840514057
The Emma Goldman Papers
The Easiest Way / Emma Goldman. – pp. 86-92 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 3 (May 1909).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

fectly awful that respectability should be molded of the same clay.

"The Easiest Way" is supposed to represent a "peculiar phase" of New York life. If that were all, it would be of little significance. After all, Laura Murdock and Elfie St. Clair are not the only demi-mondes who have been dramatized. We have had Zaza, Camille, Du Barry, and others. That which gives the play real importance and value lies much deeper. It lies, first, in the fundamental current of our social fabric which drives us all, even stronger characters than Laura, into the easiest way —a way so very destructive of integrity, of truth, and justice, yet the only one to exist at all. Secondly, the cruel, senseless, criminal fatalism conditioned in Laura's sex. These two features put the universal stamp on the play, and destine it to prove the strongest indictment against society.

Laura Murdock, a cheap actress, is playing with a stock company in the mountains of Colorado. She is kept by Willard Brockton, a wealthy man about town, interested in theatrical ventures. He travels twenty-five hundred miles to Denver to take Laura back with him to a palatial home in New York. The girl, however, has meantime fallen in love with John Madison, a young reporter. Unlike others of his set, he was willing to take Laura, though she had a past, since he himself had lived rather a fast and easy life. Brockton, the elder of the two, knowing the girl well, asks Madison how much he makes a week, and when informed that it is only thirty dollars, he warns Madison that Laura is utterly unfit to forego her habits of luxury. Holding to the old proverb that love is blind, Madison arranges with Laura for her to return to New York to seek independence, while he would exert strenuous efforts to "make his pile," when he would marry her.

In the second act we see Laura in a cheap furnished room, with all her money, jewelry, and dresses gone, unable to get an engagement. Madison is still in the West, writing daily long love letters to Laura, which, coming on a hungry stomach, with no prospects in view, fail to have the desired effect on the girl. At the moment of her greatest despair a visitor is announced, Elfie St. Clair, an ex-variety actress, now the mistress of a man old and

ugly, but, in the words of Elfie, "who is good to me." The two girls were friends at the time when Laura lived in the same atmosphere. But now that she is undergoing a treatment of the virtue cure, she rebukes Elfie for her life and for her lack of understanding of Laura's new ideals. But necessity knows no law. Laura is about to be evicted. Though spurning Elfie's manner of life, she is willing to accept a loan from her. But Elfie, with all her cynicism and cruel knowledge of her atmosphere, has retained some sense of justice, and is about to leave her friend to her own fate. But when Laura breaks down, Elfie recants and is willing to assist her. At that moment Laura, realizing her utter distress and inability to stand the strain any longer, decides to go back to Brockton, who had come in Elfie's motor car and is waiting downstairs. Brockton is overjoyed, tells Laura it is his first real happy day in six months, and puts money on her table, but insists that she should go back to him only if she can do it voluntarily; and if not, offers to aid her to a position with one of the theatrical companies. When Laura resolves to return, Brockton insists on her writing to Madison, renouncing her love for him. "I know it's cruel, but I've given Madison my word of honor to let him know should you return to me." Two months later we see Laura in an expensive hotel, amidst souvenirs of the previous night's debauch. Brockton is there, apparently quite at home. Laura has all the luxuries for which she had sold herself; but in consequence she is growing to hate Brockton and is very anxious about Madison, to whom of course she did not send the letter dictated by Brockton. At that moment a telegram arrives announcing that John Madison had made a fortune in the West and is hurrying East to marry Laura. He is due that afternoon. Brockton, reading the news of Madison's sudden luck in one of the morning papers, realizes that Laura had not "played him fair" and did not send the letter. He insists that he would not permit her to receive Madison and that the latter must learn everything, but finally yields to Laura's promise to tell all to Madison. When Madison arrives Laura is too weak to meet the critical moment and suffers him to depart to make preparations for the wedding, without keeping her promise to Brockton.

619

840514057
The Emma Goldman Papers
The Easiest Way / Emma Goldman. – pp. 86-92 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 3 (May 1909).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The fourth act finds Laura dressed for her journey, waiting for Madison. When the latter arrives he tells her that all is ready for the final step, but that he had heard rumors about her and Brockton. But Laura assures him that she has kept faith. John has taken her word, and then suddenly sound Brockton's footsteps in the hall; his key opens the door, and with the manner of being at home he walks through the parlor to the bedroom. At that moment Madison knows all. He points his revolver at Brockton, but is stopped by Laura. She pleads with Madison and urges her helplessness, her weakness, her need. Madison cannot believe her again. Finally she threatens suicide. Madison, cold and rigid, scoffs at her, "You haven't the nerve." He leaves her.

Laura stands for a moment paralyzed with grief and despair, and then hysterically screams, "To hell with them all! I'm going to Rector's to make a hit."

When I saw the play the first time I could not help wishing for an American Bernard Shaw to write a thirty page preface as a text-book for critics. Indeed, what our critics do *not* know about the drama would fill more than thirty pages. To quote a few Solomonic oracles: "'The Easiest Way' is a slum play." "'The Easiest Way' attacks the theater trust." "'The Easiest Way' shows how a man about town victimizes a poor girl," etc., etc. But then our critics possibly knew better, but it were dangerous to analyze such a powerful indictment against society.

To say that Brockton forced Laura to return, or that the theater trust even is responsible, seems to be an absurd and superficial grasp of "The Easiest Way."

Brockton is certainly not an ideal character. And yet, compared with other men whose money decides human destiny, he is kinder and more humane, at least to Laura. In fact, the girl herself tells us so in the first act: "You have been awfully good to me, and now you will surely not stand in the way of my happiness." And he does not, only he knows Laura and therefore has little faith in her perseverance.

Again, in the second act, Brockton shows that he is not altogether void of decency. He asks Laura not to come unless she can do so voluntarily. He even offers to get her an engagement. Finally, in the last act, when the

house built on a lie crumbles to pieces, with Madison horribly shaken, Brockton says, "You are all in. How I wish I could be all in." A man who is still capable of such regrets has something in his favor.

No, it is not Brockton. It's our criminal waste of human energy, our cold, cruel, economic and social fabric, that drives Laura, even as it drives the average girl to marry any man for a "home." Or as it drives all men to endure the worst indignities for a miserable pittance.

"Do you know what it means to be hungry?" Laura asks Madison in her last desperate attempt to hold him. No, he did not know. His rigid, puritanical clinging to "honor" and "truth" made him blind to the awful force of conditions that has broken stauncher spirits than Laura's.

And then—there is that other condition, the fatalism of Laura's sex. Elfie St. Clair sums up the inevitability of that force in the following words: "Don't you know that we count no more in the life of these men than tamed animals? It's a game, Laura, and if we don't play our cards well, we lose." There it is in a nutshell. Woman in her battle with life has but one weapon, one commodity—her sex. To succeed she has been trained to bring into the competitive field *not* brains, skill, judgment, character, or integrity; her sex was her attribute. That alone served as trump card in the game of life. Aye, and it has also served her as the greatest force to bring men to her feet.

Thus both Brockton and Madison in their attitude to Laura are similar. Madison bids for her with a marriage license and Brockton—well, he wants the girl as his mistress, but in return gives her more freedom of movement The only condition he ever made was that she be "on the square" with him. While Madison makes it very clear to Laura "what it means to be my wife."

Yes, it is that cruel, blind fatalism that has made of woman a parasite, an inert thing. Why, then, expect perseverance or energy of Laura? The easiest way is the path mapped out for her from time immemorial. She could follow no other.

It is impossible to do justice to the wealth of dramatic and artistic moments contained in "The Easiest Way." What wonderful psychologic grasp of human character,

620

840514057
The Emma Goldman Papers
The Easiest Way / Emma Goldman. – pp. 86-92 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 3 (May 1909).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

as portrayed by Elfie St. Clair. Harsh, cynical, yet so full of human touches. How much some of our Christian ladies could learn from her. The simple thoughtfulness of putting a fresh flower on Laura's table, and her readiness to forgive and help, though she was so bitterly hurt by her friend's scorn. And in the third act, when she pours out her loneliness into Laura's ears, "Do you know that you are the only thing I love?" Just think of it, ladies and gentlemen, a "bad" woman, one who sells her body, yet craving love and affection.

The most tragic moment in the whole play, to me, is not that Laura goes to "make a hit." After all, compared with the dull, dreary life of thousands of working girls, hers is the brighter. The tragic moment is expressed in the loud, shrill organ music, at the moment when Laura cries, "Paint my face and adorn my body. They have robbed me of my soul!" That terrible lack of sympathy, of oneness with human sorrow; a quivering soul, and discordant sounds streaming through the window. Men and women living side by side, passing each other, yet each blank and barren. That is at once the most tragic and dramatic moment of the entire play.

As to the artistic rendering of "The Easiest Way," a separate essay ought to be devoted to that. Frances Starr in her interpretation of Laura is truly exquisite. But, then, America is rich in individual dramatic artists: Julia Marlowe, Mary Shaw, Maude Adams, Mrs. Minnie Maddern Fiske, etc., etc. That which makes an epoch in American acting is the extraordinary artistic harmony of the *ensemble*. The next step, and the most difficult, is the revolutionizing of the audiences. The one who will accomplish that feat will make himself immortal indeed.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

SPAIN.

The Spanish Anarchists have initiated a wide-spread movement for the liberation of the victims of Alcala del Valle.

In 1903 various agrarian strikes took place in Spain, during which the people repeatedly clashed with the authorities. This also happened at Alacala del Valle, where the rural police made brutal use of their weapons, killing and wounding a number of the strikers. The affair resulted in the arrest of 94 persons. The government resorted to the torture of the prisoners—men and women—to wring confessions. Thus the authorities hoped to "prove" that it was the strikers who were responsible for the massacre! Many of the prisoners were subsequently released, while 36 were tried by court-martial and sentenced to long terms. Most of the convicted men are still suffering in the Spanish dungeons at Bagno. A strong movement is on foot to bring about the release of these victims of governmental cruelty.

INDIA.

The *Free Hindusthan,* published in New York City, writes:

Since the Indian Nationalists declared their creed in the Indian National Congress of 1907 at Surat, it is the policy of the British government to break up the Nationalist organization by any means.

Our recognized leader and genuine patriot, Sj. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, became a victim of this policy, and has been deported for five years. Sj. Arabinda Ghose was charged with bomb-throwing, and put in prison, and is awaiting trial. Sj. V. O. Chidambram Pillai, the originator of the "Swadeshi Steamship Company," is sentenced to transportation for life on a charge of sedition, and at least two hundred young journalists and printers have been sent to prison. These acts of repression could not extinguish the fire of patriotism that burns in the people of India; and the Nationalist party arranged for their Congress at Nagpur. But, to the ruin of the British government, nine of our Bengal leaders were deported at the early part of December. We are sorry to know that Sj. Aswini Kumar Dutt, Sj. Krishna Kumar Mitra, Sj. Subodh Chandra

621

880719003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Policemen Stop Emma Goldman; Clear the Hall / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1-2 ; 54 cm. *In* The World. – (May 24, 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The World.

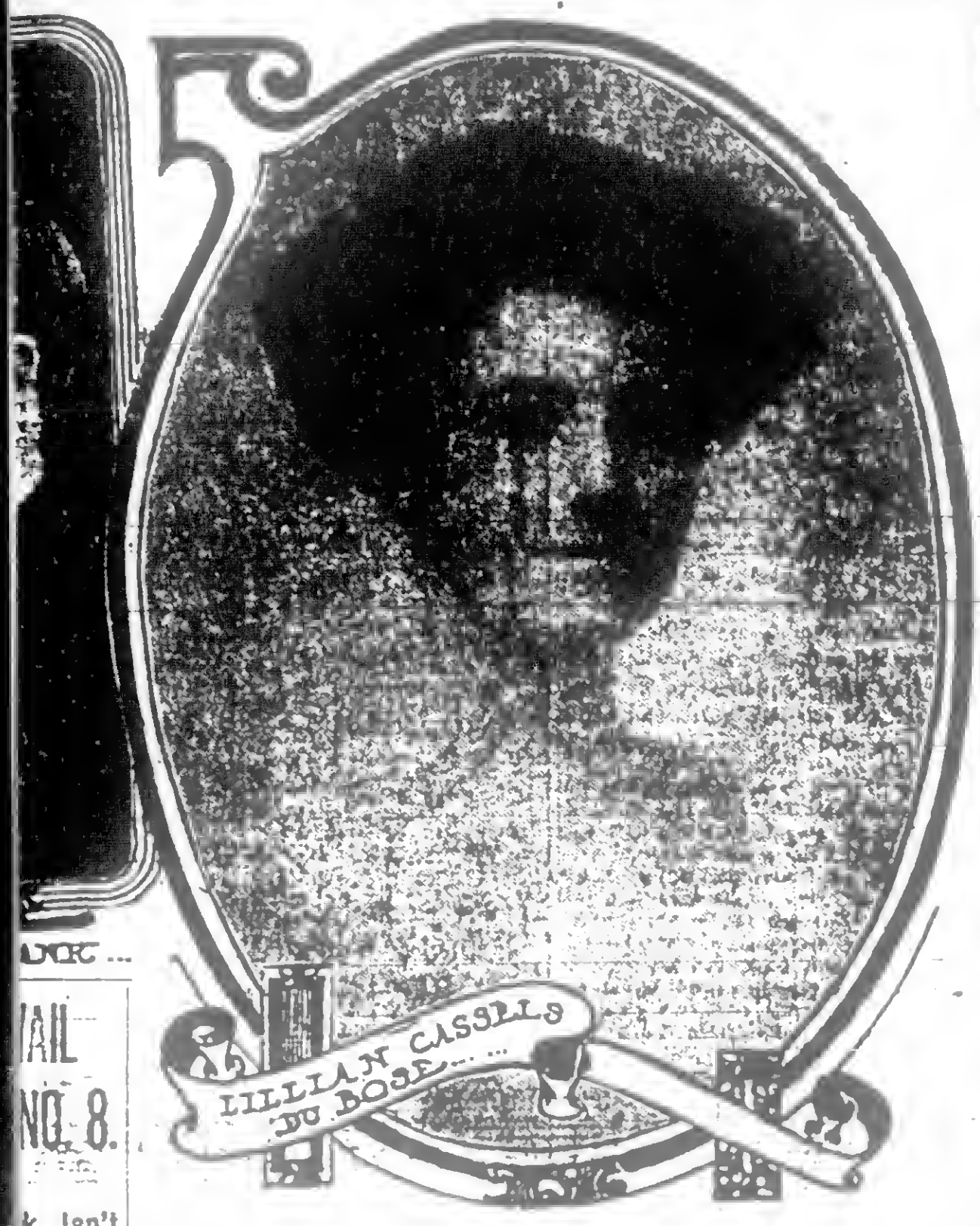
"Circulation Books Open to All."

Ask every person you possibly can. That's the secret of success.

The Morning World gives "Lost & Found" advertisements a circulation in New York City (daily) greater than the Herald, Sun, Times, Tribune and Press COMBINED.

PRICE { ONE CENT in Greater New York and Jersey City. TWO CENTS outside of Greater New York, Jersey City and on trains.

...AND BRIDE LOOK HAPPY, BUT ...FRIENDS' WOE CAN'T BE PICTURED.



POLICEMEN STOP EMMA GOLDMAN; CLEAR THE HALL

Alden Freeman, the East Orange Socialist, Whose Guest She Was at a Luncheon, Was One of the Anarchist's Auditors Who Were Ejected From the Place.

CROWD CHARGED AFTER ARRESTS ARE MADE

More Than 1,000 Persons Had Gathered in the Street Before the Hall Where Emma Goldman Had Announced that She Would Hold Another Meeting.

Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, the Anarchists who defy the Government to deport them, were brought up yesterday with a round turn by the police. Complying with orders said to be direct from Gen. Bingham, the police cleared Lexington Hall, at No. [illegible] East One Hundred and Sixteenth street, in which Miss Goldman was speaking, and later charged and dispersed more than 1,000 persons outside the hall.

Among those ejected was Alden Freeman, of East Orange, who has been criticised by society women of the Oranges for taking Miss Goldman and Berkman to the luncheon in East Orange which was attended by leaders of the Mayflower Descendants, D. A. R., Huguenots, Pilgrims and other societies.

Two Arrests Made.

Rebecca Edelsohn, twenty-one, and Leopold Bergman, thirty-three, were locked up in the East One Hundred and Twenty-sixth street station, charged

FIVE WILD STEERS GIVE NEW YORK SPANISH HOLIDAY

Thirty Shots Fired Into One in City Streets on His Second Escape After Being Taken in River—Two Swim to Hoboken—One Killed by Men in Boats.

Long after the dinner dishes were washed yesterday—and the women and children of Death Valley were tak-

over the railroad tracks. Seeing children playing in the gutter up the street he whipped out his revolver and took a shot. The bullet struck the steer in

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

622

880719003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Policemen Stop Emma Goldman; Clear the Hall / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-2 ; 54 cm. *In* The World. —(May 24, 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Escape After Being Taken in River—Two Swim to Hoboken—One Killed by Men in Boats.

Long after the dinner dishes were washed yesterday—and the women and children of Death Valley were taking the air out front, a herd of 200 long horn steers trotted up from the bull pen at the foot of West Thirty-ninth street, headed for the abattoir of the New York Dressed Beef Company, at the corner of Eleventh avenue. One of the herd, a wise old fellow, fresh from the plains, probably scented impending danger within the high gate, for he merely stepped in, then turned and walked out again.

Local cowboys in the employ of the company attempted to head off the beast, but too late. The steer, with lowered head, pranced down toward the river, and four other long horned companions, taking the cue, followed suit.

Women and children on the doorsteps of Thirty-ninth street beat a hasty retreat as the five steers raced down the street. Their hoofs clattered over the long pier extending out from Twelfth avenue; then, one, two, three, four, five—overboard they went.

Way up the street the abattoir hands had all they could do to prevent a stampede. When they finally reached the pier five long horns were skimming Jerseyward through the water.

Two Swam the Hudson.

Rowboats were pressed into service, but two of the steers were within the Hoboken province before the butcher cowboys shoved out from the pier. They had to let these go, and lassoed two that were struggling in the tide in midstream. The fifth took a northerly course and was overhauled by the Lackawanna tug Rhinehart off Fort Lee.

The steer that had led the runaways was lassoed and towed to a cement barge at West Thirty-eighth street, after a mighty struggle. Several times he nearly swamped the rowboats, but his captors clung to the lassoes and guided him to shore. It was a trying job to haul him up on the barge and lead him to the pier, and there was much rejoicing when he shook the water from his ears and snorted.

Out in the stream another crew of cowboy butchers struggled to get the second steer ashore, but the beast fought so they were forced to kill him and tow the carcass ashore.

The steer on the pier possibly saw the doom of his brother, for of a sudden he darted away toward Twelfth avenue. At the end of the pier he wheeled south and charged down the avenue with all the speed that was in him.

"Mad bull!" came the cry, as men, women and children darted indoors. It didn't take the steer long to make five blocks, and when he reached Thirty-third street he headed east. By the time he reached Tenth avenue there was a howling mob in his wake. The two blocks between Ninth and Eleventh avenues were crowded with children at play, but away down the street the steer was heralded and every youngster fled in safety.

Policeman Alexis Kleinmeier turned over the railroad tracks. Seeing children playing in the gutter up the street he whipped out his revolver and took a shot. The bullet struck the steer in the side; he looked around, then went on again. Five more shots by Kleinmeier hit the living target, but the steer continued.

Bullets Didn't Stop Him.

Policemen Owen Smith and Charles Thon hurried into Thirty-third street from Ninth avenue and fired point blank. The steer snorted loudly and reared. A second volley brought him to his knees. The three policemen emptied their revolvers of six shots each. The steer, shaking its head, scrambled up and ran on.

Once the steer dropped near Ninth avenue, but a small boy shied a stick that struck him in the head, which had the effect of bringing him to his senses. When the beast fell there were toreadors and matadors galore, but as soon as the big form arose there was a hasty scampering.

Thirty-third street resembled a Plaza del los Toros. The steer charged the police, then wheeled around and ran west toward Tenth avenue while the police fired shot after shot.

As the steer raced across the New York Central tracks on Eleventh avenue there was a volley of shots.

John McNulty, yardmaster of the Central, was sitting in his office at Thirty-second street when a bullet came through the window, whizzed over his head and lodged in the telephone box in an adjoining office.

The steer ran through the railroad yards and got tangled in the maze of freight cars and locomotives. The police and crowd surrounded him, bullets flying fast. There were thirty bullets in him and he was still on his feet when the cowboys lassoed him and used the knife.

The steer taken from the river by the Lackawanna tug was put aboard a "sleigh," used in transporting cattle through the streets. He fought so on the way down Eleventh avenue that he was killed there.

The two that swam across the river were hauled out at Hoboken and brought back to the abattoir.

SWIFT SHIFT IN A BRIDGE.

Old Span Removed, New One Put In.

All in Ten Minutes.

Thousands of persons in Jersey City yesterday morning watched workmen replace an old span of the Pennsylvania freight trestle at Seventh street and Newark avenue with a new span that will give more room for the regrading and raising of Newark avenue at that point.

The actual moving of the spans did not take more than ten minutes, and it was regarded as a remarkable engineering achievement. After the new span was in place two sets of tracks were laid on and freight traffic was resumed. The total period of interruption to train movements was less than half an hour.

THE PLAZA HOTEL SUMMER GARDEN.
Grand opening Monday eve., May 24. Mahen [illegible] orchestra.

angee for taking Miss Goldman [illegible] luncheon in East [illegible] ange which was attended by [illegible] of the Mayflower Descendants, D. [illegible] R., Huguenots, Pilgrims and other [illegible] cieties.

Two Arrests Made.

Rebecca Edelsohn, twenty-one, [illegible] Leopold Bergman, thirty-three, were locked up in the East One Hundred and Twenty-sixth street station, charged with disorderly conduct. Miss Goldman and Berkman, furious over the arrests, said that the prisoners will be defended by Meyar London, counsel for the Architects, who plans to fight for the privilege of Miss Goldman and Berkman to address New York audiences without police interference.

Miss Goldman hired Lexington Hall for the four Sundays of May and notified the "inner circle" that she would lecture there. She lectured on May 9 and 16. Commissioner Bingham received Saturday a tip that the lecture was tingled with "to-hell-with-Governments" sentiments. Capt. Walsh of the One Hundred and Twenty-sixth street station, received orders yesterday to disperse the audience if Miss Goldman tried to speak.

At 11 A. M. more than 200 persons had paid 25 cents admission to hear Miss Goldman. She walked to the platform on the arm of Alexander Berkman, who introduced her and her subject, "The Modern Drama." Lieut. Rafsky, of Police Headquarters, who was escorted by three policemen, strode across the platform after Miss Goldman had been speaking a few minutes and whispered to her that she must desist.

"Don't interrupt me," Miss Goldman whispered in reply. "If you have anything to say tell it to the manager of the hall, from whom I have a lease, while I am delivering a lecture within the bounds of the law."

Rafsky found Manager Grossman, who said he could do nothing because Goldman had leased the hall to Miss Goldman. Rafsky telephoned to Capt. Walsh, who sent the reserves to the hall on the double quick. Meanwhile Miss Goldman told the audience that the police had tried to break up the meeting, but had failed.

The Hall is Cleared.

Excitement was high when the police reserves, headed by Sergts. Adams and Allen, marched into the hall and mounted the platform and faced about. Adams then ordered the audience to leave the hall peacefully and quietly, and the police moved down the first row of chairs, drawing them away from their occupants. Men and women were on their feet instantly, and the determined attitude of the police checked a demonstration and the hall was cleared without serious confusion. Emma Goldman shouted that she would return at 2 P. M. and lecture to the people. Then she, too, left the hall on Berkman's arm without molestation.

Capt. Walsh sent forty policemen to the hall at 1.30 P. M. Ticket-holders who applied for admission were told that Miss Goldman's lecture had been called off. Long-haired men with flowing cravats and women with red ribbons somewhere on their gowns or hats protested that they "knew their rights" and demanded admission. The police returned polite refusals, and when these were unavailing made threats of arrest. It did not take long for One Hundred and Sixteenth street in the vicinity of the hall to fill from curb to curb. Self-assertiveness increased with the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

623

880719003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Policemen Stop Emma Goldman; Clear the Hall / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-2 ; 54 cm. *In* The World. —(May 24, 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THE

...side of the crowd, which interfered with the street cars and pedestrians.

Policeman Boudreau ordered Rebecca Edelstein and Leopold Berkman to move on. They said they were entitled to stand near the entrance and inform ticket holders of the situation. Boudreau started to lay his hand on Berkman's shoulder when, he says, Miss Edelstein seized him by the wrist. He was engaged with her when he received two painful blows in the neck and, turning, seized Berkman.

Police Charge the Crowd.

Instantly the shouts and commotion aroused the crowds. Threats were raised here and there. Capt. Walsh ordered a charge and his policemen with clubs ready moved out into the street, sweeping all before them. Men, women and children on the outskirts fled, and the street was cleared in short order. Police lines were formed at the approaches to the hall, but the crowd made no further effort to antagonize the police. Neither Emma Goldman nor Berkman participated in the afternoon's demonstration. Miss Goldman said last night at her home, No. 210 East Thirteenth street:

"Interference with my lecture to-day was a renewal of my persecution by the New York police. It proved that free speech no longer is tolerated in this country. Mr. Alden Freeman, of East Orange, attended the morning lecture to pass judgment on it, because he invited me to deliver a lecture on the same subject this week in Orange. The audience was made up almost entirely of Americans, many of whom told me later that the action of the police was an outrage. One elderly woman, a leader of the Daughters of the American Revolution, told me she wished to express to me her sympathy. She gave me her name and address, but I am not at liberty to disclose them. The audience was made up of highly intelligent and prosperous men and women who were anxious to hear me lecture."

Dr. Benjamin L. Reitman, of the Anarchist councils, made this statement:

"As an American citizen I wish to protest against the deliberate brutality of the police and their malicious infringement upon the rights of free speech. Miss Goldman had rented the hall and had a contract for it. Most of the audience were Americans in whose blood the love of freedom of speech and assembly had been bred. It was probably their first experience with such arbitrariness and, therefore, aroused in them great indignation and protest. They could not help but feel that free speech is a farce and that the American police can exercise more arbitrary authority than is conceivable in monarchical countries."

Miss Goldman says she will deliver her lecture in Lexington Hall next Sunday as advertised.

FOUGHT AN IRON DEER, LANDED IN THE GUTTER,

Brennan, Fired by Stories from African Jungle, Battled Outside Antique Shop.

Patrick Brennan, of No. 344 East Thirty-first street, in whose veins runs the blood of fighting stock, is a great admirer of Theodore Roosevelt, and has taken a lively interest in the ex-President's hunting trip.

He was swinging through East Thirty-fourth street about 11 o'clock last night when, in front of W. C. Overwalder's antique shop, at No. 33, he saw a life-size iron statue of a deer, with wide-spreading antlers. A little iron boy stood before the deer, with hand upraised.

"Look out, lad, the creature'll kill

RACE FOR LIFE, THEIR CRAFT A STREAK OF FIRE.

Explosion Sets Motor Boat Libbie Ablaze on Hudson—She's Run Ashore at Thirty Miles an Hour.

FOUR LEAP OVERBOARD AS FLAMES REACH THEM.

$12,000 Boat Destroyed—Narrow Escape for Owner and Three Others.

A vivid streak of fire shot halfway across the Hudson River off One Hundred and Twenty-third street about 1 o'clock yesterday afternoon. It might have been taken for reflected sunlight but for the fact that the sun was not shining. When the flame disappeared the [illegible] was a total wreck, and the four persons who had been gayly sailing down the river in her a few minutes before had had a narrow escape from death or serious injury.

Albert Hartog, who used to be in the automobile business, and who lives at the Hotel Normandie with his wife and family, owned the motor boat and kept it at Mahon's boat house, at West Eighty-third street. He and his son Ferdinand, eighteen years old; the engineer, Ralph Stenson, and the latter's assistant, a boy, made several trips as far as Fort Lee ferry around noontime, while Mrs. Hartog and two younger children sat in Riverside Park and watched them.

An Explosion.

On the last trip of the Libbie, which was a forty-foot boat, with a 120 horse-power motor set forward, an explosion occurred. What caused the trouble probably never will be known. A canvas cover, adjusted to keep the breaking waves off the motor when the boat was going at high speed, was blown fifty feet in the air. The boat had just been turned about by Mr. Hartog, who was steering, and was headed down stream. There was not a sign of

THEIR ROMANCE OUT OF ELECTION



ESTHER S. BAUM

Teacher and Lawyer Betrothed at Young Woman's Home on the East Side.

The bethrothal of Miss Esther S. Baum, a public school teacher, to David Robson, a lawyer of No. 132 Broadway, took place yesterday at the home of the young woman's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Baum, No. 27 Avenue C.

The romance grew out of a meeting during the campaign on the east side last fall. Mr. Robson was the Republican candidate for Assembly in the Sixth District, and Miss Baum was an ardent supporter of the Teachers' Equal Pay bill. As a member of the Women Teach-

DAVID R

many times at ...nue D.

When he was ...cratic district b... came to Mr. R... advocate. He t... Miss Baum, an... courage, he said ... "Miss Baum, ... haven't received ... vocacy of the ... bill."

"Reward!" ... woman in surpr...

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

624

850424010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Mild Goldman Talk While Police Listen / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(May 25, 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

GIRL MISSING TWO WEEKS.

Police Search the East Side in Vain for Elsie Rosenfeld.

No news has been received by the parents of Elsie Rosenfeld, an attractive-looking girl of 20 years, since she disappeared from her home, 287 Seventh Street, on Sunday, May 9, to go with a girl friend to obtain some work from a near-by dressmaker. The father, Jacob Rosenfeld, who works at a furrier's in East Eleventh Street, went to Police Headquarters, and a general alarm was sent out for the girl on Monday, May 10. Detectives have since sought for the missing girl in vain.

Mrs. Rosenfeld cannot account for her daughter's disappearance.

"She was my firstborn and a good girl," she said yesterday. "For some weeks she had been out of work, and she was not content. On that Sunday morning she came to me and said she had good news for me. Then she told me she was going with a friend who knew the forewoman of a large dressmaking place in Grand Street to get work.

"Elsie dressed and went away, taking a new, unfinished waist, which she said she could finish on the machine at the new place. When night came and she did not come home we became alarmed for her safety. That night we could find no trace of her."

When asked if it was likely that Elsie had eloped, the mother replied that, so far as she knew, there was no young man in the case, because the girl always spent her evenings at home with her four young brothers and sisters. Mrs. Rosenfeld was sure that if her daughter was free and able to write she would let her parents know and not keep them in such agony of suspense.

The girl is described as having dark brown hair, dark complexion, and blue eyes, good teeth, and has a scar about half an inch long under the right eyebrow. She is of Hungarian descent and speaks English with a broken accent.

The police say that everything possible has been done to trace the girl, but that it is difficult to get any information in such densely populated districts, where three or four families live in one flat, the majority of them not speaking English. They discredit the mothers belief that the girl is being held a prisoner in some house.

WROTE HIS OWN OBITUARY.

Cyrus Clark, Who Died Yesterday, Left One Blank in It.

Cyrus Clark, for many years President of the West End Association, and prominent in the development of the west side, died yesterday in his home, 327 West Seventy-sixth Street, of paralysis, in his seventy-ninth year. He was stricken on May 15. There was a recurrence of the attack on Wednesday.

Mr. Clark was known as a very methodical man, a phase of his character which was emphasized by his preparation of his own obituary notice, with the date of his death left blank. This blank his son filled yesterday. The notice which Mr. Clark had written says:

"Cyrus Clark was born Sept. 18, 1830

MILD GOLDMAN TALK WHILE POLICE LISTEN

Anarchist Had Been Notified That No Anarchy Propaganda Would Be Permitted.

HITS POLICE AND PURITANS

People Clubbed If They Try to Speak Freely, She Says—Talk Symposium at the Sunrise Club.

Emma Goldman, whose lecture on the drama the police stopped on Sunday morning, talked back to the police last night at a Sunrise Club meeting in the Café Boulevard. She also made remarks about Puritanism, fired a broadside at Anthony Comstock, and called George Bernard Shaw a jingo. The Sunrise Club opposed her about 16 to 1. The police, who were there in force, but in plain clothes, didn't seem to mind. They made no attempt to check the flow of oratory.

Nothing was said about anarchy. Had there been, there might have been a different ending, but Miss Goldman had been notified that Inspector Herlihy and twelve of his men were ready to break up the dinner party if the speakers grew violent in attacking law and order.

Miss Goldman had been invited to talk to the Sunrise Club on "The Hypocrisy of Puritanism." She talked for half an hour, and into that crowded many thoughts which in condensed form amounted to a general condemnation of Puritanism and censure for all who hold Puritanical views. The dining room was filled to its utmost capacity to hear her, and as many women were there as men.

After first paying her respects to Mr. Shaw, Miss Goldman passed on to the Mayflower Society. "The other day, when I happened to be present at a meeting of the Mayflower descendants, I had a chance to see the result of Puritanism in this country," said Miss Goldman. "Some of those Mayflower descendants are still using smelling salts, I hear. I looked at them and realized what Puritanism had done for this country. And as for Bernard Shaw, he lives in a glass house, and shouldn't throw stones at America. England is really responsible for the Puritanism here, seeing that Puritanism originated in England."

Miss Goldman said that she could think of nothing harsh enough to say against Puritanism. While it no longer has power to torture those with whom it is dis-

BOYS' FLYING SEANCE.

Pupils of School 77 Want Aeroplanes, but Must Use Kites.

If any one finds a dozen or more kites drifting about the fields between Astoria and Flushing, the boys of Public School 77, at First Avenue and Eighty-sixth Street, would like to hear about it. They would like to know how far their runaway kites did go yesterday afternoon before coming to earth.

A small army of boys from this school with kites of curious shapes and still more curious construction crossed to Astoria by the Ninety-second Street Ferry yesterday afternoon and had a kite contest on the public school athletic field, just north of the Astoria ferry house.

"Ever since the arrival of the Wright brothers in the city the boys have been literally crazy on the subject of aeronautics," said Principal Edward A. Page yesterday. "Nothing will suit them now but to build a school aeroplane. We have four or five lads who believe they have solved within the last three weeks some of the most difficult problems of aerial navigation. Kite flying seems to be about the first step in the science, so we decided to begin at the foundation and let the boys show what they could do."

Within fifteen minutes after the junior sky pilots reached the ground forty or more kites were in the air, some mounting so high toward the heavens that their bright-colored material seemed mere dots of color against the blue sky. Others took a more slanting direction, running far out over the roof of a big iron foundry.

As an incentive to juvenile ambitions, prizes were offered. Walter Mohr and Abraham E. Horn, teachers of manual training in the school, were the officials, and they were kept busy running from one point of the field to another to verify the superiority or some particular kite. The big 14-foot kite made by Abraham Moscom won the award for being the largest, but it was outstripped in high flying by many others. Alfred Vollmer, a 14-year-old boy, won the prize for the highest flight. His kite, a big green-covered creation, went up in the air for one mile, at least, so the judges said, and no one disputed them.

The kite that pulled the strongest met with disaster. It was made by John Berkowitz, and when the scales were attached to the stout cord it showed a pull of twenty-eight pounds. The northwesterly wind which came in lively gusts made it a difficult matter to hold the kite, as it was eight and a half feet long and covered with white cloth. Berkowitz's fingers were cut in the effort to hold it, and once it dragged three boys half way across the field. But finally a gust of wind caused the huge kite to dip far beyond the roof of the iron foundry, and the cord broke. Half a dozen boys were over the fence in a minute. They ran nearly a mile, only to hear that it had

625

850424010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Mild Goldman Talk While Police Listen / Emma Goldman. — 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. — (May 25, 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

own obituary notice, with the date of the death left blank. This blank his son filled yesterday. The notice which Mr. Clark had written says:

"Cyrus Clark was born Sept. 18, 1830, in the town of Sardinia, Erie County, N. Y., and his parents moved to Buffalo soon afterward, in which city he received his early education. In 1849 Mr. Clark came to New York and entered the employ of Clark, Southworth & Co., silk merchants, where he stayed five years, and then started for himself under the name of Vincent Clark & Co. At the end of ten years he retired from the silk business, having invested his money in real estate to good advantage.

"After spending three years in Europe studying civic conditions Mr. Clark returned to this city in 1870 and took up his residence on the west side. He caused the first bill to be introduced into the Legislature to exempt mortgages from taxation, and was President of the West End Association for fifteen years. He was a member of the Union League Club for forty-six years, and was Vice President of the club for one term. He is survived by two sons and three daughters."

ELKINS YACHT IN COLLISION.

The Venetia Loses Bowsprit in Crash with Schooner in the Bay.

A collision between Senator Stephen B. Elkins's steam yacht Venetia and the three-masted schooner Harry S. Shepard, near the South Brooklyn side of the upper bay, damaged both vessels yesterday. The Venetia's bow struck the starboard side of the schooner and tore away several feet of the railing. Her engines refused to work after the accident, and she drifted about helplessly for a short time until a Merritt-Chapman Wrecking Company's tug responded to the yacht's whistle for help, and towed both vessels to a dry dock in the Erie Basin. The Venetia's bowsprit was smashed and the forward port side was splintered in the collision. She was on her way to the dry dock to be overhauled before going into commission for the Summer when the accident occurred.

A strong tide was flowing, and the skippers of both vessels did not reckon on the strength of the current until the collision seemed inevitable. The Venetia was going northwest and the schooner was going due east, headed for the Beard docks in South Brooklyn.

CAR ROWDY PUT UNDER BOND.

He Jumped Through a Window and Fell in a Woman's Lap.

Magistrate Dooley held court in the Gates Avenue building yesterday, and Ernest Kruder, 18 years old, of 37 Maujer Street, was brought before him, charged with disorderly conduct for attempting to board a train through the car window at the Nostrand Avenue station of the Myrtle Avenue elevated line on Sunday night.

William T. O'Connor, a special policeman for the B. R. T., told the Magistrate that Kruder landed squarely in a woman passenger's lap after jumping through the car window. The woman refused to give her name or make a complaint.

"I'll put a stop to this particularly obnoxious type of rowdyism right at the start," the Magistrate said, addressing Kruder. "I'll put you under a bond of $500 to keep the peace for six months, in default of which you will spend that time on Blackwell's Island."

OCEAN TRAVELERS.

Some of Those Sailing To-day—Yesterday's Arrivals.

The steamers sailing to-day and some of their passengers are:

KAISER WILHELM DER GROSSE, (Bremen).—Mrs. J. J. Astor, C. H. Ault, Mr. and Mrs. Louis F. Benson, the Hev. Miss Goldman said that she could think of nothing harsh enough to say against Puritanism. While it no longer has power to torture those with whom it is displeased, it is, nevertheless, a great power in this country.

"Else how can an old bigot like Anthony Comstock live in a city like New York?" she continued.

Puritanism, she said, was afraid of life and that which is true and natural in life. "Has it driven out the evil spirit?" she continued. "No; it has driven it deeper into the flesh and has made people do on the sly what they are afraid to do in the open. It has created the false modesty which made Pittsburg hold up its hands in horror at a picture recently exhibited there." Passing on to talk of freedom of speech, she said:

"It is being outraged every day; if you don't believe it go and attend some of the meetings we are trying to hold and you will be clubbed out the same as some people were clubbed out yesterday. Most of the police cannot read, so how can they interpret what should be uttered and what should not be?"

She wound up by saying that the country should not be ruled by the police or such men as Anthony Comstock, or by such women as members of the Mayflower Society. "Certainly not by those Mayflower ladies who are dull in their heads and dull in their hearts," she concluded.

C. E. Walker, President of the Sunrise Club, announced that the other speakers would be limited to seven minutes each. He called on Henry Nicolls, who said that in some things he agreed with Miss Goldman. He added that J. P. Morgan was a typical Puritan. Then he took a fling at the police and said they were "ridiculous."

F. L. Johnson, associate editor of Power, followed Mr. Nicolls. He said that Miss Goldman was wrong in at least one thing—the origin of Puritanism. He said that it began in Eden, when Eve handed Adam the apple and they grew ashamed of having no clothes. Then Col. William W. Wingate of Brooklyn, a newly-initiated member of the club, got up. He said he didn't sympathize with Miss Goldman at all. He was a Puritan, he said, and he, for one, believed that preaching against organized government and against law and order and other things should not be allowed. He referred to Miss Goldman as a foreigner "who comes here and begins to attack the laws."

"Our laws were made by a judiciary body, and some of them were interpreted by one of the greatest Presidents who ever lived—he who is now on a hunting trip to Africa—and such laws should be observed and obeyed and should not be allowed to be attacked," he declared.

President Walker said after that that he was sorry the audience did not appreciate satire. Then another "Puritan" got up. He was Joseph M. Norton, Jr., who said that he was the grandson of a Puritan. A suffragist spoke next. She was announced as "Mrs. Julia Gatere," and said that she had only one "kick" and that was against masculine government. She said she didn't want the marriage laws changed at all, except, perhaps, to make divorce a little easier.

Arthur H. Grant, who followed her as a speaker, was inclined to think that they had all been tilting at windmills.

Several other members of the club took a fling at Miss Goldman and the police and at one thing or another. John Francis Tucker, the Rev. L. C. Barnes, and Harry Tucker were among them. J. R. Abarbanells said that had the blue laws been enforced at Coney on Sunday it would have been a return to Puritanism. As things stand, he said, Puritanism is a symbol of graft and hypocrisy. Adolph Benevy, Dr. M. R. Leverson, and others spoke. Dr. Leverson said the police ought to be abolished, "especially Commissioner Bingham," he addsd.

CITY BREVITIES.

THE TIMES acknowledges the receipt of $5 from R. Frankenheimer of 23 West Seventy-first Street, for the fund which TIMES readers have contributed to save the child of Abraham Sakolik from deportation. The amount raised has been sufficient to pay for the child's board in the hospital and prevent its separation from its parents.

yond the foot of the Iron Foundry and the cord broke. Half a dozen boys were over the fence in a minute. They ran nearly a mile, only to hear that it had been seen sailing off a mile further on, and they returned in disappointment.

Milton Herkowitz won the award for the most grotesque kite. His kite resembled a scarecrow. The body of the man was of black cloth with outstretched arms supported with wooden braces, and an enormous white head. This manikin refused to fly very high. He will undergo some modifications before being sent up again.

John Toledo had one of the most spectacular kites. It was red, white, and blue, with a big star in each of the triangles. It added to the gaiety of the air in which white, green, black, red, and yellow kites were soaring. Alexander Lozar had a strange balloon-shaped kite, but it wouldn't go up.

The contest was the first kite-flying exhibition ever held by any public school in New York. Most of the boys are going to take their kites to Arlington, N. J., during the week for the kite prize contests there, under the direction of Samuel F. Perkins, the kite man of the Aero Club of America.

MRS. DANIEL J. SULLY'S BILL.

Wife of ex-"Cotton King" Brought to Court on a $400 Account.

A motion to have Mrs. Daniel J. Sully, wife of the former "cotton king," declared in contempt of court for refusing to be examined before trial in a suit brought against her by Theodore B. Starr & Co., jewelers, at 206 Fifth Avenue, was made by counsel for the firm before Supreme Court Justice Guy yesterday. Decision was reserved.

The action arises from a $400 bill for stationery which, it is alleged, Mrs. Sully owes the firm, which, with interest, now amounts to about $500. Mr. Sully, it is acknowledged, had a running account with the firm, but it is asserted that his wife gave her personal order for the stationery. Last Fall, while being examined, her counsel stated an arrangement was made by which Mr. Sully agreed to pay the bill, but shortly after his connection with the firm of Hayden, Stone & Co. ended, and nothing has been done in the matter of the stationery bill since that time.

Mrs. Sully's counsel held that his client should not be considered in contempt, as a disposition has been shown to arrange the matter, and that he would produce his client at any time. When asked by the court if arrangements would be made for her appearance to-day, counsel argued that it was a short notice, inasmuch as she was now living in the country. It was indicated that she would appear at the earliest possible moment, and under these conditions decision was reserved.

READY TO BUILD A SUBWAY.

Bradley-Gaffney Syndicate to File Broadway-Lexington Av. Plans Soon.

The Bradley-Gaffney-Steers combination of subway builders has decided that the new law, relating to the construction of subways by private capital, if signed by Gov. Hughes, will meet its ideas on the subject of building the Broadway-Lexington Avenue line. The plans for the new subway will be filed with the Public Service Commission in the near future, and will call for the expenditure of about $50,000,000.

In so far as the plans of the Public Service Commission for the Broadway-Lexington Avenue line call for the construction of elevated lines in the Bronx, the Bradley-Gaffney-Steers people will not follow them, as their idea is to build a subway for the entire length of their route. There is now pending before the Board of Esti-

880809000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] An Interview with Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(May 30, 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

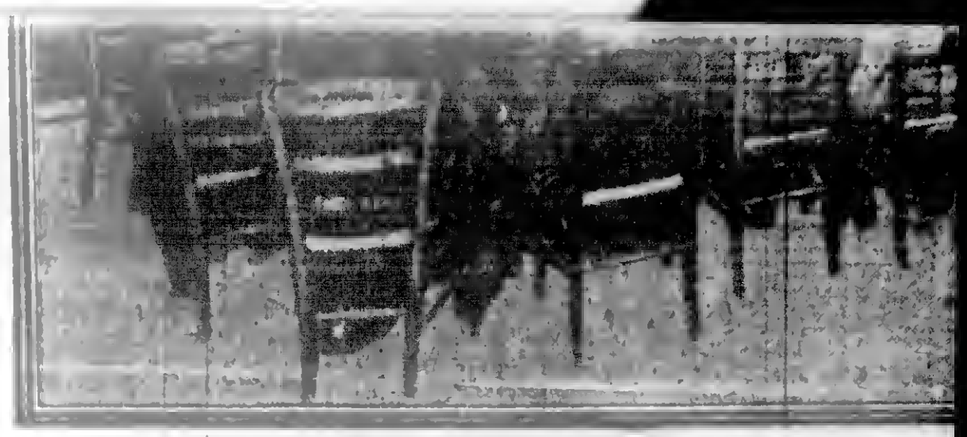
finally to expound and obtain a personal impression of this extraordinary woman I called at his office in the Palais de Justice this morning. I expected to find a typical European bureaucratic official but was agreeably disappointed. THE NEW YORK TIMES was my open sesame. A kindly brown-eyed man of about 53 years of age, with mustache and pointed beard tinged with gray, his manner and appearance entirely that of the man of science rather than the policeman—rose from his desk to greet me in English—"savage English," he smilingly termed it—but very intelligible, none the less. He still held in his hand a piece of broken earthenware which he had been examining under a magnifying glass.

"See," said he, our exchange of courtesies over. "This broken pot contains some wax. We found it at the scene of a burglary last night. The burglar had cut a pane of glass with a diamond. He used the wax to help him remove the glass without making any noise. The policeman who found this pot thinks we may identify the finger prints. Unfortunately, no. The fin-

Profile of Criminal Arrested in San Francisco.

[illegible]'s photograph and measurements taken last month in San Francisco, and the photograph and measurements July, 18, 1880. There, truly, was the same individual in one case 17 years of age, in the other 37; the slight difference in measurement due to the fact that his physique was not fully developed at the beginning of his criminal career in France.

"Follow M. Bernardet and he will tell you everything. I have nothing to say about myself except that my father was an anthropologist, and when a young man, being possessed with the idea that we needed some scientific method of identifying criminals, I got my first ideas from his scientific studies. In order to work out my system I joined the Police Department as an under secretary some thirty-two years ago. It was not till 1889 that I obtained official authority to make measurements of the criminals in our prisons. This resulted



Criminal Being Measured Under the Bertillon System
The Bertillon School for Detectives in

me into the filing room. It was filled with shelf after shelf of card cases.

"We first classify our criminals according to the date of their birth. Here you have those born from 1840 to 1849, next, from 1850 to 1859—and so on. The San Francisco card gave one man's age as 37. We knew we must find him in the division 1870-79. Our next division is the length of the head—long, medium, short. Next the width of the head—broad, medium, narrow. Next the left middle finger—long, medium, or short. Then the foot—again in three grades, long, medium, or short. The forearm governs next in three degrees; the height follows, still in three degrees, tall, medium, short. Then you have six sub-divisions of this section of shelves. We have finally got down

What She Is Like And What She Believes.

An Interview with E

Character Study by O Never Seen or Heard

By CHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON.

AND I at [illegible] the lecturer, who had been talking about five minutes [illegible] the impression which [illegible] would get [illegible] reading or hearing [illegible] Goldman, it was [illegible]

The [illegible] those who had been [illegible] the [illegible] spoke [illegible] English.

[illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] starting a [illegible] a riot, but I don't want to be unfair. If she [illegible] those [illegible] poses [illegible] "And [illegible] Detectives [illegible] for [illegible] character [illegible] hear [illegible] character [illegible] want [illegible] Detectives [illegible] and [illegible] hours [illegible] and [illegible] suggestive [illegible] fidelity [illegible] To [illegible] Goldman [illegible]

[illegible] writer of violent and shocking matter against government, and getting weak-minded folks to kill Kings. The real Emma Goldman is a well-read, intellectual woman with a theory of society not very different from that entertained by a lot of college professors who can talk without danger of police interference, and her way of preaching it is not as sensational as [illegible]

What sort of [illegible]

[illegible] answer the [illegible]

Some of [illegible] printed about [illegible] was wanted [illegible] Jewess. Said [illegible] of either the Russian or the Jewess [illegible] for [illegible] Miss Goldman [illegible] that is the typical and [illegible] make up of Emma Goldman.

+ + +

As for the rest [illegible]

A reporter of THE NEW YORK TIMES [illegible] Miss Goldman [illegible] know What [illegible] Reedy [illegible]

She [illegible]

Well, she said, "here is what he said about me in The St. Louis Mirror. I am willing to stand by that.

Here is what Mr. Reedy wrote about Miss Goldman's beliefs:

"Law is nothing but the tyranny of a king here, an Emperor there, a Parliament in another place, a majority everywhere. No man has a right to prescribe for another, or to proscribe another. No one has a right to punish another. No one will injure another in the time to be when laws and institutions, being removed, shall cease to distort the mind and abort the spirit. Parties are a superstition. • • •

"This is Emma Goldman's gospel. Is it ugly or brutal or ignorant, or vicious? It is not. It is an aspiration toward and an effort for the perfection of humanity. • • • There is nothing wrong with Miss Goldman's gospel that I can see, except this. She is about 8,000 years ahead of her age. Her vision is the vision of every truly great-minded man or woman [illegible]

"What were you saying when Rafsky stopped you?" she was asked.

"The subject of my lecture," she said, "had to do with the drama as a determinator of advanced thought. I intended to show that the drama, more than any other vehicle of human expression, sows the seeds of radicalism. To prove that contention I had a number of illustrations ready, showing how new ideas had been propagated through the playhouse. I was trying to show—or would have tried [illegible] me [illegible] Rafsky [illegible] quiet [illegible] face. But there was [illegible] no ill-humor.

What are the titles of your lectures?

"'The Easiest Way,' 'Minorities Versus Majorities,' and 'Anarchism and What It Really Is,'" she answered. "The first deals with Eugene Walter's play, and seems to be the most popular. My first lecture in New York this season was delivered April 11. I must say that the police of that precinct were very decent, but the Headquarters police were there, and they notified the proprietor of the hall that I must not be allowed to speak again.

+ + +

"After that we had more trouble with the police, but when I made my contract for lectures in Lexington Hall the police and the proprietor were perfectly well aware of who I was and what lectures I was going to deliver. Not less than 12,000 circulars advertising the lectures had been distributed, and the police had no excuse for not knowing the circumstances.

"The police never addressed themselves to me, but they went to Wasserman, the owner of the hall, and threatened him [illegible] State, which makes it an offense for a hall keeper to rent it to any one who will propagate 'criminal Anarchy.'

"What is 'criminal Anarchy?'" she was asked.

"It has never been defined," she said with a smile. "It never will be defined, because there is no such thing in existence. No Anarchist gets up on the platform and propagates assassination, and if he doesn't the idea of such a law is an absurdity. However, the thing is even more



Emma Goldman.

May.

[illegible] STEPHEN CHALMERS.

[illegible] of May [illegible]
[illegible] the world is breathing

[illegible] of warning
[illegible]

[illegible] greening,
[illegible] young,
[illegible] dreams are flow-

[illegible] found their

"[illegible]
[illegible] one away."
[illegible] hand to ensnare one,
And [illegible] sings in May.

Belgian Coal Miners.

[illegible] coal is mined at a greater [illegible] in Belgium than in most [illegible] the number of miners killed [illegible] less in that country than in [illegible] For the ten-year period [illegible] the number of fatalities [illegible] workmen was 1681 per [illegible] before mines the Sumner [illegible] have been killed by [illegible] that in the coal mines

627

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880809000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] An Interview with Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(May 30, 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.



casured Under e Bertillon System (Upper Picture.)
Bertillon School for Detectives in Paris.



Full Face of Criminal Arrested in San Francisco.

—long, medium, short. Next the width of the head—broad, medium, narrow. Next the left middle finger—long, medium, or short. Then the foot—again in three grades, long, medium, or short. The forearm governs next in three degrees; the height follows, still in three degrees, tall, medium, short. Then you have six sub-divisions of this section of shelves. We have finally got down to

An important adjunct of the service is M. Bertillon's training school for applicants for positions on the detective force. The course over which he presides takes three months, and twenty young men form the class. His system he calls Le Portrait Parlé. The motto conspicuously displayed on the wall gives the keynote of his method:

"The eye only sees in things what it

Every now and then, to test the progress made by his class, M. Bertillon has prepared sets of cards on which are drawn more or less fragmentary outlines of noses, chins, ears, and the like. These features belong to members of the class, who are turned loose in the courtyard and told to pick out the classmate whose features they are.

"Sometimes," said my informant, "we give a man a card with the outline of his own left ear or nose, and he has quite a time discovering himself."

Training of this character sharpens the perception wonderfully, especially when it is as thorough and painstaking as M. Bertillon insists upon. The men who pass his examination as a rule become most valuable detectives.

A very interesting record prepared under "the master's" direction is an album containing the photographic records of about 6,000 "undesirable per-

and escaped. We had no clue to the murderer except from finger prints on the glass of the broken case. These we carefully preserved and photographed. About six months later a burglar was arrested in Marseilles. His measurements and finger-print record were forwarded to us. The finger prints were identical with those on the glass of the dentist's silver case. The man was Scheffer. When he was accused of the Paris murder he broke down, confessed, and was sentenced to death."

And with this further illustration of the practical operations of M. Bertillon's system, my visit to the Palais de Justice ended, M. Bertillon in parting congratulating me that he was compelled so seldom to make such inquiries in America regarding American lawbreakers in France as the San Francisco Chief of Police had made regarding Raoul-Bernard.

"I wonder," he added with a smile, "if the San Francisco authorities will burden themselves with the expense of shipping him over to us. The cell on which he has a lien for life is still awaiting him here, in spite of the hasty 'French leave' which he took nine years ago."

with Emma Goldman — — —

Ibsen and Hauptmann Used in Her Lectures.

udy by One Who Had or Heard Her Before.

rid.culous than that, for in order to know whether or not one is going to advocate assassination you must first let him speak. If you are a hall keeper, you can't reasonably refuse to let a speaker have your hall to advocate 'criminal Anarchy,' because you can't tell whether he is advocating it or not until after you have heard him speak.

"At any rate, I had not talked more than five minutes before Rafsky came up to me and told me that the proprietor of the hall down-stairs want us to talk no longer. I replied that I did not the proprietor was entitled to the use of the hall, because I had paid for it. Rafsky went out and came back with some policeman from Headquarters, and cleared the hall in five minutes. The audience didn't want to go—it was not a Jewish audience, but an American audience, and knew its rights. It had to, though. I expected an arrest, and remained on the platform after the audience went out, but they didn't arrest me." She said that in a matter-of-fact sort of way, as though an arrest for talking about Ibsen were an every-day matter with her. It isn't, though. She has only been imprisoned once in America, though the popular impression is that prison fare is her daily bread. She served time in 1893, but that was the only occasion.

It is difficult to give an idea of the impression made by hearing an intelligent, ladylike, womanly woman of Emma Goldman's sort talk in such a tranquil way about arrest and imprisonment, as if it were an ordinary and expected incident of daily life. It is just about as it would be if some lady of your acquaintance started that topic at a progressive euchre party.

\+ \+ \+

"Did you ever advocate violence?" she was asked.

"No," she said, but in the same matter-of-fact way—no one can doubt that if Emma Goldman advocated violence she would announce it and accept the responsibility for it, for there is not an atom of sham in her make-up. "One of the first lectures I delivered was on 'The Psychology of Violence,' because I wanted to show that acts of violence had very little to do with any philosophy of life."

Just imagine Rafsky hearing that sentence and trying to figure out what it meant. Why, he'd arrest her in a minute.

"I wanted to show," she went on, "that such acts proceed from several conditions. First, of course, is the psychology of the individual himself, as shown, for instance, in abnormal sensitiveness to a great wrong. Secondly, there is the great pressure, economic or social, and thirdly—which I consider the most important factor—the feeling resulting from the bitter opposition which every new idea meets."

"But is Anarchism, as you teach it, a thing which has to do with violence?" she was asked.

"Violence," Miss Goldman said, "has nothing whatever to do with the philosophy of Anarchism."

And she went on to illustrate, to say that if a man threw a bomb because he believed in prohibition, or civil service reform, or the Emmanuel movement, it would not be charged against the principle that the man believed in; but that every time a man who happened to believe in Anarchism threw a bomb or fired a pistol, that was charged up against the thing he happened to believe in. Lots of us think that Anarchism means murder. To Miss Goldman Anarchism is a philosophy, and bomb throwing is just such an incident as might happen to any doctrine, from Methodism to the Kneipp cure anyway, it has nothing to do with the doctrine.

"What did you serve time for?" Miss Goldman was asked.

"I'm quoting Cardinal Manning," she said, adapting. "He said, 'Necessity knows no law, and I obeyed it.'"

"I have read," said the inquirer, "that after you were closed up at Lexington Hall you were allowed to speak at the Sunrise Club without being arrested. Did you moderate your views at all?"

Miss Goldman smiled gently. "No," she said, "and I don't moderate them anywhere. I try to show everywhere that Anarchism does not stand for what it is supposed to represent—assassination, violence, murder; that Anarchism is really a world concept that is closely related to every aspiration toward a better world since the beginning of time.

\+ \+ \+

"But I have never advocated assassination in the whole course of my career. I did say once that wherever despotism is flagrant violence is the inevitable result. I take that view to-day, and neither do I condemn the men who commit such deeds. I have never condemned, and I never intend to condemn, a man who commits a crime of violence. The reason is that if organized society does not recognise the individual the individual will and must feel himself an alien to society and will therefore retaliate."

"If you do not preach violence, how do you account for the activity of the police against you?"

"Because the police are very ignorant and don't understand what they hear. Personally, though, I believe the yellow journals are more responsible than the police. They have surrounded my name with such a cloud of falsehood that you can hardly blame a not over-educated policeman for thinking Emma Goldman is a very dangerous person."

"Did you ever know Czolgosz, the murderer of President McKinley?" she was asked.

"I met him twice," she said, with a straight look that had nothing behind it except honesty. "I knew him just about as much as I know you, and that's all. I never knew who he was until after the death of McKinley. The first time I saw him was at a meeting in Cleveland—I didn't know his name then. I had just finished my lecture and he came up and asked me if I had any literature to distribute.

"I said I did and pointed out to him the place where radical pamphlets were being sold. The second time I saw Czolgosz was when I was going to the Rock Island station on July 12, just before McKinley was shot. Czolgosz rang the bell just as I was getting ready to start, and I came to the door and asked what he wanted. He said he wanted to meet some of the radical leaders and I said: 'I am going to the station now, and if you will come along I will talk to you on the way.'

"So we walked along. I didn't ask him his name, and I never knew who he was until, a couple of months later, I saw his picture in the papers as the slayer of President McKinley."

"If your acquaintance was so short, how did you know him by a casual newspaper picture?"

"Czolgosz," said Miss Goldman, "had a very remarkable face. Having once seen him you could not forget him. You must have remarked that yourself, by seeing his picture in the papers—didn't you?"

Emma Goldman is not a beautiful woman. She is, however, one of those rather rare women with whom a certain brilliancy of the intellect takes the place of mere prettiness. That is to say, her face is so attractive and charming that it produces all the effect of beauty. Her features are regular, and her eyes, which are large and fine, have the curious combination of brilliancy and softness—rare, that, in eyes of blue and gray; and Miss Goldman's eyes have both those colors, according as she changes from one emotion to another.

But she would not like to have her looks made the subject of even a paragraph in a newspaper article; she is too much of an advocate to let the sex question enter in for a moment. To call her "pretty"—though she really is a woman of charm—would be as much out of place as it would be to call Daniel Webster handsome, instead of intellectual or brilliant. It is hard to avoid such a characterization in speaking of a woman.

But then Emma Goldman is not a woman. She is a force.



Emma Goldman.

The Ultimate Consumer

BY McLANDBURGH WILSON.

MANUFACTURERS in legions
Hold the legislative ear,
Farmers, packers, and importers
Raise their voices loud and clear,
But despite most careful searching
In which every one concurred
Mr. Ultimate Consumer
Never has been seen or heard.

When importers shall have vanished,
Man the years have died,
One Last Man shall be remaining,
On the fading ginbe astride.
He will show himself surviving
Tariff, government, and laws—
'Twill be Ultimate Consumer,
But too late to help his cause.

Good Advice.

ALL things come to he who waits,
If he waits in a place that he meets
But never wait for an uptown car
On the downtown side of the street

628

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

840514059

The Emma Goldman Papers

Our Friends, the Enemy / Emma Goldman. — pp. 110-111 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 4, no. 4 (June 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

OUR FRIENDS, THE ENEMY

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

SUPPRESSION of Anarchist meetings and clubbing of their audiences have become such an ordinary affair, one hates to waste space in writing about it.

After all, what are the police for, if not to suppress the Anarchists? No one attacks the machinery of government, the corruption of politics, the brutality of the police, the sham of our existing society, so persistently as do the Anarchists. Therefore they must be silenced. Therefore they must be suppressed.

Realizing this, I should have not the least objection to the attitude of those in power towards myself and my comrades. What I do object to is the contemptible, cowardly, sneaking methods they employ.

Within the last month, the police of New Haven, Brooklyn, Yonkers, East Orange, and New York have suppressed eleven meetings that I was to address. Was it done openly? No. Detectives sneaked behind the hall owners, bullying and threatening them with arrest and ruin, until they had to yield. That is the curse of this country. Everyone imagines himself free and independent, and yet nearly everyone is mortally afraid of the police. It is because they know that the average officer on his beat is omnipotent. No matter in what trade, business, or profession one is engaged, the success or failure thereof will depend on the grace of the police. Therein lies the secret of the absolute indifference on the part of the general public to the daily and hourly criminality of those who are here to "protect the lives and the liberties of the people."

But, "the Constitution of the United States declares that Congress shall make no laws abridging the freedom of speech." That is all well and good for Congress, but what has that to do with the police of the United States? They have "evolved" their own laws, laws to suit their own purposes, and the most interesting thing about their laws is that they are almost always sustained in the courts, by the press, and public opinion; else how is it possible that the Chief of New Haven, assisted by a few officers, can prevent five thousand people from entering a hall? Is it that these people do not know their rights

as guaranteed by the Constitution, or is it because they have been police-ridden so long that they have lost the manhood to sustain their rights? Or how are we to explain the 275 American citizens dining at the Sunrise Club in New York City under police surveillance, without the slightest protest? Did they, too, not know their rights?

I am being assured that most people approve of the suppression of Anarchists, or of myself, because their minds have been poisoned by gross misrepresentation of Anarchy. Possibly; but in that case there is even less excuse for their slavish submission, since the interference with the right of expression means also the interference with the right of hearing or listening to anything that might dispel misrepresentation. In short, it is impossible to get away from the fact that the authorities of this country are so arbitrary, so outrageously brutal because they rely on the ignorance and cowardice of the people.

Fortunately, I have learned long ago that the ultimate success of a truth depends not on the many, but on the perseverance and earnestness of the few. Too bad that the police never learn anything; else they would know that their action during the last month tends only to strengthen the zeal, devotion, and faith in a great cause. This, too, they would know: that while they have suppressed eleven meetings, thereby causing MOTHER EARTH a great material loss, they have planted the seed of discontent and hatred in many hearts. Already there exists great bitterness among those who feel, and great opposition among those who think. As to myself, I hate to hurt the sensibilities of my friends, the police; but they might as well attempt to direct the course of the stars as to direct the course of my life's work. They can not do it; at least not while I live.

* * *

A VISIT TO YONKERS

By H. KELLY.

AS the immortal bard said, "Circumstances make compromizers of us all." Such were the thoughts that circulated through my brain as I wended my way to the village—nay, town, of Yonkers a few days ago. My good friend Emma Goldman felt the divine call to

629

900615039

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Talks in Barn / Emma Goldman. — pp. 9-12 ; 21 cm. *In* The Suppression of Free Speech in New York and in New Jersey... —[(June 1909)].

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Heiner Becker's private collections.

[The following story is quoted verbatim from the only newspaper published in East Orange. The picture of the Police Force, used as a frontispiece in this pamphlet, was photographed expressly for the East Orange Record and printed in the issue of May 29th on the front page of the paper alongside the article which follows.]

While residents in the vicinity of Main and Walnut streets are trembling for fear that that section of the city will be blown up by dynamite bombs on the evening of June 8, the night set for the invasion of East Orange according to the newspapers by Emma Goldman, alleged Anarchist; Alexander Berkman, and an army of "Reds" from Paterson, Newark and New York, THE RECORD has it on reliable authority that the Goldman lecture will not take place at all, and that all the excitement and newspaper articles constitute nothing but a scare.

The civil authorities, however, do not take this view of the matter, and will be ready for anything that may happen. Both the city and county authorities will be on the alert. Chief Bell will personally attend the meeting, if it is held, and a force of officers will be under his command. County Prosecutor Mott has written a letter to Chief Bell, in which he says:

"If this woman violates the law, not only should she be arrested, but the proprietor of the hall where she speaks and Mr. Freeman, if he is responsible for her being there, should also be arrested and held to hail for the grand jury. I must insist that no halfway measures be adopted in regard to this woman and those associated with her. **I regard Mr. Freeman's announcement as a challenge to lawful and organized government in this country, and as the representative of the State and in this county I accept his challenge and am prepared to meet the issue, whether he and his anarchistic friends can with impunity violate the statute laws of the State of New Jersey.**

"I may or may not conclude to attend this meeting myself if it takes place, with a sufficient number of my own detectives to deal with the situation, but the duty to do this rests primarily upon you, and I request that you be present at this meeting with a sufficient force of your own men to stop her the moment she violates the law, and to arrest her and the others responsible for such violation."

An informal discussion of the proposed Goldman lecture followed the meeting of the City Council Monday night, at which it was decided to recommend to John English, proprietor of the hall in which she is scheduled to lecture June 8, to return the deposit made by her when she engaged the hall. English was told that he would be backed up by the city in any legal complications that action might precipitate and he willingly agreed to the suggestion.

"It was first planned," said Chairman Edward S. Pierson, of the council, Tuesday morning "to have the police merely keep a watch on the assemblage. **But a little talk among the officials of the city brought us to the conclusion that it was not wise even to allow the Anarchist or Anarchists in the city. We ought to back up the Federal Government and do the same as New York City did Sunday. We have made up our minds not to allow Emma Goldman even to enter the hall.**

"If English has any trouble over the matter he will be backed up by the city."

The discussion was brought about by Thomas R. Creede, president of the Playground Commission, who addressed the council as follows:

"We have all been shocked by having a desperate character brought into town and dumped at first at a harmless place, up at a pink tea party at the Woman's Club.

"When a meeting held in New York, by Emma Goldman and a chaperon from this town was broken

up by the police with night sticks, the people were urged to come out to East Orange to hear the same lecture.

"We have a police department that can take care of the police end of it if you notify them to prevent the appearance of this disreputable crowd and their irresponsible chaperon. And, further, the Board of Health should examine this gentleman for his sanity.

"Why, I was ashamed of myself this morning, when several business men in the city came into my office and twitted me that these people couldn't have the lecture on the East Side in New York, but they could in East Orange."

Chairman John Lenord Merrill, of the Police Committee protested against a public discussion of the matter.

"I am opposed to airing it too much," he said, "for we are only showing our hand to these people."

It was finally decided that the council could go on record safely enough as opposed to the giving of the proposed lecture by the Anarchist, and a resolution to that effect was unanimously adopted.—East Orange Record, May 29, 1909.

EMMA GOLDMAN TALKS IN BARN.

Police Keep Her from Public Hall and Stand Beside Her in the Stable. Big Audience In and Outside the Barn. Raps the Police and Says We're Getting Russianized.

[Headlines and story are copied from New York Times, of June 9, 1909.]

Emma Goldman, although she was thwarted by the police of East Orange, N. J., under the leadership of Mayor Cardwell and a delegation of leading citizens and Police Chief Bell from speaking in English's Hall last night, had a triumph nevertheless. With a band of distinguished adherents, including Ferdinand P. Earle, she drove to the stable of Alden Freeman and there by the light of oil lamps, standing on a chair, she delivered the address on the modern drama which New York police had suppressed, and that, too, right in the most fashionable section of East Orange.

Close upon 1,000 persons must have listened to her, for the stable was so jammed with people that Chief of Police Bell was crowded right up against her chair. The yard of Mr. Freeman's place outside was black with people, and evidently there were well-known citizens among them, for in the road behind the house many automobiles were parked.

When Miss Goldman decided to give her address, "The Drama as the Strongest Disseminator of Radical Thought," she engaged English's Hall, in East Orange, and gave him $5 to seal the bargain. Then the Mayor brought pressure to bear, and Mr. English tried to withdraw. Miss Goldman wouldn't take back her $5 and said she would see about it. She said it in such a way as to put the police on their mettle.

Fifteen of them, with the chief and Mayor Cardwell, were on hand early last night in English's restaurant, to be ready for a surprise.

So when Mr. Freeman, meeting the anarchist at the station, arrived at the hall with Mr. Earle, Alexander Berkman, Leonard Abbott, Manager Reitman, and others at the same time that Miss Goldman drew up in front of it in Mr. Freeman's carriage, the place was well defended.

Miss Goldman made one sally. She pushed through the little crowd, followed by the men of her party, and advanced directly against the chests of the police force. The chief and

900615039

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Talks in Barn / Emma Goldman. — pp. 9-12 ; 21 cm. *In* The Suppression of Free Speech in New York and in New Jersey... —[(June 1909)].

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Heiner Becker's private collections.

his men stood like a stone wall. Mr. Freeman then announced that the lecture would be given in his barn, and that all were welcome. All moved thither, including the police force.

When Miss Guldman pushed into the stable, she could only find room to stand by making the people crowd closer together. There was not even an extra inch, so far as any one could see by the light of the oil lamps on the empty wagons inside and outside the stable, and hundreds crowded about the doors, scores about the windows. Then Mr. Abbott got to the chair, and read a manifesto on the constitutionality of free speech, which he said many distinguished people had signed.

Then Mr. Freeman, amid considerable applause, read by the dim oil lamplight an eulogy of Thomas Paine, who died 100 years ago yesterday, and after it introduced Emma Goldman as:

"The most conspicuous agitator for freedom of thought and speech in America—and I am glad that East Orange has this chance to observe that Miss Goldman has neither hoofs nor horns, and does not ride on a broomstick."

Loud cheers and laughter followed this, and the cheers mingled with loud whistles from without as Miss Goldman took the chair.

"As I drove here," she said in a piercing voice, "it came to me that those Russians battling for freedom could not have believed possible what happened in your town tonight. They think this country is the cradle of liberty—they do not believe such things happen here at all. But America is gradually coming to Russian conditions—she is nearing them faster all the time."

Here there came more cheers and whistles, and Miss Goldman entered on her subject, and the people without the dim-lit barn pressed forward, and Chief Bell took his place by Miss Goldman's chair.

But here the noise from without so increased that one of the audience got to his feet and said sententiously: "I for one would be very glad if the people who don't want to hear would disperse; the police are here—they might disperse them."

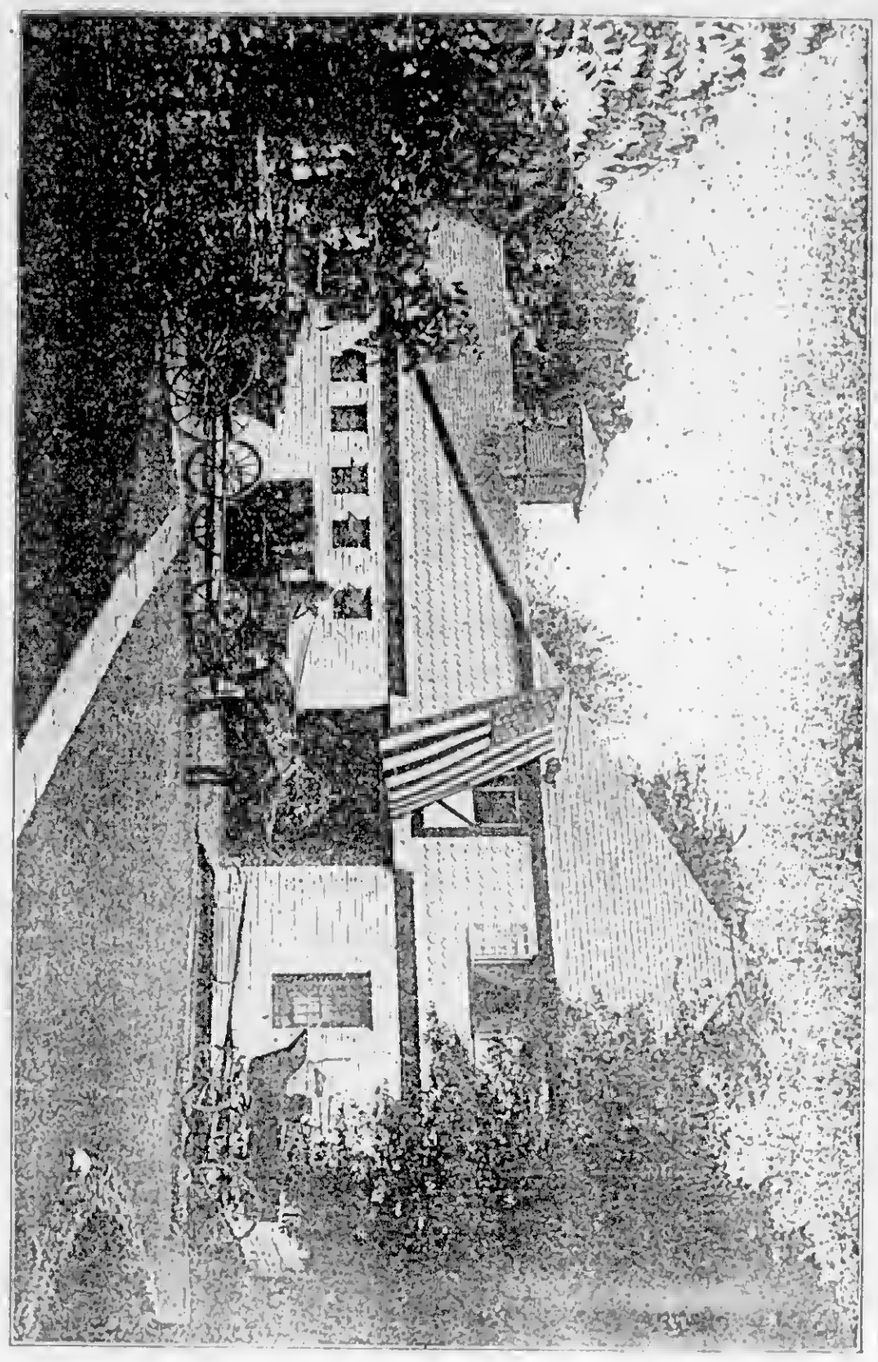
"Not the police," said Miss Goldman; "they would make more confusion in one minute than they could stop in five years." More cheers and laughter, followed by comparative silence, which enabled Miss Goldman to point out how all the most radical plays she could think of had wakened up "the sleepy brains of people" to thought. Finally she got to the development of the drama in this country.

"You have been too busy making money to do anything worth while," she said. "Yet your drama is awakening, and it will awaken thought in the workman, and once he is awakened there will be something doing"—here she looked at Chief Bell scornfully—"against all this organized force and power. This is particularly true recently. For instance, the public saw in the 'Servant in the House' a masterpiece, but yet they took it merely as a religious revival—the reincarnation of Christ. The true radical message in that play is given by Robert.

"But, so far, America's only real drama is 'The Easiest Way.' It shows the destructiveness to all truth, justice, and beauty of our economic arrangements. It shows the cruel, senseless fatalism of Laura's set, and explains how men work in the mill and the mines so that parasites and idlers can live on them."

Here some one called out: "Now, how about 'Uncle Tom's Cabin?'"

"That," cried Miss Goldman, turning to the speaker, "dealt with an issue supposed to be dead long ago. But it lives today, for only two days ago a Judge decided openly that a black had not the same feelings as a white, and could not get so much



Scene of the Paine Centenary Celebration in East Orange on June 8, 1909.

Carriage in readiness to take Miss Goldman and the other speakers to the Police Station in case either the city or county authorities had the "nerve," to carry out their threats to make arrests.

631

900615039

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Talks in Barn / Emma Goldman. – pp. 9-12 ; 21 cm. *In* The Suppression of Free Speech in New York and in New Jersey... –[(June 1909)].

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Heiner Becker's private collections.

damages when they were hurt. Ah, do not talk to me of your liberty and your independence. Now, I want to add one word"—she looked again at the chief—"we are well protected here—"

"It's 'cause we know you," put in the chief.

"Not at all," said Miss Goldman, amid laughter, "for if you knew me you'd know I can take care of myself. I am here to protect you against yourselves."

A great burst of laughter came from the crowd and more cheers.

"You may not think it," cried Miss Goldman in a shrill voice, "but I am not fond of notoriety. But if those who try, and in this case partly succeed in stopping meetings of this kind—meetings where truth is spoken—think that in any such way they will down truth and progress they are wrong, wretchedly wrong. In all ages men have tried the same methods and have failed.

"If the truth depended on Emma Goldman it would not be worth while, but it depends on justice and human liberty. I am grateful, deeply grateful, to the police and the papers for acting so they make the people think a thousand times more than I could make them."

There was this time a genuine cheer. Miss Goldman stepped down from her chair, people crowded about to shake hands, and some cried: "Give us more." Then the audience dispersed.—N. Y. Times, June 9, 1909.

A Local Account of the Meeting in the Stable.

The motley gathering in the stable, representing all classes of society, by the dim light of three kerosene lamps presented a weird spectacle. Miss Goldman stood on the end of a settee to deliver her lecture, the crowd pressing so closely about her as to give her scarcely elbow room. If anyone was afraid of Anarchists or bombs there was no evidence of it.

Throughout the evening the crowd was in a good-natured frame of mind and no effort was made to embarrass the speaker in any way. The 300 or more people in the stable were quiet and orderly but the thousand or more outside were restless because they could not see or hear the speaker. They cheered vociferously when the people in the stable applauded, although they had not the slightest idea what they were cheering about. Some of the younger element amused themselves running the carriages that had been removed from the stable about the grounds, and one carriage ran down two policemen who happened to be in the way.

Before the speaking began Mr. Freeman announced that a collection would be taken up as no admission had been charged, but Miss Goldman refused to permit this to be done.

Leonard D. Abbott, a Socialist, was the first speaker of the evening.—East Orange Record, June 21, 1909.

Mr. Abbott's Speech.

Leonard D. Abbott pointed out that the constitutional provisions safeguarding free speech were not intended for those whose ideas are popular and accepted, but that it was for the protection of dissenting thinkers, such as Miss Goldman, that free speech was provided.

Mr. Abbott said, in part:

"It would be comic, if it were not tragic, these attempts in the United States of America, in the twentieth century, in this year 1909, to suppress the right of free speech.

"Every pioneer movement, every righteous, unpopular cause has had to go through this kind of persecution. The spirit of Emma Goldman reminds me of the spirit of William Lloyd Garrison, the anti-slavery agitator. When Garrison was hemmed in by his enemies eighty years ago, he said: 'I will be as harsh as justice and as uncompromising as truth. I am in earnest. I will not equivocate. I will not excuse. I will not retreat a single inch. And I will be heard!' That is the spirit of Emma Goldman.

"I do not agree with all Emma Goldman's ideas, but I have only admiration for her ability, her integrity and the courage and perseverance with which she is prosecuting her fight all over the country."—N. Y. Evening Call, June 9, 1909.

Alden Freeman then read a paper on Thomas Paine, whose death occurred just one hundred years ago. Before referring to his notes Mr. Freeman said that his address had been examined by eminent legal counsel and pronounced proper to be read to either the "Daughters of Solomon" or the "Sons of the Queen of Sheba."

The address is given in full herewith:

THOMAS PAINE

Centenary Address by Alden Freeman

"The world is my country; to do good is my religion."—THOMAS PAINE.

One hundred years ago today there passed from life into the undying fame of assured immortality a chieftain among the Fathers of our Country, the foremost agitator of the American Revolution, Thomas Paine.

Despised as an atheist in his own lifetime, Thomas Paine has, in this centenary year of his death, received at the hands of the American people his most signal vindication. On the 4th of March was inaugurated in the city of Washington as President of the United States a man elected by the suffrages of a vast majority of all those qualified to vote among our ninety million inhabitants, who is connected with a church which is based upon the principles with which Thomas Paine began his "Age of Reason." Paine's words are worth quoting: "I believe in one God and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life. I believe in the equality of man; and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow creatures happy."

I have talked with Unitarians about this passage and they assure me that it embodies the faith of the Unitarian Church of which President Taft is a member.

But prejudice still exists against the "Stormy Petrel" of the Revolution, and it may be well to recall the services for which Thomas Paine will eventually be ranked along with Franklin and Washington, Hamilton and Jefferson, among the makers of this nation. Living the life of a scientist and pamphleteer in England, in 1774 Benjamin Franklin persuaded Paine to immigrate to America and use his pen in behalf of the colonists. The historian Botta declares that "no writer ever possessed in a higher degree the art of moving and guiding the multitude at his will." There seems to be no question that Paine was the first to advocate over his own signature the complete separation of America from Great Britain, and it is remarkable that in the same pamphlet he advocated as the first act of legislation by the new nation the abolition of negro slavery.

It was Thomas Paine who by his knowledge of chemistry taught the colonists how to make their own gunpowder and formed an association which provided the colonial armies with powder for their guns at the critical period when the supply from Europe was cut off.

On January 1st, 1776, six months

632

840514061

The Emma Goldman Papers

A New Declaration of Independence / Emma Goldman. — pp. 137-138 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 4, no. 5 (July 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

lieve that the only way to "reform" the police is to stop feeding them.

The kicking out of Bingham was, of course, the most decent official act of Mayor McClellan for many a day. But so far we have noticed no change in the manner of administration. In fact, the police followed the same old tactics in trying to prevent Emma Goldman's lecture Friday, July 2, arranged under the auspices of the Harlem Liberal Alliance. The manager of the hall was threatened in the usual way, and but for the presence of mind of a few comrades and the determination of the speaker, the lecture would not have taken place.

The only way to win free speech is—to speak, and to keep on doing so whenever free speech is threatened. No movement for free speech, properly considered, can be a temporary affair. The fight is a continual one. Only thus will we conquer. It therefore affords us great pleasure to inform our readers that all those who have become interested in the present fight for free speech consider the movement a permanent one, and are using their best efforts to interest ever wider circles and to increase the number of signatures to the Demand for Free Speech, published in our last issue. Since then the following names have been added: *New York:* Charles Edward Russell; James F. Morton, Jr.; Thomas Seltzer; Dr. E. B. Foote, Jr.; Gilbert E. Roe; Courtenay Lemon; E. C. Walker; C. P. Somerby; Leon Dabo; George Sylvester Viereck; Ex-Congressman Robert Baker; Leonard Van Nappen; Theodore Schroeder; Harry Kelly. *Chicago:* Francis Hackett; Charles T. Halliman, and Floyd Dell, of the editorial staff of the Chicago *Evening Post;* Louis F. Post, editor of the *Public;* Clarence S. Darrow; Voltairine de Cleyre, of Philadelphia; Michael Monahan, of Orange; Robert Thomas Paine, of Hoboken, and J. William Lloyd, of Westfield, N. J.; Rev. Eliot White, of Worcester, Mass; Eugene V. Debs, of Terre Haute, Ind.

A NEW DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE*

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

WHEN, in the course of human development, existing institutions prove inadequate to the needs of man, when they serve merely to enslave, rob, and oppress mankind, the people have the eternal right to rebel against, and overthrow, these institutions.

The mere fact that these forces—inimical to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—are legalized by statute laws, sanctified by divine rights, and enforced by political power, in no way justifies their continued existence.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all human beings, irrespective of race, color, or sex, are born with the equal right to share at the table of life; that to secure this right, there must be established among men economic, social, and political freedom; we hold further that government exists but to maintain special privilege and property rights; that it coerces man into submission and therefore robs him of dignity, self-respect, and life.

The history of the American kings of capital and authority is the history of repeated crimes, injustice, oppression, outrage, and abuse, all aiming at the suppression of individual liberties and the exploitation of the people. A vast country, rich enough to supply all her children with all possible comforts, and insure well-being to all, is in the hands of a few, while the nameless millions are at the mercy of ruthless wealth gatherers, unscrupulous lawmakers, and corrupt politicians. Sturdy sons of America are forced to tramp the country in a fruitless search for bread, and many of her daughters are driven into the street, while thousands of tender children are daily sacrificed on the altar of Mammon. The reign of these kings is holding mankind in slavery, perpetuating poverty and disease, maintaining crime and corruption; it is fettering the spirit of liberty, throttling the voice of justice, and degrading and oppressing humanity. It is engaged in continual war and slaughter, devastating the country and destroying the best and finest qualities of man; it nurtures superstition and ig-

* This "Declaration" was written at the request of a certain newspaper, which subsequently refused to publish it, though the article was already in composition.

633

840514061

The Emma Goldman Papers

A New Declaration of Independence / Emma Goldman. — pp. 137-138 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 4, no. 5 (July 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

norance, sows prejudice and strife, and turns the human family into a camp of Ishmaelites.

We, therefore, the liberty-loving men and women, realizing the great injustice and brutality of this state of affairs, earnestly and boldly do hereby declare, That each and every individual is and ought to be free to own himself and to enjoy the full fruit of his labor; that man is absolved from all allegiance to the kings of authority and capital; that he has, by the very fact of his being, free access to the land and all means of production, and entire liberty of disposing of the fruits of his efforts; that each and every individual has the unquestionable and unabridgeable right of free and voluntary association with other equally sovereign individuals for economic, political, social, and all other purposes, and that to achieve this end man must emancipate himself from the sacredness of property, the respect for man-made law, the fear of the Church, the cowardice of public opinion, the stupid arrogance of national, racial, religious, and sex superiority, and from the narrow puritanical conception of human life. And for the support of this Declaration, and with a firm reliance on the harmonious blending of man's social and individual tendencies, the lovers of liberty joyfully consecrate their uncompromising devotion, their energy and intelligence, their solidarity and their lives.

❦ ❦ ❦

THE MIDNIGHT LUNCH ROOM

By ELSA BARKER.

With little money one may enter here,
And yet those haggard faces watch outside
The frosty window—and the door is wide!
The clatter to my unaccustomed ear
Of dishes and hard tongues, is like a spear
Shaken within the sensitive, wounded side
Of Silence. Soiled, indifferent hands provide
Pitiful fare and cups of pallid cheer.

In my warm, fragrant home an hour ago
I wrote a poem on the peace they win
Who worship Beauty. Let me breathe it low:
What would it mean if chanted in this din?
What would it say to those out in the snow,
Who hunger, and who may not enter in?

ANARCHISM AND MALTHUS

By C. L. JAMES.

(*Continuation.*)

RICARDO'S positive dogmatism, plausible syllogizing, and coherent style, gave his writings an advantage over those of Malthus. As concerns conservatism they were equal, or rather Ricardo's superabundant acknowledgment of indebtedness to Malthus made the latter appear to the generation which did not read him more conservative than the former really was.* The Seniors, McCullochs, Benthams, Macaulays, Mills, Leckys, Martineaus, Marcels, and other orthodox exponents of Ricardo, contemporary with the Socialistic upheavals and panics between 1848 and 1871, but little aware to what purposes Marx and Proudhon were turning their instructor, deduced from Ricardo, whom they represented as the greater pupil of Malthus, notwithstanding the real difference, that labor depended for support on the wage-fund; that to lessen the wage-fund by frightening capital was to do laborers the worst of injuries; that the admitted harshness of the social state was due principally to a "natural monopoly" which government did not make and could not destroy; that artificial monopolies were, indeed, wrong and pernicious, for which reason a liberal government was preferable to a monarchy or oligarchy; but Anarchy, of course, would be the worst of anything, and Socialistic interference with the natural laws of production fostered Anarchy by promising impossibilities and causing disappointment; for which reason authority should be strictly upheld and Utopianism encouraged; above all that the only real remedies were parsimony and continence (a queer jumble, which shows how little these public instructors themselves understood the true relation of Malthusian economy to Ricardian). There was just enough

* Thus Henry George, whose premises are taken straight out of Ricardo, thinks it necessary to refute Malthus, of whose real relation to Ricardo he knew very little. Extension of cultivation is, according to Ricardo, the cause of rent. Its own cause (George supposes) is, for both Malthus and Ricardo, increase of population. To save Ricardo without adopting Malthus, George ingeniously argues that it is not increase, but concentration, of population which extends cultivation. The truth is, Malthus had not said it was either.

634

850424017

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Speaks That Piece / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(July 3, 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ING LETTERS.

Treatment of Thousands a Misconception.

The New York Times;
les F. Aked, D. D., pastor of Baptist Church of New York, rticle to The Saturday Evening 6 which leaves one gasping. A Minister's Mail; Mr. Rocke- and it is a strange revelation ttude of a minister of the Gos-

s of the letters which come to to intercede with Mr. Rocke- of the people who writs the tters began when he had been han a week. An enormous mail his church. "It was impos- carry all this stuff away," he he Trustees of my church took loaded his automobile up with brought them and me to the where I was then staying." everybody he knew in England tulations, but he was quickly e opened," he says, "about a Every one was an appeal for t not understand it until I rs which contained newspaper the secret stood revealed. A d published a string of lies to had been appointed 'almoner' Rockefeller, charged with the way his millions."

ked do with these appeals? He letters and "threw them away hat was in them and what l neither know nor care." He rocess of time the rush ended; e first fortnight, then a thou- t two or three months; since months, about 2,000, and now week. "Such letters," he says, opened"—never if he and his ess what the letters contain. rpose of this article some that consigned to the waste basket few days have been read."

appeals." Dr. Aked tells us, elic. * * * In the most reck- us way an old minister of the on evil times, appears to have ers to me and an illuminated nted to him by his church on fter twenty years of service. do not know what happened things, as I explained, were nd the poor man bewails his great map of Palestine, on w plan, is supposed to have it was delivered to my pub- tified them that they could do with it—I should not receive it ellow who sent it bombards me for its return."

s the Rev. Dr. Aked do with With the exception of a bundle which, by a fortunate acci- by his secretary and returned, notice has ever been taken of

hat it has never occurred to nt a circular explaining cour- is not an "almoner" of Mr. llions, and to send it to them he, many of whom had been wspaper article which doubtless been"

A LAYMAN.
y 1, 1909.

TAXIMETERS.

s Protest That They Are and Accurate.

EMMA GOLDMAN SPEAKS THAT PIECE

Thirty Policemen Hear Her Awful Views on the Drama in Comparative Peace.

NO RIOT AND NO ARRESTS

Some 250 Intelligent Persons Undisturbed by Her Views of Hauptmann and Ibsen.

To a crowd of 250—all that could by any possibility be jammed into the hall at 109 West 115th Street, where she was to speak, even with two people sitting on a chair and other persons standing up along the wall—Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, succeeded last night in delivering her awful speech on "The Drama."

The last time she tried to deliver it, in Lexington Hall, a Plymouth Rock conservator named Rafsky—a Headquarters detective lineally descended from John Alden—stopped her because she was disturbing the peace. She was talking about Hauptmann and Sudermann and Ibsen, and every policeman knows that "them fellers is Anarchists."

Last night Emma Goldman tried it again. She went to the hall prepared for anything from a mere arrest to a riot, and addressed the crowd with a come-one-come-all look. For Inspector Titus was on the job, and with him at least thirty policemen. Twenty of them were in plain clothes and about ten in uniform, and the man who couldn't prove that he had a right to hear the foundations of society uprooted had a hard job getting past the sleuths.

When the uprooters of society were all gathered together—and somehow all of them looked singularly like pretty intelligent folks—Emma Goldman arose to her full height, which is not much, and said that Gerhardt Hauptmann was a credit to the German stage. At that moment a tall young policeman strode rapidly down the aisle, thrust his jaw forward, and looked at Miss Goldman with a fixed and threatening gaze. Miss Goldman looked back at him defiantly and gave vent, without the least shame, to the revolutionary sentiment that Ibsen had created a new literature for the Scandinavians. The tall young policeman folded his arms and retired to the rear.

Encouraged by this, Miss Goldman went much further and said that George Bernard Shaw was a clever man. At this moment Inspector Titus, visibly agitated, sent forward several cleverly disguised young sleuths to the front row to ascertain if there was anything deadly and mysterious behind what Miss Goldman was saying. There was. She went even further in her mad career and said that "The Third Degree" was a good play. Several of Inspector Titus's sleuths went back to him and asked if an incendiary statement like that afforded sufficient warrant for arrest. The Inspector thought it over, and said no. Then Miss Goldman.

ORPHAN'S HAPPINESS BRIEF.

Adopted Child Who Never Had a Home, Finds Her New Mother Dead.

Six-year-old Faith Rose, who never had a home until she was adopted a few days ago by Mrs. Cora M. Rose of 50 Oliver Street, Newark, will probably have to return to the orphan asylum whence she was brought recently. When the little girl went to her foster mother's room on Thursday night because she was lonely she found Mrs. Rose dead. The child ran to neighbors for assistance, and the County Physician was summoned. He found that the woman had died of dropsy.

Little could be learned of Mrs. Rose by the police further than that she was a Christian Scientist, and had lived at 50 Oliver Street for about ten months. She had been ill a long time, but had refused to see a doctor.

The child will be the owner of the few possessions of her foster mother and will probably be returned to the Home for the Friendless in Newark.

GRAND JURY RAPS 'JOY RIDERS'

And Praises the Police Force Right in the Teeth of the Shake-Up.

In a presentment handed in to County Judge Dike yesterday, the Kings County Grand Jury attacked the practice of "joy riding" in the city-owned automobiles.

Calling the attention of all Commissioners and heads of departments to the new law relating to this practice, which goes into effect Sept. 1, the Grand Jury declared that even the gasoline used by these "joy riders" was owned by the city, and that to use it for such a purpose was theft.

The jury suggested that all vehicles owned by the city be plainly marked as such in letters not less than four inches in length.

The Grand Jury criticised the management of the Brooklyn Disciplinary Training School for Boys, and suggested that the Mayor and the Board of Charities investigate the institution.

OUTGOING LINERS CROWDED.

Season's Record for Kaiserin Auguste Victoria—Seven Ships Sail To-day.

The Hamburg-American Line steamship Kaiserin Auguste Victoria will sail for Hamburg to-day with the record number of cabin passengers for this season. Her total number of cabin passengers is 860 persons, of whom 560 are in the first and 300 in the second class.

The Kaiserin Auguste Victoria holds a record as a passenger carrier. In June, 1906, she left here with 875 cabin passengers, and in June of the next year she carried 844 persons in her cabin.

Every table in the Ritz-Carlton Restaurant is reserved throughout the voyage.

The transatlantic steamships sailing today and some of those booked to sail on them are:

KAISERIN AUGUSTE VICTORIA, (Hamburg)—Mr. and Mrs. John Albertson, Dr. and Mrs. E. W. Andrews, Mrs. J. P. Atkinson, Mr. and Mrs. J. M. V. Bermuth, Mrs. Charles Bradley, Mr. and Mrs. H. A. Brooks, Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Bryson, Mr. and Mrs. Sharswood Brinton, Mr. and Mrs. H. D. Caldwell, Mrs. H. Warner Crane, Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Coffin, Charles Felix Chlapowski, Dr. Joseph R. Duryee, T. A. Dykman, Mr. and Mrs. William N. Dykman, Prince and Princess Nicholas Engalitcheff, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Ebeling, Miss Ethel L. Farnsworth, Mr. and Mrs. John G. Gould, William J. Hosford, Mr. and Mrs. U. T. Hungerford, H. A. Hutchins, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hornblower, Alfred Booth, Hallgar

THE

MODJE AMONG

Her Funer St. Stan Had C

MANY CL

Count Bozen to . Pol

Helena Mo actresses of American dr ance in New in a theatre town but in h Catholic Chu St. Stanisla Helena Mod years ago sh and since t services in th in New Yor capacity or Modjeska, wa is small, seat sons, and is s the poorer P

Yesterday mass celebr actress the Polish men clusion of an Glider was t John E. Kell writers, and twenty alto almost entire and women her homage.

The bier, d lilies and tributes of and. Players front of the In through t bright spotli obscured the

Father Joh Islaus's Chu Mgr. Lavelle lish in prai Fathrr Wroi only for a quent sermo

All during in the chur the women h the cry of u ils way thro At the end, eatly inside outside stre casket was waleh was t

To-day C Mme. Modje remains of Augusta Vic still another brated. Th affairs in C their home died, and again.

LAMP UP

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

850424017

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Speaks That Piece / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(July 3, 1909).

Obtained from the University of Califo.nia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

er twenty years of service.
o n.t know what happened
things as I explained, were
the poor man bewails his
feat nap of Palestine, on
plan, is supposed to have
It was delivered to my pub-
fied them that they could do
th it—t should not receive it
w who sent it bombarda me
or its return."
the Rev. Dr. Aked do with
th the exception of a bundle
hich, " by a fortunate acci-
y his secretary and returned,
other has ever been taken of

at it has never occurred to
a circular explaining cour-
not an "almoner" of Mr.
ns, and to send it to those
many of whom had been
aper article which doubtless
n." A LAYMAN.
, 1909.

TAXIMETERS.

Protest That They Are nd Accurate.

he New York Times:
HE TIMES seeks to be fair
torial expression. On that
It for granted that part of
-day's issue has been made
ion or without a full knowl-
Under the title "The Taxi-
the taxicabs are harmless.
machines are most repre-
the closest inspection."
device for registering dis-
nk compensation in a pas-
protection of the passenger.
on the cabs of the New
on Company is carefully
d before it is put into prac-
d then is subject to con-
. Every possible precau-
ploy honest chauffeurs, so
factors a "reprehensible"
arily be a dishonest meter
that does it a party to a
think you intend to convey
So far as this company is
to say most positively and
arnestness that the meters
are known to be accurate
spection at any time. We
e inspection and we ask
nd the investigation.
RICHARD W. MEADE.
k Transportation Company.

e New York Times:
published to-day you init-
that the taximeter instead
n for the passenger is just
manner in which the taxi-
ed in the favor of the
les has been astonishing."
ything it means that the
for the purpose of cheat-
that I hardly think you
to legally organized cor-
siness depends upon affi-
. Speaking for my own
that every possible effort
the passenger fairly. Our
and inspected constant-
ion is accurate, and no
employed who attempted
dvantage of a passenger.
TIMES will correct the
has created in making it
can seek to avoid inspec-
and if it can be shown
ter is adjusted to register
of $1,000 to any charity
name.
JOHN H. NAUGHTON.
Taximeter Cab Company.

past the sleuths.
When the uprooters of society were all gathered together—and somehow all of them looked singularly like pretty intelligent folks—Emma Goldman arose to her full height, which is not much, and said that Gerhardt Hauptmann was a credit to the German stage. At that moment a tall young policeman strode rapidly down the aisle, thrust his jaw forward, and looked at Miss Goldman with a fixed and threatening gaze. Miss Goldman looked back at him defiantly and gave vent, without the least shame, to the revolutionary sentiment that Ibsen had created a new literature for the Scandinavians. The tall young policeman folded his arms and retired to the rear.
Encouraged by this, Miss Goldman went much further and said that George Bernard Shaw was a clever man. At this moment Inspector Titus, visibly agitated, sent forward several cleverly disguised young sleuths to the front row to ascertain if there was anything deadly and mysterious behind what Miss Goldman was saying. There was. She went even further in her mad career and said that "The Third Degree" was a good play. Several of Inspector Titus's sleuths went back to him and asked if an incendiary statement like that afforded sufficient warrant for arrest. The Inspector thought it over, and said no. Then Miss Goldman, encouraged by this leniency of the authorities, plunged into far worse excesses and eulogized Eugene Walter and "The Easiest Way."
It was difficult for an audience to treat a thing like this seriously. Actually, a large force of police was out to protect the Harlem Innocents from a perfectly ordinary lecture on literature, in which there was not a sentence or a word that anybody might not have said. The police themselves seemed to feel the ridiculousness of their position. When one of the Sergeants was asked if he couldn't oblige with an arrest to relieve the monotony, he said: "Not unless you go in there and start a rough-house."
After Miss Goldman got through, Alden Freeman and a number of her sympathizers got up and talked. Meanwhile the great army of police which had assembled there to prevent anybody from saying too much about Hauptmann strolled up and down and cussed the Police Department. Everybody was too loyal to Inspector Titus to cuss him.
As to what Miss Goldman said, it was just this: That the drama rather than the novel is the true lover of thought in literature; that Hauptmann has demonstrated it in Germany, Ibsen in Scandinavia, and that while America is not doing very much we at least have Eugene Walter.
Coming away from there, an American citizen said to a policeman, "Do you do this because you like to, or because you have to?"
"G'wan!" said the cop.

$4,262,395 INHERITANCE TAXES

$777,539 Gain Over Last Year In Collections from 15 Counties.

ALBANY, July 2.—For the nine months ended June 30, State Controller Gaus reports that there was received as taxes on collateral inheritances from the fifteen counties which report directly to his office the sum of $4,262,395. The receipts from the same source for the corresponding nine months last year were $3,484,756, which shows a gain for this year's period of $777,639.
Sixty-six of the estates making returns paid a tax of $10,000 or over. Of this number, twenty-five were the estates of women. Westchester County's payments of the larger sums were entirely on women's estates. Of the taxes in excess of $10,000 forty-eight were received from New York County. Here is a list of the estates whose taxes were $10,000 and greater in New York, Kings, Westchester, and Nassau Counties.

NEW YORK COUNTY.

Mary C. Pinkney.....$300,000.00
Matilda W. Jerude.....

Victoria—Seven Ships Sail To-day.

The Hamburg-American Line steamship Kaiserin Auguste Victoria will sail for Hamburg to-day with the record number of cabin passengers for this season. Her total number of cabin passengers is 860 persons, of whom 560 are in the first and 300 in the second class.
The Kaiserin Auguste Victoria holds a record as a passenger carrier. In June, 1906, she left here with 875 cabin passengers, and in June of the next year she carried 844 persons in her cabin.
Every table in the Ritz-Carlton Restaurant is reserved throughout the voyage.
The transatlantic steamships sailing today and some of those booked to sail on them are:
KAISERIN AUGUSTE VICTORIA, (Hamburg)—Mr. and Mrs. John Albertson, Dr. and Mrs. E. W. Andrews, Mrs. J. P. Atkinson, Mr. and Mrs. J. M. V. Bermuth, Mrs. Charles Bradley, Mr. and Mrs. E. A. Brooks, Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Bryson, Mr. and Mrs. Sherwood Brioton, Mr. and Mrs. R. D. Caldwell, Mrs. H. Warner Crane, Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Coffin, Charles Felix Chlapowski, Dr. Joseph R. Duryee, T. A. Dykman, Mr. and Mrs. William N. Dykman, Prince and Princess Nicholas Engalitcheff, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Ebeling, Miss Ethel L. Farnsworth, Mr. and Mrs. John G. Gould, William J. Hosford, Mr. and Mrs. U. T. Hungerford, H. A. Hutchins, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hornblower, Alfred Booth Huttner, Prof. and Mrs. E. Kuhnemann, Mr. and Mrs. Martin W. Littleton, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Lindsay, Mrs. G. G. W. Lowrey, Mr. and Mrs. Louis C. Madeira, Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Miller, Mr. and Mrs. James E. Nichols, Mrs. Raymond C. Penfield, Mr. and Mrs. William Lathrop Rich, Mr. and Mrs. George W. Steinmetz, Mr. and Mrs. G. L. Motgenthau, J. B. Shaw, Mme. Louise Gerard-Thies, William H. Wilder, T. Chester Walbridge, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Webb, and Burgess W. Wooley.
CARONIA, (Liverpool)—The Rev. and Mrs. Charles F. Aked, Capt. and Mrs. W. Anderson, A. Sanderman Allen, Mrs. H. J. Parker, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Brewster, Mr. and Mrs. Charles S. Canfield, Mr. and Mrs. C. F. Choate, Mr. and Mrs. Charles C. Cuttle, Mrs. Daniel Chauncey, Jr., Mrs. Frederick T. De Long, Mrs. N. V. V. Franchot, Edmund H. Gillilee, Douglas Gerrard, Mr. and Mrs. James Hay, Mrs. Charles Lathrop, Mr. and Mrs. John J. Kennedy, Col. and Mrs. George S. McGraw, Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Middleton, Mrs. Robert T. Newberry, Mrs. T. J. Oakley, Capt. and Mrs. G. B. Pillsbury, Miss Elizabeth Plankinton, Mr. and Mrs. Aubrey Robinson, Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Taft, Dr. and Mrs. William Turk, and William H. Zimmers.
PHILADELPHIA, (Southampton)—Frederick H. Allen, George J. Brewer, Paul Broquet, J. W. Carpenter, Dr. and Mrs. J. C. Clark, Mrs. Louise Coleman, Mr. and Mrs. William Crooke, Charles W. Drane, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel F. Dickinson, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley W. Edwards, Dr. and Mrs. Russell Story Fowler, Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence W. Gallagher, Henry G. Gray, Mr. and Mrs. John G. Holmes, Judge Franklin C. Hoyt, Mr. and Mrs. F. W. Kalp, Henry C. Kelsey, Mrs. Charles Ludlow, Mrs. S. A. Meigeath, Mrs. Taylor Morse, H. H. Mott-Smith, Mr. and Mrs. F. R. A. Plagge, Mr. and Mrs. Charles L. Seale, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Spencer, Julian Franklin Stone, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew V. Stout, H. S. Vanderbilt, and A. Toxin Worm.
CELTIC, (Liverpool)—Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Andrews, Mr. and Mrs. J. Sinclair Armstrong, Mrs. A. L. Ashman, Mrs. William M. Bremer, Gilbert Butler, Mr. and Mrs. William Campbell, Capt. W. H. Cartwright, Mr. and Mrs. John H. Davis, Mr. and Mrs. Walter de Frece, Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey Gambrill, Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Kerr, Judge James T. Malone, William C. McCutcheon, Dr. and Mrs. E. C. Palmer, Col. and Mrs. W. H. Phelps, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Scribner, Mr. and Mrs. Charles F. Swan, Mr. and Mrs. I. R. Thomas, Charles E. Waltz, and Mr. and Mrs. Walter Emerson Woodford.
MINNETONKA, (London)—H. V. Andrews, Mrs. G. G. Bauer, Mrs. Catherine Dwight, R. V. Flanders, Prof. and Mrs. Joseph Marshall Flint, Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Gardiner, Mrs. J. Aspinwall Hodge, Mr. and Mrs. Robert J. Hoguet, Mr. and Mrs. Maximilian Morgenthau, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick E. Smith, Clarence Watson, and Capt. and Mrs. Andrew C. Zabriskie.
CHICAGO, (Havre)—Mrs. Paul Armin, Miss Nellie J. Crocker, Dr. Jane W. Carroll, George Corteyn, Prof. and Mrs. G. Fontaine, Mr. and Mrs. T. M. Gilmore, Mr. and Mrs. Franklin Hess, William Denbar Jowett, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur S. Kimball, C. W. Lasher, Prof. E. A. Lindorff, Mr. and Mrs. Lee Meriwether, the Rev. and Mrs. R. H. Van Cleve, and Mrs. E. T. Wilkinson.

and Players C
front of the al
In through the
bright spotlight
obscured the li
Father John
lslaus's Church
Mgr. Lavelle
lish in praise
Father Wrobl
only for a few
quent sermon
All during th
in the church
the women had
the cry of a c
its way throug
At the end, wh
erily inside th
outside stood
casket was ca
which was to
To-day Colu
Mme. Modjesk
remains of the
Auguste Victo
still another fu
brated. The
affairs in Cal
their home a
dled, and wi
again.

LAMP UPSE

Old Man and Neighbors—O

Two persons
barely escaped
last night when
of Mrs. Patrick
of the tenem
ninth Street.
The fire was
of a kerosene
was trimming
over the carpe
Guire fled scre
Mrs. Mary H
across the ha
McGuire, heart
her door, and
fled to the st
spread to the
Joseph A. Ll
ninth Street, w
an alarm. Ji
Avenue and J
Forty-ninth Sir
ing.
On the third
John Reese,
conscious, over
men carried hi
Joseph Weiss
who live in th
Sheppard by ca
third floor. H
over neighborin
$5,000.

WINNING

Red Flags a from Big

A parade of
other organiza
celebrate the
by Local 100, H
ers' Union, to
noon, followed
Cooper Union.
siders cheered
line of march.
The parade
the neighborhoo
the headquarte
Union. In all
line, the baker
white blouses.
carried, only t
which there w
American flags.
ers are Socialis
from playing
One feature
peurance in li
dren dressed
lnvet by a t
loaf, which r

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

840514063

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Spanish Uprising / Emma Goldman. – pp. 174-176 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 6 (Aug. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

of civilization to produce the world; and his Patriotism will not evince itself in the stolid love of self, family, city, or State, but in the sacrifice of all for humanity!

* * *

THE SPANISH UPRISING

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

WITHIN the last two weeks organized authority has been shaken to its very foundations by the revolutionary uprising in Spain.

To think that neither the influence of religion, with its power to dull the human mind, nor the army with its lead and iron methods, no longer serves as a safeguard against revolution! Moreover, the rebels, once having thrown off the bridle, know no bounds. They actually "burn churches and outrage nuns." What beasts! What brutes!

In view of the fact that these blood-curdling stories emanate from a servile and prostitute press, ever ready to malign and misrepresent the least revolt against tyranny, one will do well to carefully weigh and measure these reports. But even if they were true, if the Spanish people really burned churches and maltreated the *cuervos negros*,* what of it? Has not the Catholic Church, especially in Latin countries, driven the people to despair; has it not for centuries lived off their sweat and blood; has it not used every means to lash them into submission and rob them of their energies and manhood? Were the people of Spain to retaliate a million-fold, it would sink into insignificance compared with the countless crimes and black terror of the Catholic Church.

Politicians and vote hucksters only can maintain the lie that religion is a "private affair." Revolutionists the world over have realized long ago that religion is one of the greatest obstacles to the emancipation of mankind,—hence the strongest support of tyranny and oppression.

The most striking feature of the present uprising does not consist in what has or has not been done to churches and nuns. Much rather it is to be found in the tremendous anti-military spirit and the recognition of that most effective weapon, the General Strike.

* Black crows—popular expression of scorn for the black clergy.

While it is true that the Moroccan war—a struggle for the enrichment of a handful of speculators—has fanned the spark of popular discontent into fire, it is much more true that the anti-militarist agitation, carried on in Latin countries for years, has paved the way for the present revolt.

Militarism, like the church, is one of the strongest bulwarks of our present system. This has become particularly apparent during recent years. Governments employ armies not merely to subdue weaker nations and conquer territory, but to silence the slightest cry of discontent at home. Realizing this, the revolutionary elements in every land have inaugurated a wide-spread agitation against militarism. The present Spanish uprising—the most heroic and inspiring revolutionary event of recent years—is the direct result of those efforts.

And the General Strike?

True, a leading German Socialist not long ago declared the General Strike to be general nonsense; and when asked if the workers of the world should prevent the possible coalition of European powers against the Russian Revolution by the declaration of a General Strike, he scornfully ridiculed the suggestion. How foolish the "Sage of Berlin" must feel in face of the fact that the General Strike has since proved such a tremendous weapon in the hands of labor.

Yet another cause, no doubt, aided in preparing the Spanish uprising—the memory of Montjuich, that hell of the modern Spanish Inquisition.

Twelve years ago a bomb exploded during a religious procession at Barcelona. Immediately three hundred workingmen were arrested and tortured in the most fiendish manner: hot irons, the thumbscrew, and rack were employed to extort confessions. When, finally, the majority of the victims perished, and a cry of indignation arose all over Europe, the few survivors of the torture were released. Perchance among the participants in the present revolt are friends and relatives of those victims. This, together with the unspeakable oppression, exploitation, and forced military service suffered by the Spanish people, sufficiently explains the present revolution.

I am not optimistic enough to hope that the heroic and self-sacrificing efforts of our Spanish brothers will for-

637

840514063

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Spanish Uprising / Emma Goldman. – pp. 174-176 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 6 (Aug. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ever abolish torture and tyranny. But as a forerunner of a greater and more effective storm they are wonderfully encouraging and invigorating. Those who have the revolutionary spirit can learn from Spanish events the great power of anti-militarism and the General Strike.

❦ ❦ ❦

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF RUSSIA*

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

NEVER were the conditions of Russia so desperately bad as they are now. Neither during the depressing years of the reign of Alexander III., nor during the wild reaction of the last years of Alexander II., nor even during the mad despotism of Nicholas I., did the orgies of the defenders of autocracy reach the climax they have attained now. Even that little, that microscopically little, that had been obtained in Russia for some protection of the individual from the bureaucracy, is now wiped off from life as something unworthy, useless, harmful.

From the very first day of his accession to the throne, Nicholas II. permitted himself, in virtue of his own personal will, surreptitiously to alter the established Constitution of Finland. In his very first manifesto, issued on the day of his father's death, he ordered the words, "Grand Duke of Finland," to be taken out of the title of the Emperor of Russia. By a stroke of his pen he thus abolished the ninety-year old autonomy of a nation which peacefully followed its own development; he tore to pieces the treaties of annexation of Finland; he gave the lie to the oath taken by his father and grandfather.

His first act was to put himself above the binding laws of the country. And now, for fourteen years in succession, he patronizes those who trample under foot all the concessions that give however slight a guarantee to the individual's personal safety against the outrageous attacks of the rulers of Russia—the gangs of hooligans who find their immunity by entering the ranks of the present rulers of Russia.

Sure of the protection of Nicholas II., they have simply

* Part of a speech delivered June 25t I at the South Place In stitute, at a meeting of welcome to Vera Figner. Reprinted from the London *Freed m*

undertaken the rooting out of all the best forces of the Russian nation. Such a bacchanalia of savagery and cruelty Russia has not seen since the times of the half-mad Tsar, John IV.—also surrounded by fortune-tellers—the murderer of his own son. Thus it is that in the twentieth century Russia has again to live through that shameful page of her history.

The abolition of the old-established rights of the nationalities allied with Russia in the Caucasus and Finland; the sending of hundreds of students as soldiers to Port Arthur, as a punishment for disturbances; the surrender of the schools into the hands of the illiterate priests, church cantors, and bellringers; the bribing of the army by doubling the pay of the officers in those parts of the Empire where the state of siege was introduced; the surrender of the most vital parts of the State organization to all sorts of adventurers, like Bezobrazoff and Stoessel, provided they would grovel at the feet of "our father the Tsar" and "our mothers the Empresses"; and finally, the handing over of all the life of Russia to the adventurer Von Plehve and his secret agents, because that man had promised Nicholas II. in 1903 to maintain autocracy by secret police rule for another ten years—this is what Russia got during the first ten years of his reign from Nicholas II., whom the plunderers of Russia now call their father.

And now, after the defeat of the first efforts of the Revolution, Russia has been given up to a band of thieves, murderers, and criminals against all the moral conceptions of mankind.

The prisons are overcrowded; many of them contain three and four times more inmates than they were built for. And such an overcrowding is bound to continue, because the present rulers of Russia are prosecuting now, before their packed courts, thousands of persons, for all they have done and said during the years of relative liberty, 1905 and 1906. All that was considered then as necessary and desirable for the renovation of Russia, is prosecuted now. A book issued at that time, a meeting convoked to discuss the strike which compelled Nicholas II. to make his first concessions, a speech delivered at a meeting, or even in court by a lawyer, or in the Duma by a Deputy—all this is now prosecuted.

638

840514064

The Emma Goldman Papers

Our Fight / E[mma] G[oldman]. – pp. 187-189 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 4, no. 6 (Aug. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

by exhaustive application to every animal species and been found the clue to progress through heredity. Women have never chosen to breed food for gunpowder. They have submitted to do so only because they could not help themselves. Now there is in the bourgeois system a tendency which, by bringing liberty and hope to women, promises far more energetic restraint on propagation than the world has ever known,—a tendency which capitalists view with indifference; reactionaries, and Socialists, not infrequently, with alarm; judicious friends of humanity, with unmixed satisfaction. The wages paid directly to women in the factories first afforded to proletarian women, unprotected by settlements and other contrivances of the rich, a means to live which was not easily taken from them. True to the maxim that it is not misery but hope which works improvement, they, who till now had been well enough content not to own themselves, became refractory the moment the had something to lose. The entire modern movement for the property rights of married women, equality of pay with men for all working women, opening of all the trades to women, political equality of the sexes, easy divorce, began with employment of women as bread-winners, which came in as a necessity of the bourgeois situation. That complete emancipation of women, defect in food for gunpowder, cessation of war, the downfall of those appliances for plunder which war created, are all threatened by this movement, there can be no occasion for me to prove. Mr. Roosevelt will show you that—and afterwards gnash his teeth.

The Malthusian Theory is the fatal objection to every form of Socialism, even if called Anarchism, which encourages man to think that he can enslave women and escape the most righteous retribution of being a slave himself. It is the strongest possible argument for that kind of Socialism or Anarchism which proposes, through complete emancipation of women, to abolish the fundamental tyranny from whence all others spring.

OUR FIGHT

By E. G.

OF all the forces that help to enslave man, that of habit is the most pernicious. Not a superstition or prejudice can compare in its binding and fettering influence on human action with the power of habit.

Take, for instance, the police of New York or other cities. For years they have practiced the habit of stopping meetings, clubbing audiences, bullying speakers and hallkeepers. Had they met with any real opposition, interference might never have become a habit.

After all, the police are not interested in whatever a speaker may say; nor is their official zeal so very intense that they would go out of their way to annoy people. It is simply the habit of annoying or interference, that's all.

It is also the force of habit that will make the people submit, meekly, to police bullying.

The public has endured arbitrary, brutal treatment so long, until it has gotten quite used to it. The inevitable result is that the police invade the people's rights, suppress free speech, act brutally, because of the same reason that makes the public cringe and bow and submit; namely, the force of habit.

Sometimes, however, two habits may clash and then it will depend on the strength of either as to who shall remain the victor.

The habit of rebellion, for instance, has overcome the most deeply rooted habit of submission. True, there are not many with whom rebellion becomes a habit. Most people are inspired by the moment and then slink back into the old indifferent state. But there are a few whose very blood nurtures rebellion into a habit; and though they meet with a thousand obstacles, they will continue to rebel, even if their lives were at stake.

Such must have been the force that gave birth to the Free Speech Committee. If it were not for the habit of rebellion, the men and women who formed themselves into that fighting body could never have undertaken such a task.

First, there was the time-worn habit of the police to

639

840514064

The Emma Goldman Papers

Our Fight / E[mma] G[oldman]. – pp. 187-189 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 4, no. 6 (Aug. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

grow violently mad at the "red sounding" term of Anarchism and Emma Goldman.

Second, there was the habit of inconsistency on the part of many radicals, who stand for free speech, with a "but" dangling at free speech.

Third, the Committee realized that the interest in principles is not so great as to induce many people to part with some of their worldly goods; yet money was needed.

But, habit came along and cried, Onward. What else was there to do but heed?

On May 23rd the police habit of interference reached its culminating point in the breaking up of a literary meeting, the forcible eviction of an audience, and the impudent police declaration that Emma Goldman will never again be allowed to speak in New York.

Two months later Emma Goldman did speak in a public meeting, and what is more, not a single uniformed officer was present.

How wonderful! Nothing so very wonderful, except the clash of habits in open battle with the habit of rebellion carrying off the victory.

No doubt, the change in the police department of New York City may have had something to do with the new methods of the police. New York is too cosmopolitan and advanced a city to stand for a military régime. Bingham, while a tin soldier, was nevertheless possessed by the military spirit. What he could not suppress with iron methods, he would make impossible with lies and meanness. The new Commissioner probably has more brains, is therefore amenable to reason. At any rate, we welcome the change. But it is not that alone that has helped to disperse the cloud of despotism that made every Anarchist public utterance in New York impossible.

The credit is due chiefly to the strenuous efforts of the Free Speech Committee.

The demand for free speech, signed by a hundred public-spirited men and women and circulated all over the country, worked like magic.

The protest meeting at Cooper Union aroused a great deal of enthusiasm, while the broad-minded attitude of the Chicago *Public* and the St. Louis *Mirror* contributed towards the enlightenment of some "good" people as to

the real status of free speech. But most of all it was the unceasing energy of a few optimistic spirits who persevered in exercising "hypnotic influence" on police headquarters.

Thus it came to pass that free speech could be re-established in New York City, partially at least, and that Newark, Jersey City, and Brooklyn have also been rescued from the habit of police invasion.

All this, however, should lead no one astray. So long as free speech must go knocking at the doors of every chief or captain, it is nowhere at home and therefore never safe.

The Free Speech Committee realizes this; it is therefore determined to continue in its habit of opposition to invasion until free speech can assert itself without special privileges.

There are scores of cities in America where free speech has been thrown upon the dust-heap. The Free Speech Committee means to carry its fight into these benighted towns. Philadelphia, Providence, Worcester, Buffalo, Chicago, Indianapolis are to be treated to a dose of the rebellious habit until free speech becomes a reality.

Ours is a material world, and while the spirit is one of the greatest assets for a good fight, material aid is needed.

If the readers of MOTHER EARTH, too, have the habit of rebellion, they will feel impelled to send part of it in the form of a check to our valued Chairman, Leonard Abbott, 41 W. 25th Street, New York City.

The habit of being a target for the police is quite strong with me. I do not mind it a bit, as they are poor shots, and therefore can inflict no vital wound.

I shall therefore go right on to every place in the land and leave it only when I have established free speech as a right, and not as a privilege.

AN EXPERIENCE

By ROLAND D. SAWYER.

I WAS sitting in the Pullman diner between Buffalo and Chicago. We were going along at the clip of a mile a minute, a matter which Franklin Wentworth says is sufficient evidence that humanity can be trusted. Two well-groomed, large-bellied business men seated them-

640

840514066

The Emma Goldman Papers

Adventures in the Desert of American Liberty / Emma Goldman. — pp. 210-215 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 4, no. 7 (Sept. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ADVENTURES IN THE DESERT OF AMERICAN LIBERTY

EMMA GOLDMAN.

I DO not know whether reaction precedes a revolutionary awakening, or if it is the result thereof. Certain it is that at no time has reaction been so active in America as at the present moment. Never before were fundamental rights so trampled into the dust, nor was man so absolutely at the mercy of the reactionary forces of this country.

Yet it cannot be denied that there is a strong mental awakening, a great social unrest in every walk of life. Almost every time-worn institution and belief is undergoing a revision. Even the least developed are groping towards greater light.

One may therefore justly ask, How is it that the forces are becoming more arbitrary, that capitalism is daily growing more brazen and merciless, as proven by the McKees Rocks disclosures and many other events, and that the government of the country, down to the ordinary patrolman, is becoming more arrogant and tyrannical?

I can see no other reason for the seeming contradiction except in the fact that the general discontent and mental activity have so far failed to bring into being the spirit of revolt, without which the tide of reaction can never be hemmed.

Whatever of liberty has been gained in the past owed its existence to that spirit, to everlasting defiance of cumbersome and obnoxious forces. The radicals of this country, in particular, have so far failed to grasp this great historical truth. Thus it happens that an earnest worker for freedom in the large sense has this to say:

"I would indeed be glad to help the battle for free speech, but I am absolutely opposed to your defiant methods."

Evidently our friend does not realize that the lack of defiance, of constant, vigorous opposition to enchroachments on liberty has resulted in the present wave of autocratic measures. I am by no means a novice in experience as to how far autocracy can go.

I have been its target long enough to know. Yet I can say that not until this summer, and especially during the last four weeks, have I realized the arrogance, the brazenness, the total indifference to consequences, of American reactionaries. They are absolute, and they have been made so by the childish belief of the American people in paper guarantees. Were I to relate the struggle, the incessant battle for the simplest right, about which everybody prates though no two people agree as to its interpretation—the right of free speech, it would sound like a tale from darkest Russia, incredible in this free land. Suffice it to say that every inch of breathing space has been gained only after a defiant battle with the forces whose only logic is the club and gun.

In Providence, R. I., where the activity of the Free Speech Committee, represented by our friend Ben Reitman, had sufficiently prepared intelligent public opinion, the police had "kindly allowed" the meetings, but only after it made it impossible to charge admission, which latter furnishes the only means of carrying on our campaign. The stupidest moving picture show can obtain a license to charge admission. That we could not even take up a collection, shows the venom and utter unreasonableness of those who have the power to hold one up.

The humorous side of the situation, however, was this: The very people who came to protect the law from us broke every law of the fire, building, and health department. Our halls could barely hold 500 people, yet three times the number crowded in to hear our two lectures. O, for the wisdom of the police! Thanks to it we scored a tremendous moral victory for free speech.

In Boston, the city of "culture" (what a deadly weight traditions become), we found most halls closed to us—police intimidation. However, my strenuous colleague in misery would not desist. A hall was finally secured and one meeting set aside to celebrate the stupidity of the Boys in Blue. The city of Boston, whose every stone bears the footprints of the American champions of liberty, turned into a camping ground for professional man-killers who vied with

641

840514066

The Emma Goldman Papers

Adventures in the Desert of American Liberty / Emma Goldman. – pp. 210-215 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 7 (Sept. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

each other in stabbing liberty the quickest. Those who attended the anti-military lecture redeemed Boston; they at least were not in agreement with that cruelest of all spirits, that of militarism.

In Malden, Mass., a dismal looking town, reminding one of the puritanical sterility of papa Endicott's times, the original hall keeper showed the yellow streak. Again the search for a hall. One half-finished was found; with the aid of a few Jewish radical boys, who appropriated the "Shabbess" candles of their mothers, the darkness of Malden was somewhat relieved. The edict of the Chief was, of course, against Anarchy. But who cared?

Lynn was the *piece de resistance* in our Massachusetts experience. Not that we were spared the usual ordeal of hall hunting at the eleventh hour. No, not if the Executive Committee of the Lester Union could help it. Can there be a more disgusting spectacle than trade union officials cringing before their masters? All law-abiding citizens, mind you, sticklers for private property, too. But when it comes to break a contract with Anarchists and show the real lickspittle nature of the trade unionist, law goes smash.

Another hall was secured, filled with an interested and enthusiastic audience. Lynn deserves to become the American Lourdes. It has a miracle—a sensible Mayor. He was urged to interfere. "Why should I?" said the Mayor. "If the people want to hear Miss Goldman and she wants to talk, she is entitled to go ahead."

Worcester, Mass., once the home of a few young dreamers, myself included, turned into a battle field the moment we arrived. "Emma Goldman will not speak in Worcester under any condition," said the Chief of Police, and the Mayor echoed, "Why, no!" Contrast these two American Cossacks with the simple statement of the Lynn Mayor.

We expected difficulties in Worcester, since Comrade Berkman had been stopped from lecturing in that city last March; therefore we were ready for the enemy.

Worcester is bound to be saved. It shelters two truly staunch lovers of liberty in Comrades Eliot

White and Mabel White. I only wish some of our would-be radicals could have seen how boldly these came to the front. It might help to inspire them. Friend White is known to MOTHER EARTH readers for his brave stand when Comrade Berkman was stopped. This time Eliot White did more. He came from Sagamore Beach as soon as the alarm was sounded and placed himself at our disposal. Mabel White, detained by her youngest baby, showed her worth in the following communication:

To the EDITOR OF THE TELEGRAM:

The constitution of the United States guarantees to all the people the right of free speech. Miss Emma Goldman's opinions on many subjects are not in accord with mine, but in the courageous fight which she is making to maintain the right of freedom of speech, I deem that it behooves all of us who value our liberties as Americans, to hold up her hands.

Mayor Haussling, of Newark, wrote July 20th concerning a proposed lecture in Newark by Miss Goldman: "I have no official knowledge of anything tending to show that there will be an attempt to suppress the exercise of free speech by the speaker or by anybody else in connection with the meeting, but I can assure you that if there were any such intention on the part of any of the police authorities, it will not be carried out.

"I will not permit any interference with the rights of free speech or public assemblage while I am Mayor of this city."

If the constitutional right to speak in public should be denied Miss Goldman in Worcester, it will be a pleasure to me to open my house for her to make an address, and can only regret that I shall not be able to be there and welcome her in person.

MABEL A. WHITE.

Seabrink Cottage, Sagamore Beach, September 7.

No one can accuse me of any particular weakness for ministers. I have always found them wanting. Fortunately, Eliot White's ministry is only acquired, while his integrity is innate, therefore so much a part of him.

With the aid of the Whites and the newly organized branch of the Free Speech Committee, Anarchism was heard—not, indeed, under the stars and stripes, but under a more befitting canopy: the limitless sky, myriads of glittering stars for our electric lights, and green, fragrant trees to shield us.

I am not optimistic enough to believe that our victory will enlarge the horizon of the Worcester Chief or Mayor, but I do think that our determined effort

642

840514066

The Emma Goldman Papers

Adventures in the Desert of American Liberty / Emma Goldman. – pp. 210-215 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 4, no. 7 (Sept. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

will teach them that even arbitrary methods have their limitations.

Vermont has quite cured me of my faith in the elevating influence of nature on man. In scenic beauty, variety of color, and natural resources Vermont probably surpasses California. Yet its people are terribly behind the times in their development. I venture to suggest that many Vermonters have more than Three Acres, but their conception of liberty is far below that of some tenement house dweller. The mental caliber of the average Vermonter is fittingly portrayed in the following letter:

To the EDITOR OF THE FREE PRESS:

It is announced that Emma Goldman is to speak in the Burlington City Hall.

Free speech is guaranteed to citizens of the United States by federal and State constitutions, but no less a man than Abraham Lincoln said that there might occasions arise that would justify straining the constitution a little. There is such an occasion when a professional disturber of the public peace takes advantage of free institutions to practice her business.

Vermont has no use for Anarchy, Socialism, or Free Love, and we do not wish to hear any talk about them. We must be content to go on to social success or failure under established institutions in their orderly progress. Treasonable utterances should be energetically discouraged if they cannot be altogether prevented. In any event, the use of public buildings for their promulgation should not be permitted.

An alert and resourceful executive could find a way to dissuade this pestiferous alien hybrid from poisoning the air of Burlington with her noxious emanations. If gentle means, moral suasion, and a reasonable show of authority should not avail, public opinion would probably justify discouraging her with a club. But under no circumstances whatever should Emma Goldman be permitted to speak in the City Hall.

Yours truly, HORACE CHITTENDEN.

After all, even Nature's beauty fails where there is nothing———

Barre, Vt., has a large group of Italian Anarchists. While they are not as active as one might desire, still they give some character to the town.

Montpelier, too, has the nightcap on. The first and greatest excitement it witnessed in years was our coming there. Especially after we met our usual fate of hall refusal and were rescued by some spirited Italian Socialists to their hall, all Montpelier was on the street, trembling with fear.

Burlington verified the old proverb, "The pettiest tyrant is the slave placed in power." The Mayor of this town is by trade a blacksmith; he prides himself on that. He does not know, of course, that a trade never degrades a man, but that man can degrade his trade. The Mayor of Burlington is certainly no credit to his. At any rate, for arrogance, dense ignorance, and petty despotism he can hardly be matched. His letter to the Burlington press anent his arbitrary violation of our rights sufficiently characterizes the man:

LETTER TO THE PUBLIC.

Announcement having been made that Miss Emma Goldman, the apostle of Anarchy, would speak in City Hall Friday night, I wish to say that she will not be allowed to preach any of her un-American doctrines in any building owned by the City of Burlington; and I would also request that the proprietors of all other halls refuse to let her have them for the above-named purpose, as I believe it is about time that the American people should insist that Miss Goldman, while representing Anarchist teachings, should not be allowed to address public audiences.

Burlington, Sept. 2. JAMES E. BURKE, Mayor.

The "intelligent" Mayor went further. After another hall was secured he came down with two lackeys and delivered himself of a speech, compared with which the oratory of poor Mark Antony sinks into insignificance. "In the name of peace, of society, etc., etc., you can not speak here to-night. I will assume all responsibility." What is one to do in the face of such brazenness, especially when money is lacking and friends not on hand? We simply had to leave the battle field to the "victor," for the present anyway. Our first complete failure was not easy to bear. But as every cloud has its silver lining, we contented ourselves with the only redeeming moment in Burlington, the editorial in the *News*, containing a most splendid defence of unlimited free speech. We regret that for lack of space we cannot reproduce here the article.

Thus runs the tale of two weary wanderers in quest of the thing that everybody worships and which, like all idols, is non-existent—free speech. I am not sanguine enough to hope that we will ever establish it, under government. Still, if we were less handicapped by lack of means, we could teach the authorities that we are determined to resist every arbitrary encroachment on our rights.

643

89061 1034

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Says She Will Fight to Finish, War with Chief Matthews and His Men / Emma Goldman. — pp. 1,5 ; 43 cm. *In* The Telegram and Gazaette [Worcester, Ma.]. —(Sept. 6, 1909).

Obtained from the Worcester Public Library, Worcester, MA.

EMMA GOLDMAN SAYS SHE WILL FIGHT TO FINISH, WAR WITH CHIEF MATTHEWS AND HIS MEN

Emma Goldman, anarchist leader, a little woman who manages to keep the police surrounded by pins and needles despite her apparent lack of belligerent weapons, passed her first Sunday in Worcester in 25 years, yesterday. She had the Worcester police on the upstairs seat all day, but she attempted no demonstration whatsoever.

About her most important stunt yesterday was to get all the members of every radical society in Worcester into line, for a strenuous fight, the issue of which will be to see whether Chief of police David A. Matthews or Miss Goldman has the backing of the law, in the woman's avowed intention of addressing an audience in the heart of the commonwealth.

Miss Goldman in her work of getting in touch with Worcester radicals has for her future tour manager, Dr. Ben L. Reitman of New York.

Early yesterday forenoon, Dr. Reitman secured the services of Moses J. Segal, 29 Wilson street, secretary and organizer of the Worcester anarchists society, and who figured prominently during the visit of Alexander Berkman to Worcester, in March of last year.

Together, the two men scoured the city yesterday and last night. They got promises of support from radicals all over Worcester, many of whom called personally to pay their respects to Miss Goldman at the Bay State house, where she is stopping.

After a little conference, last night, between Dr. Reitman and leaders of the radical movements in Worcester, it was decided to have a meeting at socialist headquarters, 376 Main street, this morning at 10 o'clock. Here plans will be talked over of how best to proceed in the struggle with the police to secure Miss Goldman a platform in Worcester, from which to speak, as she wills to speak. It is likely that money will be raised for the purpose, as the radicals put it, of fighting the fight of free speech in Worcester, of hiring the services of some prominent New York attorney, and probably of bringing injunction proceedings to restrain Chief Matthews and the police force from interfering with proposals of Dr. Reitman to rent a hall for lecture purposes.

Miss Goldman's manager announced, last night, that not only will Worcester radicals [illegible] their time and money, but the free speech committee, composed of [illegible]

[illegible] police who usurp powers denied to congress and to the legislatures, will aid in the fight in Worcester, with money, and members of the committee will attend to the actual bombarding of the police stronghold in person.

Among others there will be Rev. Eliot White, with whom Miss Goldman said she and Dr. Reitman have been in close touch for some time. Rev. Mr. White was reported yesterday at Sagamore

Continued on Page Five.

Will Have L... am...

Charles J. Glidden still want... Worcester a center for balloo... sions, with one ascension or ... to establish a park for aeropl... gibles and other machines for ... air.

What stands in the way is t... to get gas of proper quality in ... ary quantity and on such t... is secured in Nashua, N. H., Boston, Rutland, Vt., and o... where balloons are sent up.

It is Mr. Glidden's desire ... large balloon to be called the ... to secure a large enough ... land for a park from which t... ascensions, and to give Wor... a chance to see their ... going along in the flying line. Worcester merchants, prof... and street railway people ... importance of this and bring ... bear so that gas can be secur... terms as will make ascensions ...

He considers Worcester bette... an aerial center than any of ... that have been selected.

Mr. Glidden came to Worceste... ter and interested prominent ... newly organized aero... but the gas question prevented ... velopments of the project.

The aeronauts of Boston wo... come to Worcester to make t... sions, as Worcester can be re... than any of the cities and ... Worcester are usually favorab...

Mr. Glidden, one of the most ...

JAMES DU... LABOR ...

For the first time in the his... ganized labor in Worcester it ... door meeting and concert in ... with the Labor day festival, ... today.

This was the happy thought ... dent Alex Moir, Anthony F... and James J. Reagon of th... tee of arrangements which ... early before the remainder of ... mittee.

When James Duncan, Quincy ... vice president of the ... F... clearing house for nearly all of ... unions of the United States, a... Poli's theater last night to add... present, that edifice was ... filled. The indoor lecture ... was in the nature of an experi... Moir said.

...TON TO GROUNDS ...S ROMANCE

...r of companions visited ... in El Paso. He saw ... the stage, and shortly ...ntance. He returned to ...en with the young girl's ...reafter the life of the ...weetness in it for him. ...o El Paso the next day, ...t again, and made her ... to him

...tence was kept up until ...n be decided he must be ...nd love, so he came East, ...aveling with her.

DR. BEN REITMAN, ANARCHIST, TALKS ON THE COMMON AND SOCIALISM IS TREATED BY REV. N. W. DEVENEAU

In spite of Chief of police D. A. Matthews and all the Worcester blue coats, anarchy had its innings at the rear of city hall, yesterday, where Dr. Ben Reitman, who is in Worcester with Emma Goldman, appeared twice, drawing a crowd quietly the first time, and seeking to speak from the steps openly afterward.

Not a policeman was in sight, and some of the things said of Chief Matthews

Thomas P. Abbott after some announcements mentioned the subject of free speech. He quoted the United States and Massachusetts state constitutions as giving the right of free speech, and said that while the socialists were far from the anarchists in their beliefs and desires, yet they also desired the preservation of free speech.

"The anarchists believe in the individual and so do the capitalists," he said. "We do not. The anarchists and capitalists are in the same class, and we do not believe in either.

"In this matter of

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890611034

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Says She Will Fight to Finish, War with Chief Matthews and His Men / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1,5 ; 43 cm. *In* The Telegram and Gazaette [Worcester, Ma.]. –(Sept. 6, 1909).

Obtained from the Worcester Public Library, Worcester, MA.

The union men who responded to their country's call did their work so well that after the war there were no guardsmen left for the meetings of the unions. I merely say this to show that the union men can be relied upon to do their duty.

"We have been attacked by the corporations and others for levoring sympathetic strikes. Did it occur to you when the United States interfered in behalf of Cuba that that was a sympathetic strike?

"It was a case of the little nation striking against the larger one, and then the United States interfering, being larger

them the two

of them together. It is a question if the Maine, which was blown up in Havana harbor, was sent over there for this purpose.

"Here I want to tell you how President Roosevelt looks upon unionism. He was one of our greatest presidents. I called upon ex-President Roosevelt, some time ago, and showed him a clipping I had in my possession, clipped from a paper published in Chicago, showing that at a convention of the citizens 'alliance, composed of manufacturers not favorable to organized labor, the toastmaster stood up and said, when he called the toast, 'Our flag,' that the year had not been a good one, because the federal government still permitted labor organizations. Before I could get any further with the clipping, Mr. Roosevelt said: 'I know all about it. I saw it. I gave some of those fellows who were there Jesse James. I was down in Cuba, as you probably know. I did some hustling there, as you also know, and so did the other soldiers.

"'When night would come, before going into our hivouac, we would look along in the trenches, and where we had been, to see if there was not someone who was injured and who was dying, or some-

one who was dead

and whose body needed burial.

"'If a man were still alive, we would ask him if he had some message to send home to some loved one. If they had, we would tell them that we would take it for them. If the man were dead, we would go into his pockets and find out his right name, for there were many who enlisted under an assumed name, but before they went into battle, they often put a letter in their pockets for someone dear to them. I was surprised, in making these examinations, to find so many union cards in the soldiers' pockets.'

"Taking up this matter of war again, I do not want to be understood as meaning that there should be no war where dishonor of the country is at stake."

The speaker alluded to the enforcement of the anti-Sherman act, which was made to bear upon the cases of the executive council of the A. F. of A., who are still under sentences.

"I believe in being a good citizen," he continued. "I try to be a good citizen. If I make a mistake, it is because I don't know any better. I believe that working people, like everybody else, should respect the laws. If there are any laws that are distasteful to them they have the remedy at hand. If they do not use tha ballot, it is nobody else's

fault but their own.

"The hobby of the Kirby class of manufacturers is to charge unions with the limitation of output. It is said that fools rush in where angels fear to tread, and that one of our greatest morals is to pull the beam out of your own eye so that you may clearly see the mote in our neighbor's eye.

"If Kirby, et al., would pull out the proverbial beam, this unwarranted charge against organized labor would be withdrawn. The trade agreement, which, until commercial conditions change, may be called the magna charta of labor, generally provides for a minimum wage rate.

"This places compensation for work performed in a position whereby the ordinary workman is paid the minimum wage rate, and the extra skilled or expert workman is paid higher according to his earning capacity. If the worker is employed by piece work he earns whet he can by the scale.

"In no sense, can the trade union or the trade agreement be charged with the limitation of output and the phrase is only a juggling of words to prejudice the public mind

against paying men

according to their earning power.

"But it is a fact that the employers often make the minimum wage rate of the trade agreement the maximum wage rate on their pay roll and because the trade agreement does not arbitrarily designate the value of the earning power of the extra skilled and the expert such an employer endeavors to pay the better skilled workman the minimum wage rate, and then complains about paying the less skilled workman the minimum rate. It is a daring and unjust system, but the injustice is not chargeable to the unions.

"The jolt which free speech has received from the federal judiciary since last Labor day, indicates more than anything that has happened in a century that eternal vigilence is the price of liberty. The remedy will be found in discussion and publicity. When decisions of the kind were not made as public as now, the unholy system could help to perpetuate itself, but in these times of free thought, free press, and almost free speech, such unwarranted decisions will not long survive.

"The federal judge in question in an interview, stated that organized labor needed a lesson. To such a mind,

evidence and argument

are wasted energy. He concludes that certain men need a lesson and the only other essential to him was opportunity, and it came his way, and it appears safe to conclude that whatever the evidence he learned the lesson.

"Has he done so? Is he more celebrated as a judge now, than before his decision curtailing free speech, or is he looked upon as a man without judicial mind and governed by passion, instead of by deliberation? Long after Justice Wright has ceased to give such decisions, freedom of speech will be recognized, and will prevail, and trade unionism will advance.

this is not enough, the claim is made that it has been taken out of his employer's pay. A laborer cannot afford to patronize one of these houses unless he has it with lodgers.'

"Great American! Was it for this the Paine-Aldrich tariff bill was passed?

"And so, after a long educational campaign, it appears that we are seeing the beginning of revenge, and a system of Place President Taft shook himself rid of tariff cobwebs in Washington, and has been enjoying the soothing sea breezes of New England, salutary thoughts have arisen in his mind, and among them is his endorsement of postal savings banks.

"Long before either of the great political parties was willing to give this subject a moment's serious thought, organized workmen had declared in favor of the system, and it is gratifying to know that the president has announced that at the earliest opportunity he will urge the passage of this law. It will be found to contain all the virtues he has claimed for it and many others."

EMMA GOLDMAN

Continued From Page One.

beach, and Miss Goldman says he has promised to come to Worcester to assist her to establish her cause.

Rev. Mr. White is a member of the free speech committee, the only one from Worcester on the list. The socialist minister came into the limelight during Berkman's visit, when he was arrested on Mechanic street, charged with creating a disturbance, when 10,000 persons were on the streets, seeking a chance to see Berkman.

According to the radicals who favor free speech and who say that Chief Matthews is overdoing the job in preventing Miss Goldman from speaking, the meeting this morning will be an important step in the biggest fight Worcester has seen in some time.

Miss Goldman declared last night that she will remain in Worcester, not so much from a desire to speak as from a desire to fight to the bitter finish a

war with the police.

She wants to measure her strength alongside that of Chief Matthews and his finest, and she says she believes she has right and justice on her side.

The chief refused point blank Saturday to permit her the use of a hall in Worcester. Then Miss Goldman and her manager decided to remain in Worcester, until Mayor James Logan returns. They said, yesterday, they will see the mayor, and will put it up to him. In case this fails, their recourse will be to the courts.

The plan now is to retain Maurice Hilquith, a New York attorney to come to Worcester and fight the case, possibly as counsel in chief. It is said that a few persons who will become interested in the struggle in Worcester are: J. G. Phelps Stokes, his wife, Rose Pastor Stokes, Charles Edward Russell, Rev. Eliot White, Eugene V. Debs, Marius de Zayas, Carl de Fornaro, Ferdinand Pinney Earle, Rev. Roland D. Sawyer of Ward hill, Clarence S. Darrow, of counsel for Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, William English Walling and his wife, Anna Strunsky Walling, and C. Erskine S. Wood, ex-state senator of Portland, Oregon.

Miss Goldman emphasizes her intention of not conducting any surreptitious meetings or lectures. She says she wants to fight in the open, and the issue she will make prominent is that of the right of free speech, she says.

The last time

the anarchist leader

and friend of Berkman's, spoke in Worcester, was Dec. 12, 1907, when she addressed a large crowd in Arcanum hall, 566 Main street, in Yiddish, on woman's part in the anarchistic system. The police were not wise to her coming then, so she was not molested, and the first inkling the police had of her visit was the account in The Telegram of her speech the next morning.

At the Bay State house last night, Miss Goldman appeared highly optimistic as to the future of her clash with the police. She characterised Chief Matthews as arbitrary and set in his ways, as not listening to reason, while Dr. Reitman referred to the head of the force, as "Czar Matthews."

Miss Goldman was indignant that the chief had refused to permit her the use of a hall. But she did not dwell on this one topic, she showed her versatile mind by devoting time to anarchism, to Worcester as her old home and changes in the city, and to numerous other themes, including a roast of the Salvation army which was conducting divine service next door.

"Why those people there must think their God is deaf, they make so much noise," she laughed. "Listen at that racket. It is enough to rouse a stone-deaf man. And that has been going on all day. It is nerve-racking

It isn't music, but noise.

And that noise is excruciating.

"Oh, say, I've been a real good Christian today. I read the newspapers, that's what all Christians do on Sundays. I read some of the current magazines, and wrote a number of letters. And oh say, I didn't even have an evil thought about the chief of police here. I am a good Christian today.

"I walked through the streets of Worcester today and I had to marvel at the wonderful growth of the city. Everything has changed. When I was here 18 years ago Worcester was little more than a village compared to the progressive city it looks today. I wish I could say as much about the intelligence of the police force. The police seem to be entrenched in the same old rut.

"They told me the city is nolicense. Why, Worcester was always nolicense. When I was here first it was nolicense. It is nolicense on this trip. I seem to be a hoodoo for liquor, as I manage to come here when it is dry.

"On Main street I inquired for the old place near Pearl street where Mr. Berk-

ON FREE

[illegible] with [illegible]

To the editor of The [illegible]

Kindly permit me [illegible] of your paper to [illegible] sense of [illegible] the [illegible] free speech.

Of late years it has [illegible] on the part of the police [illegible] to set [illegible] above [illegible] of the United States [illegible] state, in interfering free [illegible] their own [illegible]

In your city, [illegible] was suppressed and a [illegible] by [illegible] up. This [illegible] American precedent has been [illegible] another, namely, the [illegible] keepers and the [illegible] chief, that he will not allow a speaker to address a meeting [illegible].

Lest the police forget I [illegible] that "the constitution of [illegible] States shall make no law [illegible] dom of speech or the press, [illegible] of assembly."

The constitution of Massachusetts [illegible] well as any other state [illegible] seems right. How comes it [illegible] police of the city of Worcester [illegible] up above the constitution?

It is asserted that free speech [illegible] right, but not for anarchists, [illegible] not for Miss Emma Goldman, [illegible] come to lecture here.

If thet be true what guarantee [illegible] that free speech may not also be [illegible] to other schools of thought, [illegible] conflict with the views of the [illegible]

The free speech committee [illegible] the provision that congress shall [illegible] law abridging freedom of [illegible] very wise one indeed since [illegible] limit to abridging speech the [illegible] begin in that dangerous and [illegible] measure.

It is said that Miss Emma Goldman [illegible] breaks the peace with her addresses, [illegible] has just completed a tour through a [illegible] part of Massachusetts, yet that part [illegible] still intact. Boston, Lynn, Brockton, Malden, etc., have heard Miss Goldman. Is it possible that Worcester is less American, less true to the traditions of the state, that it will gag a human voice, even before it was heard?

Miss Goldman has never spoken here, save once, in German, with not an officer present. How, then, do the police know whether or not she ought to be suppressed?

True, she was suppressed in a few [illegible] but so are people suppressed in [illegible] Must we therefore revert to such [illegible] potic means? Besides, thanks to the efforts of my society and the [illegible] of some men in those towns Miss Emma Goldman has since lectured [illegible] many occasions without [illegible]

The national free speech [illegible] composed of men and women [illegible] of life, is not so much [illegible] archism or Miss Goldman, [illegible] terested in free speech, the [illegible] cherished American right. [illegible] terested in that right, [illegible] that the greatest safety for [illegible] freedom of speech, press and [illegible] Where that right has been [illegible] despotism replaced freedom, and [illegible] acts replaced the free word.

With this in view, my society will [illegible] nothing undone to save free speech from [illegible] arbitrary interference. The liberty loving citizens of Worcester willing to aid [illegible] our fight can see me at the Bay State [illegible] or address me there.

Dr. Ben L. Rietman,
Representative national free speech committee.
Worcester, Sept. 5.

FROM THE BENCH

A Judge Commends Pure Food

A judge of a Colorado Court said: "Nearly one year ago I began the use of Grape-Nuts as a food. Constant confinement indoors and the monotonous grind of office duties had so weakened and impaired my mental powers that I felt the imperative need of something which neither doctors nor food specialists seemed able to supply.

"A week's use of Grape-Nuts twice each day convinced me that some unusual and marvelous virtue was contained therein. My mental vigor returned with astonishing rapidity; brain weariness (from which I had constantly suffered) quickly disappeared clearness of thought and intellectual health and activity which I had never previously known were to me the plain results of a few months' use of this food.

"Unhesitatingly I commend Grape-Nuts as the most remarkable food preparation which science has ever produced so far as my knowledge and experience extends."

There's a reason for Grape-Nuts food is a certain and remarkable brain builder and can be relied upon. "There's a reason."

Ever read the above letter? A new one appears from time to time. They are genuine, true, and full of human interest.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

645

890611034

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Says She Will Fight to Finish, War with Chief Matthews and His Men / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1,5 ; 43 cm. *In* The Telegram and Gazaette [Worcester, Ma.]. – (Sept. 6, 1909).

Obtained from the Worcester Public Library, Worcester, MA.

viewing such decisions as among the snags used in the effort to retard its progress.

In conclusion, the first effect on the public of the Paine-Aldrich tariff bill, containing protection to the steel industry to preserve the wages of American workman, as the steel magnatee put it, is the contention at the works of the Pressed Steel Car Co., at McKees Rocks, Pa.

Thus, it does not appear that the purpose of the bill was protection to American workmen in any sense of the term. This company did not hire meny American workmen. They would not work for such low wages and under such undesirable conditions, and if the purpose of the act was intended to protect the poor foreigners employed by the company, they certainly know nothing of it. Paul Kellog recently published in The Survey some McKees Rocks statistics. For instance —

John Malinak, riveter; pay, July 10, four days, $3.50. He stated five other men working with him on same job

received same pay

for same period. Danko Lacik, riveter, paid July 10, 10 days, two nights, $6.50. The company owns 200 double houses in Schoenville. These rent for $12 a month for four rooms, well ventilated but without water in the houses. The rent may be taken out of the pay envelope of the boarding boss, and when this is not enough, the claim is made that it has been taken out of his lodger's pay. A laborer cannot afford to rent one of these houses unless he fills it with lodgers.

"Dear America! Was it for this the Payne Aldrich tariff bill was passed?"

And so, after a long educational campaign, it appears that we are soon to have a postal savings bank system. Since President Taft shook himself rid of tariff cobwebs in Washington, and has been enjoying the soothing sea breezes of New England, salutary thoughts have arisen in his mind, and among them is his endorsement of postal savings banks.

Going before either of the great political parties was willing to give this subject a moment's serious thought, organized workmen had declared in favor of the system, and it is gratifying to know that the president has announced that at the earliest opportunity he will urge the passage of this law. It will be found to contain all the virtues he has claimed for it and many others.

EMMA GOLDMAN

Continued From Page One.

man used to have his little art
This I was told had disappeared,
big Slater building stands in its
"When I came to Worcester,
to ask for no privileges. I did
to annoy anybody or to make
miserable. But if the police stand
way, there is nothing left me but to
them. Worcester is the only
Massachusetts which

has tried to stop me

from speaking. People have
about anarchists; they seem to
go around with bombs in our
pockets. I have passed through
cities, but when I go through them a
ond time, I find them still
ever. I never caught myself
bomb yet.

"This very interference of the
helps the cause. Why, it gives us
tisement we could never get in any
way. The police seem to be our
When someone the other day
mayor of Lynn if he wanted me
the use of a hall, he replied that as
as there were people in Lynn who
to hear Miss Goldman speak, and as
as Miss Goldmen had something to
about, why, he did not see he
reason to interfere unless she
law. That was the correct attitude
official to take."

With Dr. Reitman and Secretary
Miss Goldman walked up and down
and Front streets, last night, as
union station and back to the hotel,
attracted little attention, few people
ognizing the anarchist leader in the
looking woman in brown and white.

Dr. Reitman requested the reporter
night, to ask some landlord to prevail
manager the use of his hall for
Goldman. The doctor said that
Leonard D. Abbott, chairman of the
speech committee, may come to Worcester to assist in the fight on the police.

ON FREE SPEECH.

Dr. Reitman Asks Why Police Interfere With Meetings.

To the editor of The Telegram:—

Kindly permit me through the columns of your paper to acquaint the good citizens of Worcester with the purpose of the national free speech committee.

Of late years, it has become a habit on the part of the police in various cities to set themselves above the constitution of the United States and every other state, in interpreting free speech to suit their own conception.

In your city, some time ago, free speech was suppressed and a peaceable assembly broken up. This illegal and un-American precedent has been followed by another, namely, the intimidation of hall keepers and the declaration of your chief that he will not allow a certain speaker to address a meeting in Worcester.

Lest the police forget I inform them that the constitution of the United States shall make no law abridging freedom of speech or the press, or the right of assembly.

The constitution of Massachusetts as well as any other state guarantees the same right. How comes it then, that the police of the city of Worcester sets itself above the constitution.

It is asserted that free speech is all right, but not for anarchists, especially not for Miss Emma Goldman, who has come to lecture here.

Pray tell me what guarantee is there that free speech may not also be denied to the exponents of thought, should they not agree with the views of the police?

The free speech committee feels that while it is that congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech, is a mockery indeed since there is no free speech the moment we allow ourselves to become cowardly and desperate [illegible] Miss Emma Goldman, [illegible] with her addresses. She [illegible] through a large [illegible] that part is [illegible] Brockton. Miss Goldman. Is [illegible] less American [illegible] traditions of its [illegible] human voice, [illegible] never spoken here. [illegible] not an official [illegible] do the police [illegible] ought to be suppressed in a few cities, [illegible] suppressed in Russia, [illegible] revert to such despicable thanks to the efforts [illegible] and the liberty spirit [illegible] towns Miss Emma [illegible] lectured there on [illegible] without molestation.

[illegible] free speech committee, [illegible] men and women in all walks [illegible] so much interested in assuring Miss Goldman as it is in [illegible] free speech, the most dearly [illegible] American right. And it is because [illegible] that right, because it feels that the greatest safety for liberty is [illegible] of speech, press and assembly, [illegible] that right has been abridged, despotism replaced freedom, and violent [illegible] replaced the free word.

With this in view, my society will leave nothing undone to save free speech from arbitrary interference. The liberty-loving citizens of Worcester willing to aid in [illegible] fight can see me at the Bay State [illegible] there.

Dr. Ben L. Rietman,
Representative national free speech committee.

FROM THE BENCH

A Judge Commends Pure Food

[illegible] court said: [illegible] than the use [illegible] instant [illegible] monotonous had so [illegible] mental [illegible] need [illegible] doctors [illegible] able to

Nuts twice

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

646

890611040

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Nineteen Cops Hear Lecture on Anarchy / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The Telegram and Gazette [Worcester, Ma.]. –(Sept. 9, 1909).

Obtained from the Worcester Public Library, Worcester, MA.

...ing the town its annual ... a few years, hop at last ... Chance of Worcester ... Mickey" received in its ...

...was brought home ... and at once proved ... sufficient to run the ... cost to buy the ... ticket-town furniture. ... from being like for ...

... The Wage portion of ... completed this fall by ... George C. Wes... ... stone will be ...

... of Worcester paid ... ... is considered a ... ... Hubert M. ... ... was engaged ... ...

890611040

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Nineteen Cops Hear Lecture on Anarchy / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1, 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The Telegram and Gazette [Worcester, Ma.]. –(Sept. 9, 1909).

Obtained from the Worcester Public Library, Worcester, MA.

NINETEEN COPS HEAR LECTURE

Continued From Page One.

in the ear of the chief, and created great excitement around station 1. It looked the blue streak clear through, as if a band of bomb throwers had struck town. When the chief learned that the crowd had left Bartlett street, he telephoned to as many patrolmen as he could reach, telling them to hasten immediately to the home of Rev. Eliot White.

The detachment on the lawn was mixed a bit. There were three detectives from the inspectors' department, Lieut. George H. Hill and four gumshoe men from the liquor squad and Sergt. E. C. Fitzpatrick and 10 patrolmen in uniform from among the finest.

The crowd was assembled compactly in the yard, being gathered about the box which Miss Goldman had mounted. The helmets of the cops gleamed here and there in the dim light, but no damage was done by the crowd, save to the grass, so there was nothing for the cops to do.

Not only did Miss Goldman speak, but Dr. Reitman, her manager, spoke twice, as if to rub it into the opponents of Miss Goldman. Rev. Mr. White was introduced at the end, and he spoke, commending the crowd and the speakers, and started a subscription to help Miss Goldman and the free speech movement, by contributing $5.

The fact that more than 1½ hours had been consumed by speakers in public in Worcester, was looked upon as a great triumph for the denouncers of Chief Matthews in his fight with Miss Goldman. And then, to add to the importance of

their victory,

There was a conference between Dr. Reitman, Miss Goldman and half a dozen Worcester anarchists, immediately at the close of the open-air session at 10 o'clock.

People began pouring onto Front street as early as 6 o'clock last night, to get into position for the fun expected to come later when Miss Goldman or her manager might clash with the police. But the hall remained locked. Mores J. Segal, secretary of the Worcester anarchists, tried the door, and it didn't budge. In their surprise, the anarchists did not know what to make of the incident. They then sought Napoleon Huot, keeper of the hall, who is said to have declared he could not open the hall, or his license would be revoked. This was taken to mean that the chief of police had forbidden the opening of the hall to Miss Goldman.

While Miss Goldman and Rev. Mr. White moved down Front street, in order to reach the minister's home, Dr. Reitman and the other anarchists remained near Front and Bartlett streets until nearly 8 o'clock. The crowd hung around, and finally moved off, after the manager, when he came up Front street.

The procession, almost a triumphal one, for Dr. Reitman, who was in the lead, moved past Harrington corner up Main to Lincoln square, thence up Lincoln street to Catherine, and thence to the home of

Rev. Mr. White.

Along the line of march, people had been continually dropping off, while now and then new ones joined on behind and lengthened the ranks.

The lawn was reached about 8.20 o'clock. The crowd was too large to think of admitting it to the house, so the people were told to crowd onto the lawn on the east side of the house. This they did, when the police got busy and shoved them off into the street, telling them to move off or away.

"This is what you call freedom in America," came from the anarchist leader.

Then Rev. Mr. White protested to Lieut. Hill, saying the lawn belonged to him, and he wanted to invite the crowd to come in. The invitation was given, and again the small army, composed mostly of young people, overran the grass and flowers.

Miss Goldman made a request that everybody remain quiet, and when a fresh youngster said he wanted to get over where trouble would be soon starting, she immediately hushed him up with a stinging rebuke. Noticing that people were treading on the flowers, she said:—

"Be careful of the plants; they want to live just as well as you do."

Amid silence, Dr. Reitman mounted the temporary platform. He apologized that the meeting was not in Beaver hall, and he recounted the earlier incidents of the night. He said he had made no misrepresentation to Huot, the keeper, having told him the hall would be used by

Emma Goldman, the anarchist.

"I paid the money and got the hall," said the doctor. "Huot told me today I could not have the hall. He said if we had the hall, his license would be taken away. I believe he was intimidated by the police.

"This is the 20th century, friends, when we are in the midst of great discoveries, in the age of flying machines, when the north pole has been discovered. The police have tyrannically refused to allow

[illegible] have looked up Dr. [illegible] on conviction of [illegible] We have worked up our case all day and would not accept [illegible] tonight unless we had sufficient evidence to justify our action.

Dr. Fitch was previously arrested in connection with the intoxication [illegible] Miss Edith Dooley, prosecutor for the state senate, who died under [illegible] circumstances in Detroit, in April, 1907.

Two criminal prosecutions were started after the Presley tragedy and when the case against a member of the lower house of the legislature was [illegible] out of court for lack of sufficient evidence, the case against Dr. Fitch which developed upon the detaining of a [illegible] legislator, was nolle prossed.

[illegible] Goldman [illegible]

[illegible] Thomas Fenn wrote [illegible] He was not admitted. [illegible] asked was the case [illegible] age of reason, if war [illegible] Gerber, came out

in support of

that the people got hold of them. Then the city was made.

"So it is with us today. The [illegible] the ideas of this century do not [illegible] I should spread among you the [illegible] of anarchy, for they realize it would [illegible] be healthy day there if the workingmen [illegible] realized the truth of anarchistic [illegible] ideas. I guess Chief Matthews [illegible] I was going to speak to the working classes, not on the border or dynamite, I may carry, but on the message of anarchy I bring.

"The statement has been made, that I cannot speak on anarchy. Let me say that the police can keep me out of a hall, but the policeman who can stop me from speaking my mind has yet to be born."

At this point Miss Goldman paid a high tribute to Rev. Mr. White, as a brave champion of free speech, and the compliment was greeted with applause.

Miss Goldman then said it was not her intention to roast the police; that they acted according to their impulses and not according to reason or logic. She said she came to Worcester to speak on "Anarchism" and what it stands for. She then asked the question "What is anarchism?" and answered, it as follows:

"The police say that anarchism stands for bomb throwing; for throwing of dynamite.

"The people, some of them, believe the same thing, for they never heard any differently. The truth is that anarchism stands for destruction, not of the individual, but of the institutions of society that oppose human progress. We must develop the individual and also the collectivity to attain

the ideal of anarchism.

"Every individual is urged ahead by the social instinct. Without that individual development would be impossible. Institutions in society today separate a man from his fellows, institutions make it possible for one man to slay 1000 human souls in order to gain his ends. Institutions antagonize the individual and the social instinct; anarchism tends to harmonize the individual and the social instinct.

"Of the institutions there is one, capitalism, or the dominion of things, the power of the few to own the earth and to exclude the majority of men from the enjoyment of their rightful share of the fruits of the earth. Capitalism makes slaves, grinds man down until he becomes a mere machine. There capitalism robs a man of the most fundamental and important constituent of human existence.

"Capitalism must be done away with sooner or later. Capitalism must be destroyed, whether the capitalists like it or not.

"Beside capitalism there is another institution that stands in the way of human progress. This is government, which blocks the development of the race along the proper lines. You claim to have a free government in America, and yet you are little better than the poor people in Russia fighting for their liberty. American liberty is rather farcical, as you see by tonight's happenings.

"You can no more say what you think here in America than the people of Russia can. Your

freedom is flimsy

as the firecrackers you shoot off on the Fourth of July.

"The government does not make you good. It does not prevent crime. It does not harmonize human interests. You laboring men, the government does not help you; it is always on the side of those who can pay for it. The government fosters crime. Today America is spending millions to care for criminals behind the bars, not to mention the vast number of criminals today walking the streets of Worcester. For you know there are criminals who don't get behind the bars; the man who steals a big sum is known as a gentleman; he can become your highest official in the government; only the poor fellow who steals the mite is known as a thief. This is your government.

"Let me tell you that the prisons are overfull. These institutions of capitalism and government make people commit crimes; anarchism insists that prison and courts cannot deal with crime.

"Anarchism, my friends, looks forward to the time when we shall understand human beings and shall be bonded together in a greater brotherhood.

"In order to keep crime down, we are forced to maintain an intricate and expensive machinery of government. This is useless and gives employment to men who never earned an honest cent in their lives.

"You workingmen are carrying a whole lazy class on your backs, and it is about time you awoke to the fact.

Your burden is a big one.

It is the weight of this burden that robs you of your strength, what little you have, and prevents your getting your just share of the world's goods.

"Law teaches, not that men should not kill. The law teaches you only how to kill. How to kill on the battlefields, how to kill in the name of your country, in the name of religion, or capitalism. Governments clash. Two thieves get together for a scrap. The thieves, too cowardly to fight their own battles, pull you in to fight their battles for them. You get wounded and mayhap killed, while the thieves laugh at you.

"What is patriotism? You go to war and fight for your country, under the guise of patriotism, you deprive another human being of his life. You kill, for a hollow sham's sake.

"The law protects crime in the name of

WORKING HARD.

Second Regiment Men Try For Places on Rifle Team.

Worcester 2d regiment officers and members of 2d regiment companies are working hard for places on the 2d regimental rifle team. These are the best records made by 2d regiment men at the rifle range this week, for qualifications and for places on the team:—

Lieut. Delevan R. Nichols, battalion adjutant—200 yards 39, 600 yards 36, 800 yards 41, 1000 yards 30, rapid fire 30.

Capt. Edwin G. Barrett, City guards—200 yards 40, 600 yards 35, 800 yards 42, 1000 yards 11, rapid fire 36.

Corp. H. G. Spring, City guards—200 yards 37, 600 yards 19, 800 yards 7, 1000 yards 22, rapid fire 21.

First Sergt. Roland Johnson, Light infantry—200 yards 42, 600 yards 37, 800 yards 37, 1000 yards 14, rapid fire 18.

Sergt. Roland Olmsted, Light infantry—200 yards 40, 600 yards 32.

Corp. H. R. Hodge, Light infantry—200 yards 41, 600 yards 45, 800 yards 38, rapid fire 35.

Priv. W. J. Millward, Light infantry—200 yards 44, 600 yards 38, 800 yards 49, 1000 yards 30, rapid fire 26.

Corp. H. L. Scarles, Light infantry—200 yards 42, 600 yards 42, 800 yards 42, 1000 yards 26, rapid fire 24.

Priv. F. L. Fisher, Light infantry—200 yards 37, 600 yards 24.

The men will have another tryout for the regimental team Saturday.

Beside work for positions on the regimental team, which have been closed to Worcester for years, on account of no rifle range, the men are working in all companies to qualify, and to make the company teams for the regimental competition which comes next month.

WIRES OVER STREET SNAP.

Cause Blockade in Trolley System While Repairs Are Made.

Two breaks occurred simultaneously in trolley wires over Main street at 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon, one at Foster street and one in front of 415 Main street. The loose ends of the wire dangled into the street, where pedestrians were crossing, and nearly struck two women at Foster street, who were underneath when it broke.

Traffic was stopped for 10 minutes, until the overhead repair gang from Market street carbarn arrived and tied up the loose ends. After that, traffic was resumed and cars were able to pass under the broken wire, by connecting the trolley pole to the wire on the northbound track. The breaks were repaired at 5.30 o'clock and traffic resumed without interfarance.

Extra car 371, bound for the fair grounds, split a switch at Chadwick square at 3 o'clock, the rear trucks swinging over into the tracks for southbound cars. The rear of the running board on the right side was broken and traffic delayed 20 minutes, until the car was replaced on the rails. No one was hurt.

Many cars going to the fair and returning were held up, cars extending back to the fair grounds, and back toward the city 200 yards.

A Boynton-street car, at 2.45 o'clock, yesterday afternoon, broke its trolley pole on Highland street near Elm park, stopping traffic on the line for a half-hour.

FIRST RALLY TONIGHT.

Dr. Garst to Have It at Fairview Society Hall.

Dr. Julius Garst, candidate for republican nomination for senator in the 1st district, will have the first rally of the campaign, tonight, at Fairview improvement society hall, 14 Grand View avenue. Dr. Garst will be the principal speaker, and will be supported by other speakers.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS OPEN.

Attendance of Children Is Close to 20,000.

Public schools opened yesterday with an attendance close to 20,000. Of this number about 18,000 are in the graded schools and 2000 in the high schools.

Will Meet Wednesday.

A battery will have its monthly meeting Wednesday, and name committee to arrange for the observance of the battery anniversary, which falls Oct. 12. It is likely that a celebration of the occasion will be postponed a few weeks. The battery had no drill last night.

[illegible] Arden until 1 o'clock, when Dr. Lyle again was called on the telephone. The most startling report of them all was then repeated to him:—

"It is said in New York that Mr. Harriman is dead."

"Those reports are not true," replied Dr. Lyle. "Mr. Harriman is better today."

His assurance [illegible] qualified

in the [illegible] of money,

however, by a visit paid to Arden house by Mrs. Mary Simonds, Mr. Harriman's sister, who lives in Cedar Valley, at the foot of the mountain.

A short time, when Mrs. Simonds was asked to confirm or deny a rumor that her brother was dying, she replied:—

"If he were dying, do you think I should be sitting quietly here at my [illegible]"

Tonight a member of the Simonds family was asked if the sister's visit indicated any change for the worse. The reply was: "No, quite the contrary."

Rev. J. Holmes McOuatters is the young rector of the Episcopal church of which Mr. Harriman is a member. As pastor of St. John's church at Arden, he has long enjoyed the confidence of the Harriman family and, by those who compare the millionaire's broad views here to a baronial estate, he is sometimes referred to as Mr. Harriman's chaplain.

Alarmed by the morning papers, Dr. McOuatters drove to Arden house about 10.30 from his home at Chester. On his way he told the newspaper men he had no first hand information from Tower hill. He passed two hours with the Harriman family, and was not seen in the valley again

until he drove home

between 4 and 5 o'clock.

Reluctant to discuss his visit, he yielded when told that an erroneous interpretation might be placed upon his call if followed by absolute silence, and asked:—

"You tell me, Dr. Lyle asserts that Mr. Harriman is better?" The signed statement was repeated to him.

"Well," he replied, "you can quote me also as saying that Mr. Harriman is better. Anything further for publication he refused.

The two oxygen tanks appeared on the platform at the Arden station late today. They were crated, but through the slats of the crates the words, "Oxygen for medical purposes," stared out in large white letters.

The station agent said the tanks were empty and had been sent down from Tower hill to be returned to the manufacturer, and lost no time in hurrying them to a locked storeroom.

Employes of the estate asserted today that Mr. Harriman's wife and his children were keeping close indoors. Although the weather has been fair.

they have not been seen

rambling about the grounds or playing tennis since the crisis of Sunday.

The 4.15 train on the Erie railroad was held up at Jersey City for 10 minutes tonight until it was boarded by two men of professional appearance, carrying leather bags like medical cases. A Harriman automobile was waiting at Arden when the express dashed through. It is believed that it must have been by mistake that it did not stop at Arden, for, as soon as it passed, the chauffeur scorched to Turner and picked up the two strangers shortly after the train left them there.

Those men would not say whether or not they were physicians. They were hurried away in the Harriman car toward Tower hill.

Mr. Harriman's friends have made no attempt to deny that during the last three days he has had other medical attendants than Dr. Lyle. One employe said today that six physicians were at the house Sunday night. It is believed the best specialists in the country are being rushed to the bedside and that some of them are always on hand.

The lines about

Arden house were drawn closer tonight than at any time since Mr. Harriman's relapse. The more attracted the attention of the financial world to this placid country estate, Charles T. Ford, superintendent of the estate, sent out word tonight that no more newspaper men would be allowed across to Dr. Lyle by either written message or telephone. He said the guard about the house had been strengthened and given peremptory orders to pass no one without his permission.

These precautions are not directed against the newspaper men so much as against a group of spies sent here by Wall street interests. Several of these sleuths mingle with the newspaper representatives this evening to learn what they knew. Though such information would be of no use in the stock exchanges on this side of the Atlantic after the closing hour, it might prove valuable in the markets abroad, which open before the New York morning papers have been read by Wall street.

It was learned on excellent authority tonight that Mr. Harriman has been in bed since Friday, too weak to be moved. A [illegible] of a multitude of unofficial reports leaves excellent evidence that he is under the constant care of a corps of physicians and nurses, and that he has a high fever which is being relieved by ice packs and alcohol baths.

It is believed

oxygen is kept

always on hand if it is not now being administered. The conclusion is that the [illegible] improvement may be freely construed as a change from a crisis to a state of grave danger. Mr. Harriman's condition is still extremely critical.

[illegible] that Mr. Harriman was operated on yesterday for a cancerous growth was denied tonight by his superintendent, Mr. Ford.

"There is not a word of truth in it," he said. "I have been about the place all day and every day, and if there had been an operation I am sure I should

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

648

890611040

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Nineteen Cops Hear Lecture on Anarchy / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1, 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The Telegram and Gazette [Worcester, Ma.]. —(Sept. 9, 1909).

Obtained from the Worcester Public Library, Worcester, MA.

man to submit the records of the money order and registered letter departments to the inspection of Mr. Gaston.

All day this authorization had been anxiously awaited by the officials gathered at Ann Arber in the hope that the post-office records would show who had been the sender of a registered letter containing a remittance of money which Miss Millman received at her home just before leaving on her ill-starred trip to Detroit three weeks ago.

Whether the investigation of the Ann Arbor postoffice records is to be pursued further tomorrow could not be learned tonight.

Chief of detectives McConnell made this statement to the assembled newspaper men.

"We have locked up Dr. George A. Fritch on suspicion of murdering Maybelle Millman. We have worked on the case all day and would not arrest him tonight unless we had sufficient evidence to justify our action."

Dr. Fritch was previously arrested in connection with the mysterious death of Miss Edith Pressley, proofreader for the state senate, who died under suspicion circumstances in Detroit, in April, 1907.

Two criminal prosecutions were started after the Pressley tragedy and when the case against a member of the lower house of the legislature was thrown out of court for lack of sufficient evidence, the case against Dr. Fritch which depended much upon the obtaining of a conviction of the legislator, was nolle prossed.

NINETEEN COPS HEAR LECTURE

Continued From Page One.

In the ear of the chief, and created great excitement around station 1. It looked tha blue streak clear through, as if a band of bomb throwers had struck town. When the chief learned that the crowd had left Bartlett street, he telephoned to as many patrolmen as he could reach, telling them to hasten immediately to the home of Rev. Eliot White.

The detachment on the lawn was mixed a bit. There were three detectives from the inspectors' department, Lieut. George H. Hill and four gumshoe men from the liquor squad and Sergt. E. C. Fitzpatrick and 10 patrolmen in uniform from among the finest.

The crowd was assembled compactly in the yard, being gathered about the box which Miss Goldman had mounted. The helmets of the cops gleamed here and there in the dim light, but no damage was done by the crowd, save to the grass, so there was nothing for the cops to do.

Not only did Miss Goldman speak, but Dr. Reitman, her manager, spoke twice, as if to rub it into the opponents of Miss Goldman. Rev. Mr. White was introduced at the end, and he spoke, commending the crowd and the speakers, and started a subscription to help Miss Goldman and the free speech movement, by contributing $5.

The fact that more than 1½ hours had been consumed by speakers in public to Worcester, was looked upon as a great triumph for the denouncers of Chief Matthews in his fight with Miss Goldman. And then, to add to the importance of

their victory,

There was a conference between Dr. Reitman, Miss Goldman and half a dozen Worcester anarchists, immediately at the close of the open-air session at 10 o'clock.

People began pouring onto Front street as early as 6 o'clock last night, to get into position for the fun expected to come later when Miss Goldman or her manager might clash with the police. But the hall remained locked. Mores J. Segal, secretary of the Worcester anarchists, tried the door, and it didn't budge. In their surprise, the anarchists did not know what to make of the incident. They then sought Napoleon Huot, keeper of the hall, who is said to have declared he could not open the hall, or his license would be revoked. This was taken to mean that the chief of police had forbidden the opening of the hall to Miss Goldman.

While Miss Goldman and Rev. Mr. White moved down Front street, in order to reach the minister's home, Dr. Reitman and the other anarchists remained near Front and Bartlett streets until nearly 8 o'clock. The crowd hung around, and finally moved off, after the manager, when he came up Front street.

The procession, almost a triumphal one, for Dr. Reitman, who was in the lead, moved past Harrington corner up Main to Lincoln square, thence up Lincoln street to Catherine, and thence to the home of

Rev. Mr. White.

Along the line of march, people had been continually dropping off, while now and then new ones joined on behind and lengthened the ranks.

The lawn was reached about 8.20 o'clock. The crowd was too large to think of admitting it to the house, so the people were told to crowd onto the lawn on the east side of the house. This they did, when the police got busy and shoved them off into the street, telling them to move off or away.

"This is what you call freedom in America," came from the anarchist leader.

Then Rev. Mr. White protested to Lieut. Hill, saying the lawn belonged to him, and he wanted to invite the crowd to come in. The invitation was given, and again the small army, composed mostly of young people, overran the grass and flowers.

Miss Goldman made a request that everybody remain quiet, and when a fresh youngster said he wanted to get [illegible] would be soon starting, she immediately hushed him up with a stinging rebuke. Noticing that people were treading on the lowers, she said:—

"Be careful of the plants; they want to live just as well as you do."

Amid silence, Dr. Reitman mounted the temporary platform. He apologized that the meeting was not in Beaver hall, and he recounted the earlier incidents of the night. He said he had made no misrepresentation to Huot, the keeper, having told him the hall would be used by

Emma Goldman, the anarchist.

"I paid the money and got the hall," said the doctor. "Huot told me today I could not have the hall. He said if we had the hall, his license would be taken away. I believe he was intimidated by the

die to get a hall, or even speak. They are trampling underfoot the right of freedom of speech that belongs to every one of us.

"In London, Miss Goldman could speak in Trafalgar square. In New York, Toledo and Cleveland, she can lecture. While in Boston and Lynn they permitted her to speak. If the mayor or the chief here did not permit her to speak, you would never learn any more about anarchy than they know."

Then Dr. Reitman declared that Tolstoi, Kropotkin, Thoreau, Anatole France, Emerson and Herbert Spencer were anarchists. As he closed, the doctor was applauded.

Miss Goldman was given a round as she appeared. She said:—

"Friends and fellow workingmen: When Thomas Paine wrote 'The rights of man,' he was not attacked by anyone: The same was the case when he wrote 'The age of reason.' It was not until these works came out

in cheaper volumes

that the people got hold of them.' Then the stir was made.

"So it is with us today. The capitalistic class of this country do not desire that I should spread among you the teachings of anarchy, for they realize it would not be healthy for them if the working class realized the truth of anarchistic principles. I guess Chief Matthews realized I was going to speak to the working class, not on the bombs or dynamite I may carry, but on the message of anarchy I bring.

"The statement has been made that I cannot speak on anarchy. Let me say that the police can keep me out of a hall, but the policeman who can stop me from speaking my mind has yet to be born."

At this point Miss Goldman paid a high tribute to Rev. Mr. White, as a brave champion of free speech, and the compliment was greeted with applause.

Miss Goldman then said it was not her intention to roast the police; that they acted according to their impulses and not according to reason or logic. She said she came to Worcester to speak on "Anarchism" and what it stands for. She then asked the question "What is anarchism?" and answered, it as follows:

"The police say that anarchism stands for bomb throwing; for throwing of dynamite.

"The people, some of them, believe the same thing, for they never heard any differently. The truth is that anarchism stands for destruction, not of the individual, but of the institutions of society that oppose human progress. We must develop the individual and also the collectivity to attain

the ideal of anarchism.

"Every individual is urged ahead by the social instinct. Without that individual development would be impossible. Institutions in society today separate a man from his fellows. Institutions make it possible for one man to slay 1000 human souls in order to gain his ends. Institutions antagonize the individual and the social instinct; anarchism tends to harmonize the individual and the social instinct.

"Of the institutions there is one, capitalism, or the dominion of things, the power of the few to own the earth and to exclude the majority of men from the enjoyment of their rightful share of the fruits of the earth. Capitalism makes slaves, grinds man down until he becomes a mere machine, there capitalism robs a man of the most fundamental and important constituent of human existence.

"Capitalism must be done away with sooner or later. Capitalism must be destroyed, whether the capitalists like it or not.

"Beside capitalism there is another institution that stands in the way of human progress. This is government, which blocks the development of the race along the proper lines. You claim to have a free government in America, and yet you are little better than the poor people in Russia fighting for their liberty. American liberty is rather farcical, as you see by tonight's happenings.

"You can no more say what you think here in America than the people of Russia can. Your

freedom is flimsy

as the firecrackers you shoot off on the Fourth of July.

"The government does not make you good. It does not prevent crime. It does not harmonize human interests. You laboring men, the government does not help you; it is always on the side of those who can pay for it. The government fosters crime. Today America is spending millions to care for criminals behind the bars, not to mention the vast number of criminals today walking the streets of Worcester. For you know there are criminals who don't get behind the bars; the man who steals a big sum is known as a gentleman; he can become your highest official in the government; only the poor fellow who steals the mite is known as a thief. This is your government.

"Let me tell you that the prisons are overfull. These institutions of capitalism and government make people commit crimes; anarchism insists that prison and courts cannot deal with crime.

"Anarchism, my friends, looks forward to the time when we shall understand human beings and shall be bonded together in a greater brotherhood.

"In order to keep crime down, we are forced to maintain an intricate and expensive machinery of government. This is useless and gives employment to men who never earned an honest cent in their lives.

"You workingmen are carrying a whole lazy class on your backs, and it is about time you awoke to the fact.

Your burden is a big one.

It is the weight of this burden that robs you of your strength, what little you have, and prevents your getting your just share of the world's goods.

"Law teaches, not that men should not kill. The law teaches you only how to kill. How to kill on the battlefields, how to kill in the name of your country, in the name of religion, or capitalism. Governments clash. Two thieves get together for a scrap. The thieves, too cowardly to fight their own battles, pull you in to fight their battles for them; you get wounded and mayhap killed, while the thieves laugh at you.

the law. In this [illegible] And yet you, [illegible] are guilty of these murders are present to you.

"Anarchism is absolutely opposed to government, not because it wants to do away with [illegible] but rather [illegible] because it would destroy [illegible] that are harmful.

"The government has become a sort of moral crutch. It serves the same purpose Christ does to some; because we plead for them, they think they have the right to go ahead and commit all the sins in the category.

"Anarchism is the theory of

human development,

it is the theory of human harmony. It makes no difference what race you are, you are the same under anarchism. Government tries to separate the races; government divides the world into supposed spheres; each surrounded by a wall, and behind which are ministers and policemen armed who try to choke something down your throat, or to suffocate your ideas. Therefore, I say that anarchism is entirely different from what you have been led to believe.

"The most important issue I propose is this: You have been told I propagate violence. You always believe what you are told, without investigation. I am here to tell you I defy anyone, mayor or chief of police to show me in all anarchistic literature one line that advocates violence.

"It is quite true some anarchists have used violence, but the same can be said of the republicans or the democrats."

Here a voice called out that "in Worcester the democrats are pretty weak," which sally was greeted with laughter.

"Anarchists who have committed acts of violence do so, not because of any precepts of anarchism, but because of the system you support which leads to violence. Are you opposed to violence? Do you believe in prize fights? Do you believe in war, or soldiery, or in police uniforms? Then you believe very much indeed in force.

"Blame Chief Matthews and your mayor for acts of violence, for they are to blame.

"We intend to bring anarchy about

by means of an intellectual revolution. We are preaching revolution, and intellectual revolution. I shall continue my work until my life gives out. Let the government take care of itself. It is the battle between reason and ignorance, and ignorance must give way to reason."

As Miss Goldman ceased, she was greeted with great applause. Dr. Reitman then took the platform again, and announced that books and anarchistic literature in general would be placed on sale after the session was over.

He then introduced Rev. Mr. White, remarking that the next time "Matthews will think twice before shutting anybody up."

Rev. Mr. White shook hands with Miss Goldman, accounting it a pleasure to do so. He expressed himself as pleased with her lecture. He said he thought the crowd ran from 350 to 400 persons. As a starter he chipped in $5 for the cause of free speech and to assist Miss Goldman.

"I do not blush for Worcester," he said, "but I do blush for some of the people in Worcester. I have learned lots that surprises me about some Worcester people, lately.

"I want to thank Lieut. Hill for coming here and protecting us. The crowd has been orderly, and not at all

a gang of hoodlums."

Rev. Mr. White's sally about the police protection was greeted with sarcastic jeers aimed at the police.

The meeting was then declared over, and the crowd walked off the lawn quietly. Miss Goldman and Dr. Reitman took their stands in front, where they sold anarchistic literature under the eyes of 19 members of the police force.

About 10.05 o'clock, the sale finished, and Rev. Mr. White invited Miss Goldman and Dr. Reitmen inside. Miss Goldman then announced that she would be glad to have a quiet little conference with any members of the Italian-speaking anarchists in the crowd. Four stepped forth to the porch, along with Secretary Mores J. Segan.

The police then cleared away, and the crowd disappeared.

The comment of all the free speech enthusiasts was that "'Twas a famous victory."

From the inspectors were: Romanso Thayer, James J. Casey and Fred P. Good; from the liquor squad, Lieut. Hill, Robert T. Hardy, Frank K. Blair, Herbert W. Merrill and Edward J. McCarthy; from the ranks, Sergt. E. C. Fitzpatrick and 10 patrolmen. Some of the blue coats had been hurried from far off beats by the chief, in the awful emergency.

COMING TO WORCESTER.

State Board of Health to Inspect State Sewage Purification.

Three members of the state board of health and Engineer X. Henry Goodnough, will come to Worcester this forenoon, and, together with the Worcester board of health, will inspect the state hospital purification system.

Beside looking over the hospital's system, the commission will inspect the Worcester sewage disposal system, and will go to Millbury along the Blackstone [illegible] The commission will report to the next legislature.

The Worcester board of health has asked City engineer Frederick A. McClure to accompany it.

Payrolls Are Made Up.

City treasurer DeWitt Clinton's office force, yesterday, put up these payrolls for city departments: Public library $225.82, public library, monthly $800.71; rifle range $98.85, Hope cemetery $350.40, parks department $559.14, reservoirs $851.47, water maintenance and construction $1913.38, street department $4079.35; total $8733.82.

Bids to Be Opened.

Bids will be opened at 12 o'clock tomorrow noon, for $135,000 city bonds, of which $50,000 is for playgrounds, $50,000 for construction of [illegible] and Harmon streets, made

CHARTS MADE.

[illegible]

MRS. ERICKSON SUES

[illegible]

GO TO SEATTLE.

C. B. Perry and A. S. [illegible] Wives, Will Attend Grand Lodge.

Charles B. Perry, Millbury, recently elected grand master Massachusetts grand lodge of Iowa, and Hon. A. S. [illegible] grand sire of the order, Mrs. Perry and Mrs. [illegible] Worcester yesterday for Seattle, they will attend the supreme

MARRIED.

ADAMS-MacLEOD—In this city, Sept. 8, by Rev. Harvey W. Ewing, Worcester, Adams and Nellie E. MacLeod, both of Gardner.

CADIGH-ILLALET—In this city, Sept. 8, Rev. Harvey W. Ewing, Harry Rupert Cadigh of Chatsworth, N. H., and Miss Florence Ilsley of Worcester.

DUBOIS-DURKIN—In Brookfield, Sept. 8, Rev. Michael J. Murphy, Charles [illegible] of Palmer and Miss Mary Elizabeth Durkin of Brookfield.

FENTON-FORBES—In this city, Sept. 8, by Justice of the peace Charles B. Johnson, Franklin Arthur Fenton of Brooklyn, N. Y., and May Forbes of Newark.

FINNERTON-QUINT—In this city, Sept. 8, by Rev. Francis H. Legros, Charles Finnerton and Miss Jennie Victoria Quint, both of Worcester.

GORLEY-LYONS—In Fitchburg, Sept. 8, by Rev. W. I. Phelan, Patrick H. Gorley and Annie K. Lyons, both of Fitchburg.

MACREADY-BROMAGE—In this city, Sept. 8, by Rev. Henry Hague, James Henry Macready and Miss Edith Florence Bromage, both of Worcester.

NESBITT-DeWOLFE—In this city, Sept. 8, by Rev. Emanuel Charlton of New Bedford, Clifford L. Nesbitt of Worcester and Miss Lucia Ella DeWolf of New Bedford.

PUTNEY-STRATTON—In East [illegible] 8, by Rev. Asa M. Bradley, George A. Putney and Miss Elsie M. Stratton, both of [illegible] Gold.

PERCY-STEVENSON—In this city, Sept. 8, Rev. Gardner Butler of Charleston, S. C., by Rev. Herbert G. Buckingham, Miss Flet Percy of South Acton and Miss Ethelyn Stevenson of Worcester.

PRIEST-DIVOLL—In Providence, Sept. 8, Rev. Alexander Mitchell, Edwin Lawrence Priest of Clinton and Miss Helen C. Divoll of this city.

THOMPSON-HINDLEY—In South [illegible] 8, by Rev. Charles H. Smith, Howard Thompson and Annie Hindley, both of South Boston.

DIED.

ANDERSON—In this city, Sept. 7, Julia, widow of Herman Anderson.

Funeral from the home of her daughter, E. C. Potters, 10 School street, this, Sept. 9, 2 p. m. Relatives and friends are invited to attend.

BENT—In Gardner, Sept. 8, Mrs. Mary Bent, aged 55 years.

BLOUIN—In Whitinsville, Sept. 8, Albert, son of Mr. and Mrs. Ebodbia Blouin, aged 16 months.

CHENEY—In Athol, Sept. 8, C. Warren Cheney, aged 73 years, 11 months and 18 days.

DIVOLL—In Leominster, Sept. 8, William Divoll, aged 57 years, 4 months and 2 days.

KOSKI—In Fitchburg, Sept. 8, Amanda (Kielinen), wife of John E. Koski, aged 21.

LYNCH—In Webster, Sept. 8, Patrick, aged 71 years.

MURPHY—In Marlboro, Sept. 9, Mrs. [illegible] Murphy, aged 34 years, 2 months and 14 days.

NEUDECK—In Millbury, Sept. 8, Julia, wife of Charles Henry Neudeck, aged 52 years.

RUHIN—In this city, Sept. 8, Charles Shurn, aged 20 years, 2 months and 4 days.

Relatives and friends are invited to attend funeral services from the home, 11 Murray, Friday at 2 p. m., interment in Millbury.

SOUTHGATE—In this city, Sept. 7, Reuben Southgate, aged 75 years, 5 months and 7 days.

Relatives and friends are invited to attend funeral services from his late residence, 85 Millbury street, Friday, at 11 a. m.

ST. JAMES—In this city, Sept. 8, Celia (Mullen), wife of Theodore St. James, aged 45 years.

TOURET—In Marlboro, Sept. 8, Therese Louise, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John H. Touret, aged 1 year, 9 months and 6 days.

WARD—In Westboro, Sept. 8, Annie A. Ward, aged 55 years, 7 months and 19 days.

WHEELOCK—In Milford, Sept. 8, Mary (Cochrane), wife of Nelson T. Wheelock, aged 28 years, 8 months and 7 days.

YOUNG—In this city, Sept. 7, Albert Young, aged 60 years, 10 months and 2 days.

Funeral will be from the home, 84 [illegible] street, Friday, at 10 a. m. Relatives and friends invited to attend.

TREET SNAP.

Trolley System Are Made.

[illegible] simultaneously in [illegible] street at 4 o'clock [illegible] at Foster street [illegible] Main street. The [illegible] dangled into the [illegible] cars were crossing. [illegible] women at Foster [illegible] beneath when it

[illegible] for 10 minutes, until [illegible] cars from Mar[illegible]ket and tied up the [illegible] of traffic was, re[illegible]sumable to pass under [illegible] connecting the trolley on the northbound [illegible] was repaired at 5.30 [illegible] speed without later.

[illegible] used for the fair [illegible] at Chadwick [illegible] the rear trucks [illegible] the tracks for south[illegible] [illegible] of the running [illegible] was broken and [illegible] minutes, until the car [illegible] No one was

[illegible] the fair and return[illegible] extending back in [illegible] back toward the

[illegible] car, at 2.45 o'clock, broke its trolley pole [illegible] near Elm park, stopping for a half hour.

HARD.

[illegible] Try For Places [illegible] Team.

[illegible] officers and [illegible] [illegible] companies of [illegible] on the 2d regiment [illegible] are the best rolling [illegible] men at the [illegible] for qualifications [illegible] team —

[illegible] Nichols, battalion adjutant, 200 yards 25, 200 yards [illegible] fire 20.

[illegible] Corbett, City guards—[illegible] 25, 200 yards 42, 1000 [illegible]

[illegible] City guards—200 [illegible] 200 yards 7, 1000 [illegible]

[illegible] Johnson, Light infantry—[illegible] 200 yards 27, 200 yards [illegible] fire 15

[illegible] Reed, Light infantry—[illegible] 200

[illegible] Light infantry—200 [illegible] 200 yards 20, rapid

[illegible] Light infantry—[illegible] 35, 200 yards 49, [illegible] fire 24

[illegible] Light infantry [illegible] 42, 200 yards 42, [illegible] fire 24.

[illegible] Light infantry—[illegible] 24

[illegible] another tryout for Saturday.

[illegible] actions on the regi[illegible] have been closed [illegible], on account of [illegible] are working in [illegible] city, and to make [illegible] for the regimental [illegible] next month.

Y TONIGHT.

[illegible] at Fairview Assembly [illegible].

[illegible] candidate for republican [illegible]

[illegible] first rally of the [illegible] Fairview Improvement [illegible] Grand View avenue. [illegible] principal speaker, [illegible] by other speakers

OOLS OPEN.

[illegible] Is Close to [illegible]

[illegible] opened yesterday with [illegible] to 10,000. Of this [illegible] are in the graded [illegible] the high schools.

[illegible] Wednesday.

649

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

900227001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Talks on Pedagogy / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* The Telegram and Gazette [Worcester, Ma.]. —(Sept. 10, 1909).

Obtained from Clark University. Institutional Location: University Archives. Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Worcester Telegram & Gazette, Worcester, MA 01608.

Telegram Sept. 10, 1909

tematic doctrines concerning the most serious situations of life which confront the intelligence of mature men and women.

"The innocent belief that a gordius arises by a sort of metamorphosis from the horsehair, is almost a prerogative of normal childhood; the current belief that clams are the parents of eels, the crystalline style having, perhaps, given the clue to this discovery, while hardly a credit to the intelligence of fishermen, is excusable under the poetic licence commonly acceded to them.

"Doctrines relating to original creation, generation, birth, heredity, degeneracy and rehabilitation of individuals and of races congenital, talent, death, reincarnation, diseases and healing, have always had and will doubtless forever continue to have a firm grip upon the intelligent interest of men and

will continue to

exert a powerful influence upon the social as well as the religious and the intellectual life.

"That the unqualified reference to birthmarks as the result of maternal impressions, should be given from the chair in a college classroom; and that the doctrine that all human beings at birth are equal in potential intelligence, should be a constituent of the argument of a graduation oration; that some 15 years after its publication, Butschli's experiments with foam could be exploited in a respectable magazine as a new discovery of the artificial production of life; that Loeb's brilliant work on artificial parthenogenesis could pass muster so many times as an instance of the creation of life; that clairvoyants and spiritualists can regularly conduct thriving establishments, to trade on the credulity of all classes, and carry on as matter-of-fact a business as that of the plumber; that the belief in pancreas has so largely supported the enormous traffic in patent medicines; that every day, among intelligent classes of our people, diseases like cancer, typhoid, diphtheria, paralysis due to organic lesion, are judged amenable to incantation or even absent treatment; are facts which point out one of the prime tasks of biological instruction.

"Multitudes of superstitions regarding vital phenomena, are handed on as traditions from generation to generation. The remarkable credulity in new ones finds explanation, it seems to me, in the old saying, 'truth is stranger than fiction,' so if one remarkable phenomenon be true, why not another which is no more astonishing.

"This fallacy is the strongest weapon of impostors. When, and only when the

weight of accumulated

evidence respecting natural laws is actually felt, it becomes a ballast which enables the judgment to keep an equilibrium and to steer a discriminating course.

"As a second explicit purpose of the biological course, I would submit that of the cultivation of imagination. With all due respect to the 'discipline, of the systematically elaborated 'good, old-fashioned college course of Latin, Greek and mathematics, it is a mild criticism to say that, while it cultivated both the memory and, at its best, the fine discrimination of abstract ideas, it did not give the imagination the training which its importance in the intellectual life may justly claim.

"The gradual realization of the unparalleled complexity and uniformity of biological phenomena is a poetic inspiration. This inspiration must grow from the seed in each individual intellect, and depends in every case for its development, upon some first-hand knowledge of many facts and their coordination.

"It is regretable that the esthetic value of the scientific imagination is not more generally appreciated by men of culture, but it is especially deplorable that so often it is recognized by them as existing in others.

"When we reflect upon the breadth and power of imagination, which enabled Darwin to grasp the significance of the host of apparently unrelated phenomena and to correlate them into a consistent thesis, it is almost paradoxical that Darwin should be referred to by the avowed exponents of the beautiful, the good and the true, as the machine for grinding out facts, and be held, up to the youth as

a warning example

of a soul dislocated of poetic feeling through the pursuit of science.

"Ought we not warn the children against the ardent and long-continued pursuit of the art and appreciation of music, lest they lose their boyhood relish of 'My bonnie lies over the ocean,' and 'There is a tavern in the town.'"

Prof. Mead furnished a complete explanation of the course used at Brown, which lays much stress nf hygiene, as an important dapartment of the biological department. He concluded his paper with a chapter which forcibly and comprehensively pointed out the evidence of ignorance of hygienic requirements, through which an immense total of ill health, distress, anguish and disgrace enters human life.

Prof. Hodge's paper on the Clark college course in biology created much interest, the various steps being followed with the closest attention. He began with insects, giving as a matter of vital importance the mosquito and what it is costing the country, referring to Blackstone river conditions.

He said the first laboratory period was on the mosquito, the students being sent out to get all the insects they can collect. The students, not being told what insects were, often brought back frogs, newts, turtles and bats, but once in a while they brought in insects.

Continuing, Prof. Hodge said:—

"Let the nature study of the graden center about the child and the home. Of course, these

lines of interest

extend beyond the home and the child, but the child need not, at this stage, be taught relations beyond his own sphere of interest.

"In preparation for active membership, let the biology of the high school center about the life, interests and problems of the town, the city, the state and nation. Do the highest interests of the community require that its educated citizens know this or that, is the question which determines whether a topic be admitted to the high school course.

"In the college, the student enters the world of pure science with its universal language and its special and technical methods. Here, for the first time, not the child or community, but the logical development of subject matter must dominate.

"The nature-study point of view is to teach the child. The scientific point of view is to teach the subject. If the student cannot master the subject, he has no call to study science. This main line of cleavage between biological nature-study and technical science thus falls between the high school and college strata. If we hold to the general culture idea of the college, we might even put it between the college

and university strata,

but present tendencies are toward rather efficient specialization in the college.

"With distinct, though, coordinate and score, everything clears up. Subject matter of the courses separates each topic of its appropriate stratum or level, each beat for its own sake and purpose and in its proper place; the nature-study stratum eight or nine years thick, devoted to the interest vital to life of child and home; the high school stratum, only one year thick, but a very hard capstone to the looser formations below, and a seam of veritable 'vita ore' for community and national life; the college-university stratum, pure crystal and gold and precious stones, with which to build the universal temple of truth in the world."

Prof. Hodge gave, in interesting detail, the features of his course, using a diagram to

show the dynamic types.

The course begun with insecta and followed along to crustacea, vermes, mollusca, coelenterata, protozoa (protophyta), algae, fungi, lichens, hepaticae, muscl, bacteria, angiosperms, pisces, amphibia, aves, mamalia and embrylogy, each head being subdivided by several of the relative subjects.

There was a general discussion following, in which Prof. Hodge facetiously remarked, in answer to the question of mosquitoes at the north pole: "Oh, yes, you can find any quantity of them there; they kill the polar bears."

Prof. O. W. Mills, Westminster college, North Wilmington, Pa., a graduate of Clark university, expressed his strong approval of Prof. Hodge's syllabus, saying he was teaching, as nearly as possible, along these lines, and the work was proving most successful. He predicted that time would show Prof. Hodge's outline in universal force.

Prof. Clark, Williams college, gave a very interesting resume of the study of biology, citing examples of cases where a world of knowledge and satisfaction had

been shown students

who had never before realized the extent of the science.

The subject of students incapable of taking the biological course was brought to attention when Prof. Bristol, New York university, related instances of his experience in teaching.

Prof. Hodge gave a short talk on the stupid man who sometimes enters his classes, saying, "When I believe I have done the fair thing and am unable to make any progress with them whatever, I show them the door. There are students who come to the college who are totally incapable of taking a course in biology."

"What are you going to do with these men?" asked Prof. Mead.

"Let them clerk in a store," responded Prof. Hodge.

The final adjournment of the conference of biological instruction came at a time when there was general feeling of satisfaction, with a common belief among the biologists that a marked advance had been made, with the possibilities of future good, far and wide, through printed accounts of the deliberations.

TALKS ON PEDAGOGY.

Emma Goldman Asks Questions About Work in Colleges.

The afternoon conference under the department of school hygiene and pedagogy was on "Education as a college subject," and Dr. E. E. Brown presided. He was introduced by Dr. Burnham of Clark university. Dr. Brown introduced Dr. Edward Franklin Buchner, professor of education of Johns Hopkins university.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

900227001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Talks on Pedagogy / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* The Telegram and Gazette [Worcester, Ma.]. —(Sept. 10, 1909).

Obtained from Clark University. Institutional Location: University Archives. Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Worcester Telegram & Gazette, Worcester, MA 01608.

Telegram Sept 10 1909

Dr. Buchner gave a paper on "Pedagogy as a college subject," in which he placed education as a college subject dependent a good deal upon the college itself. He said that the traditions of the college, the location of a college with relation to the density of population, and the financial resources of a college, had much to do with the question as to what the college attempted in the study of education and pedagogy.

He also contended that the interest which the college takes in the future of its graduates had much to do with the question.

His idea was that the college should just consider the intrinsic merits of pedagogy, the real value of education, to its own academic culture, before deciding whether it should include the study of education

in its curriculum.

Dr. Anna J. McKeag, professor of pedagogy in Wellesley college, gave a paper on "Pedagogy as a study in colleges for women."

She summarized the policy she advocated in this way:—

"First, the undergraduate introducing courses should be given to professional and non-professional students in the same classes.

"Secondly, the work in observation of children and schools should form a part of such courses.

"Next, informational, cultured and inspiritual aims should not be neglected.

"Then, I should say that more narrowly technical courses are best given to graduate students.

"Lastly, I would think that our departments should include a sufficiently large teaching staff to make possible a personal knowledge of the capacities and aims of the student."

In introducing the above summary, the speaker said: "I should like to outline a course in secondary education, which might be profitably given to graduate students in colleges for women. These graduates are supposed to have had as undergraduates the introductory courses in education.

"Such a course might include a sketch of the development of

secondary education,

with special reference to the development of the American high school; a study of fundamental principles of the education of adolescent pupils; a study of the organization and curriculum of two typical high schools, one a city school, one a village school; and a special study of the best modern methods of teaching one high school subject by each member of the class; and also practice teaching, with each member of the class being required to teach a class in her chosen subject for a semester."

Dr. Thomas M. Balliet, dean of the school of pedagogy, New York university, spoke on the general subject of the conference. One statement of his was that he didn't believe practice teaching as advocated by the previous speaker, was a practical or satisfactory method, inasmuch as it was extremely difficult to arrange for practice teaching.

One of his contentions was that just as colleges prepare for professional schools in medicine, law and theology, so they should give a training that would serve for the foundations of education.

The undergraduate, he said, must be given what will help him most in the schoolroom. Experienced teachers, he contended, should take graduate work in preference

to any other work.

Dr. G. Stanley Hall of Clark university gave a reminiscent talk, in which he told of some of his early experiences as a teacher of pedagogy. He also spoke briefly of the method and course of pedagoical teaching in use in Clark university.

He said that there had been no great attempt to systematize the course in use in Clark college, so that the course would qualify a graduate to teach in schools and colleges sb much as it would make a graduate expert in the teaching of pedagogy.

The conference was then oponed for diacussion, and Mr. Norton of Harvard university, Supt. Adams of Spencer, and Emma Goldman, anarchist, spoke.

Miss Goldman asked questions, which she addressed to the previous speakers. Dr. Buchner was asked if the colleges of today were not taking up too much time and trouble in filling its pupils with predigested food, rather than to develop the originality of the pupil, if the colleges were not stuffing the child rather than to bring out what is in the child.

Dr. Buchner answered: "No."

Miss Goldman also asked if it was more important that education should be made the means of equipping young men and young women to know and recognize their own ability, rather than to teach them to do things to use their ability, and if this college

today wasn't doing

the former rather than the latter. Dr. Buchner answered that the colleges probably were teaching their students to recognize their ability rather than to use their ability.

Miss Goldman's last question was as to whether or not women's colleges were not neglecting to teach their students the important question of sex psychology. Dr. Buchner answered: "Yes."

Dr. B. T. Baldwin of Swarthmore college and Westchester state normal school, Pennsylvania, spoke briefly on the development of education in the United States, tracing its history from the first course in Brown university and indicating its expansion and growth, and urged the establishment and practice and observation schools.

At 5 o'clock there was a lantern demonstration of children's drawings and the psychology of testing, by Prof. William L. Stern of the University of Breslau.

MATHEMATICAL CONFERENCE.

Prof. E. H. Moore Opens With Lecture on Postulational Methods.

Prof. E. H. Moore, University of Chicago, opened the mathematical conference at 10 a. m. yesterday, giving a lecture on postulational methods in mathematics. At 4 p. m., the mathematicians and physicists joined in conference, the matter of one teacher for the two subjects being discussed. The discussion was animated, the opinion that a mathematician who is also a physicist should be able to teach both branches of study in the high schools being advanced.

Interest centered in the lecture of Prof. Vito Volterra of University of Rome, which was on the topic of ancient problems and new theories in elasticity, on the principle of Huygens and theory of Fredholm.

Prof. Volterra begun with a resume of mathematical history and physics in general, and continued in the line of logic and research concerning twisted elasticity. The lecture was delivered in French.

The lecture on radiation from gases heated by sudden compression was given by President Ernest Fox Nichols, Dartmouth college.

New ideas on the optical properties of metallic vapors were given by Prof. Robert Williams Wood, Johns Hopkins university, these being the results of recent experiments.

DEGREES ON EDUCATION.

Clark University to Confer Them at Its Celebration.

The crowning feature of the program of the educational conference at Clark university, will occur at 8 o'clock, tonight, when the university will confer several degrees on some of the most prominent educators of the world, who are in the celebration at the university.

The exercises will be in the gymnasium of the college and will be open to the Worcester public, free of admission.

The presence of two Nobel prizemen adds much to the importance of the deliberations. They will be prominently identified at tonight's exercises.

Ernest Rutherford, D. Sc., LL. D., F. R. S., is professor of experimental physics in the University of Manchester, and was the winner of the Nobel prize in chemistry.

Albert A. Michelson, Sc. D., LL. D., F. R. S., is professor of physics in the University of Chicago, Rumford medalist, American academy of arts and sciences, Nobel prizeman in physics, former president American physical society.

The gymnasium has been elaborately decorated and the program for the exercises is extensive. At 9 o'clock there will be a reception given by the president and

board of trustees of

the university in the assembly hall of the first floor of the main building, to all members of the university and college, and to the visitors of the conference and the guests.

The department of biology having closed its program yesterday, there will be sessions today only under the management of the departments of mathematics and physics and the department of psychology.

The department of psychology begins its program at 9 o'clock with a lecture on "Studies of association and mental hygiene," by Dr. C. G. Jung of Switzerland. This will be a continuation of his lecture, yesterday. At 10 o'clock there will be a lecture by Dr. L. William Stern of the university of Breslau on "Individual psychology." Dr. Sigmund Freud of Vienna will be the next lecturer and will continue his series on psychiatry.

In the afternoon there will be a conference on "Elementary psychology in the college," with Dr. Carl E. Seashore chairman. The subject of this conference will be limited to the first year's work, five or six semester hours, whether this is given in one or more courses. For the purpose of discussion it

will be assumed that

the course is open to sophomores.

There will be a paper on "The preparation of the student," by Dr. E. F. Buchner. Next there will be a discussion on "The aim of the course," by Dr. Stern. Following this comes a discussion led by Dr. Joseph Jastrow and Dr. Steven S. Colvin, on "The contents of the course."

At 5 o'clock there will be a demonstration of children's drawings, a continuation of a similar demonstration yesterday.

In the departments of mathematics and physics there will be a lecture by Prof. E. H. Moore, University of Chicago, on postulational methods in mathematics, being the fourth of his series.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890425000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Police May Turn Hose on Anarchists / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. —(Sept. 28, 1909).

Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

DGER—PHILADELPHIA, TUESDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 28, 1909.

Millard Company, Third street pipe line 145,000
Millard Company, Turnpikeside, preliminary filters 650,000
Filbert Company, coal and ashes handling machinery 133,000
Total $1,000,000

1908.
Filbert Company, Gardner's Point pipe connections $28,000

1909.
Millard Company, Queen Lane filter plant 1,100,000
(This contract will be increased monthly to about $2,000,000.)

RECAPITULATION

[illegible] ..... $8,[illegible]
[illegible] ..... 2,[illegible]
[illegible] ..... 2,[illegible]
[illegible] 1,270,000
[illegible] 1,000,000
[illegible] 28,000
[illegible] 1,100,000
Total ..... $16,[illegible]

*Where the name of the contracting firm is not given in the table such contracts were let to the McNichol Company.

The total of awards included in the foregoing lists is $33,002,410.

Further effort will be made to produce a statement of the total of city contracts, and to establish what proportion of this total is the portion of city work which has been secured by the two Senators and their allies.

REFORM PARTY CAMPAIGN TO BE OPENED TONIGHT

Prominent Speakers and Candidates to Define Issues at Academy Meeting.

The William Penn party will formally open its campaign at the Academy of Music tonight, and judging from the demand for seats it will be one of the largest independent political meetings ever held in this city. Nearly all of the aggressive reformers who were connected with the movement in 1905 will act as vice presidents of the meeting. Among them will be a number of prominent Democrats, including Roland Morris and ex-Congressman William M. Ajjer, and several prominent leaders of the labor movement.

Inclement weather promises to be an abundance of campaign enthusiasm, as a rain of the hard drenching will march to the meeting headed by brass bands and will occupy the seats in the Academy with [illegible] fireworks.

Arrangements have been made for an overflow meeting outside the Academy, and there will be speakers [illegible] to gain admittance to the building.

The contracts consist of twenty and [illegible] keynote, it is said, [illegible] of the various [illegible] Francis A. Lewis, [illegible] Lewis and John J. Mc[illegible] but Mr. Gibbon[illegible] [illegible] can generally [illegible]

REFORM GAINS A RECRUIT

Republican Committeeman of 44th Ward Joins Gibboney Stalwarts.

E. M. Holloway, Jr., who declares that he is a member of the Republican Committee of the 44th Ward, representing the 38th division, wrote a letter to the Gibboney Stalwart party yesterday, espousing the reform cause.

In his letter he says:

"I worked hard to obtain the nomination of D. Clarence Gibboney for District Attorney on the Republican ticket, and earnestly believe that Mr. Gibboney won that nomination.

POLICE MAY TURN HOSE ON ANARCHISTS

O'Leary Says He Will Disperse Outdoor Meeting With Water if Emma Goldman Speaks.

WOMAN REACHES CITY

Odd Fellows' Building Engaged and Test to Be Made of Right to Make Address.

Emma Goldman, anarchist, lecturer and editor, came from New York at noon yesterday for the purpose of speaking to a Philadelphia audience tonight on the subject of "Anarchism: What It Really Means," in the Odd Fellows' Building.

When Assistant Superintendent O'Leary was asked whether Miss Goldman would be permitted to deliver an address from the Little Hotel Wilmot, also in the plan, he replied:

"Not if a fire hose can prevent her. She had better put on a rubber suit if she undertakes to make a speech there, because she will certainly get a ducking.

"There is nothing more distasteful to anarchists than a stream from a fire engine. I found that to be the most effectual measure to break up riotous gatherings uptown during the car strike last June that could be employed. It saved broken heads and a lot of shooting.

"Put it down there will be no address by Emma Goldman at the Odd Fellows' Building."

Miss Goldman came over in the same train from New York with Mayor Reyburn, and the Mayor observed her, though he did not recognize her as the famous anarchist. He thought, he said, that she belonged to the suffragist movement. He was attracted by her attire, which he described as canary yellow and at least 40 years behind the Paris mode. The Mayor thought that if she were not a suffragist she might be an actress, not of the chorus girl type, but a music-hall artist. Miss Goldman's companions led the Mayor toward this belief.

A few hours after Miss Goldman arrived in the city she submitted to be interviewed. She was found to be not without ideas on a variety of subjects aside from anarchism. She does not like the police, thinks women get the worst of it through life, let drop a few opinions on the scientific subject of the duality of personality, and said she objects to—shrinks from—crowds.

She is a very little woman to have created such a stir, and her face suggests peace and a well ordered life, rather than anarchy and its teachings. She is 40. Led into telling her age she said:

"It is no matter, when we women have something in our hearts we cease to care about being young. It's only the empty headed that want to keep up the farce."

The high priestess of the anarchists is almost good looking. She has light brown hair, which would be very pretty if there were more fit and a complexion that certain women would go far to get. It is a pink flesh complexion. Her underlip droops somewhat, which lends the suggestion of sensuality.

She was dressed in a navy colored [illegible] and a white shirtwaist and wore [illegible] She might be described as very magnetic. It is easy to talk to her on serious subjects.

Miss Goldman said that she came from Russia 23 years ago and afterward studied to be a trained nurse. She brought [illegible] of her family with her but absorbed them all in Chicago and other American cities. She got over disparation for her future life work [illegible] from the prosecution of the Haymarket rioters in Chicago in 1887. The men hanged elicited her sympathy and she determined to go out and right the cause of the downtrodden. According to her story she has been traveling a rocky trail these 22 years.

There have been some fights. Miss Goldman's friend Mayor Tom Johnson invited her to speak in Cleveland, and, according to the literature she is distributing, Director Miller has introduced a [illegible] The Mother Earth Magazine, of which Miss Goldman is the head.

When Miss Goldman was asked what she thought of the suffragist movement she said:

"The ballot won't free women any more than it has freed men. It has really enslaved men and it would do the same thing for women, so I don't approve of women voting. But I, of course, think that women should be entitled to all the [illegible] since they populate the world and therefore perform the greatest service to mankind."

"What of the financial aspect of your tours?" she was asked. "Who pays the bills?"

"I am traveling in the interest of my magazine," she replied, "and we always charge admission to our meetings, and the receipts defray our expenses."

Some one inquired why it was that she always managed to reach Philadelphia during a political campaign. Was there any political significance attached to her visits?

"None whatever," she said. "We are absolutely independent of political influences."

NO TOBACCO AND NO WIVES MAY END MINISTERS' HOME

Suit to Recover Fund Bequeathed to Institution That Has Only One Resident.

Whether the John C. Mercer Home for Disabled Clergymen of the Presbyterian Faith, situated at Ambler, Montgomery County, has failed of its purpose as a charitable institution was the question submitted to Judge Sulsberger yesterday in a suit by the heirs of Mrs. Mercer to recover the trust fund for the founding of the home.

Mrs. Mercer, who died in 1866, set aside $100,000 of her estate for the home, but she provided that it should shelter no clergyman who used tobacco in any form. During its 21 years of existence only 35 applications for admittance were received, of which 12 were refused because they failed to show proper eligibility, eight did not pursue their applications and only 15 were admitted. There is only one inmate remaining, and the board of managers applied to the Attorney General to institute proceedings for the purpose of applying the trust property for the payment to selected beneficiaries stipulated amounts, to be determined by the managers of the institution.

Ex-Judge W. W. Porter, counsel for the trustees of the estate of Lydia I. Biddle, heirs under the Mercer will, objected to this action, contending that, the charity having failed, the property should revert to the heirs.

John G. Johnson and A. Culver Boyd, appearing for the board of managers, maintained that the charity as intended by Mrs. Mercer could be successfully carried out. Peter Boyd, an attorney, who is treasurer of the board of managers of the institution, told Judge Sulsberger that the prohibitive tobacco clause was not the real cause for the small number of applications for admission to the institution, but as no provision had been made in the will for clergymen and their wives the majority of these, even though indigent, did not care to leave their homes. He was of the opinion that if the home ceased to exist the fund could be turned over to the Board of Ministerial Relief of the Presbyterian Church, which cares for 157 clergymen, and that the trust would then be fully carried out.

Judge Sulsberger took the matter under advisement.

SOPHIE BECK ARRAIGNED

Waives Hearing, and May Be Brought to Philadelphia Today.

Mrs. Estella Graham, alias Sophie Beck, who was arrested at Atlantic City on Friday by postal inspectors, on a charge of conspiracy in using the United States mails in the Storey Colton Company swindle, was arraigned yesterday before United States Commissioner Morgan, of Camden, at the courthouse. The proceedings were a mere formality. Mrs. Graham waived a hearing, and she was remanded to await removal to Philadelphia.

No incident of the hearing was the refusal of Mr. Morgan to permit newspaper photographers to take pictures of the prisoner. He said:

"The defendant is in the custody of the law and helpless. She will be punished for whatever crime she has committed, and I forbid the taking of her picture or the making of any sketches whatever, as it would be manifestly unfair."

Mrs. Graham said that efforts to obtain bail would be made in Philadelphia. Deputy Inspector Cortelyou said that before Miss Beck is removed to Philadelphia it will be necessary to obtain an order from either Judge Dickinson or Judge Reilstab at Trenton and it is likely that Miss Beck will be removed today. In Philadelphia she will probably be arraigned before Judge Holland, who will fix the bail.

It is said that Miss Beck is a Camden woman and that before her marriage to Graham her name was Schafer.

MAN DOUBLY ACCUSED

Held on Charges Made by Wife and Another Woman.

After several sensational stories told on the witness stand and the announcement of the arrest of one of his accusers, Raymond Warren Broadbent, of 3312 Woodland avenue, was held in $1500 bail for court yesterday afternoon by Magistrate Gaffney. Broadbent, formerly a clerk in the City Controller's office, is charged with assault and battery by his wife, Ida May Broadbent, of 409 Spring Garden street, and with a serious offense by Mrs. May Dietrich on behalf of Rose Yetter, a friend of Mrs. Dietrich. While the hearing was in progress it was announced that Mrs. Dietrich had been arrested on complaint of Broadbent's brother.

Mrs. Broadbent cited three cases where [illegible] and [illegible] assaulted [illegible] Broadbent said that he was a victim of political enemies. He declared that he had been removed from the Controller's office to make room for some one more powerful politically. In answer to this, Sheriff Gillilan, who, the hearing developed, was attorney for Mrs. Broadbent in divorce proceedings begun some months ago by Broadbent, said that the defendant had been removed for incompetency. Mr. Gillilan declared that Broadbent's charges against his wife were absolutely groundless, and that the arrest of Mrs. Dietrich appeared to him to be a scheme to bar her testimony in the charges against the prisoner.

TO RAISE RAILROAD PENSIONS

BAER DENIES DEAL TO FIX COAL PRICES

President of Reading Says There Was No Conspiracy Among Anthracite Carriers.

BUYING RIVAL LINES

Purchase of Jersey Central Declared to Be Necessary—Wanted to Save Lehigh Valley.

The story of the way the Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company obtained control of the Central Railroad of New Jersey and how the Lehigh Valley Railroad was reorganized and put upon a paying basis was told yesterday by George F. Baer, president of the Reading companies, during a cross-examination conducted for more than three hours by James B. McReynolds and G. Carroll Todd, special assistants to the United States Attorney General. Mr. Baer also reviewed the relations, past and present, existing between various subsidiary companies of the Reading and between the anthracite coal-carrying railroads.

The cross-examination was held on the third floor of the Federal Building. It was a continuance of the suit which has been conducted for the last two years by the Government against the anthracite coal-carrying railroads, which are charged with conspiracy to eliminate competition and to increase the cost of coal.

Mr. Baer took the stand at 10.30 in the morning and held it, with the exception of an hour and a half intermission, until 3.30 in the afternoon. Besides the special attorneys, Major Warren, counsel for the Temple Coal and Iron Company; Samuel Dickson, counsel for the Schuylkill Coal and Navigation Company; former Judge Campbell, of the Reading Railway, and former Judge Mool, representing New York companies, took part in questioning the witness.

It was denied by Mr. Baer that there had been any attempt at conspiracy on the part of the coal roads and in this connection told of the agreements entered into between the railroads and the independent operators of the coal mines. He answered questions as to the regulation of the price of coal and then took up the history of the transactions between his railroad and the Jersey Central.

Mr. Baer explained that the Philadelphia and Reading needed the Jersey Central tracks to enter New York city, which, he said, is the general distributing point for anthracite coal. For a number of years unsuccessful efforts had been made to unite the roads. An attempt to obtain a lease had failed because the courts had decided that under the laws of New Jersey a lease could not be given.

Story of Jersey Central.

In 1900, Mr. Baer said, he had learned that the interests which controlled the stock of the Jersey Central road were willing to sell and that they had refused an offer from the Baltimore and Ohio as being too low. He saw the danger to the Reading in case adverse interests should obtain the Jersey Central and at the same time realized the opportunity to obtain control of the road for the Reading.

"The situation demanded prompt action," continued Reading's president. "I told J. Pierpont Morgan, a voting trustee of the Reading Company, that I thought I could buy the line legally by obtaining a majority of the stock. I made a critical examination of the reports of the road for several years to see if we could buy it profitably. Inside of a week arrangements were made whereby the stock was bought."

"One allegation of the Government was that the Reading Company in payment of the stock did not make a bona fide purchase," interrupted former Judge Campbell. "In other words, that the transaction was effected by an exchange of securities. Is that true?"

"I do not know where such stories originated," replied Mr. Baer. "We created a syndicate and the Reading bonds were sold to it and good money was paid for them."

In connection with the history of the reorganization of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, Mr. Baer declared that the anthracite coal carrying roads had never held a majority of its stock and that they only managed the road through the consent of the other stockholders. He referred to the bad condition of affairs which had befallen the Lehigh Valley Railroad before an interest in it was acquired by the anthracite coal carrying roads.

"It was thought very dangerous" [illegible]

652

890425000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Police May Turn Hose on Anarchists / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Sept. 28, 1909).

Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

Total.....$16,764,000

Where the name of the contracting firm is not given in the table such contracts were let to the McNichol Company.

The total of awards included in the foregoing lists is $13,002,418.

Further effort will be made to procure a statement of the total of city contracts, and to establish what proportion of this total is the portion of city work which has been secured by the two Senators and their allies.

REFORM PARTY CAMPAIGN TO BE OPENED TONIGHT

Prominent Speakers and Candidates to Define Issues at Academy Meeting.

The William Penn party will formally open its campaign at the Academy of Music tonight and judging from the demand for seats, it will be one of the largest independent political meetings ever held in this city. Nearly all of the aggressive reformers who were connected with the movement in 1905 will act as vice presidents of the meeting. Among them will be a number of prominent Democrats, including Roland Morris and ex-Congressman William McAleer and several prominent leaders of the labor movement.

The ten-day term promises to be an abundance of campaign enthusiasm, as all of the ward delegations will march to the meeting headed by brass bands, and will enliven the route to the Academy with plenty of fireworks.

Arrangements have been made for an overflow meeting outside the Academy and there will be speakers on hand to inform those unable to gain admittance concerning the issues of the campaign.

The contractors' control of the city and its results will be the keynote, it is said, on which the addresses of the various speakers will hinge. Francis A. Lewis, who will act as chairman of the meeting, will explain the issues to be advocated by the reformers. Plans for a change in the city government will be made in addresses by candidates D. Clarence Gibboney, Edwin S. Lewis and John J. Murphy. It is expected that Mr. Gibboney will review the records of the police magistrates and speak generally upon civic conditions.

Edwin S. Lewis, candidate for Register of Wills, will discuss city contracts and probably present a list of the contracts secured by McNichol and Vare in the last few years.

Judge W. Newton, the Rev. Dr. Floyd W. Tomkins, rector of Holy Trinity, and Miss Anna E. Gorman, representing the Equal Franchise Society, will speak briefly from the platform.

It is probable that Mr. Lewis may also discuss the proposed Broad street subway and the Philadelphia Transit Company. It is expected that he will also discuss the Vare-Penrose controversy.

All of the candidates will lay especial stress on the Penn party platform, which includes demands for the reduction of the six-for-a-quarter gas, for a loan of $3,000,000 for elevation of railroads and schools and playgrounds, and for the abolition of the fee system.

It is expected that several hundred people will attend the meeting and a large number of these, it is said, will be ready to make complaint in behalf of their organizations in behalf of the various reforms they favor. This will enable the chairman of the meeting to bring forward the plans to vote on them.

Among those who will be present yesterday [illegible] as vice presidents of the meeting are:

[illegible]	William M. Aleer
[illegible]	Fred. M. Ingle
[illegible]	John W. Mulholland
[illegible]	Robert Ritchie
[illegible]	W. Mayer Wharton
[illegible]	J. Hay Whitney

REFORM GAINS A RECRUIT

Republican Committeeman of 44th Ward Joins Gibboney Stalwarts.

E. M. Holloway, Jr., who declares that he is a member of the Republican committee of the 44th Ward, representing the 12th division, wrote a letter to the Gibboney Stalwart party yesterday, espousing the reform cause.

In his letter he says:

"I worked hard to obtain the nomination of D. Clarence Gibboney for District Attorney on the Republican ticket and earnestly believe that Mr. Gibboney won that nomination.

"The action of the leaders of the Organization in preventing the opening of the ballot boxes has disgusted all decent Republicans who believe in a square deal, and they will resent this action of the contractor-bosses by working hard for an overwhelming majority for Gibboney, Murphy and Lewis on November 2.

"A large number of workers in our ward, who have been loyal to the Organization, no longer trust leaders who, to promote [illegible] with their enemies at the expense of their own loyal supporters, and they now refuse to further stand for men guilty of such treachery.

"I urge every true Republican to at once withdraw his allegiance from the combination of contractor-bosses masquerading under the name of the Republican party, and by voting and working for Gibboney, Murphy and Lewis on November 2 help to restore the Republican party to man who have the principles of the party at heart rather than the advancement of their own selfish interests."

POLITICAL NOTES

Judge Carr heard argument yesterday on the motion for a new trial for Christian W. Hout, the Tenth Ward registrar convicted by a jury in Quarter Sessions Court of [illegible]

Odd Fellows' Building Engaged and Test to Be Made of Right to Make Address.

Emma Goldman, anarchist, lecturer and editor, came from New York at noon yesterday for the purpose of speaking to a Philadelphia audience tonight on the subject of "Anarchism: What It Really Means," in the Odd Fellows' Building.

When Assistant Superintendent O'Leary was asked whether Miss Goldman would be permitted to deliver an address from the Little Hotel Wilmot, also in the plan, he replied:

"Not if a fire hose can prevent her. She had better put on a rubber suit if she undertakes to make a speech there, because she will certainly get a ducking.

"There is nothing more distasteful to anarchists than a stream from a fire engine. I found that to be the most effectual measure to break up riotous gatherings uptown during the car strike last June that could be employed. It saved broken heads and a lot of shooting.

"Put it down there will be no address by Emma Goldman at the Odd Fellows' Building."

Miss Goldman came over in the same train from New York with Mayor Reyburn, and the Mayor observed her, though he did not recognize her as the famous anarchist. He thought, he said, that she "belonged to the suffragist movement." He was attracted by her attire, which he described as canary yellow and at least 40 years behind the Paris mode. The Mayor thought that if she were not a suffragist she might be an actress, not of the chorus girl type, but a one-night-stand artist. Miss Goldman's companions led the Mayor toward this belief.

A few hours after Miss Goldman arrived in the city she submitted to be interviewed. She was found to be not without ideas on a variety of subjects aside from anarchism. She does not like the police, thinks women get the worst of it through life; let drop a few opinions on the scientific subject of the duality of personality, and said she objects to—shrinks from—crowds.

She is a very little woman to have created such a stir, and her face suggests peace and a well ordered life, rather than anarchy and its teachings. She is 40. Led into telling her age she said:

"Oh, it's no matter, when we women have something to our heads we cease to care about being young. It's only the empty headed that want to keep up the farce."

The high priestess of the anarchists is almost good looking. She has light brown hair, which would be very pretty if there were more of it, and a complexion that certain women would go far to get. It is a pink, flesh complexion. Her under lip droops somewhat, which lends the suggestion of sensuality.

She was dressed in a canary and red skirt and a white shirtwaist and wore no jewelry save a modest pin and a plain band ring. She might be described as very magnetic. It is easy to talk to her on serious subjects.

Miss Goldman said that she came from Russia 25 years ago and afterward studied to be a trained nurse. She brought no ideas of war by with her, but absorbed them all in Chicago and other American cities. She got her inspiration for her future life work mainly from the prosecution of the Haymarket rioters in Chicago in 1887. The men ranged elicited her sympathy and she determined to go out and fight the cause of the down-trodden. According to her story she has been traveling a rocky road these 22 years.

There have been some lights, Miss Goldman declared. Mayor Tom Johnson invited her to speak in Cleveland and, according to the literature she is distributing, Elbert Hubbard I has left of her, and Joaquin Miller has entertained her. The Millionaire is the Master Earth Magazine, of which Miss Goldman is the head.

When Miss Goldman was asked what she thought of the suffragist movement she said:

"The ballot won't free women any more than it has freed men. It has really enslaved men and it would do the same thing for women, so I don't approve of women voting. But I, of course, think that women should be entitled to all the privileges men enjoy and, indeed, more, since they populate the world and therefore perform the greatest service to mankind."

"What of the financial aspect of your tours?" she was asked. "Who pays the bills?"

"I am traveling in the interest of my magazine," she replied, "and we always charge admission to our meetings, and the receipts defray our expenses."

Some one inquired why it was that she always managed to reach Philadelphia during a political campaign. Was there any political significance attached to her visits?

"None whatever," she said. "We are absolutely independent of political influences."

Miss Goldman uses good, even fluent English, speaking, however, with a foreign accent, and her voice is rich and pleasant to hear.

With Mr. O'Leary none of these qualities weigh. He looks only at the police record. He drew from his desk certain documents appertaining to Miss Goldman's history. He recalled that he assisted in arresting her in Philadelphia in 1893, when she was "wanted" in New York. According to the records, she tried to speak here in 1901, but failed, and was again unsuccessful in 1904.

She and Doctor Reitman announce, however, that she will be successful in speaking her thoughts tonight or legal proceedings will result. Doctor Reitman said yesterday that he proposed to make a test case, and he intimated that it would be well for Mr. O'Leary to become thoroughly versed in the law.

NO CIVIL SERVICE PLANK

Indorsement of Merit System Omitted, as Reform's Attitude Is Known.

Although it is generally known that the William Penn party approves of civil ser-

recover the trust fund for the founding of the home.

Mrs. Mercer, who died in 1881, set aside $100,000 of her estate for the home, but she provided that it should shelter no clergyman who used tobacco in any form. During its 21 years of existence only 33 applications for admittance were received, of which 11 were refused because they failed to show proper eligibility, eight did not pursue their applications and only 15 were admitted. There is only one inmate remaining and the board of managers applied to the Attorney General to institute proceedings for the purpose of applying the trust property for the payment to selected beneficiaries stipulated amounts, to be determined by the managers of the institution.

Ex-Judge W. W. Porter, counsel for the trustees of the estate of Lydia I. Biddle, heir under the Mercer will, objected to this action, contending that, the charity having failed, the property should revert to the heirs.

John G. Johnson and A. Culver Boyd, appearing for the board of managers, maintained that the charity as intended by Mrs. Mercer could be successfully carried out. Peter Boyd, an attorney, who is treasurer of the board of managers of the institution, told Judge Sulzberger that the prohibitive tobacco clause was not the real cause for the small number of applications for admission to the institution, but as no provision had been made in the will for clergymen and their wives the majority of these, even though indigent, did not care to leave their homes. He was of the opinion that if the home ceased to exist the fund could be turned over to the Board of Ministerial Relief of the Presbyterian Church, which cares for 457 clergymen, and that the trust would then be fully carried out.

Judge Sulzberger took the matter under advisement.

SOPHIE BECK ARRAIGNED

Waives Hearing, and May Be Brought to Philadelphia Today.

Mrs. Estella Graham, alias Sophie Beck, who was arrested at Atlantic City on Friday by postal inspectors, on a charge of conspiracy in using the United States mails in the Storey Cotton Company swindle, was arraigned yesterday before United States Commissioner Morgan, of Camden, at the courthouse. The proceedings were a mere formality. Mrs. Graham waived a hearing, and she was remanded to await removal to Philadelphia.

An incident of the hearing was the refusal of Mr. Morgan to permit newspaper photographers to take pictures of the prisoner. He said:

"The defendant is in the custody of the law and helpless. She will be punished for whatever crime she has committed, and I forbid the taking of her picture or the making of any sketches of her, as it would be manifestly unfair."

Mrs. Graham said that efforts to obtain bail would be made in Philadelphia.

Postal Inspector Cortelyou said that before Mrs. Beck is removed to Philadelphia it will be necessary to obtain an order from either Judge Cross or Judge Bellsiah of Trenton, and it is likely that Mrs. Beck will be removed today. In Philadelphia she will probably be arraigned before Judge Holland, who will fix the bail.

It is said that Miss Beck is a Camden woman, and that before her marriage to Graham her name was Schafer.

MAN DOUBLY ACCUSED

Held on Charges Made by Wife and Another Woman.

After several sensational stories told on the witness stand and the announcement of the arrest of one of his accusers, Raymond Warren Broadbent, of 3312 Woodland avenue, was held in $1500 bail for court yesterday afternoon by Magistrate Pole Bigher. Broadbent, formerly a clerk in the City Controller's office, is charged with assault and battery by his wife, Ida May Broadbent, of 4609 Spring Garden street, and with a serious offense by Mrs. May Dietrich on behalf of Rose Yetter, a friend of Mrs. Dietrich. While the hearing was in progress it was announced that Mrs. Dietrich had been arrested on complaint of Broadbent's brother.

Mrs. Broadbent cited three cases where she had been murderously assaulted. Broadbent said that he was a victim of political enemies. He declared that he had been removed from the Controller's office to make room for some one more powerful politically. In answer to this, Sheriff Gilfillan, who, the hearing developed, was attorney for Mrs. Broadbent in divorce proceedings begun some months ago by Broadbent, said that the defendant had been removed for incompetency. Mr. Gilfillan declared that Broadbent's charges against his wife were absolutely groundless, and that the arrest of Mrs. Dietrich appeared to him to be a scheme to bar her testimony in the charges against the prisoner.

TO RAISE RAILROAD PENSIONS

Pennsylvania Employes' Relief Association Discusses $25 Increase.

As a result of a meeting held at Altoona yesterday, the Pennsylvania Railroad Relief Association is likely to adopt a plan by which pensions paid to all retired employes [illegible] a month.

It is proposed to have all members of the association donate two cents each day to make the increased fund. To the high officials $25 a month would be only a small addition to the pensions, but it would be a large addition to the pensions of the great majority of employes.

ACCUSED OF FORGERY

Bookkeeper Arrested on Complaint of Employer.

Leon J. Lippman, of this city, was arrested in New York last night on the charge of forgery. According to the police, Lippman is wanted in this city for obtaining about $2500 from his employer, Thomas

Purchase of Jersey Central Declared to Be Necessary—Wanted to Save Lehigh Valley.

The story of the way the Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company obtained control of the Central Railroad of New Jersey and how the Lehigh Valley Railroad was reorganized and put upon a paying basis was told yesterday by George F. Baer, president of the Reading companies, during a cross-examination conducted for more than three hours by James B. McReynolds and G. Carroll Todd, special assistants to the United States Attorney General. Mr. Baer also reviewed the relations, past and present, existing between various subsidiary companies of the Reading and between the anthracite coal-carrying railroads.

The cross-examination was held on the third floor of the Federal Building. It was a continuance of the suit which has been conducted for the last two years by the Government against the anthracite coal-carrying railroads, which are charged with conspiracy to eliminate competition and to increase the cost of coal.

Mr. Baer took the stand at 10.30 in the morning and held it, with the exception of an hour and a half intermission, until 3.30 in the afternoon. Besides the special attorneys, Major Warren, counsel for the Temple Coal and Iron Company; Samuel Dickson, counsel for the Schuylkill Coal and Navigation Company; former Judge Campbell, of the Reading Railway, and former Judge Moot, representing New York companies, took part in questioning the witness.

It was denied by Mr. Baer that there had been any attempt at conspiracy on the part of the coal roads and in this connection told of the agreements entered into between the railroads and the independent operators of the coal mines. He answered questions as to the regulation of the price of coal and then took up the history of the transactions between his railroad and the Jersey Central.

Mr. Baer explained that the Philadelphia and Reading needed the Jersey Central tracks to enter New York city, which, he said, is the general distributing point for anthracite coal. For a number of years unsuccessful efforts had been made to unite the roads. An attempt to obtain a lease had failed because the courts had decided that under the laws of New Jersey a lease could not be given.

Story of Jersey Central.

In 1900, Mr. Baer said, he had learned that the interests which controlled the stock of the Jersey Central road were willing to sell and that they had refused an offer from the Baltimore and Ohio as being too low. He saw the danger to the Reading in case adverse interests should obtain the Jersey Central and at the same time realized the opportunity to obtain control of the road for the Reading.

"The situation demanded prompt action," continued Reading's president. "I told J. Pierpont Morgan, a voting trustee of the Reading Company, that I thought I could buy the line legally by obtaining a majority of the stock. I made a critical examination of the reports of the road for several years to see if we could buy it profitably. Inside of a week arrangements were made whereby the stock was bought."

"One allegation of the Government was that the Reading Company in payment of the stock did not make a bona fide purchase," interrupted former Judge Campbell. "In other words, that the transaction was effected by an exchange of securities. Is that true?"

"I do not know where such stories originated," replied Mr. Baer. "We created a syndicate and the Reading bonds were sold to it and good money was paid for them."

In connection with the history of the reorganization of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, Mr. Baer declared that the anthracite coal carrying roads had never held a majority of its stock and that they only managed the road through the consent of the other stockholders. He referred to the bad condition of affairs which had befallen the Lehigh Valley Railroad before an interest in it was acquired by the anthracite coal carrying roads.

"It was thought very dangerous," he continued, "to let the Lehigh Valley Railroad at that time go into the hands of receivers, because of the effect it would have on the other railroads."

He learned of the possibility of the purchase of the stock of the Asa Packer estate, Mr. Baer said.

"Mr. Morgan," he continued, "was anxious that it should be done. I saw Mr. Bliss, secretary about the Packer stocks. This [illegible] and their division among four of the anthracite coal carrying roads. We had to change presidents. Then we got Mr. Thomas, of the Erie Railroad, to come in, and now we have managed the Lehigh Valley ten years and demonstrated its ability to take care of itself.

"We never had a majority of the stock. We never sought it. The stockholders in the Lehigh Valley Railroad always sustained us. The reason we took hold of the road was because we feared the general effect which the failure of one company has upon another."

Agreements With Independents.

Other points brought out in Mr. Baer's testimony were the arrangements between the independent coal operators and the coal carrying companies, the fixing of the price of coal and [illegible]

840514068

The Emma Goldman Papers

In Justice to Leon Szolgosz / Emma Goldman. – pp. 239-241 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 8 (Oct. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The police threatened to stop not only Miss Goldman, but any one else who dared to say a word on the subject.

The Single Taxers meanwhile at their open-air meeting at the Plaza of the City Hall denounced the action of the Director and passed condemnatory resolutions. On Tuesday a committee of them visited the Director and informed him of their attitude, as a result of which, Mr. Clay addressed a letter to Mr. Reitman requesting the submission of Miss Goldman's manuscript to him, that he might determine what further action to take. This communication was met by an emphatic refusal on the part of counsel for the Free Speech Association, Henry John Nelson, declaring that any such action on the part of Miss Goldman would be to recognize a self-constituted censorship, wholly illegal. Thereupon the police were ordered to allow the meeting to proceed, but to prevent Miss Goldman from entering the hall.

Between three and four hundred uniformed men, accordingly, were sent to Odd Fellows' Temple to prevent one small woman from forcing her way into the hall. These men acted with their usual brutality, shoving and hustling men, women, and even little children about the street in a most insulting and brutal manner.

When Miss Goldman arrived, in company with Mr. Nelson, Timothy O'Leary, the prize ruffian of Philadelphia, commanded her in the words and tone of the hired "tough" which he is: "Go back where you came from. You can't come in here." Thus forced down the steps, and followed by a squad of police who would not allow her even to walk upon any street leading in the direction of the hall, Miss Goldman finally was allowed to go to her attorney's office, where it was determined to apply to the courts for an injunction the following day.

Meanwhile the meeting was proceeding, being addressed by Messrs. Robinson, Ryan, Hannon, and Guerrera, Single Taxers; Mr. Henderson, Socialist; Mr. Reitman and myself. The chairman, Mr. Munroe, put condemnatory resolutions, which were unanimously passed by the meeting.

The police stood two and three deep around the room, in the outer corridors, and double lining the street for a block, during the entire meeting. Most of the speakers

paid their compliments to the "guardians of law" with more or less directness; all insisted that it was no longer a question of Miss Goldman or her ideas, but of the right of free speech to all.

On Friday morning the hearing in the injunction case came before Judges Wilson and Audenried. At present writing no decision has been reached, and it is very problematical when it will be or what it will be. Anarchists are always met by the argument, "Use such means to obtain your rights as the law grants, and do not say you have no rights until these means are tried." Well, this time they are being tried, with what effect we shall see. Fair reports have been given by the *Ledger* and the *Record*, and one or two editorials strongly censuring the Director have appeared. A number of letters from citizens have also given voice to the sentiment of the constitutional element of the community. The mass, however, are indifferent.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

* * *

IN JUSTICE TO LEON SZOLGOSZ

EDITOR OF PUBLIC LEDGER:

In the issue of your paper of the 6th instant, there appeared the following letter:

"Sir:—The fact that the assassin of William McKinley, under oath, swore that he attributed his act of crime to the utterances of Emma Goldman, is ground enough for preventing her speaking here. T. T. H."

Among decent people it is customary to ignore any printed accusation that is not signed in full.

However, I ask the courtesy of your paper, not for my defense, but for the benefit of your readers who, I take it, believe in hearing both sides.

T. T. H. states that the "assassin of William McKinley swore under oath that he attributes his act of crime to the utterance of Emma Goldman." It requires but little logic to see that T. T. H. speaks from hearsay and not from knowledge.

If the "assassin" had given any such sworn testimony, would not the authorities have confronted him with me, and would that not have been sufficient evidence, espe-

654

840514068

The Emma Goldman Papers

In Justice to Leon Szolgosz / Emma Goldman. – pp. 239-241 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 8 (Oct. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

cially at that moment of popular frenzy, to hold me for trial, nay, even to send me to prison?

For the enlightenment of T. T. H. permit me to say that the State of New York employed 200 detectives and spent $30,000 to connect me with the "assassin." Evidently, they were leaving nothing undone to get sufficient evidence. Is it reasonable, then, to assume that sworn testimony, such as is referred to in the letter of T. T. H., would have been allowed to pass?

In justice to that victim of economic iniquity and social ignorance, Leon Czolgosz, I wish to state once for all, that he made no such statement, under oath or otherwise, nor had he ever claimed to be an Anarchist.

Leon Czolgosz made one statement when he was placed in the electric chair, and the good Christian Brothers, in their great Christian love attempted to draw a confession from their helpless victim.

They told him that Emma Goldman had denounced him as a worthless beggar, or something to that effect. "It makes no difference what she says, she knew nothing of the act," was the "assassin's" reply.

As to what else that boy may or may not have said, only his warders and the prison walls know.

Warders, in the sublime words of Oscar Wilde, "must set a lock upon their lips, and make their face a mask," and again,

"Every prison that men build for men,
Is built with bricks of shame
And bound with bars, lest Christ should see
How men their brothers maim."

No, the "assassin" has made no statements, nor could there be found even circumstantial evidence to connect me in any way.

Besides, I absolutely deny that utterances, no matter how incendiary, have ever induced any one to commit violence. Two conditions are necessary for such acts: First, a great social wrong that is undermining the liberties of a people. Secondly, a deep, sensitive social or individual psychology, incapable of enduring that wrong. Where these factors are lacking, one might preach violence from every housetop without the slightest result. On the other hand, where social conditions

outrage every sense of justice, violent acts are their natural results.

This brings me to the most vital point. Not Anarchism, the philosophy of social peace and harmony, nor Emma Goldman's speeches are responsible for the act of the "assassin" of William McKinley, but people like T. T. H., like those who are attempting to throttle free speech. In fact, all those who are maintaining and supporting a system which, as Thomas Paine said, "Sends old age to the workhouse and youth to the gallows."

No doubt T. T. H. means well, but he has much to learn. I suggest that he attend the Free Speech Meeting, Friday night, at the Labor Lyceum. He might learn there what liberty really means.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Philadelphia, Oct. 7th, 1909.

* * *

IN DEFENSE OF FREE SPEECH

THE police suppression of Emma Goldman in Philadelphia has resulted in a systematic campaign of agitation against the forces of reaction.

Single Taxers and other radicals have joined hands with the Anarchists in defense of free speech. A series of protest meetings is being arranged, in order to arouse the publice consciousness to the outrage upon the freedom of speech and assembly. The first meeting of the series took place Friday, October 8th, proving a most interesting and enthusiastic affair. Various speakers addressed the meeting, among them ex-Congressman Robert Baker, Frank Stephens, Voltairine De Cleyre, George Brown, Dr. Ben L. Reitman, and others. Leonard D. Abbott, Chairman of the Free Speech Committee, presided. Letters of sympathy and encouragement were read from prominent lovers of liberty from various parts of the country. Several of these communications are reprinted below. The complete report of the protest meeting will be published in our next issue.

Philadelphia, October 7, 1909.

DEAR ABBOTT:

I am glad you are to preside at the meeting to-morrow night. Our meeting is not called as a protest against

655

840514069

The Emma Goldman Papers

In Defense of Free Speech / Emma Goldman. — pp. 241-243 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 4, no. 7 (Oct. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

cially at that moment of popular frenzy, to hold me for trial, nay, even to send me to prison?

For the enlightenment of T. T. H. permit me to say that the State of New York employed 200 detectives and spent $30,000 to connect me with the "assassin." Evidently, they were leaving nothing undone to get sufficient evidence. Is it reasonable, then, to assume that sworn testimony, such as is referred to in the letter of T. T. H., would have been allowed to pass?

In justice to that victim of economic iniquity and social ignorance, Leon Czolgosz, I wish to state once for all, that he made no such statement, under oath or otherwise, nor had he ever claimed to be an Anarchist.

Leon Czolgosz made one statement when he was placed in the electric chair, and the good Christian Brothers, in their great Christian love attempted to draw a confession from their helpless victim.

They told him that Emma Goldman had denounced him as a worthless beggar, or something to that effect. "It makes no difference what she says, she knew nothing of the act," was the "assassin's" reply.

As to what else that boy may or may not have said, only his warders and the prison walls know.

Warders, in the sublime words of Oscar Wilde, "must set a lock upon their lips, and make their face a mask," and again,

> "Every prison that men build for men,
> Is built with bricks of shame
> And bound with bars, lest Christ should see
> How men their brothers maim."

No, the "assassin" has made no statements, nor could there be found even circumstantial evidence to connect me in any way.

Besides, I absolutely deny that utterances, no matter how incendiary, have ever induced any one to commit violence. Two conditions are necessary for such acts: First, a great social wrong that is undermining the liberties of a people. Secondly, a deep, sensitive social or individual psychology, incapable of enduring that wrong. Where these factors are lacking, one might preach violence from every housetop without the slightest result. On the other hand, where social conditions

outrage every sense of justice, violent acts are their natural results.

This brings me to the most vital point. Not Anarchism, the philosophy of social peace and harmony, nor Emma Goldman's speeches are responsible for the act of the "assassin" of William McKinley, but people like T. T. H., like those who are attempting to throttle free speech. In fact, all those who are maintaining and supporting a system which, as Thomas Paine said, "Sends old age to the workhouse and youth to the gallows."

No doubt T. T. H. means well, but he has much to learn. I suggest that he attend the Free Speech Meeting, Friday night, at the Labor Lyceum. He might learn there what liberty really means.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Philadelphia, Oct. 7th, 1909.

* * *

IN DEFENSE OF FREE SPEECH

THE police suppression of Emma Goldman in Philadelphia has resulted in a systematic campaign of agitation against the forces of reaction.

Single Taxers and other radicals have joined hands with the Anarchists in defense of free speech. A series of protest meetings is being arranged, in order to arouse the publice consciousness to the outrage upon the freedom of speech and assembly. The first meeting of the series took place Friday, October 8th, proving a most interesting and enthusiastic affair. Various speakers addressed the meeting, among them ex-Congressman Robert Baker, Frank Stephens, Voltairine De Cleyre, George Brown, Dr. Ben L. Reitman, and others. Leonard D. Abbott, Chairman of the Free Speech Committee, presided. Letters of sympathy and encouragement were read from prominent lovers of liberty from various parts of the country. Several of these communications are reprinted below. The complete report of the protest meeting will be published in our next issue.

Philadelphia, October 7, 1909.

DEAR ABBOTT:

I am glad you are to preside at the meeting to-morrow night. Our meeting is not called as a protest against

656

840514069

The Emma Goldman Papers

In Defense of Free Speech / Emma Goldman. – pp. 241-243 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 7 (Oct. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

the State of Pennsylvania, but on behalf of the State of Pennsylvania. The victim of last week's mistake in Philadelphia was not Emma Goldman but the State of Pennsylvania. We know that Emma Goldman survived that incident unhurt. But who can say that the State of Pennsylvania survived that incident unhurt?

Our meeting is not inspired by an interest in one person or one idea. It belongs to all persons and all ideas. Anybody can stand oppression easier than the oppressor. Emma Goldman can stand the police administration of Philadelphia better than the State of Pennsylvania can stand the police administration of Philadelphia. In the arenas of free speech the last idea is as good as the first. The idea of one is as good as the idea of all. The ideas of minorities are as good as the ideas of majorities. It would be as much right for the one rebel to gag all the conformists as for all the conformists to gag the one rebel.

The police administration of Philadelphia stands for the club. We stand for thought and love. The police are always given the choice of weapons and sometimes they choose the weapon of barbarism. The man who trusts his brain and his heart so little that he appeals to the club in contests of the brain and the heart retains the vision of the savage and can enjoy no prestige in the courts of the soul. The trouble in Philadelphia is not so much the policeman as the police consciousness. And I may say that I am less interested in getting the people out of the hands of the policeman than in getting the police consciousness out of the brains of the people. And I may say that it's not half so sad to see the liberties of Philadelphia threatened as to see that there is no general protest against the threat. Not half so sad to see a few men misusing a few clubs as to see a whole community misusing a lot of brains. Not half so sad to know that a handful of misguided officials make a mockery of justice as to know that many thousands who would like to dare not join us in this protest. Not half so sad to have a little woman stopped by a big bluff from speaking as to have a whole city stopped by a little bluff from hearing. Not half so sad, my brothers. Not half so sad.

HORACE TRAUBEL.

MY DEAR LEONARD ABBOTT:

It has been decreed by "the wise fathers of this city" that I may not be with you to-night. Do you think Philadelphia will still be safe if I send you a message instead?

Henrik Ibsen said that the majority accepts a great truth only when it has become a lie.

Whosoever doubted Ibsen's deep understanding of the mass psychology had ample opportunity to be convinced in Philadelphia Tuesday, September 28th.

Ten thousand people came to a meeting at Odd Fellows' Temple, but because the majority has turned a great truth into a lie, free speech was stabbed in the heart, Tuesday evening, September 28th.

Life! liberty! happiness! The inalienable right to free thought and expression, in the old long ago, represented a truth for the unpopular few. A sublime truth, for which men gave their all. The penalty of that truth was death. Heroic, unflinching death!

Liberty, independence, free speech, free assemblage are now popular slogans, hailed and proclaimed by all. Liberty by the "grace" of the law, independence at the behest of gold, free speech at the mercy of the club. What mockery, what terrible absurdity.

Ibsen is right; the majority has accepted the truth only when it became a lie, a hideous, brazen lie.

It was that lie, more than the police department of Philadelphia, that made the outrage of September 28th possible.

Men had been known to shed their last drop of blood for a truth, but who would expect anyone to rise in rebellion for a lie?

That's why ten thousand people submitted supinely to the brutal force of police clubs.

I register my protest not against the gagging of my voice. Silence is more powerful than speech. I protest with all the ardor of my soul against the perpetuation of the majority lie.

Liberty fettered by law! Independence at the behest of gold! Freedom of expression at the mercy of the club!

I protest against this lie, against this hideous, brazen lie.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

657

890501001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Emma Goldman Talks Anarchy Before Judges / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. —(Oct. 2, 1909).

Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

...URDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 2, 1909.—22 PAGES. PRICE ONE CENT.

EIGHT PAGES
COPPER ETCHINGS

The Finest Newspaper Supplement Issued in America

12 PAGES OF MAGAZINE EQUAL TO ANY 25 CENT MONTHLY PERIODICAL.

4 PAGES OF WOMAN'S SECTION (4 COLORS). BY ANNE RITTENHOUSE, THE FASHION AUTHORITY.

4 PAGES OF COMIC AND CHILDREN'S SECTIONS (4 COLORS).

32 PAGES MOST COMPLETE NEWS SECTIONS.

60 PAGES IN ALL.

THE SUNDAY PUBLIC LEDGER

COOK STORY CALLS OUT NEW CRITICISM

Prof. Updegraff, of Naval Observatory, Finds Extraordinary Speed Record.

24.78 MILES FOR 18 DAYS

WASHINGTON BUREAU, THE PUBLIC LEDGER.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 1.—While Washington scientists refused tonight to go into the controversial aspects of the apparent contradiction in Doctor Cook's story this morning, in which he declared that after a day of "dazzling light" he saw the sun set for a few moments on April 3, 1908, after having been quoted before as explaining his not having seen the midnight sun as early as April 1 by the fact that the weather was cloudy from that date to the 7th, Prof. Milton Updegraff, of the Naval Observatory, gave some facts about the midnight sun that make it clear that Doctor Cook, according to his story, as printed this morning, had to travel during the last 17 days of his journey northward at an average speed of nearly 25 miles a day.

Doctor Cook's first accounts claimed an average of something like 15 miles, though that average probably applied to a longer period than the 17 days now under consideration. Commander Peary has claimed a daily speed of 35 miles a day. Nevertheless, an average of 24.78 miles is considered extraordinary for so long a period as 18 consecutive days.

Professor Updegraff is director of the Nautical Almanac and in giving figures he read from the official publication of the observatory.

On April 3, 1908, the date referred to in Doctor Cook's account, the lowest point at which the midnight sun could have been observed, according to Professor Updegraff, was 54 degrees 20 minutes, or, according to the technical phraseology, the declination of the sun, as appearing to an observer at the North Pole, was 5 degrees 40 minutes.

A degree is about 69½ miles in length. In Doctor Cook's account as printed this morning he said that on April 3 the weather became settled and clear, while the sun at midnight sank for a few moments. That would make April 4 the first day on which Doctor Cook first saw the midnight sun, or could have seen it if the weather continued clear.

According to the figures given by Professor Updegraff, the lowest point at which the midnight sun could have been seen on April 4, 1908, was 51 degrees and 56 minutes, a distance of 6 degrees 5 minutes from the Pole. That means approximately 421 miles, according to the data supplied by Professor Updegraff, and from April 4 to 21, when the Pole was discovered, leaves only 17 days for that part of the journey.

The lowest points at which the midnight sun could have been seen on the days of the week following April 1, 1908, with the distances from the Pole, are given below:

[illegible] degrees [illegible]

SLAYS CELLMATE WITH A RAZOR

Quarrel Over Crust of Bread Results in Killing of Prisoner.

BRIEF FIGHT FOR LIFE

Weapon Given to Convicts to Enable Them to Shave Themselves.

Possession of a crust of bread was the incentive of a desperate quarrel in Holmesburg County Prison yesterday morning, which resulted in the death of Peter Gimbronia, at the hands of his cellmate, Antons Zachish. The blade of a razor which had been given to the men in order that they might shave themselves, as is customary every Friday morning, was the weapon used by the slayer.

Zachish showed remorse when his deed was discovered by Matthew Hastings, the keeper, and said that if he had not succeeded in killing Gimbronia, his own life would have been forfeited. The man's explanation was borne out by the fact that the handle of the razor was found tightly clutched in Gimbronia's hand. According to Zachish's story, Gimbronia attempted to cut him during their quarrel over the bread. Zachish wrestled with the man and succeeded in knocking the blade from the handle. Both men made a dive for the blade, and Zachish was the first to reach it. A desperate struggle ensued, Gimbronia endeavoring to ward off his opponent with the razor handle. Zachish finally had his opportunity and struck a fatal blow.

Attracted by the scream of the victim, Hastings ran to the cell with his revolver in hand, to find Zachish standing over the dead form.

"I killed the man; yes, I killed the dog" were the first words that greeted the guard.

The quarrel and its fatal ending occupied only a few minutes. When Hastings gave the men their allowance of bread and the razor they were apparently in good humor, and were chatting amicably. The guard had inadvertently placed a crust of bread in the combined portion of bread that was given to the two men and the claim of both men for the extra allowance led to the fight. Hastings had not reached the end of Block C, on his round with the bread and the razors, when he heard the disturbance in Cell 48.

The two men, who were convicted on separate charges of aggravated assault and battery, have been cellmates since July 19 and were regarded as model prisoners. The men, being fellow-countrymen, soon became friends and were never known to quarrel, and their keepers never experienced any trouble with them whatever.

Gimbronia was sentenced to 18 months by Judge Ralston, on July 8. He was accused by Emanuel Maganico of assaulting him. Special Policemen Jackson and Smith, of the 23d and Brown streets station, testified that Gimbronia had brutally beaten Maganico.

Zachish was sentenced to one year on July 15 by Judge Ralston. He had beaten Marco Zarish, of 237 New street, during a quarrel at the latter's home. Gimbronia lived at 913 South Fairhill street.

Zachish will be kept in solitary confinement until the Coroner's inquest, which, probably, will be held on Monday.

It is the custom in the Eastern Penitentiary and the Moyamensing and Holmesburg Prisons to distribute razors to the prisoners three times a week, Monday, Wednesday and Friday. The men are closely watched while they are shaving themselves, to prevent any attempt to harm either themselves or their cellmates.

BOY KILLS BABY WITH PISTOL

Climbs After Weapon on Bedroom Shelf and Causes Its Discharge.

[SPECIAL TELEGRAM TO PUBLIC LEDGER.]

HOBOKEN, N. J., Oct. 1.—Edna Hansen, 4 years old, was shot and killed today by her seven-year-old brother, Charles, at their home, 515 Willow avenue.

The children were playing in a bedroom, where [illegible]

WHITNEY AT SALEM

Does Not Go to Boston to Meet Cook, as Was Expected.

SALEM, Mass., Oct. 1.—Harry Whitney, who is on his way home from Greenland, left the St. John's express here tonight instead of continuing to Boston, where it was thought he might meet Doctor Cook. On the journey Mr. Whitney remained most of the time in his Pullman compartment with friends. In response to an inquiry at Portland he said:

"The report that a meeting has been arranged between Doctor Cook and myself is unfortunate. I have had no communication with either Doctor Cook or Mr. Peary."

Regarding Doctor Cook's records, Mr. Whitney said that when Doctor Cook gave him the boxes at Etah the explorer opened one, remarking, "This contains my instruments," and showed them to Mr. Whitney. There was another box which Doctor Cook did not open, and the contents of which Mr. Whitney says he did not know, though he has no reason to doubt Doctor Cook's statement that in it were rough drafts and notes concerning the discovery of the North Pole.

LIPTON COMING TO U. S.

British Sportsman Will Again Challenge N. Y. Yacht Club.

NEW YORK, Oct. 1.—Joseph Garretson, of Cincinnati, who was among the passengers to arrive on the steamship Mauretania last night, brought word from Sir Thomas Lipton that he would sail from England for New York on October 9, to make a tour of the country and to issue a challenge to the New York Yacht Club. Referring to his plans, Sir Thomas said:

"I will race for the cup if I am permitted to do so on even terms. But I will not engage to sail a marine freak across the ocean to compete against a skimming dish. When the Shamrock crossed the ocean she came within an ace of sinking with all hands on, and I shall never ask another man to subject his life to such useless risks."

Sir Thomas further said that he hoped the New York Yacht Club would permit a race under conditions he would suggest.

Members of the New York Yacht Club tonight made it clear that there has been no change of sentiment in the club since a similar proposition of the Irish Baronet was rejected two years ago, and that the club still holds that the famous America's trophy stands for maximum speed on the required water line length. It was pointed out by some of the members that gossip regarding challenges for the America's Cup, especially by friends of Sir Thomas, are perennial at this season of the year, as under the rules challenges must be made before November 1 in order to comply with the 10 months' rule allowed to build a defender.

GIFT FOR CHINESE NAVY

American Fleet Officers to Present $1000 Punch Bowl.

[SPECIAL TELEGRAM TO PUBLIC LEDGER.]

NEW YORK, Oct. 1.—The Imperial Chinese, as well as the Imperial Japanese, navy is to be remembered in splendid fashion by the officers and enlisted men of the Atlantic fleet who made the round-the-world voyage last year. Only those officers and men who were serving in the second squadron of the fleet are responsible for the Chinese gift.

The token that is going to China is a magnificent punch bowl more than two feet high and costing more than $1000. It is the joint gift of the officers and men of the battleships Louisiana, Virginia, Georgia, Wisconsin, Illinois, Kearsarge, Kentucky and Ohio, the vessels that visited Hongkong under Rear Admiral Schroeder, the present commander in chief of the Atlantic fleet.

BOY'S STRANGE ACCIDENT

Clothes Catch in a Tree, and He Hangs Head Down Half an Hour.

Harry McGurry, 14 years old, of 611 Baker street, hung head down nearly half an hour yesterday as a result of a fall from one of the top limbs of a chestnut tree. His clothes caught on a lower limb and, do all that he and two youthful companions could, he could not free himself.

Finally Edward Groves, a farmer, drove along. He had a rope and one of the other boys got this around McGurry's body. Then the lad was hauled to safety. He was unconscious.

REAL HERO IN COLLEGE LIFE

EMMA GOLDMAN TALKS ANARCHY BEFORE JUDGES

Would Destroy All Governments, She Admits, When Appealing for Right of Speech.

DECISION IS RESERVED

Action to Prevent Police Interference With Her Public Lectures Heard in Court.

Anarchistic teachings of Emma Goldman, in which she openly advocated the abolition of all government, figured prominently in a hearing yesterday before Judges Willson and Audenried, of the injunction proceedings brought by her to prevent police interference with her public lectures.

Miss Goldman had an early opportunity to explain her views on anarchy. While she unhesitatingly admitted her desire to see the ultimate overthrow of the government, even by force, if necessary, she maintained that during her 20 years in the lecture field, only on one occasion had she been stopped from speaking.

The colloquy between Judge Willson and the woman proved the most interesting feature of the proceedings, especially to the men and women followers of the anarchist, who sat about her in the courtroom. Miss Goldman, wearing a loose, black silk gown and a fancy shawl, sat within a few feet of Mayor Reyburn and Director Clay, whom she had named among the defendants in her suit.

Questioned by the Court.

She was the first witness, and, following her examination by Henry John Nelson, her counsel, upon her teachings and writings, Judge Willson questioned her as follows:

Q. Then your views of what you call anarchy are to this effect: that there ought to be no government and that all government ought to be destroyed, and each person take care of himself according to his views of right and wrong? A. My ideas are to the effect that the people, if properly educated and developed, can take care of themselves. They need no government at such a stage of education and development. The Government could then be destroyed, and—

Q. Even by force? A. In some future time, yes, when the people are able to take care of themselves, government should be destroyed.

Assistant City Solicitors James I. Alcorn and Andrew Wright Crawford, representing the police officials, cross-examined Miss Goldman on her arrest and [illegible] in New York for inciting to riot, and read extracts from the pamphlets sent to the department as indicating the nature of her proposed lectures. These included "Anarchy and What It Really Stands For," and a book on the marriage state, but the Court ruled out Miss Goldman's views as expressed in the latter book. Judge Willson also declined to permit Mr. Alcorn to examine the woman regarding the statement attributed to Czolgosz, the slayer of President McKinley, that he committed the crime at her suggestion.

After she had resumed her seat, Miss Goldman asked permission to say something, and, although her counsel attempted to quiet her, Judge Willson told her to come to the bar of the court and said that she might add anything supporting the argument of her attorney.

"For 20 years," she said, "I have been in the public lecture field, and in all that time I have never been stopped from speaking, except in one instance in 1908. Why then have the police authorities of this city the right to prevent me from speaking before I have been heard? If we have free speech, every human being has the right to talk, at the same time being ready to take the consequences of his or her remarks."

Reitman Once More.

Dr. Ben H. Reitman, manager for Miss Goldman, created amusement while telling of an address he made in Odd Fellows' Temple last Tuesday night after Miss Goldman had been prevented from speaking. The topic of his address, he said, was: "Malignant Police Brutality That Made Philadelphia Blush." Mr. Alcorn, to show that the address was of incen-

658

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890501001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Emma Goldman Talks Anarchy Before Judges / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. —(Oct. 2, 1909).

Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 1.—While Washington scientists refused tonight to go into the controversial aspects of the apparent contradiction in Doctor Cook's story this morning, in which he declared that after a day of "dazzling light" he saw the sun set for a few moments on April 3, 1908, after having been quoted before as explaining his not having seen the midnight sun as early as April 1 by the fact that the weather was cloudy from that date to the 7th, Prof Milton Updegraff, of the Naval Observatory, gave some facts about the midnight sun that make it clear that Doctor Cook, according to his story, as printed this morning, had to travel during the last 17 days of his journey northward at an average speed of nearly 35 miles a day.

Doctor Cook's first accounts claimed an average of something like 15 miles, though that average probably applied to a longer period than the 17 days now under consideration. Commander Peary has claimed a daily speed of 35 miles a day. Nevertheless, an average of 34.71 miles is considered extraordinary for so long a period as 18 consecutive days.

Professor Updegraff is director of the Nautical Almanac and in giving figures he read from the official publication of the Observatory.

On April 3, 1908, the date referred to in Doctor Cook's account, the lowest point at which the midnight sun could have been observed, according to Professor Updegraff, was 84 degrees 20 minutes, or, according to the technical phraseology, the declination of the sun, as appearing to an observer at the North Pole, was 5 degrees 40 minutes.

A degree is about 69½ miles in length. In Doctor Cook's account as printed this morning he said that on April 3 the weather became settled and clear, while the sun at midnight sank for a few moments. That would make April 4 the first day on which Doctor Cook first saw the midnight sun, or could have seen it if the weather continued clear.

According to the figures given by Professor Updegraff, the lowest point at which the midnight sun could have been seen on April 4, 1908, was 81 degrees and 55 minutes, a distance of 8 degrees 5 minutes from the Pole. That means approximately 421 miles, according to the data supplied by Professor Updegraff, and from April 4 to 21, when the Pole was discovered, leaves only 17 days for that part of his journey.

The lowest points at which the midnight sun could have been seen on the days of the week following April 1, 1908, with the distances from the Pole, are given below.

April 1—85 degrees 5 minutes, 240 miles.
April 2—85 degrees 2 minutes, 344 miles.
April 3—84 degrees 20 minutes, 392 miles.
April 4—83 degrees 55 minutes, 431 miles.
April 5—83 degrees 15 minutes, 444 miles.
April 6—82 degrees 10 minutes, 473 miles.
April 7—82 degrees 40 minutes, 496 miles.

This would mean that if Doctor Cook saw the midnight sun for the first time April 7, as he has been quoted as saying, and if the lateness of that date was due simply to his position and not to the cloudiness of the sky, he would have been on or about the 82d parallel, with nearly 500 miles to cover in the 14 days remaining before April 21, when he says he reached the Pole.

Prof. Willis Moore, Chief of the Weather Bureau and president of the National Geographical Society, will not introduce Doctor Cook when he delivers his lecture in the National Theatre here Sunday evening. Professor Moore's declination to serve is explained by the neutral attitude preserved so far by the society, and his own unwillingness to seem by his personal activity to put the stamp of official approval on Doctor Cook's exploits. Personally, he said, he would gladly welcome Doctor Cook.

AIDS MAN HER AUTO INJURED

Holds Victim's Head in Her Lap in Accident on Fifth Avenue.

[SPECIAL TELEGRAM TO PUBLIC LEDGER.]

NEW YORK, Oct. 1.—Mrs. Marion Story, of 20 Park avenue, was riding past Madison Square Park, in Fifth avenue, in her automobile today when it struck and knocked down John Colton, a laborer. Mrs. Story turned upon the lever of the car and stepped to the street, and as Colton lay on the ground moaning from pain caused by a broken rib, she took his head in her lap and comforted him until an ambulance arrived from Bellevue Hospital.

Colton refused to let a traffic policeman arrest Mrs. Story's chauffeur.

Snowstorm Near Elmira, N. Y.

ELMIRA, N. Y., Oct. 1.—Snow fell this morning in considerable quantity at Dundee, a village north of this city.

Attracted by the scream of the victim, Hastings ran to the cell with his revolver in hand, to find Zachish standing over the dead form.

"I killed the man; yes, I killed the dog!" were the first words that greeted the guard.

The quarrel and its fatal ending occupied only a few minutes. When Hastings gave the men their allowance of bread and the razor they were apparently in good humor, and were chatting amicably. The guard had inadvertently placed a crust of bread in the combined portion of bread that was given to the two men and the claim of both men for the extra allowance led to the fight. Hastings had not reached the end of Block C, on his round with the bread and the razors, when he heard the disturbance in Cell 48.

The two men, who were convicted on separate charges of aggravated assault and battery, have been cellmates since July 15 and were regarded as model prisoners. The men, being fellow-countrymen, soon became friends and were never known to quarrel, and their keepers never experienced any trouble with them whatever.

Gimbronia was sentenced to 18 months by Judge Ralston, on July 8. He was accused by Emanuel Maganico of assaulting him. Special Policemen Jackson and Smith, of the 22d and Brown streets station, testified that Gimbronia had brutally beaten Maganico.

Zachish was sentenced to one year on July 15 by Judge Ralston. He had beaten Marco Zarish, of 237 New street, during a quarrel at the latter's home. Gimbronia lived at 913 South Fairhill street.

Zachish will be kept in solitary confinement until the Coroner's inquest, which, probably, will be held on Monday.

It is the custom in the Eastern Penitentiary and the Moyamensing and Holmesburg Prisons to distribute razors to the prisoners three times a week, Monday, Wednesday and Friday. The men are closely watched while they are shaving themselves, to prevent any attempt to harm either themselves or their cellmates.

BOY KILLS BABY WITH PISTOL

Climbs After Weapon on Bedroom Shelf and Causes Its Discharge.

[SPECIAL TELEGRAM TO PUBLIC LEDGER.]

HOBOKEN, N. J., Oct. 1.—Edna Hansen, 4 years old, was shot and killed today by her seven-year-old brother, Charles, at their home, 515 Willow avenue.

The children were playing in a bedroom, where there was a revolver on a shelf over the bed.

It is supposed that the boy got up on the bed and took down the revolver, and that it went off as he was clambering down.

The other persons in the house rushed to the bedroom and found the little girl lying dead, while her brother was frantically beseeching her to speak to him. The bullet penetrated the little girl's left lung.

CORN FAMINE IN MEXICO

90 Per Cent. of Vegetables Also Destroyed; May Lift Import Duty.

MEXICO CITY, Oct. 1.—Mexico faces a corn famine which will require the lifting of the import duty on that cereal, according to Luis Balcetrier, secretary of the Sociedad Agricola Mexicana. The recent frost, which worked injury to the crop estimated at millions, is but the culmination of a series of disasters to farmers of the republic, including copious rains, droughts and tornadoes. In former famines the Government has lifted the duty on imported corn.

Ninety per cent. of the vegetable crop is also destroyed, and prices in some instances are doubled.

MILITIA GUARD NEGROES

Surround Jail in Mississippi to Prevent Lynching.

COLUMBUS, Miss., Oct. 1.—Anticipating that an attempt would be made to lynch Henry and Reese Betts, negroes, charged with the killing of J. W. Smith, a prominent planter, because of the acquittal today of another negro charged with arson, the county jail here was placed under guard of the local military company tonight on request of the Sheriff.

"Drys" Carry Virginia Town.

WINCHESTER, Va., Oct. 1.—The local option election at Woodstock, Va., today resulted in a victory for the "drys," the majority being 31. Two years ago the town went "dry" by a majority of one vote.

Sir Thomas further said that he hoped the New York Yacht Club would permit a race under conditions he would suggest.

Members of the New York Yacht Club tonight made it clear that there has been no change of sentiment in the club since a similar proposition of the Irish Baronet was rejected two years ago, and that the club still holds that the famous America's trophy stands for maximum speed on the required water line length. It was pointed out by some of the members that gossip regarding challenges for the America's Cup, especially by friends of Sir Thomas, are perennial at this season of the year, as under the rules challenges must be made before November 1 in order to comply with the 10 months' rule allowed to build a defender.

GIFT FOR CHINESE NAVY

American Fleet Officers to Present $1000 Punch Bowl.

[SPECIAL TELEGRAM TO PUBLIC LEDGER.]

NEW YORK, Oct. 1.—The Imperial Chinese, as well as the Imperial Japanese, navy is to be remembered in splendid fashion by the officers and enlisted men of the Atlantic fleet who made the round-the-world voyage last year. Only those officers and men who were serving in the second squadron of the fleet are responsible for the Chinese gift.

The token that is going to China is a magnificent punch bowl more than two feet high and costing more than $1000. It is the joint gift of the officers and men of the battleships Louisiana, Virginia, Georgia, Wisconsin, Illinois, Kearsarge, Kentucky and Ohio, the vessels that visited Hongkong under Rear Admiral Schroeder, the present commander in chief of the Atlantic fleet.

BOY'S STRANGE ACCIDENT

Clothes Catch in a Tree, and He Hangs Head Down Half an Hour.

Harry McGurry, 14 years old, of 4216 Baker street, hung head down nearly half an hour yesterday as a result of a fall from one of the top limbs of a chestnut tree. His clothes caught on a lower limb and do all that he and two youthful companions could, he could not free himself.

Finally Edward Graves, a farmer, drove along. He had a rope and one of the other boys got this around McGurry's body. Then the lad was hauled to safety. He was unconscious.

REAL HERO IN COLLEGE LIFE

Cornell's President Says It's the Student Who Does His Work.

[SPECIAL TELEGRAM TO PUBLIC LEDGER.]

ITHACA, N. Y., Oct. 1.—"The real hero in university life is the student who conscientiously does his university work," said President Jacob Gould Schurman, of Cornell University, in his annual address to the students at the opening of college. For the first time he spoke from the steps of Goldwin Smith Hall in the open. The president lamented the outside activities which take up the students' time, and said that intellectual things were regarded more highly abroad than in this country. He said, in part:

"There are in our universities those who love what they call student activities. In many they take a larger place than they ought. The university exists for intellectual work to be done in the laboratory, the class room and at home. Every student activity that interferes with good scholarship is a mistake. I recognize no student activity of supreme importance except studious activities."

MAYOR ADMITS AND RESIGNS

Acted as Go-between With South Carolina Dispensary Board.

CHESTER, S. C., Oct. 1.—Yielding to the expressed demand of the press and people of this city, Henry W. Samuels today presented his resignation as Mayor of Chester. At the trial at Columbia of James M. Farnum for bribery, Samuels testified for the State, saying that he had acted as a go-between for Farnum and Joseph S. Wyche, of this place, former member of the dispensary board. Samuels also admitted acting as representative of several liquor houses before the board.

Samuels's resignation was offered at a citizens' mass meeting and was accepted.

Calhoun Bribery Case.

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 1.—The trial of Patrick Calhoun on a charge of having offered a bribe to a supervisor was continued today until November 15, at the request of the defense.

among the defendants in her suit.

Questioned by the Court.

She was the first witness, and, following her examination by Henry John Nelson, her counsel, upon her teachings and writings, Judge Willson questioned her as follows:

Q. Then your views of what you call anarchy are to this effect: that there ought to be no government and that all government ought to be destroyed, and each person take care of himself according to his views of right and wrong? A. My ideas are to the effect that the people, if properly educated and developed, can take care of themselves. They need no government at such a stage of education and development. The Government could then be destroyed, and—

Q. Even by force? A. In some future time, yes, when the people are able to take care of themselves, government should be destroyed.

Assistant City Solicitors James L. Alcorn and Andrew Wright Crawford, representing the police officials, cross-examined Miss Goldman on her arrest and conviction in New York for inciting to riot, and read extracts from the pamphlets sent to the department as indicating the nature of her proposed lectures. These included "Anarchy and What It Really Stands For," and a book on the marriage state, but the Court ruled out Miss Goldman's views as expressed in the latter book. Judge Willson also declined to permit Mr. Alcorn to examine the woman regarding the statement attributed to Czolgosz, the slayer of President McKinley, that he committed the crime at her suggestion.

After she had resumed her seat, Miss Goldman asked permission to say something, and, although her counsel attempted to quiet her, Judge Willson told her to come to the bar of the court and said that she might add anything supporting the argument of her attorney.

"For 20 years," she said, "I have been in the public lecture field, and in all that time I have never been stopped from speaking, except in one instance in 1908. Why then have the police authorities of this city the right to prevent me from speaking before I have been heard? If we have free speech, every human being has the right to talk, at the same time being ready to take the consequences of his or her remarks."

Reitman Once More.

Dr. Ben H. Reitman, manager for Miss Goldman, created amusement while telling of an address he made in Odd Fellows' Temple last Tuesday night after Miss Goldman had been prevented from speaking. The topic of his address, he said, was: "Malignant Police Brutality That Made Philadelphia Blush." Mr. Alcorn, to show that the address was of incendiary character, quoted the doctor as having declared that "within a year Mayor Reyburn would be driving a coal wagon and Director Clay would be a bartender."

Mayor Reyburn and Director Clay told the Judges that they prevented the Goldman lectures, believing that a breach of the peace would have followed. The Mayor said that after a consultation with the Director, and considering the woman's record, it would have been unwise to have permitted her to speak. Mr. Clay referred to the red flag demonstration in South Philadelphia two years ago, and he said he was afraid that the lectures would bring about a like condition.

Mr. Nelson argued that there was a broader question involved than the one whether Miss Goldman was an anarchist, because if the police were permitted to act as they did in the present case the minority might be suppressed from speaking where the majority were in power, thus resulting in injury and injustice.

Mr. Alcorn quoted Judge Sulzberger's ruling in enjoining the production of "The Clansman" in this city in support of the contention that the courts should hesitate in interfering with the police power.

It is likely that Judges Willson and Audenried will decide the suit today.

MISS GOLDMAN SPEAKS HER MIND QUITE FREELY

Has Thoughts to Make Public Concerning Mayor Reyburn and Director Clay.

Miss Emma Goldman, in a third floor back room of an Arch street apartment house—all because "the hotels are crowded at this season of the year"—is awaiting, and not without impatience, the action of the court to decide whether she may legally speak here.

She was seen in her room yesterday afternoon. She was not exactly as suave and amiable as on Monday at the Little Hotel Wilmot. Her experiences with the police here have made her indignant, and she is prepared to fight the issue, she says, to the bitter end.

She had some thoughts to make public concerning Mayor Reyburn and Director Clay, who testified against her [illegible] in her injunction proceedings. [illegible] very decided impressions of both [illegible]

She said of Mayor Reyburn: "[illegible] pressed me as a man about town, [illegible] bored by these things and did not [illegible] what to say. For instance, [illegible] statement in the affair [illegible] meeting he saw a police[illegible]

659

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890501003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Miss Goldman Speaks Her Mind Quite Freely / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1-2 ; 37 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Oct. 2, 1909).

Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

ear that Doctor Cook, ac-
tory, as printed this morn-
vel during the last 17 days
northward at an average
25 miles a day.
first accounts claimed an
thing like 15 miles, though
ubably applied to a longer
17 days now under consid-
nder Peary has claimed
miles a day. ...erage
rage of 24.78 miles is con-
inary for so long a period
e days.
lsgraff is director of the
ac and in giving figures
he official publication of

908, the date referred to
account, the lowest point
midnight sun could have
according to Professor
84 degrees 20 minutes, or,
he technical phraseology,
of the sun as appearing
at the North Pole, was
inutes
bout 6¼ miles in length
s account as printed this
bl[illegible] on April 3 the
sel and near which
ight sank for a few m
ould make April 4 the
ch doctor took first saw
n, or could have seen it
ontinued clear
he figures given by Pro-
the lowest point at which
could have been seen on
84 degrees and 58 min-
of 6 degrees 5 minutes
that means approximate-
o; ling to the data sup-
or Upiegraff and from
n the Pole was discover-
17 days for that part of

ts at which the midnight
een seen on the days of
ng April 1, 1906, with the
e Pole, are given below
ees 5 minutes, 340 miles
es 2 minutes 344 miles
es 20 minutes, 392 miles
es 35 minutes, 421 miles
es 35 minutes, 444 miles
es 10 minutes 473 miles
es 40 minutes, 496 miles
an that if Doctor Cook
t sun for the first time
been quoted as saying,
se of that date was due
sition and not to the
sky, he would have been
84 parallel, with nearly
In the 11 days remain-
21, when he says he

ore, Chief of the Weath-
esident of the National
iety, will not introduce
n he delivers his lecture
Theatre here Sunday
r Moore's declination to
by the neutral attitude
by the society, and his
s to seem by his per-
ut the stamp of official
or Cook's exploits. Per-
e would gladly welcome

ER AUTO INJURED

Head in Her Lap in
Fifth Avenue.

AM TO PUBLIC LEDGER.]

Oct. 1.—Mrs Marion
venue, was riding past
Park, in Fifth avenue,
today when it struck
John Colton, a laborer
open the door of the
to the street, and as
ground moaning from
roken rib, she took his
d comforted him until
ed from Bellevue Hos-

let a traffic policeman
s chauffeur.

ear Elmira, N. Y.

Oct. 1.—Snow fell this
rable quantity at Dun-
n of this city.

this claim of both men for the extra allowance led to the fight. Hastings had not reached the end of Block C, on his round with the bread and the razors, when he heard the disturbance in Cell 433.

The two men, who were convicted on separate charges of aggravated assault and battery, have been cellmates since July 15 and were regarded as model prisoners. The men, being fellow-countrymen, soon became friends and were never known to quarrel, and their keepers never experienced any trouble with them whatever.

Gimbronis was sentenced to 18 months by Judge Ralston on July 5. He was accused by Emanuel Maganios of assaulting him. Special Policemen Jackson and Smith, of the 23d and Brown streets station, testified that Gimbronis had brutally beaten Maganios.

Zachish was sentenced to one year on July 15 by Judge Ralston. He had beaten Marco Zaris, of 227 New street, during a quarrel at the latter's home. Gimbronis lived at 913 South Fourth street.

Zachish will be kept in the county prison until the Coroner's inquest, which probably will be held on Monday.

It is the intention of the Eastern Penitentiary authorities to hang Gimbronis and Hunsenberg. Prisoners are hanged on the prison premises three times a week, Monday, Wednesday and Friday. The men are closely watched by guards, preventing themselves from attempting to harm either themselves or their fellow-inmates.

BOY KILLS BABY WITH PISTOL

Climbs After Weapon on Bedroom Shelf and Causes Its Discharge.

[SPECIAL TELEGRAM TO PUBLIC LEDGER.]

HOBOKEN, N. J., Oct. 1. Edna Hansen, 4 years old, was shot and killed today by her seven-year-old brother Charles at their home, 55 Willow avenue.

The children were playing in a bedroom, where there was a revolver on a shelf over the bed.

It is supposed that the boy got up on the bed and took down the revolver, and that it went off as he was clambering down.

The other persons in the house rushed to the bedroom and found the little girl lying dead, while her brother was frantically beseeching her to speak to him. The bullet penetrated the little girl's left lung.

CORN FAMINE IN MEXICO

90 Per Cent. of Vegetables Also Destroyed; May Lift Import Duty

MEXICO CITY, Oct. 1.—Mexico faces a corn famine which will require the lifting of the import duty on that cereal, according to Luis Balestrier, secretary of the Sociedad Agricola Mexicana. The recent frost, which worked injury to the crop estimated at millions, is but the culmination of a series of disasters to farmers of the republic, including copious rains, droughts and tornadoes. In former famines the Government has lifted the duty on imported corn.

Ninety per cent. of the vegetable crop is also destroyed, and prices in some instances are doubled.

MILITIA GUARD NEGROES

Surround Jail in Mississippi to Prevent Lynching.

COLUMBUS, Miss., Oct. 1.—Anticipating that an attempt would be made to lynch Henry and Reese Betts, negroes, charged with the killing of J. W. Smith, a prominent planter, because of the acquittal today of another negro charged with arson, the county jail here was placed under guard of the local military company tonight on request of the Sheriff.

"Drys" Carry Virginia Town.

WINCHESTER, Va., Oct. 1.—The local option election at Woodstock, Va., today resulted in a victory for the "drys," the majority being 31. Two years ago the town went "dry" by a majority of one vote.

as under the rules challenges must be made before November 1 in order to comply with the 10 months' rule allowed to build a defender.

GIFT FOR CHINESE NAVY

American Fleet Officers to Present $1000 Punch Bowl.

[SPECIAL TELEGRAM TO PUBLIC LEDGER.]

NEW YORK, Oct. 1.—The Imperial Chinese as well as the Imperial Japanese, navy is to be remembered in splendid fashion by the officers and enlisted men of the Atlantic fleet who made the round-the-world voyage last year. Only those officers and men who were serving in the second squadron of the fleet are responsible for the Chinese gift.

The punch bowl is going to China is a magnificent affair, it is said, more than two feet high and costing more than $1000. It is a present of the officers and men of the battleships Louisiana, Virginia, Georgia, Wisconsin, Illinois, Kearsarge, Kentucky and the vessels that visited Hongkong under Rear Admiral Stockton, the present commander in chief of the Atlantic fleet.

BOY'S STRANGE ACCIDENT

Clothes Catch in a Tree, and He Hangs Head Down Half an Hour.

Harry McGurry, 14 years old, of 4216 Baker street, hung head down nearly half an hour yesterday as a result of a fall from one of the high limbs of a chestnut tree. His clothes caught on a lower limb and, do as he and two youthful companions could, he could not free himself.

Finally Edward Graves, a farmer, drove along. He had a rope and one of the other boys got this around McGurry's body. Then the lad was hauled to safety. He was unconscious.

REAL HERO IN COLLEGE LIFE

Cornell's President Says It's the Student Who Does His Work.

[SPECIAL TELEGRAM TO PUBLIC LEDGER.]

ITHACA, N. Y., Oct. 1.—"The real hero in university life is the student who conscientiously does his university work," said President Jacob Gould Schurman, of Cornell University, in his annual address to the students at the opening of college. For the first time he spoke from the steps of Goldwin Smith Hall in the open. The president praised the outside activities which take up the students' time, and said that intellectual things were regarded more highly abroad than in this country. He said in part:

"There are in our universities those who love what we call student activities. In many they take a larger place than they ought. The university exists for intellectual work. It is done in the laboratory, the class room and at home. Every student activity that interferes with good scholarship is a mistake. I recognise no student activity of supreme importance except studious activities."

MAYOR ADMITS AND RESIGNS

Acted as Go-between With South Carolina Dispensary Board.

CHESTER, S. C., Oct. 1.—Yielding to the expressed demand of the press and people of this city, Henry W. Samuels today presented his resignation as Mayor of Chester. At the trial at Columbia of James S. Farnum for bribery, Samuels testified for the State, saying that he had acted as a go-between for Farnum and Joseph H. Wylie, of this place, former member of the dispensary board. Samuels also admitted acting as representative of several liquor houses before the board.

Samuels's resignation was offered at a citizens' mass meeting and was accepted.

Calhoun Bribery Case.

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 1.—The trial of Patrick Calhoun on a charge of having offered a bribe to a supervisor was continued today until November 15, at the request of the defense.

The Government could then be destroyed, and—

Q. Even by force? A. In some future time, yes, when the people are able to take care of themselves, government should be destroyed.

Assistant City Solicitors James L. Alcorn and Andrew Wright Crawford, representing the police officials, cross-examined Miss Goldman on her arrest and conviction in New York for inciting to riot, and read extracts from the pamphlets sent to the department as indicating the nature of her proposed lectures. These included "Anarchy and What It Really Stands For," and a book on the marriage state, but the Court ruled out Miss Goldman's views as expressed in the latter book. Judge Willson also declined to permit Mr. Alcorn to examine the woman regarding the statement attributed to Czolgosz, the slayer of President McKinley, that he committed the crime at her suggestion.

After she had resumed her seat, Miss Goldman asked permission to say something, and, although her counsel attempted to quiet her, Judge Willson told her to come to the bar of the court and said that she might add anything supporting the argument of her attorney.

"For 20 years," she said, "I have been in the public lecture field, and in all that time I have never been stopped from speaking, except in one instance in 1908. Why then have the police authorities of this city the right to prevent me from speaking before I have been heard? If we have free speech, every human being has the right to talk, at the same time being ready to take the consequences of his or her remarks."

Reitman Once More.

Dr. Ben H. Reitman, manager for Miss Goldman, created amusement while telling of an address he made in Odd Fellows' Temple last Tuesday night after Miss Goldman had been prevented from speaking. The topic of his address, he said, was "Malignant Police Brutality That Made Philadelphia Blush." Mr. Alcorn, to show that the address was of incendiary character, quoted the doctor as having declared that "within a year Mayor Reyburn would be driving a coal wagon and Director Clay would be a bartender."

Mayor Reyburn and Director Clay told the Judges that they prevented the Goldman lectures, believing that a breach of the peace would have followed. The Mayor said that after a consultation with the Director, and considering the woman's record, it would have been unwise to have permitted her to speak. Mr. Clay referred to the red flag demonstration in South Philadelphia two years ago, and he said he was afraid that the lectures would bring about a like condition.

Mr. Nelson argued that there was a broader question involved than the one whether Miss Goldman was an anarchist, because if the police were permitted to act as they did in the present case the minority might be suppressed from speaking where the majority were in power, thus resulting in injury and injustice.

Mr. Alcorn quoted Judge Sulzberger's ruling in enjoining the production of "The Clansman" in this city in support of the contention that the courts should hesitate in interfering with the police power.

It is likely that Judges Willson and Audenried will decide the suit today.

MISS GOLDMAN SPEAKS HER MIND QUITE FREELY

Has Thoughts to Make Public Concerning Mayor Reyburn and Director Clay.

Miss Emma Goldman, in a third floor back room of an Arch street apartment house—all because "the hotels are crowded at this season of the year"—is awaiting, and not without impatience, the action of the court to decide whether she may legally speak here.

She was seen in her room yesterday afternoon. She was not exactly as suave and amiable as on Monday at the Little Hotel Wilmot. Her experiences with the police here have made her indignant, and she is prepared to fight the issue, she says, to the bitter end.

She had some thoughts to make public concerning Mayor Reyburn and Director Clay, who testified against her yesterday in her injunction proceedings. She had very decided impressions of both of them.

She said of Mayor Reyburn: "He impressed me as a man about town who was bored by these things and did not know what to say. For instance, he made a statement to the effect that on Monday morning he saw a patrol wagon contain-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

660

890501003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Miss Goldman Speaks Her Mind Quite Freely / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-2 ; 37 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. —(Oct. 2, 1909).

Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

PUBLIC LEDGER—PHILADELPHIA, SA

...the same disorderly persons who had been arrested for disturbing the peace, adding that my meeting might cause a disorder and cause other people to be arrested. All things he had seen were arrested. 'Now you know that was childish.

"Director Clay was more sure of himself than the Mayor, and seemed to take his position more seriously."

Here there was an interruption by Detective Sullivan. Miss Goldman's manager, who said: "More arrogant, Miss Goldman."

"Yes, perhaps that is better," said the little Anarchist.

"I liked to see him swell up with importance," she said, "and then have to pull his vest down in front."

She went on to say that even Director Clay, for all his seriousness, was inconsistent, according to her interpretation of his testimony.

"Director Clay sent Dr. Reitman a letter (and I have the letter) in which he requested me to send him a proof of my proposed speech last Tuesday night, and he would pass on whether or not it contained matter to inflame the public mind.

"On the stand he said that he had no intention of censoring speech, that he merely wanted the assurance that I would not incite to riot."

She said the judges were very fair in their action toward her, allowed her to speak when she wanted to, which she really thought was good of them, and most unexpected. But she said the police represented a 'wall of ignorance.' That is the way she described the cordon of blue coats that surrounded her Tuesday night and drove her back from the Odd Fellows' Temple.

Both she and Doctor Reitman spent a quiet day. Miss Goldman went to New York night before last on a special mission, and there was some mystery thrown around that visit yesterday.

There were many callers, young men and women, who have ideas of their own about government, the police and the like, flocked to the Arch street apartment. There were two men outside the house who noted these visitors, two men who waited and waited, to see that Miss Goldman's movements were within conformity with the law.

Miss Goldman expects to be informed of the decision of the court today. She confidently expects to be told that she may speak in Philadelphia. But court or no court, she says she intends to speak here. She does not fear arrest; she courts that. But the annoying thing she fears is that the police, not willing to arrest her, will simply keep her moving whenever she attempts to speak. When she referred to that possibility yesterday, she stamped her foot.

SALOON SHOOTING UNSOLVED

Detectives Seeking Man Who Took One of Victims Home.

The mystery of the fatal shooting of James Quinn and Harry Saylor in the saloon of the former's father, Patrick Quinn, at Old York road and Lycoming street, remains without development. Six detectives, Walsh, Carr, Ulrich, Coogan, Ford and Belshaw, have been working on the case, under the direction of Assistant Superintendent O'Leary. Nothing has been learned to incriminate any one.

The identity of the man who took Saylor home on a Willow Grove trolley car after the shooting has not been ascertained. The conductor of the car is sure that Saylor rode on his car and was supported by another man. The detectives are searching for the man, as it is believed that he may shed light on the tragedy, and show whether the men were murdered by a highwayman or that the shots were fired during a craps game, as Saylor is reported to have told the conductor. James Cassidy, who was shot in the leg, is still delirious in the Samaritan Hospital.

Funeral services were held yesterday over the body of Saylor at his late home, at 910 North Twelfth street. Contrary to expectation there was no crowd of the curious. The services were conducted by the Rev. J. J. Kerslake, pastor of Fern Rock Methodist Episcopal Church.

ASSAULTS HER AUNT IN COURT

Mother Flies Into Passion When Denied Custody of Daughter.

Mrs. Mary Naughton, [illegible] a [illegible] ...sion at the bar in Quarter Sessions No. 2, yesterday, because the Court refused to order her elderly aunt, Mrs. Mary Conlin, of 822 Ellsworth street, to return her 16-year-old daughter, Mary. She rushed at Mrs. Conlin, tore off her hat, and then pulled down her hair. At that point court officers interfered and seized and ejected her from the courtroom.

The girl, Mary Naughton, has lived with her grandaunt, Mrs. Conlin, ever since her mother sought to regain possession of her by means of habeas corpus proceedings, but Judge Mc-Michael concluded that the girl was better off with Mrs. Conlin. Thereupon, Mrs. Naughton stepped toward her daughter, who drew back behind her grandaunt, and the [illegible] attack in

LAST CHANCE TO REGISTER TODAY

Books Will Be Kept Open at the Polling Places Until 10 o'Clock Tonight.

HIGH TOTAL EXPECTED

Commissioner Woodruff Explains Many Points Which Confuse Citizens.

This is the last day to qualify under personal registration for the November election. About 150,000 citizens have not registered. The leaders of all parties expect that from 85,000 to 90,000 of these will do so and thus make the total the highest since this act went into effect three years ago. More than 200,000 citizens registered in the first two days. The registration last year was 235,000.

To register the applicant must have these qualifications:

First. He must have lived in the State one year and the election division 60 days and must be of the voting age.

Second. He must have paid personal property or poll tax within two years. The receipt should be presented to the registrars.

Poll taxes may be paid today at the Receiver of Taxes' office or to the ward deputies. Receipts will be issued until 10 o'clock tonight.

Registrars sit in the regular polling places from 7 a. m. to 10 a. m. and from 4 to 10 p. m.

Clinton Rogers Woodruff, chairman of the Board of Registration Commissioners, made the following statement explaining a much misunderstood feature of registration.

"There seems to be an impression in many parts of the city that failure to have one's name on the assessor's list is a disqualification for registration. This impression is wholly erroneous. The appearance or nonappearance of a name on the assessor's list has nothing whatever to do with registration. The assessor's list has only to do with the payment of poll taxes.

"If an elector presents himself to the board of division registrars, properly qualified as to residence, citizenship and age, and presents a tax receipt paid not more than two years and not less than 30 days before the day of election, which is this year, November 2, he is entitled to be registered whether his name is on the assessor's list or not."

John H. Fow recently brought action in court seeking to overrule the instructions of the Board of Personal Registration Commissioners that a citizen who does not present his tax receipt must swear that it is "either lost or mislaid." Mr. Fow was refused registration on the second day because he said that his tax receipt was locked up in his home and he could not get it. He refused to swear that it was mislaid or lost. The courts have not given any decision.

Mr. Woodruff, speaking of these instructions, said:

"After very careful consideration the board reached the conclusion that the absence of a tax receipt would disqualify a voter, unless he could give sufficient proof that he had paid a tax. After investigation of the law and consultation with our counsel we reached the conclusion that in such cases the law requires an affidavit as to what has become of the tax receipt.

"In regard to the production of a tax receipt working a hardship, our experience during the past three years shows that it is only a reasonable requirement. The last year 235,000 voters register each year with scarcely a ripple indicating that it is not a reasonable requirement."

REGISTRATION TO BE SEARCHED FOR FRAUD

Committee of 70 Will Endeavor to Discover All Improper Entries.

Efforts will be made by the Committee of Seventy to have removed from the registration lists all false names and names of dead or removed voters. After the final registration day investigators for this committee will make searching examination of the lists and then go before the Registration Commissioners and ask that the names found in the improperly on the lists be removed.

The Personal Registration Commissioners have named October 13 and 14 for hearing the evidence. Other persons may ask for the striking off of names beginning next week.

Hearings will be held by the commissioners next week for the placing on the lists names of voters who have been sick or out of the city during the three registration days.

While the investigators for the Committee of Seventy say that they believe fraud has [illegible]

Party Division Committee to give all assistance to bring about an honest registration. Every citizen in the division has been asked to send to the committee a list of all persons living in their homes who have a right to register.

By way of impressing the necessity of complying with this request, the committee in a long letter to each voter, reviewed the fraudulent registrations of a year ago and also the criminal actions taken against four registrars, one of whom was convicted. The notice to the voters is signed by Richard L. Gibbs, secretary.

ZIBA T. MOORE ATTACKS ATTITUDE OF MR. ROTAN

Declares Criminals Do Not Fear His Re-election as District Attorney.

Ziba T. Moore, an Assistant District Attorney under John C. Bell, issued a statement yesterday attacking District Attorney Rotan's position. He denounced the Republican leaders and the attitude of the City Commissioners in refusing to open the two disputed ballotboxes. Mr. Moore is supporting Gibboney, being one of the promulgators of the Gibboney-Stewart party title.

"I did not have the pleasure of listening to Mr. Rotan's speech," says Mr. Moore, "but read it in this morning's paper, and from his speech, together with his indorsement, there is no doubt from the standpoint of the disposition of the cases which reach the District Attorney's office that there is no criticism to be had with the conduct of his office.

"A large number of serious crimes are committed which never reach the District Attorney's office, and these crimes increase or decrease, according to the fact as to whether the criminals stand in fear of the law, and also depend largely on political conditions.

"The crimes which we are interested in at the present time, and which strikes at the very foundation of our Government, is the fraudulent vote. Does any one for a moment think that any crooks who are willing to stuff the ballotbox stand in fear of the present District Attorney, with political conditions as they exist today?

"Would Mr. Rotan's election be notice to criminals that it was a victory for good government and due to the indorsement of the lawyers and the business men's committees? These committees will be kept to the front by the contractor bosses' organization until after the election, and then, if Mr. Rotan is elected, these committees will search in vain for some part of the credit of Mr. Rotan's election.

"It will be a victory solely of the contractor bosses if Rotan is elected, and a victory for good government in the event of a Gibboney candidate.

"I call upon Mr. Rotan to explain the necessity of the 'secret' ballot law, why it was ever enacted if an officeholder in order to have his vote counted must make affidavit after election as to how he voted? What is the use of putting the State to such an expense every year to maintain the secret ballot?"

ORDERS OUT AGAINST MURPHY

Mecleary Hopes to Defeat Candidate in His Home Division.

News reached the cars of reform followers in the Seventeenth Division of the Thirty-first Ward yesterday that Magistrate Mecleary, Organization leader of the ward, had issued orders that John J. Murphy, Penn party candidate for City Treasurer, must be defeated in the division in question. Murphy lives in this division, and on learning yesterday of the reported orders of Mecleary, expressed his defiance.

The political situation in this division is novel from the fact that Murphy's father, James F. Murphy, is Organization leader of the division. He is also janitor of the Lucretia Mott Public School. Reformers say that Mecleary announced his intention of using every officeholder in the division to bring about Murphy's defeat.

Mr. Murphy did not express any alarm at Mecleary's orders. He said:

"In view of the sentiment for good government, in the division, I cannot see how the political bosses can carry it for the Organization. An illustration of what the result will be is shown by the attitude of the voters. A large number of voters in this division are refusing tax receipts offered them by Organization agents and have insisted upon paying for their own tax receipts."

LABOR IS TAKING PART

Active Campaign for Reform Being Conducted by Union Men.

Labor organizations throughout the city have made arrangements to conduct an auxiliary campaign for the reform cause in every ward. While these meetings will be held in the interests of all the Penn party candidates, especial attention will be paid to the candidacy of John J. Murphy, who is president of the Central Labor Union.

Some of the largest halls in the city, it is said, have been engaged for these meetings, and labor leaders of national prominence have been obtained to address them.

Among those who will address the labor political meetings during [illegible]

D. N. FELL PUT ON T[illegible]

Son of Supreme [illegible] Named by Boar[illegible] Succeed I[illegible]

POLITICIANS [illegible]

Had Hoped to I[illegible] Until After [illegible] White a Park C[illegible]

David N. Fell, Jr., [illegible] Court Justice D. Nev[illegible] pointed a member of [illegible] vision of Taxes yesterd[illegible] late Rinaldo A. Lukens, [illegible] the part of the Judges [illegible] surprise, as politicians [illegible] predicting that the pl[illegible] filled until after election [illegible] then go to a Democrat.

Dr. J. William White, [illegible] gical Department of t[illegible] Pennsylvania, was elec[illegible] Park Commissioner to [illegible] Samuel Gustine Thomp[illegible]

In both cases many [illegible] sented. According to re[illegible] was made on the first [illegible] was no discussion by th[illegible] it was policy for them t[illegible] that the organization [illegible] to be played to act ut [illegible] appointment.

It has been the custom [illegible] of Revision of Taxes wa[illegible] one of the three places [illegible] Mr. Lukens was of the [illegible] Organization and Demo[illegible] thought a Democrat w[illegible] following the long-estab[illegible] It was reported that the [illegible] ers sought the lucrative [illegible] post to carry out a politi[illegible] was that the Organiz[illegible] should support Rotan, [illegible] berth would be awarded [illegible] Organization Democrat.

It is the belief of lawye[illegible] the leaders of the bench [illegible] of Judges sought to rem[illegible] tion of trading from the [illegible] naming a Republican. No [illegible] would discuss the action [illegible] candidates named in nom[illegible] or place. It was said h[illegible] that the law does not req[illegible] the Board of Revision o[illegible] be a Democrat or repres[illegible] party.

The Judges also appoi[illegible] broth, clerk of Quarter [illegible] No. 2, a tipstaff to succeed [illegible] Bradford Murray. J. E. F[illegible] land street, was named t[illegible] ceed J. W. M. McElfresh. [illegible] was elected a probation [illegible] Juvenile Court to fill t[illegible] vacant by the resignation [illegible] J. Cochran.

Mr. Fell is the oldest [illegible] Fell. He is a member o[illegible] of Fell & Spalding. Mi[illegible] brought him largely into [illegible] field. It is said that he wa[illegible] by real estate authorities [illegible] father did not exert his i[illegible] behalf. At present he is [illegible] of the Jury Board. His s[illegible] $7500 a year.

Doctor White is one of t[illegible] surgeons in the country. [illegible] member of the University [illegible] nia faculty many years a[illegible] time headed the Athletic [illegible] is a most energetic wor[illegible] great interest in any work [illegible] becomes identified.

LEAVES REFORM[illegible]

William H. Rose, 30th [illegible] er, Goes Over to [illegible]

William H. Rose, who ha[illegible] engaged in the movement [illegible] the 30th Ward, has anno[illegible] for the Republican ticket. [illegible] a letter sent to James [illegible] chairman of the 30th War[illegible] Committee. He also resig[illegible] committee.

"I desire to take this [illegible] advising you," said Mr. [illegible] cannot submit any further [illegible] which are being pursued in [illegible] by those in charge of the [illegible] the William Penn party. [illegible] that there is work to be d[illegible] there are some evils which [illegible] remedied, but I am thorou[illegible] with the methods resorted t[illegible] dictates of your party and b[illegible] with them on the stump [illegible] calling into question the ho[illegible] faith of public servants wh[illegible] a desire to be loyal to the [illegible] discharge of their public d[illegible]

661

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890506001

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Anarchist's Letter / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. —(Oct. 3, 1909).

Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

...'S LOSSES

...th Seeks to Re-
... in Securities
... Bros. & C...

...lth of 1891 Erie ave...
...mmon Pleas court...
...ndler Bros. & Co...
...receive stocks and...
...which she a...
...mith, not B. speech...
...me from Her...
...ork in a business e...
...to which he k...

...lief to Lena Mar...
...Emma said that sh...
...s I...
...

...CTRIC BATTERY

...rrent When Driver
Light Pole

...of 15 West D...
...lth has le...
...employer...
...morning, and it...
...not until it was...
...ing [illegible]

...before the house at...
...he fled the house...
...When Margaret Lat...
...ployed at that ad...
...she testified that the...
...gon of a wagon was...
...side and told Vingie...
...getting to the pres...
...when he put his hand...
...rk as though para...
...in surprise...
...charged with elec...
...had got a shock...
...is proved that the...
...butted on the head...
...rmarian James Gra...
...street, ordered the...
...t Vingie was re...
...hurt and was re...

...DING ELEVATED

...s to Be Completed
...0 Days.

...gun tomorrow upon...
...sections of the Broad...
...el tracks. The ent...
...work on both sections...
...0 working days. Pas...
...tenders from Sedgley...
...diana avenue to Girard...
...ill by A. Armstrong &...
...No. 10 will extend...
...o the Port Richmond...
...ayard. Hearing Park...
...[illegible] Broad...
...ks will be elevated,...
...l be run on the lat...
...ve been moved over...
...s [illegible] to...
...e tracks most of the...
...of Twenty-seventh and...

...SUIT LISTED

Demurrer to Mo-
tion Dismissed.

...Jr., an attorney, gain...
...y in his suit against...
...missioner William H...
...mon Pleas Court No...
...ider a demurrer to the...
...ting of the finances of...
...olumbia and St. An...
...yor Reyburn was in...
...otion of the road, and...
...notes figured in the...

...did not prosecute the...
...ot put in a formal an...
...will be listed for final...
...r.

...was shot in the saloon, as was at first reported, but was attacked near his home, either for the purpose of robbery, or for the purpose of removing a dangerous witness to the shooting in the saloon.

RAPID PAVING ON MARKET ST.

Work on the Retail Shopping District Nearly Completed.

Wood block paving on Market street from Eighth street to the City Hall is 75 per cent completed. Within a few days the retail shopping district of the street will be paved and ready for traffic. Only four squares out of the entire section from Eighth to Broad street are still unpaved. These squares are from Seventh to Eighth street and from Tenth to Twelfth street on the south side of the street and on the north side of the street from Thirteenth street to Broad. As soon as the district is completed the pavers will begin on the section from Second street to Eighth. This portion of the street, the contractor promises, will be completed before the Christmas holidays.

CLINICS IN MANY HOSPITALS

Members of State Medical Society Attend Demonstrations.

Special events in connection with the one hundred and first annual meeting of the Medical Society of the State of Pennsylvania, which was opened at the Bellevue-Stratford on Tuesday, were brought to a close yesterday afternoon by clinics in many hospitals.

Among them were the University Hospital, the Philadelphia General Hospital, the Pennsylvania Hospital, the Medico-Chirurgical Hospital, the Germantown Hospital, the Methodist Hospital, the Jefferson Hospital, the Polyclinic Hospital, the Wills Eye Hospital and the Women's Hospital.

FOOTBALL HERO SAVES 2 LIVES

Tackles Children in Pathway of Runaway Team.

John Keough, formerly a football player at Amherst College and now student in the dental department of the University of Pennsylvania, saved the lives of two little girls who were directly in the path of a runaway team at 36th street and Woodland avenue yesterday. Keough, who was on his way to Franklin Field to take part in the game between Penn Freshmen and the eleven from Conway Hall, heard the shouts of many persons and saw the galloping horses advancing on the fear-stricken children. He dashed away from a companion and grasping the children around the waists with his arms, threw them to the sidewalk. The children were unhurt, but Keough sustained a few slight bruises.

The children are Annie and Marcelle Freschen, sisters, aged 10 and 11 years, respectively, who live at 3707 Woodland avenue. The team was owned by the Penn Reduction Company, and it is thought that one of the horses has been service in the Fire Department. The team was standing quiet till a patrol wagon with bells clanging, passed. Then one of the animals pricked up its ears and dashed after the patrol, drawing the other horse along.

KEPT FROM DEAD WIFE

Man Sent to Jail for Trying to Force His Way to Bedside.

Elmer R. Taylor, of 1303 North Lawrence street, was sent to the County Prison for 3 days yesterday by Magistrate Tompson, because he tried to force his way into the home of his sister-in-law to see his dead wife, from whom he had separated. It was said that one of her last requests was that he be kept from her body, as she did not want anything to do with him.

Mrs. Clara Lederer, of 1427 North Tenth street, a sister of Mrs. Taylor, from whose home the funeral will be held, told the Magistrate that she communicated the wish of Mrs. Taylor to her husband but that it did not stop him from attempting to force his way into the house. She also said that since Taylor had deserted her sister she had been forced to support her two children by washing clothes and by sewing. In this way she impaired her health to such an extent that she fell easy prey to the disease which caused her death.

DESPONDENT MAN ENDS LIFE

Drinks Carbolic Acid Because of Poor Business.

Three little children were made orphans yesterday by the suicide of their father, Charles Pape, a barber 36 years old, who swallowed carbolic acid at his home, 1512 Melon street. Pape was despondent on account of poor business.

When he returned home about noon yesterday his gloomy countenance caused his wife to ask him what was the matter. He replied that he was not feeling very well and he would go up stairs and get something for a headache. When he failed to return, Mrs. Pape became alarmed, and receiving no answer to her calls, ran up stairs and found Pape lying on the bed, fully clothed, with an empty bottle of carbolic acid in his hand.

Dr. R. E. Bauer, 1514 Fairmount avenue, who was summoned, pronounced the man dead.

court to which she applied for an injunction restraining the police from further intimidating her. Emma Goldman is holding levees and educational meetings in her quarters at 1502 Arch street. Incidentally she is flooding the city with appeals and literature seeking further aid in the battle which she declares she is waging in the cause of freedom. Her friends are actively canvassing the city for subscriptions to her cause and incidentally seeking a hall owner who will lease his place to the anarchist lecturer.

In this Miss Goldman is experiencing the greatest difficulty. Odd Fellows' Temple has been refused and she has been informed by managers of other centrally located buildings that she would have to assure them that there would be no police difficulty such as occurred last Monday night. Dr. Ben L. Reitman, Miss Goldman's manager, said yesterday that the police are compelling hall owners to refuse the use of their properties to the Anarchists.

Several delegations of factory workers visited Miss Goldman during the day. One group was composed of a dozen pretty girls. As types they were excellent samples of the factory hands who have annually reverenced the apostle of anarchy. The receptions were always the same. They were ushered into the presence of Miss Goldman and supplied with pamphlets for which they gave all their spare dimes and quarters.

"Why don't you start a meeting that we may not have stood here in vain?" said one girl. She had worked herself up in a fever of fiery excitement. "Be violent," she said, "write a red-hot declaration and then be pinched." Miss Goldman smiled at the girl's enthusiasm and said, "We will talk about that way, Lena."

It is rather startling to hear these factory girls, who possibly never went [illegible] grammar school, quote Max Stirner, Ibsen, Thoreau and Tolstoy.

The Anarchist's Letter.

The following letter has been received:

To the Editor of Public Ledger:

Sir: I take the liberty to ask the hospitality of your paper because I found you exceedingly fair and unbiased during the recent police outrages on free speech. During the court hearing on my appeal for injunction it developed that the police department of this city stopped my lectures on September 28 for the following reasons:

First: That my police record proved that my lectures always lead to disturbances.

Second: That I am a convicted anarchist.

It requires neither Solomonic wisdom nor a deep sense of justice to see that such reasons are poor grounds for the suppression of an established tradition that of free speech and assemblage.

Evidently the forefathers of this country realized that police records are not always very accurate, else they would not have provided that Congress even shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or press or the right of assemblage, much less did they delegate that right to the police department of Philadelphia.

As to what my record may or may not be has nothing to do with the present struggle. But for the benefit of your readers I wish to say this:

I have been in the lecture field for 18 years, have spoken in innumerable cities including Philadelphia and have never had a single disturbance. The only disturbers were the police, when they attempted to stop meetings and suppress free speech. I may also state that in all these years I have been held for trial but once—1908—and not because of any riot, but for quoting Cardinal Manning, to wit, "Necessity knows no law."

My lectures have been published in my magazine Mother Earth, the latter being entered in the United States second class mail. Yet it remained for the police of Philadelphia to suppress me even before I was heard.

Does it not seem as if this city has come to a very lamentable state of affairs if the right of free speech is made to depend on the grace and whim of the police department?

A convicted anarchist? Though not an authority on jurisprudence, I know that there is no such law in the statutes that can make such a discrimination. Just as well discriminate against a convicted Christian, Jew, Buddhist or Mohammedan.

Besides, to say whether or not an anarchist may speak the officials must make themselves conversant with the philosophy of anarchism. Far be it from me to reflect on the intelligence of the Philadelphia police; but I do wish to say that they know as much about anarchism as they know about anything that requires the capacity of reasoning and reflection.

Were the authorities to know but the history of their own country they would know that some of the greatest anarchists have raised their voice for human justice and liberty right here in America. David Thoreau, the author of "Walden," was an anarchist, for it was he who in his famous tract, "Evil Disobedience," proclaimed the human truth to wit: "I am at all times called upon to do only what I think is right and not what the State thinks is right." Thoreau went to prison for refusing to pay taxes.

Ralph Waldo Emerson was an anarchist, and with his essay on "Self reliance" has contributed to the wealth of anarchistic literature that champions individual freedom. John Brown, Wendell Phillips, Lloyd Garrison and scores of others were anarchists, inasmuch as they opposed the abuse of power. Yes, they were dreamers of a state of society wherein each man shall have the greatest scope and opportunity for self-development, a society wherein the individual shall learn to appreciate his relation to his fellows and the value of mutual assistance and voluntary co-operation.

A dangerous theory? Yes, but dangerous to those who would falter the human mind and gag the human voice; dangerous to those who always have opposed every thing for progress and individual well-being.

As to myself, I came here not to enter into a fist fight with the police. I came here to get forth my ideas, and I absolutely deny the right of any official to stop me from speaking. True, the police represent an iron wall of physical power and ignorance worn with age, but then I represent a truth and a never-to-be-destroyed longing for liberty.

The club may be a mighty weapon, but it sinks into insignificance before human reason and human integrity.

Therefore I shall speak in Philadelphia.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Philadelphia, October 1, 1909.

...any of the new wood block paving was laid Chief McLaughlin, of the Electrical Bureau, he said, prepared all the underground connections requisite to carry out the project.

The entire scheme for the improved lighting of the centre of the city embraces not only Market street between the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, but also Walnut and Chestnut streets between the Delaware and 34th streets. It has the hearty approval of the Mayor, who expects Councils to furnish the money needed with the least possible delay.

The plan contemplates 350 sidewalk arc lights on Market street between the two rivers, where now there are but 50 such lights, and in Chestnut and Walnut streets combined 156 arc lights, where now there are but 97. The new lights are to be supported in pairs on ornamental sidewalk posts, four to each block, and four such posts, each with twin lights, at street intersections.

Estimates of cost are as follows: Market street, poles and arc lamps complete, about $9000; Chestnut street, $4200; Walnut street, $7000; total cost of construction, $24,000. Annual estimated cost of maintenance of the additional electrical lights: Market street $30,000, Chestnut street, $22,600, and Walnut street, $13,300, total, about $66,000.

WOUNDED PATIENT'S MYSTERY

Photograph Leads to Belief That He Gave Assumed Name.

Through photographs found upon the person of a wounded young man, who was a patient in a hospital at Spokane, Wash., the Philadelphia police were able to obtain his identification yesterday as Conrad Clark, a former resident at 226 North Eleventh street. He gave the assumed name of James Fitzgerald to the Spokane police, who had him under surveillance at the hospital, believing that he was a member of a band of yeggmen.

Mrs. Clark and her daughter Lena identified three photographs carried by the patient, and in order to establish complete identification, further information was requested from the Spokane police. It is said that a man named Fitzgerald, the name given by the young man, was shot by the police while in the West.

APPOINTED BANK EXAMINER

Commissioner Smith Selects Moore's Secretary as Assistant.

Bank Commissioner W. H. Smith has selected as his own successor in the vacant place of examiner J. W. Conn, of this city, secretary to J. Hampton Moore.

It was said last night that Mr. Conn would qualify shortly for his new position.

Mr. Conn held an important place in a large financial institution in this city 15 years before becoming Mr. Moore's private secretary. He was recommended for the vacant post of examiner by Mr. Moore, Senator Sproul, of Chester, and John R. Valentine, of Haverford. Mr. Conn's home is near Ardmore.

AEROPLANE SPEED TESTS HERE

Charles F. Willard to Fly in a Curtiss Machine.

The first flying machine flights in Philadelphia are to be given at Point Breeze during the week of October 11-16, by Charles Foster Willard with a Curtiss aeroplane, the Golden Flyer No. 1. Willard has already made successful flights with the machine at Mineola, Long Island, Montreal and Athens, Pa. Mr. Willard will come here from Richmond this week in get the machine ready for breaking records if possible.

Willard's speed record is now 13 miles in 19 minutes while his endurance record is 56 minutes.

PINIONED BY A TON OF LEAD

Workman Held Fast More Than an Hour.

William McCloskey, of 2117 Arch street, who is employed in the Wetherill paint manufactory, at 30th and Walnut streets, lay helpless more than an hour yesterday with a leaden ingot weighing almost a ton pinioning his left leg to the ground. His cries were heard by a man passing the place, who told the police of his plight.

McCloskey was just quitting his work, later than usual, when the ingot fell. When the police arrived they were forced to use a crowbar to release him. He was removed to the University of Pennsylvania Hospital.

Local Fire Record.

A. M.			Loss.
12:25—	820	Christian street; Harry Collins's dwelling	$50
3:55—	124	North Lindenwood street; Charles H. Witsch's dwelling	$90
8:50—	1012	Philip street; Thomas Hyde's dwelling	25
11:18—	5100	Larchwood avenue; Carria Strobel's grocery store	$5

Fires Elsewhere.

NORRISTOWN, Pa.—Charles A. Cox's barn, near West Point, destroyed, seven horses and cow burned. Loss, $15,000.

PITTSBURG.—Warehouses of Macbeth-Evans Glass Company and Paterson Coal and Supply Company destroyed; loss, $100,000.

...reached. Common Pleas ... granted an additional delay ... yesterday before taking a ... proposed compromise of the ... by George H. Earle, Jr., ... Pennsylvania Sugar Refining ... against the American Sugar ... Company, known as the Sugar ...

All parties interested had ... day to submit the terms upon ... releases of claims against the ... could be obtained, but Joseph ... kin, counsel for Mr. Earle, ... Judges Willson and Audenried ... the postponement were granted ... ment would be reached with ... the court in arranging the ...

This was in accordance with ... gestion made by the Judges ... ago, and Mr. Junkin explained ... agreement to compromise the ... ference held in New York. ... Although counsel would not ... ment, it is thought that the ... of the Pennsylvania Company ... first objected to the terms of ... lement, have been won over ... mit themselves to the offer ... Earle.

This offer, believed to be ... one in question, was that the ... would pay $750,000 to the ... Refinery Company and would ... note for $1,250,000 made by ... and secured by the Pennsylvania ... pany. This loan was negotiated ... tave Kissel, but it was said ... did not understand that Kissling ... ling as an agent for the ... tective committee of bondholders ... Pennsylvania Company on the ... compromise, maintaining that ... were inadequate, and that more ... could be obtained if the suit ... der the Sherman anti-trust law ... trial.

This objection it is now ... been overcome, and the litigation ... speedily adjusted.

THE WEATH...

Local Record, Oct...

United States Weather Bureau. ...
Temperature.
MAXIMUM (5 p. m.) ...
MINIMUM (8 a. m.) ...
MEAN ...
Normal 62

Barometer	...
Temperature	...
Humidity	...
Wind: Direction	...
Velocity	...
Weather	...
Sunshine 65 per cent	

Temperature—Deficiency ... deficiency since October 1, ... since January 1, 311 degrees.
Rainfall—Deficiency since Oct... deficiency since January 1, ...
Weather a year ago, cloudy.

Day's Record Else...

Observations made at 8 p. m. ...

Stations	8 p m	Ther.	Rain-fall	W.
Abilene, Tex.	78	94		
Atlantic City	66	84		
Atlanta, Ga.	72	80		
Bismarck, N. D.	64	74	..	
Boston, Mass.	56	64		
Buffalo, N. Y.	52	54		
Cape May, N. J.	60	60	.	
Charleston, S. C.	70	70		
Chicago, Ill.	64	74		
Cincinnati, O.	66	74		
Cleveland, O.	54	54	..	
Denver, Col.	64	76		
Detroit, Mich.	54	62	..	
Duluth, Minn.	44	44	..	
Eastport, Me.	50	56	.01	
Galveston, Tex.	76	82	..	
Hatteras, N. C.	68	70	..	
Helena, Mont.	54	..	..	
Huron, S. D.	58	74	..	
Jacksonville	72	82	..	
Jupiter, Fla.	74	82	.20	
Kansas City	74	78	..	
Key West, Fla.	80	86	..	
Los Angeles	62	68	.24	
Memphis, Tenn.	74	80	..	
New Orleans	80	84	..	
New York city	58	68	..	
Norfolk, Va.	66	76	..	
N. Platte, Neb.	74	90	..	
Omaha, Neb.	80	90	..	
Palestine, Tex.	68	88	..	
Pittsburg, Pa.	56	60	..	
Portland, Me.	54	60	..	
St. Louis, Mo.	76	82	..	
St. Paul, Minn.	64	70	..	
Tampa, Fla.	76	86	..	
Washington	58	68	..	

*Highest for twelve hours p...

Official Fore...

WASHI...

For Pennsylvania and New ... day and Monday: not much ch... ture; moderate northwest win... riable.

For Maryland and Delaware ... Monday: no decided change ... light, variable winds.

Fair and pleasant weather ... Saturday in all districts of th... the Rocky Mountains, with ... northern New England and ... da, where showers occurred. ... disturbance is now causing ... tween the coast and the ... the Rockies, while another d... importance seems to be deve... dle Missouri River Valley. ... risen in the central valleys a... ly stationary elsewhere.

Some cloudiness will probab... central valleys, with a few ... showers, but generally fair ... vail in nearly all districts ... mountain ranges. The tempe... the Ohio Valley and in the ... rectly south, while elsewhere ... will occur. Comparatively ... will prevail in the Southwest.

Sun, Moon and ...

Sun rises...	5:55 a.m.	Sun ...	
Moon rises..	8:38 p.m.	Moon ...	

PHILADELPH...

High water.	4:26 a.m.	High ...	
Low water..	11:26 a.m.	Low ...	

REEDY ISLA...

High water.	1:18 a.m.	High ...	
Low water..	7:44 a.m.	Low ...	

BREAKWATE...

High water.	10:11 a.m.	High ...	
Low water..	6:38 a.m.	Low ...	

662

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890506003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Woman Anarchist Ready for a Test / Emma Goldman.– p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Oct. 4, 1909).

Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

ER—PHILADELPHIA, MONDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 4, 1909.

CK EVASIVE ON OLITICAL RUMOR

es to Deny He Has Formed Coalition With Senator McNichol.

ATOR SILENT TOO

n Leaders Say the Asphalt ntractor Is Not Aiding Their Campaign.

ical circles and on the Stock Ex- which is a sensitive political bar- it was reported on Saturday that Mack had joined his old business anies P. McNichol, and that the rtest in 1905, had been brought to This report gained belief because sudden advances of stock con- by the Mack interests

ack, who is president of the Gen- shalt Company and heads several ing concerns returned to the city urday night. He was asked last ether there was any truth in the flying him with McNichol and the ation

e been out of the city three he replied in a non-committal

any suggestions looking to peace de to you?"

e been out of the city and know about politics."

you aid the movement to oust Organization and the contractor

he made the same reply.

ou take any part in politics and as conspicuous as in 1905?"

not answer that now and do not talk politics. This is the time to business, as prosperous times ning, and it is necessary to be ter the long depression."

Mr. Nichol, who perhaps with ould be the only person who ld authoritatively Mack's status reported friendly move, declined on the subject. He said that he e it came during the campaign e drawn into the waging daily ries and that he intended to this attitude.

leaders last night declared Mack was evincing no interest mn campaign and that no financial assistance had come from him. One aid that it would injure the cause Mr. Mack and his coterie make easily identified in politics as they now.

Mack is not with us," declared Wentworth Case, "and as far as e not taking any interest in politics know that he has not assisted in ing is expected of him."

he address at the First Christian Berks and Marshall streets last Clarence Gibboney was asked thought of the rumor that Mack rned to the Organization. He he knew nothing whatever about ut Mack.

HOOL JANITORS SAFE

Says They Are Protected From Political Intimidation.

A. L. Finck, Penn party City Committeeman from the 24th Ward, called attention to the report that janitors for the schools were being influenced by to work for the Republican ticket such information before William , chairman of the Board of Education Property Committee, and asked ing.

y Mr. Tilden said that he had d of any intimidation and con

ition need have the slightest fear will be disturbed in his position, r who threatens him, if he does in that position and behaves as people should when not on duty. Information I quote a sentence present Educational law relating to janitors as follows: 'They shall [illegible] of the Education

gh these employes are elected by that Board is neither the Sectional or any other power or influence to Board of Education can remove and even then there must be for removal.

e at perfect liberty to use this any way you wish—publicly or and quote me as saying that al 'boss' or the Sectional School s any power of removal over the of the public schools of the city elphia and from my knowledge rience with the Board of Educa- sure that the janitors will be in their positions so long as their duty in those positions.

happy to add that the janitorial the public schools today, like lse in connection with the

Political Meetings Today.

REPUBLICAN.

City Committee meets at 1:30 p. m. and the ward committees assemble in the evening to get instructions for the campaign.

DEMOCRATIC.

C. La Rue Munson, candidate for Supreme Court, will meet the Democratic City Committee and leading Democrats at the City Committee headquarters, Tenth and Walnut streets, 2 p. m.

WILLIAM PENN.

Open air meeting, 1523 Snyder avenue, 36th ward, evening.

Meeting in Wharton Hall, 36th and Wharton streets, 36th ward, evening. These meetings will be addressed by the county candidates and other speakers.

LANE PREDICTS VICTORY FOR ROTAN BY 50,000

Says Heavy Registration Means Organization Has Forces in Line.

Chairman Lane, of the Republican City Committee, said last night that the registration on the last day would exceed 35,000, and that the total enrollment for the election would be greater than last year. It is estimated that the total will be about 287,000 or 2000 greater than last year, the record mark. This is due to the activity of the Organization and the desire on the part of citizens of all political affiliations to participate in the election.

"Republican workers have never been so active or performed such good service as in the three registration days," said Mr. Lane. "The important work of the campaign has been done and our reports indicate that of those registered the Republican ticket will get such a sweeping vote as to give the whole ticket more than 50,000 majority."

Reform leaders would not venture an opinion concerning the complexion of the registration. They said that the division workers had been most vigilant upon all three days and that reports would be received later in the week which would give what they believed would be an accurate index to the situation and the temper of the voters.

Scattering returns show that the registration on Saturday was heaviest in the reform and distinctly residential wards. In the 24th Ward the registration on Saturday was 3000, making the total about 8500, this being 700 more voters than registered last year.

Politicians [illegible] different explanations for the heavy enrolment. The Republican leaders say that it was brought about almost entirely by the zealous work of the Organization in the 1174 divisions. Reform leaders declare that the interest the citizens are showing in the reform cause contributed to the result.

In years past usually 100,000 citizens failed to register. With an estimated registration of 287,000 out of an assessment of 350,742 citizens the number who cannot participate in the election is 72,742. As about 15 per cent. of those who register do not participate in an election by reason of removals, deaths or other causes it is estimated that the total vote in November will be about 250,000.

Reports from other cities and towns in Pennsylvania indicate a surprising apathy in the coming election. In Pittsburg it is much less than last year, and in smaller cities in the State it has fallen off about 4 per cent. compared with last year.

ANOTHER RECRUIT

Fifteenth Ward Reformer Leaves Party and Gives Reason.

Lawrence S. Brady has sent his resignation as a member of the 15th Ward Penn party committee and joined the Organization. He did this in a letter to R. Willis Lyelle, chairman of the ward committee. This letter says that Gibboney has as "one of his closest and most 'practical' allies a former city contractor, whose highest hope is to see the present Republican Organization defeated in order that he may again enjoy a monopoly of municipal contracts."

Continuing the letter of resignation reads:

"In short, reform has become a mask behind which many men of no political conviction other than the Jacksonian principle, that to the victor belongs the spoils, seek to hide the desperate eagerness to feed at the public trough.

"Mr. Gibboney's ability to administer the important functions devolving upon the District Attorney is at best problematic, though his personal honesty is not to be questioned. Mr. Gibboney's policy has been to defame Philadelphia. His platform is built of fair promises, but obligated as he is to advocate short ballot, 'The end justifies the means' what guarantee have the people that he would be permitted to redeem those pledges, even if elected?

"Mr. Rotan has, on the contrary, been tried out by the people and he has 'made good.'"

LOCAL OPTIONISTS BUSY

This State to Be Storm Centre of National Campaign.

Pennsylvania will be the storm centre of the local option fight which will be waged with especial vigor during the next six months throughout the entire country.

[illegible]

WOMAN ANARCHIST READY FOR A TEST

Emma Goldman Challenges Right of Police to "Misinterpret Law."

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

Many of Her Followers Visit Her and Proffer Assistance.

Emma Goldmen has called for a meating of the radical clans and declares herself ready to test to the limit the "authority of the police officials in this city to misinterpret the law." That was the construction that the woman anarchist put on Director Clay's opposition to her, at a meeting in her rooms yesterday afternoon. In obedience to circulars sent out by the Free Speech Committee, some twenty representatives of the various Free Thinker and Single Tax Societies visited Miss Goldman, at 1208 Arch street, yesterday and formulated plans for future action in this city. Two tentative programmes were mapped out. One simply consists of a series of dates on which she will address meetings in case the courts grant her prayer for injunction against the Mayor and the police. The other contains so many various methods of attempting to force free speech that, Miss Goldman declares, to publish it would be only to play into the hands of those who oppose her.

"If this decision is handed down tomorrow," said Miss Goldman, "whether favorable or adverse, I will make public some startling statements in regard to the fruits of my work here. I have in reserve the names of some of the most influential private citizens in this city who have offered me their support financially and morally. These names I shall give out just as soon as I learn my status with the courts."

Miss Goldman's followers are fearing that a new method will be pursued to discourage her attempts to speak here. They say they do not believe that the courts will hand down a decision today, nor, for that matter, tomorrow.

"It would not surprise me at all," said Nathan Hotz, a freethinking advocate of Miss Goldman's, "to see an attempt on the part of the courts to withhold the decision indefinitely. By this method they may seek to discourage the woman and make her quit in disgust."

Miss Goldman laughed at Hotz's fears. "That's foolish," she said. "The courts are not afraid of me."

A body of 12 University students called on the little anarchist yesterday and offered her their support. Miss Goldman declared that she had had 12 offers from private citizens to lecture to parties in their homes. She says she has declined these.

"Why should I accept private offers," said Miss Goldman, "when I have such a more worthy task before me? I am not anxious to talk. The sensation does not please me. I have a desire, however, to establish free speech, and if it is in my power I shall do so."

Referring to her meeting yesterday afternoon, Miss Goldmen cited an instance of the willingness that some people have shown to flock to her standard, but are deterred by the fear of public opinion.

"A well-known doctor called here," said Miss Goldmen, "and said, 'I would do anything in my financial power to help you, and nothing would give me greater pleasure than to affiliate with you morally, but the publicity attached to it will ruin my practice and hurt me socially.'"

"However," continued Miss Goldman, "he proved his sincerity by leaving me a generous check."

Such incidents are common at the anarchist's headquarters, but not so common as the hero worship scenes enacted by the visiting factory girls. To them Miss Goldman is a creature to be worshiped in the light of an emancipator. They sincerely believe that she will upset the existing social conditions, and they sit by and absorb her words in the most flattering silence.

Miss Goldman announced last night that she will speak tonight on the City Hall plaza if the injunction for which she has applied is granted.

SOCIALISTS DENOUNCE THE OTHER PARTIES

Campaign Book Declares Workingmen Ought Not Support Them.

Political leaders who are of the opinion that the coming election will be close and that it might be decided by a few thousand votes thrown to either the Penn or Republican candidates, are asking whether the Socialist party will support Murphy, the labor leader, or vote wholly for their party candidates. – While the Socialist party has not made much headway in this city, it now polls more than

country is shown in this table compiled by the City Committee:

UNITED STATES.					
1896, Pres.	2,040	1898,	Cong.		32,284
1900, Pres.	21,812	1902,	Pres.		55,501
1904, Cong.	30,150	1906,	Cong.		235,000
1908, Pres.	36,564	1904,	Pres.		446,250
1907	54,000	1908,	Pres.		412,000
PENNSYLVANIA.					
1898, Gov.	4,778	1905,	Treas.		10,000
1900, Pres.	4,511	1906,	Gov.		15,100
1902, Gov.	21,010	1907,	Treas.		14,344
1904, Pres.	21,361	1908,	Pres.		23,913
PHILADELPHIA.					
1899, Mayor	1,044	1905,	State Tr.		3,000
1899, Rec. Tax	1,200	1904,	Pres.		1,224
1903, Solicitor	2,000	1905,	State Tr.		1,233
1906, Magistrate	1,000	1906,	Gov.		2,000
1907, Mayor	1,701	1907,	State Tr.		3,021
1908, Solicitor	3,004	1908,	Pres.		6,192

TRAGEDY IN HOME OF ILLNESS

Father Attending Sick Child Breaks Neck by a Fall.

Thomas Ellis fell down the stairs in his home at 434 Dearborn street yesterday, breaking his neck. When he fell he was carrying a glass of milk to his little daughter Dorothy, who has been ill for several weeks and by whose bedside the father had been watching night after night.

Ellis had suffered from vertigo, and his fall is attributed to an attack of this disorder. Mrs. Ellis has been ill as a result of her constant watch at the bedside of Dorothy. The father took up the nightly watch and slept on a cot beside the bed of the little girl. Dorothy awoke about 4 o'clock and asked for a glass of milk. Ellis was overjoyed, for he took the signs of her returning appetite as an indication of her recovery. He hastened downstairs and had reached the top step on his return. Dorothy saw him throw up his arms and fall backward.

The frightened child saw the huddled form of her father at the bottom of the steps and called to her sleeping mother. Before Mrs. Ellis could respond the child had reached her father's side and was tugging at his clothing in her efforts to arouse him. A physician was summoned, but declared that Ellis had probably died instantly.

The terrible experience was too much for the little girl. She has been in a state of delirium since, and the doctors say she may lose her mind. Mrs. Ellis has collapsed and is under the care of neighbors.

DIES IN HOTEL CORRIDOR

Henry H. Ayers Stricken When Leaving the Walton.

Henry H. Ayers, the Walnut street furrier, died yesterday in a corridor of the Hotel Walton of convulsions, to which he had been more or less subject ever since five years old, when he fell down an open hatchway, in Thirteenth street near Chestnut, injuring his head. He was contemplating undergoing an operation for the affliction next week.

Until three weeks ago Mr. and Mrs. Ayers and their three-months-old child lived at 1820 Ontario street. They removed to the Walton, expecting to pass the winter there. Mr. Ayers had breakfast yesterday and appeared to be in the best of health and spirits. After spending some time in his room he told his wife that he was going out, but would return shortly. He left the room and had gone only a few steps from his door when he was seized with an attack. A nurse who attends his baby found him there, but before she could render any help he died. Dr. Herbert Cornforth, of Eighteenth and Spruce streets, had been called meanwhile, but when he arrived he could do nothing. Ever since his accident Mr. Ayers had been undergoing treatment at various intervals at the hands of Dr. Charles K. Mills and Dr. Laura S. Chapin.

He was 35 years old and his fur establishment at 1250 Walnut street, was conducted under the firm name of W. W. Ayers & Anna B. Ayers.

LIQUOR DEALERS AND POLICE

Retailers to Investigate Blocking of War on Speak-easies.

The Philadelphia Retail Liquor Dealers' Association has decided to investigate the complaints of its private detectives to the effect that they receive little attention from the police when asking for the suppression of speakeasies and other places where liquor is sold illegitimately.

At its meeting yesterday the association declared that it would appoint a committee to wait upon Mayor Rayburn and Director Clay. The complaint of the liquor men will be directly against the police, who, they contend, are blocking their efforts to kill the speakeasy by refusing to take the prisoners that the association's detectives arrest. Edward T. Wells, attorney for the association, has prepared extensive data, with the instances of alleged indifference and refusal on the part of the police. Thomas F. Watson, president of the association, declared yesterday that sufficient evidence of speakeasies could be furnished to demand closer police supervision.

No time was set for the committee to call at the City Hall, but it is believed that the complaint will be made within the week.

POLICE ROB

Seriously W... and M... T...

ONE OF ...

Identified ... Wat...

Four men su... in a highway ... terday by Pol... of the Fourt... tion. Lennon ... oners to the ... volver, while ... of Ninth and ... shot in the ... Agnew's Hosp... rious.

According to ... flans have ... hood of Tant... sult themselve... Several person... Among them ... South Tenth ... the police, we... bers of the ... his home. On... it is said, two ... a wall, while ... watch and dia... the man who ... Burns, of Da... and swore out ... arrest. Edgar ... was also reco... waymen.

Early yeste... Lennon saw ... band of more ... and Snyder a... the rear, he a... attempted to ... tion. Compan... mediately surr... spite the odds ... his ground. ... powered and th... and Edgar we... their followers ... himself on his ... men. The bull... and he fell to ... man who war... dered to halt ... great respect ... obeyed.

The shot attr... eral nearby ho... trol, in which ... hospital. Cove... his revolver. ... march to the ... obeyed without ... that Burns wa... other prisoner... Ninth and Wo... ley, of Ninth ...

Burns was h... by magistrate ... no direct evid... Rowley they ...

LION DID

Parents Deny ... Accident

The Evening ... count yesterda... old baby of M... of 3004 Almond... tern by a lion... Hunter Brothe... The story also ... had been lacer... he ran to reac... Mr. and Mrs. ... there was no ... said that they ... gation in the h... son who had a...

Mrs. H. ...

Mrs. H. J. M... har home, 1125 ... band is vice pr... tilling Compan...

THE ...

Local ...

United States W... Temperature ... MAXIMUM (6 p. ... MINIMUM (8 a. m... MEAN ... Normal, 62.

Barometer ... Temperature ... Humidity ... Wind—Direction ... Velocity ... Weather ... Rainfall ... Sunshine, proper ... Temperature—D...

663

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890506007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Emma Goldman's Case to Be Reheard / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 43 cm.
In Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. —(Oct. 7, 1909).
Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

PHIA. THURSDAY MORNING. OCTOBER 7, 1909.

NOVEL QUESTION OF MAN'S RELIGION RAISED IN SUIT

Society Defended Widow's Action on Ground That Husband Was Not a Catholic.

Mrs. Sarah N. Goodwin got a verdict against the American Catholic Union for $552.50 in Common Pleas Court No. 4 yesterday, as insurance on the life of her husband, Samuel C. Goodwin, who died a year ago last January. The union, which is a beneficial association, refused to pay the insurance on the ground that Goodwin was not a Catholic.

In the course of the trial Judge Audenried, who was sitting, called upon Michael J. Ryan to inform the Court how the claim of a man to be a Catholic could be disproved if it were not true. Mr. Ryan was not in the Goodwin case, being in the courtroom as attorney in another matter. He said he did not know unless there had been a public excommunication or the person had openly renounced the faith, there was no expunging of names from membership records or letters of dismissal as in other churches. If baptized a Catholic a person remained such till death outwardly whatever his practice, unless excommunicated, which is rarely done, or unless he withdrew his adherence publicly.

Mrs. Goodwin testified that her husband entered the Catholic Church in 1901, and observed the commandments of the church till the time of his death. The death was sudden. Therefore no priest had been called to administer the last sacraments. He had received communion, he said, with her on Christmas Day, ten days before his death.

Thomas A. Fahy, attorney for the union, sought to prove by the fact that Goodwin had been buried in a non-Catholic cemetery, Mount Holly, that he was not a Catholic. The fact was explained as having been made beside the graves of Goodwin's parents, who were not Catholics, and were buried in that cemetery.

FOUND DEAD IN THE MARSH

Police Undetermined Whether Exposure of Violence Was the Cause.

The body of a man supposed to be that of George Beck, of 2331 Lee street, Frankford, was found in the marsh land in the rear of the Keystone Fish Co. at Rhawn street and the Delaware River yesterday. The police are not sure whether the man died from exposure or was murdered as if it was Beck his wandering habits support the first theory, while the form condition of the woods in which he was found and the derangement of his clothing seem to suggest the theory of death by violence.

William Wiese of 2310 Rhawn street was gunning along the river when the excited howling of his dog attracted his attention. He had been attracted and he hastened to the spot. His dog was pointing to the body of the man.

In the man's pocket there was found a bearing the name and address of Beck. Inquiry at the house indicated that he had been apparently demented for a long time and frequently wandered from home for indefinite periods. He went away on Sept. 21 and on the 27th and 28th of September he was seen in the vicinity of Frankford. On the 29th a trace of him was found. A number of the persons who knew him positively identified the body as that of Beck when it was discovered. It is thought that Mrs. Beck, who was ill, took the death of her husband so much to heart that it hastened her own death, which occurred from pneumonia. She had been ailing for some time.

DROPS DEAD AT SON'S BEDSIDE

Mother Passes Away While Trying to Bid Children Good-by.

Mrs. Jane Lindsay, 56 years old, of 446 North Fifth street, dropped dead of vertigo beside the bed of her two sons into whose room she had crept early yesterday morning. The sons were awakened by the falling body and called Doctor McIntosh, police surgeon at the Third street and Fairmount avenue station. It is believed that the mother felt that death was approaching and sought to say goodby to her sons before she died.

The sons, Robert and Pierce, have occupied rooms with their mother at the Fifth street address since the death of the father several years ago. The mother often had attacks of vertigo and had requested the girls that her sons should be present so that she could talk to them when she was about to die. The only relative the boys now have is Edward Brasil, formerly a crossing watchman at Eighth and Willow streets and now thought to be in Harrisburg.

FELL DEAD AT TIME CLOCK

Watchman Overcome as He Inserted Key to Register.

William Henry Gordon, a veteran of the British campaign in Egypt years ago, dropped dead yesterday morning in the act of punching a time-clock in the Girard Building, where he was employed as a watchman. In another week Gor-

EXCITING SCENES ON PARK AUTO COURSE

Grandstand Rail Breaks, Throwing Spectators in Way of Cars, But Nobody Is Hurt

BOY IS NEARLY KILLED

Crosses Path of Flyer—Three Machines Do Laps in Less Than Eight Minutes.

Hundreds of persons, the largest crowd of the week, were thrilled yesterday morning at the trial spins for the Quaker City Motor Club's 200-mile race on Saturday by a succession of exciting happenings.

First of all they saw eighteen cars dash around the track, one after another, three of them breaking the record of last year by making the round of the course in less than eight minutes. Then they were thrown into a tumult of applause by the appearance of George Robertson, winner of last year's race, in a Simplex car.

The excitement was increased by the collapse of the railing of a section of the grand stand so that nearly two score of persons were tumbled out upon the track. Nobody was hurt. Shortly after this Willie Wallace, in his Palmer-Singer, risked his life to escape running over a boy who ran across the track just as the machine was rushing past. On the whole, the two or three hours of racing from daylight until 7:30 o'clock was filled with interest for the crowd.

Chevrolet, the French driver, had hoped to make the round of the track in 8 minutes flat, but he did not succeed. However, Burman, in an Buick, and Dingley, in a Chalmers-Detroit, were unofficially timed at less than 8 minutes.

Several watches also caught H. F. Grant, the driver of the Alco car, making the distance in eight minutes flat. On the stretches it is estimated that he ran as fast as 80 and 85 miles an hour.

The best time made by Chevrolet, a Buick was 8:25. Wallace made 8:27 in his Palmer-Singer, while Dingley, in a Chalmers-Detroit, and Zeugle, in a Chadwick, each raced around in 8:30.

Robertson's appearance on the track was loudly cheered. He made no attempt at record breaking and covered five laps in an average of 9 minutes, his best round being 8:42. One of Robertson's dangerous opponents will be Grant in his Alco. Grant has never driven any car but the Alco in races. Two years ago, in the Lowell event, he finished second in the 250-mile race through losing eight tires. This year again over the 308-mile course, with 30 laps, he was 5 minutes ahead of Robertson, the eventual winner, when on the 25th lap he broke the tangled in his chain and put him out of the running.

Grant said that while the course was better than last year it was far from ideal particularly along the river stretch, where the cinders have been laid. Whether the cinders caused trouble or whether it was because the cars have not yet settled down to work, the running was most uneven. The troubles were frequent and other little accidents were happening constantly to bother the drivers.

Joe Brennon, the mechanician for Chevrolet, came into the home stretch on one of his rounds with his face covered with blood and dirt. He explained that as they turned off Belmont avenue and into Wynnefield avenue, the machine threw up a lot of loose stones which punished them severely.

Persons who had crowded upon the grand stand had a narrow escape from injury when the railing of one of the sections gave way and threw them into the track. Nobody was hurt and fortunately no cars were passing at the time. Captain Duncan, of the Park Guards, and a squad of his men quickly cleared away the damage, so that the racing went on without interruption.

Wallace, in the Palmer-Singer, had quite a speeding up the River Drive a boy ran across the track. Wallace swerved the car to the side and put on the brakes. He missed the boy by a bare 6 inches and nearly upset the car.

The course has been roped off from the Fifty-second street entrance to Sweet Briar turn and today it will be roped off still further. Captain Duncan has assigned 45 men to the guarding of the track during the practice runs. At night 17 men, under Sergeant Hahn, are on duty and on the day of the race there will be 70 of the Park Guards and from 1500 to 1700 policemen patrolling the course.

In addition to policemen and Park guards the services of Company B, Engineers Corps, N. G. P., have been obtained for Saturday. About 50 of the engineers, under command of Captain St. George H. Cook, Lieutenant James H. Andrews and

EMMA GOLDMAN'S CASE TO BE REHEARD

Question of Nationality to Be Considered by the Court.

Emma Goldman's nationality is the technicality on which Judges Audenried and Willson have been hanging their arguments in the case of her plea for injunction. A rehearsing of the case will be held tomorrow and then several other legal points, that the courts declare block their path to a decision, will be threshed out. Henry John Nelson, City Solicitor Gendell and Assistant City Solicitor Aiken appeared before the two Judges yesterday and the rehearing was decided upon. Miss Goldman was deeply incensed when the nationality question was raised.

"First of all, I am a citizen, as I have proved many times. But, please understand that I am not contemplating proving it again." Miss Goldman shrugged her shoulders expressive of a disdain of the Court's questionings.

"What I want to tell the people in pursuance of the cause for which I stand," she continued, "has practically made way for a much greater basic principle than my demand that I be permitted to speak here. If should be told that my prayer for injunction would be granted by the court on the one condition that I prove to their satisfaction that I am an American citizen, I would be destroying my rights to claim championship of the Constitution by acceding to their wishes. The Constitution of this country gives me the unreserved right to free speech. That is given unqualifiedly, and by making any compromise I would be setting a precedent that could be cited in shutting the door of free speech in the face of thousands of admirable people entitled to speak, but who could not because they are not citizens.

"No! No! No!" she cried, "I am not fighting for myself alone. The most meagre student of current events can hark back the last five years and name thousands of foreigners who have spoken and nobody dared deny them because our Constitution forbade the abridgment of their right of free speech."

Yesterday Miss Goldman's mail was greater than ever before. Letters were received from Eugene V. Debs, Senator C. E. S. Wood, of Portland, Ore.; William Marion Reedy, of St. Louis; J. G. Phelps Stokes and Rose Pastor Stokes, Elbert Hubbard and Louis Post, of Chicago. All these letters will be read at a mass-meeting that will be held under the auspices of the Free Speech Committee at the Labor Lyceum, Sixth and Brown streets, on Friday night.

Leonard D. Abbott, of New York, will be chairman of the meeting, and speeches will be made by former Congressman Robert Baker, of Brooklyn, Bolton Hall, of New York, Voltairine de Cleyre, of this city, and Dr. Ben L. Reitman, of Chicago. There is a possibility that Mr. and Mrs. Stokes will also be present and address the meeting. Miss Goldman will not attempt to speak, but a letter from her will be read.

TRIAL OF HILLEGAS

Government Expected to Close Today in Boyertown Bank Case.

Another day was consumed in the tracing of checks and accounts included in the transactions of DeWitt C. Hillegass with the Farmers' National Bank, of Boyertown, when the trial of Hillegass, charged with aiding in the misapplication of the bank's funds, was resumed yesterday in the United States District Court.

A. L. Moise, who represented the bank in bringing suit to recover notes, was the principal witness. He testified to the various actions and amounts represented and recovered in the suits after judgment had been obtained.

Trial will be resumed today, when it is expected the Government will rest its case.

MASHER GOES TO JAIL

First Chased by Mother of Girl He Called "Doll Baby."

John Prendergast, 1221 South Philip street, was sent to the House of Correction by Magistrate Hughes yesterday morning for saying, "Oh, you doll baby" to Miss Reba Segal, of 732 Dickinson street.

According to the testimony at the hearing [illegible] and Fourth and [illegible] nue police station Miss Segal, who is 21 years old and pretty, was standing in the front doorway of her home eating a pear when Prendergast, with whom she was not acquainted, happened by. Miss Segal said that after calling her a doll baby, Prendergast asked her for some of the pear, and that when this was refused, he came up on the steps and became impudent. By the time Miss Reba's mother appeared, broom in hand, and chased Prendergast for two blocks, when he ran into the arms of Policeman Barnett. Magistrate Hughes called Prendergast a "ping ugly," and said that he would make an example of him.

ACCUSED OF STEALING TOOLS

EX-MAGISTRATE IS ACCUSED OF FRAUD

Charles Fulmer Arrested Charged With Conspiracy to Register Bogus Names.

HE IS REFORM WORKER

Friends Declare Organization Followers Made Plot Against Him.

Ex-Magistrate Charles Fulmer, a Penn party City Committeeman of the 29th Ward, was arrested yesterday and held for a hearing tomorrow before Magistrate Gallagher, charged with conspiracy. It is alleged by George W. Fisher, an Organization follower, that Fulmer gave him sums of money at different times to register illegal voters in the 10th and 12th Wards.

Fulmer, according to Fisher, agreed to pay an additional, $200 providing he was successful in registering the names.

According to Magistrate Gallagher, Fisher made a confession in which he is alleged to have said that Fulmer planned to register bogus voters in the two wards and subsequently place the blame on the Organization.

Several reform followers said yesterday that the conspiracy charge against Fulmer was the result of a plot of Organization followers. The Penn party adherents asserted that a man was sent to them who said he had information detrimental to the Organization which would benefit the reform cause.

The Penn party followers emphatically denied that any attempt was made to register fraudulent voters, and declared that detectives were sent to the wards in question to get possession of poll-tax receipts, which it is said were being distributed in a wholesale manner by Organization followers.

Interesting developments are promised this morning, when Fulmer will be arraigned. Organization men assert that other men prominent in the reform cause will be arrested before the affair is settled.

It was said that the investigation led to the door of one of the most active reform leaders.

It is probable that no further arrests will be made, but the Organization leaders declare that men very "high up" in reform will be exposed as having knowledge of Fulmer's actions.

VENDER'S UNLUCKY START

His Cart Upset by Runaway on First Trip.

Misfortune for Angelo Petruzzi was good fortune for his neighbors in the vicinity of Seventh and Carpenter streets yesterday morning. Angelo had saved his money and invested it in a pushcart. And yesterday he had stocked it with vegetables and was on his first trip. He was standing on Seventh street, near Carpenter, volubly discussing qualities and prices with a crowd of women in the Italian vernacular when a runaway brewery wagon, driven by John Richter, came along. Richter had nothing but empty barrels aboard, and his horse had taken fright at a hand organ. Smash went Angelo's new cart. Eggplants and onions, beets and corn, mingled in the street. Angelo and a crowd of men ran after the brewery wagon. But the women remained where they were and picked up the vegetables.

Police Sergeant Wilson stopped the horse at Eleventh and Carpenter streets and arrested Richter. It was with difficulty that Wilson saved Richter from rough handling by Petruzzi's partisans, and at the station house Petrusal demanded immediate payment for his loss. He was finally induced to leave the station house by giving him a paper with Richter's [illegible] at a bank. Then Richter was released.

THE WEATHER

Local Record October 6.

United States Weather Bureau, Philadelphia.

Temperature	1908.	1909.
MAXIMUM	74	69
MINIMUM	58	52
MEAN	66	60

Normal, 61.

	8 a. m.	8 p. m.
Barometer	30.34	30.22
Temperature	58	67
Humidity	80	78
Wind—Direction	W	W
Velocity	8	8
Weather	Clear	Clear

Sunshine, 100 per cent.
Temperature—Excess today, 5 degrees; deficiency since October 1, 3 degrees; since [illegible]

664

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890506009

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman and M'Kinley's Death / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Oct. 8, 1909).

Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

inty. k to how been of n ariff. tion, ame

ien- nity but ary hy va

than

R

that omitted that pro- al- ly le- tell ion of San of in to

but upon its annual value—that is, upon the amount which it brings the owner in rentals. If the land happens to be unoccupied, it is not assessed and pays nothing; hence it is no burden to a landowner to hold on to unimproved real estate. These facts, coupled with the further circumstances that few Englishmen own their home or factory sites, but hold them on long leases, and that land has become so sacred an heirloom that it is rarely or never sold outright, show how wide a departure from tradition is the proposal that land shall be value-rated and taxed on the basis of its value.

It has no market value in any sense that would be understood in other countries, and the attempt to fix one, and thus to reach the "unearned increment" is instantly denounced as a pretext of the "have-nots" to impose new and unjust burdens on the "haves." On the other hand, the argument that the great landowners, the peers and other rich men, have hitherto escaped a just share in the burdens of taxation, is being forcibly used. Hence the bitterness of the struggle over this vital part of a very complicated controversy.

ARCHAIC MOSSBACKS

The opposition of the Camden Council to a project to bring their city into direct railway communication with Philadelphia is not explicable upon any theory that does not impeach either their honesty or their common sense. No one can possibly doubt the enormous gain to Camden from a tunnel under the Delaware River. There may be doubt whether the scheme is financially practicable, but Camden is not called on to consider that. The projectors are not asking financial aid from the Council; they are only asking the necessary legal authorization to overcome Camden's natural isolation. It might be expected that the whole population would welcome the proposition with delight.

It may be that the residents of Camden do welcome it, but if so they are miserably misrepresented by their Council. Instead of doing everything to encourage and facilitate the execution of the plan with proper assurance of responsibility, the Councilmen have put all imaginable obstacles in the way, and have finally loaded down the ordinance with such multiform and unreasonable conditions as are equivalent to refusal.

As an instance of mossback obstruction this is so astounding as to be incredible. The most inveterate hostility to corporations could not account for stupidity like this. It is not strange that some hostile counter-influence is suspected, some interest that recognizes the great change that would result from a tunnel under the Delaware opening all New Jersey to quick and cheap transportation from Philadelphia and the Continent. Such interests might naturally oppose a new competitive force, as the omnibus drivers opposed the street railways; but that is not a reason why Camden should prefer horsecars to electric cars.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Purposes and Effect of the Proposed Changes in Fundamental Law.

BY GEORGE H. THORN,
Chief Clerk, State Department.

Ten proposed amendments to the Constitution, and a schedule designed to carry them into effect, will be printed upon the ballot for the general election in November, thus submitting them for adoption or rejection by the people.

While each of the amendments revises a different section of the Constitution, the purpose of all is to the same end—namely, to abolish the February election, to provide that the general election shall be held in November of even-numbered years and the municipal election in November of odd-numbered years, and that there shall be but one regular election each year.

To accomplish this purpose, and to retain the harmony of the constitutional provisions, it is necessary to amend the several sections as set forth below.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT I

Provides that when a vacancy in office occurs two months or more before the general election in November in offices a successor to which may be filled by appointment of the Governor the vacancy shall be filled at the said election.

The provision now in force is that the vacancy shall have occurred three months or more before the election.

NO. II

Fixes the terms of the State Treasurer and of the Auditor General at four years each, instead of three and two years respectively as at present, but provides that the State Treasurer and the Auditor General elected in 1909 shall serve terms of three years each.

NO. III

Provides that the terms of office of Justices of the Peace and of Aldermen shall be six years instead of five years as at present.

NO. IV

Applies only to Philadelphia and fixes the term of office of Magistrate at six years [illegible] the term is five years.

NO. V

Provides that the general election shall be held biennially in each even-numbered year on the Tuesday next following the first Monday of November, instead of annually, as at present.

NO. VI

Abolishes the February election and provides that the municipal election shall be held biennially in the odd-numbered years, on the Tuesday next following the first Monday of November, instead of annually as at present.

NO. VII

Provides that election boards shall be elected biennially instead of annually, and further, that the General Assembly may by law require said boards to be appointed either generally or in cities only, instead of being elected.

NO. VIII

Provides that State officers shall be elected on a general election day (November of even-numbered years), and that local officers shall be elected on a municipal election day (November of odd-numbered years).

NO. IX

Fixes the term of office of all county officers at four years, instead of three years, as at present.

NO. X

Provides that the terms of office of County Commissioners and of County Auditors shall be four years, instead of three years as at present, classifying them as county officers coming under the ninth amendment.

Schedule for the Amendments.

By the provisions of the schedule the terms of all officers now fixed at an odd number of years will be extended one year, so that the terms shall always be for an even number of years. That is, the term of election officers will be two years, that of assessors, constables, School Directors, Councilmen, supervisors and of all city and county officers will be four years, and that of Justices of the Peace, Aldermen and Magistrates will be six years.

County officers elected in 1907 and 1908 will each serve four years, but those elected in 1908 will serve only three years.

The February (municipal) election will

of the ballot. Vote first for the candidates of your choice. Then mark the amendments in regular order.

EMMA GOLDMAN AND M'KINLEY'S DEATH

A Caustic Denial That She Was in Any Way Implicated, and a Vigorous Retort.

To the Editor of Public Ledger:

Sir—In the issue of your paper of the 6th instant, there appeared the following letter:

"Sir—The fact that the assassin of William McKinley, under oath, swore that he attributed his act of crime to the utterances of Emma Goldman is ground enough for preventing her speaking here. T. T. H."

Among decent people it is customary to ignore any printed accusation that is not signed in full.

However, I ask the courtesy of your paper, not for my defense, but for the benefit of your readers, who, I take it, believe in hearing both sides.

T. T. H. states that the "assassin of William McKinley swore under oath that he attributes his act of crime to the utterances of Emma Goldman." It requires but little logic to see that T. T. H. speaks from hearsay and not from knowledge.

If the "assassin" had given any such sworn testimony would not the authorities have confronted him with me, and would that not have been sufficient evidence, especially at that moment of popular frenzy, to hold me for trial, yea, even to send me to prison?

For the enlightenment of T. T. H. permit me to say that the State of New York employed 200 detectives and spent $30,000 to connect me with the "assassin." Evidently they were leaving nothing undone to get sufficient evidence. Is it reasonable, then, to assume that sworn testimony, such as referred to in the letter of T. T. H., would have been allowed to pass?

In justice to that victim of economic inequity and social ignorance, Leon Czolgosz, I wish to state once for all, that he made no such statement under oath, or otherwise, nor had he ever claimed to be an anarchist.

Leon Czolgosz made one statement; however, when he was placed in the electric chair. "Good Christian brothers," "in their great Christian love," attempted to draw a confession from their helpless victim.

They told him that Emma Goldman had denounced him as a worthless beggar, or something to that effect. "It makes no difference what she says, she knew nothing of the act," was the "assassin's" reply.

As to what else that boy may or may not have said only his warders and the prison walls know.

Warders, in the sublime words of Oscar Wilde,

"Must set a lock upon their lips, and make
their face a mask."

And again,

"Every prison that men build for men is built
with bricks of shame,
And bound with bars, lest Christ should see
How man their brothers maim."

No, the "assassin" made no statements, nor could there be found even circumstantial evidence to connect me in any way.

Besides, I absolutely deny that utterances, no matter how incendiary, have ever induced any one to violence. Two conditions are necessary for such acts. One is a great social wrong that is undermining the liberties of a people. Secondly, a deep-sensitive social or individual psychology incapable of enduring that wrong. Where these factors are lacking one might preach violence from every housetop without the slightest result. On the other hand, where social conditions outrage every sense of justice violent acts are their natural results.

This brings me to the most vital point. Not anarchism, the philosophy of social peace and harmony, not Emma Goldman's speeches are responsible for the act of the "assassin" of William McKinley, but people like T. T. H., like those who are [illegible] system which, as Thomas Paine said, "Sends old age to the workhouse and youth to the gallows."

No doubt T. T. H. means well, but he has much to learn. I suggest that he attend the free speech meeting Friday night at Labor Lyceum. He might learn there what liberty really means.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Philadelphia, October 7, 1909.

The mass-meeting which will be conducted under the auspices of the Free Speech Committee tonight at the Labor Lyceum, Sixth and Brown streets, will have Mayor Reyburn as its guest if he accepts an invitation tendered [illegible] Tuesday. The invitation was prompted

MILITARY SURGEONS' MEETING

Medical Director Wise Declares Better Education is Required.

[SPECIAL TELEGRAM TO PUBLIC LEDGER.]

WASHINGTON, Oct. 7.—The annual meeting of the Association of Military Surgeons continued its session today with a discussion of the needs of the service from a military point of view. Considerable criticism of the present conditions was heard and Medical Director Wise declared that one of the greatest needs in America is more general education among surgeons.

Dr. Wise declared that the United States has the finest surgeons in the world and some of the greatest men of medicine to be found anywhere, but that the primary education of most physicians has been absolutely neglected.

He added that the need for better educated doctors was felt particularly in the public service, where men frequently apply for admission and are found to be splendidly equipped from the professional standpoint, so far as medicine and surgery go, but who could never pass an examination in the simplest branches of English.

A medical "plucking board" was demanded by Surgeon Blackwood, for the purpose of keeping the service up to the highest standard. When a man fails to fulfill the requirements of his position, Doctor Blackwood wants to see him retired and a man who can qualify put in his place. The line and the navy have such a board, he declared, and the medical department should have one also.

Such authorities as Medical Director J. C. Wise, Medical Inspector H. O. Beyer, Surgeon in Chief Stokes, Surgeons E. S. Bogart, Raymond Spear, George Pickrell, George A. Long and J. N. Blackwood, of the United States Service, read papers on the various questions of organization and equipment, frankly exposing the lack of many essentials that exist not only in the American service but among foreign navies as well.

CHINESE MINISTER'S RECALL

Chief of Far Eastern Bureau to Confer With Knox and Crane.

[SPECIAL TELEGRAM TO PUBLIC LEDGER.]

WASHINGTON, Oct. 7.—A phase of the Far Eastern question which throws much light on the temporary recall of the new United States Minister to China, Mr. Crane, from San Francisco is the arrival in Washington at the end of the week in time for the conference between Minister Crane and Secretary Knox of Ransford S. Miller, chief of the new Far Eastern Bureau of the State Department. Mr. Miller was formerly secretary of the American Embassy at Tokio, and is now returning from an extensive tour through Manchuria and Korea.

This fact makes it almost certain that the recall of Mr. Crane as he was about to sail for his post had to do with further instructions and the arriving at a complete understanding on his part with the State Department as to the exact status of American interests in the Orient.

Secretary of State Knox has taken a particular interest in Oriental affairs since entering President Taft's Cabinet. Aided by the President, whose position in the Philippines has given him a wide insight into Eastern matters, Mr. Knox established the Far Eastern Bureau.

The conference of Mr. Knox, Mr. Miller and Mr. Crane is expected to take place on Saturday or Sunday. Secretary Knox is still at his home at Valley Forge, Pa.

PLAN FOUR NEW BATTLESHIPS

Navy Board Programme Also Includes Many Other War Craft.

[SPECIAL TELEGRAM TO PUBLIC LEDGER.]

NEWPORT, R. I., Oct. 7.—It is understood that the programme for additional ships for the navy, which is a result of the meetings of the Navy General Board, includes four battleships, submarines, destroyers, colliers, armored cruisers and other craft.

Naval officers are hoping that the programme will include two large repair ships for the fleet on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, which are essential, they state, and no fleet can be complete without them.

The submarine Octopus is engaged in carrying on various manoeuvres and firing Whitehead torpedoes in Narragansett Bay secretly, in accordance with the plan to develop certain tests which were started in the bay last month by the first submarine flotilla.

OFFICE FOR HALE'S SON

Named as Third Assistant Secretary of State to Succeed Wm. Phillips.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 7.—Chandler Hale, of Maine, son of Senator Hale, has been selected as Third Assistant Secretary of State to succeed William Phillips, of Boston, who will become Secretary of the American Embassy at London, succeeding John R. Carter. Mr. Carter will be appointed Minister to Roumania.

Although they have not yet received their commissions, no doubt is expressed of their appointment within a day or two.

Mr. Hale is 36 years of age. He served as assistant secretary to the American

ARCHAIC MOSSBACKS

[illegible] letter to the International Balloon Race for the Gordon Bennett Cup came down in a large pine tree near Warsaw at the end of a 650-mile flight from Zurich and made himself the winner of the race, coming close on the heels of Glenn H. Curtiss, captor of the grand prize in the international aviation meet at Rheims, the record height attained by Wilbur Wright at Berlin, and Curtiss's victory at Rheims. Mix's achievement is a most gratifying enhancement of American aeronautical prestige and the harbinger of greater triumphs to come.

665

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890506013

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Goldman Meeting Without Goldman / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. —(Oct. 9, 1909).

Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

ER—PHILADELPHIA, SATURDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 9, 1909.

FORM MEETINGS IN GERMANTOWN

...boney Makes Caustic Criti... ...sm of Penrose's Speech to Kensington Folk.

...ORE HAS TO EXPLAIN

...tor Asks Why Former As... ...ant District Attorney "Flopped" to Organization.

...mantown citizens filled three halls ...ight to give an uproarious recep... ...the Penn party candidates. There ...uch red fire burned along the ...ares and the Perseverance Band ...at it could to enliven the occasion ...n while

...principal meeting of the evening ...ld at the Town Hall, where women ...in the gallery heard some words ...subject of woman suffrage. A ...who appeared to be the ... ...of the business community filled ...ll. But at Hibernia Hall ... ...event of the evening took place. ...T. Morse was speaking, when out ...un auditor who gave his name ...as Thomas Gaffney, of the 2d ... interposed a question as to why ...ore "flopped" over to the reform ... The speaker had just concluded a ...e to his sudden change of politics ...he Organization ranks to those of ...n party.

...Morse endeavored to explain that ..."flopped" over suddenly after a ...nlightening conversation on the ... of politics with a certain con... ...of the city.

...affney came back and wanted to ...he substance of that conversation ...uers, becoming visibly embar... ...explained that he would prefer ...nter into it in details. Suddenly ...ere cries of "Put him out." "Put ...

...at point the Chairman of the ... Charles Graham rose to com... ...affney to remain quiet, but Mr. ...equested Mr. Graham to be seated ... said that he would attend to the ... The attention had grown em... ...ng to the entire assemblage, when ...man appeared and the man who ...cetiously referred to as the ... of Summerville was removed ... hall.

...yburn the Chief Target.

...Reyburn was the chief target ...evening, he along with McNichol ... Vare, furnished the principal ...for the campaign arguments of ...ing at the various meetings. ...ence Gibboney discussed Senator ...e attitude in the campaign briefly ...A. Lewis had this to say about ... Stuart. The Governor came to ...delphia the other day and asked ...te for Rotan for District Attor... ...am not inclined to take the Gov... ...riously on this topic I am in... ...be reminded of two and a half ...o, when he came to town to ad... ...to vote for Mayor Reyburn. We ... Governor advice two and a ...rs ago as I voted for the Mayor, ... we did get a prize package."

...O. Lewis also had a fling at the ...He said that the election of the ...Penn candidates would bring to ...he end of Reyburnism, which had ...the city since 1905. He said that ...tractors' combine would fall to ...et November 3 if their candi... ...are defeated and the Republicans ...f Philadelphia would have a ...o reorganize and regenerate their ...mittees and separate them from ...trol.

Mr. Gibboney's Speech.

...ndidates made virtually the same ...at the three meetings. Mr. Gib... ...id ...rve that the distinguished ... ...from this State was "trotted ... ...tariff speech in Kensington last ... I read his speech with much ...and as an exposition of Republi... ...m my ... connection of Repub... ...But what relation had his re... ...the question of the control of ...quality by political contractors? ...Penrose very properly had noth... ...to say on that subject.

...rely regret that Senator Penrose ...help the tens of thousands of ...ans who voted for me at the June ... to redeem the city and the Re... ...party from the base rule of po... ...tractors. Why does he not come ...good causes? Why does he not ...great power of his position and ...nce against the domination by ...contractors of the Republican ...tion in this city? I would greatly ...e him standing with my Republi... ...nds and myself on a common ...form for true Republicanism, which ...ection frauds and all the other ...ils inevitably follow and are a ...overnment by a political com...

Political Meetings Tonight.

WILLIAM PENN.

Fifteenth Ward, Merrill's Hall, 15th street and Fairmount avenue.

Combination meeting of the Sixth, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 19th and 20th Wards. Labor Lyceum Hall, Sixth and Brown streets. Speakers will include D. Clarence Gibboney, John J. Murphy, Edwin O. Lewis, Vivian Frank Gable, Colonel Shaldon Potter and Ziba T. Moore.

nation for Sheriff some time in the past, to the evident amusement of the candidates and the audience, but to the discomfiture of the chairman.

Organization's Death Struggle.

Edwin O. Lewis was introduced following Magistrate Eisenbrown, and said in part:

"What a miserable spectacle the Mayor makes—possessing the power of a king, yet playing only the part of a king's jester to McNichol and Vare. Boss rule has always meant that puppets are placed in high office. The contractors don't dare nominate for powerful offices men of independence or brains, for fear they would break the bonds of allegiance to the system that created them.

"So ex-Boss Dave Martin, chief of the Hog Combine, declares that no Republican will vote for John J. Murphy for City Treasurer. We will see. Some 80,000 citizens voted for Murphy on June 5, and does Mr. Martin dare to read them out of the Republican party? Martin says Murphy would not be worthy of election over Dobbins as treasurer of a secret society or a building association, but at least Mr. Murphy has no dollar mark on his forehead, nor has a United States Senator publicly branded him as a traitor.

"I have not heard that Mr. Murphy is a candidate for treasurer of any secret society. Mr. Dobbins can have the treasurership of Dave Martin's building society, what Murphy will get is the Treasurership of Philadelphia, and the united workingmen and other unbossed citizens will put him there.

"Strip tickets and good transit service depend on this election. The William Penn party will get back the six-for-a-quarter tickets, if it is successful in the election. Nothing is more important to the development and happiness of a great city than its street car service, and there will be no betterment here so long as the Transit Company is bound hand and foot, with the political contractors. It is to the interest of the real owners—not the stock-jobbing politicians of the street railway system—that it be divorced from all connection with McNichol and Vare and, Henry Clay, and be run as a business institution rather than as an annex of a contractors' machine."

Organization's Death Struggle.

Mr. Lewis declared that the contractors' organization was engaged in a struggle for its life and that the issue was, "Shall Philadelphia have government by the people, or government by two contractors for the benefit of those two contractors?"

"Mayor Reyburn is a creature of Organization rule, one of the visible examples of what curse boss rule is to a large city," he said. "We make no progress from one year's beginning to another. Reyburn's administration is a joke in City Hall and has been so looked upon by members of Councils from its inception. Contractors McNichol and Vare openly rule all departments of the city government. The Mayor is incompetent because he can't help it. He is childish in his thoughts, and in the control of unprincipled men becomes the instrument for much evil that he would not otherwise think of."

Walter E. Ilex, Common Councilman of the 2d Ward, presided at Chestnut Hill, where A. F. Gable and Thomas Mac-Farland were among the speakers who were not heard at the other two meetings.

At the Hibernian Hall, where Charles Graham, former president of the British-American Association, of which David M. Pascoe was secretary, presided, it was said that the sentiment in favor of Pascoe would throw at least 300 votes to the cause of the reformers.

PERSONAL REGISTRY BADGES

Commissioners Now Wear Insignia of Office.

"Arrest that man!" exclaimed a friend of Personal Registration Commissioner Pierie yesterday.

Mr. Pierie wore on his left breast a bright silver badge, which did not look unlike the insignia of an officer of the law. Mr. Pierie smiled and exposed the badge, which proved to be nothing more than the State coat of arms, on the rim of which was this: "Personal Registration Commissioner, Philadelphia."

This innovation was started some time ago. Each of the four commissioners and the two clerks now have the silver seal upon their persons. Some one suggested that it would be better if the State made the commissioners special officers so that they might arrest any man on sight who should fraudulently register.

Councilmen and city officers also wear badges of office. It is said that every city employe will be required shortly to carry some sign of his office, as is the case in European official circles.

POLITICAL CELEBRITIES HERE

Bellevue-Stratford Entertaining Men of Public Note.

It might have been thought there was a big political conference on in town yesterday, judging from the group of celebrated personages who were seen about the corridors of the Bellevue-Stratford. There were Governor Fort, of New Jersey; Congressman Fowler, Congressman Loudenslager and ex-Governor Stokes, all of the same State; former Congressmen James Watson, of Indiana

GOLDMAN MEETING WITHOUT GOLDMAN

Friends of Woman Anarchist Have Demonstration Under Police Guard.

LETTER FROM EMMA

Her Denunciation of Methods That Silenced Her Greeted With Applause.

Mayor Reyburn did not attend the anarchists' meeting in the Labor Lyceum, at Sixth and Brown streets, last night. He answered the invitations which had been given him by Leonard Abbott, the chairman, by sending Captain Callahan, with four lieutenants and 50 policemen, to see that everything was conducted in a gentlemanly and ladylike manner.

Neither did Emma Goldman attend the meeting. Judges Audenried and Willson, who presided at the supplementary hearing as to whether Miss Goldman had a right to resort to the protection of the United States law when she was admittedly an alien, continued the case yesterday without rendering a decision. So, of course, the lady anarchist did not attempt to discuss her anarchistic principles in person. She sent instead a letter which was read with great gusto at the meeting, the reading being liberally punctuated with cheers and applause. In fact, so much did the anarchists like the letter that they had it read twice, and then adopted resolutions protesting against the denial of free speech to their Jeanne d'Arc.

The policemen received quite as hearty a greeting as did Emma Goldman's letter; only the welcome was a little different. The speakers mingled ridicule and compassion in their references to the "men standing there at the back of the hall who don't like their dirty job any more than you like it." Most of the speakers went over the head of Captain Callahan and addressed themselves to Director Clay, who unfortunately said the speakers was not present.

The talks all criticised the Director for his disregard of the law of free speech. The audience howled with pleasure every time the head of the Department of Public Safety was scored, so that the talkers scored him all the harder. In addition to the speeches, a number of letters were read from such personages as Elbert Hubbard, Eugene V. Debs, Senator C. S. Wood, of Portland, Ore., William Marion Reedy, of St. Louis; J. G. Phelps Stokes, of Connecticut, and Louis Post, of Chicago. All of these letters told how terrible a thing it was when free speech was denied an anarchist.

Chairman Abbott introduced the following speakers: Former Congressman Robert Baker, of Brooklyn, Dr. Ben L. Reitman, Voltairine de Cleyre, Will Price, William Robinson and Charles D. Ryan. The speakers also talked about free speech, using such expressions as the "price of the blood of martyrs," "what your forefathers died for," etc.

Then the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, the inalienable right to peaceably assemble and to hear a public address by Emma Goldman in Odd Fellows' Temple has been denied to us, the people of Philadelphia, and,

"Whereas, a human voice has been silenced before it was heard,

"We, the people of Philadelphia, protest against this illegal action of the city officials and demand our constitutional right.

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Mayor Reyburn, Director of Public Safety Clay and the press."

Emma Goldman's letter follows:

"It has been decreed by 'the wise fathers of this city' that I may not be with you tonight. Do you think Philadelphia will still be safe if I send you a message instead?

"Henrik Ibsen said that the majority accepts a great truth only when it has become a lie.

"Whosoever doubted Ibsen's deep understanding of the mass psychology had ample opportunity to be convinced in Philadelphia Tuesday, September 28.

"Ten thousand people came to a meeting at Odd Fellows' Temple, but because his Majesty had turned a great truth into a lie, free speech was stabbed in the heart Tuesday evening, September 28.

"'Life, liberty, happiness' the inalienable right to free thought and expression, in the old long ago represented a truth for the unpopular few. A sublime truth, for which men gave their all. The penalty of that truth was death, heroic, unflinching death.

"Liberty, independence, free speech, free assemblage are now popular slogans hailed and proclaimed by all. Liberty by the 'grace' of the law, independence at the behest of gold. Free speech at the mercy of the club. What a mockery, what a terrible farce.

"Ibsen is right. The majority has accepted the truth only when it became a lie, a hideous, brazen lie.

"It was that lie, more than the police department of Philadelphia, that made the outrage of September 28 possible.

"Men had been known to shed their last drop of blood for a truth, but who would expect any one to rise in rebellion for a lie?

"That's why 10,000 people submitted supinely to the brutal force of police clubs.

"I register my protest not against the sagging of my voice. Silence is more powerful

SMALL BOY FATALLY SHOT; CROWD THREATENS SLAYER

Victim Wounded by Angry Man, Who Narrowly Escapes Lynching.

Raymond L. Lauerhaus, 12 years old, was fatally shot in the breast and back last night while watching a fight, at Bodine street and Girard avenue, between a crowd of corner loungers and Andrew Sherer, of 418 Jefferson street. After the shooting Sherer threw away the revolver and ran four blocks with a crowd at his heels. As he stumbled exhausted from the fight and the run he was arrested by Policeman Holzwarth, at Fourth and Poplar streets. When the policeman took Sherer back to the call box, at Second and Girard avenue, the crowd had grown to such proportions and their passions had risen to such an extent that it looked for a time as if they would succeed in lynching Sherer. The policeman drew a revolver and backed up against a wall, protecting his prisoner. A concerted effort was made to push both him and his prisoner under the wheels of a passing freight train. Help in the form of several policemen arrived in time to avert a second tragedy.

The story told at the Front and Master streets police station was to the effect that as Sherer was passing the corner of Bodine street and Girard avenue, the crowd made fun of his bundle and called him names. A scuffle ensued, in which Sherer drew a revolver. The gang scattered, and Sherer fired at Lauerhaus, who is said to have been only an onlooker. The first shot struck him in the breast, and as he fell a second entered his back. Then Sherer ran. When the crowd saw him running they regained their courage and chased him.

At the station house 15 cartridges were found in Sherer's pockets. A revolver was found under a back gate along the route Sherer took in his dash to escape. The police say it is the one he used in the affray.

MIDGET BIJOU IS STRANGELY CLOSED

Lilliputians' Theatre, in 46th Ward, Notified Suddenly to Stop Performances.

The Midget Bijou, at 41-43 South 52d street, was closed by order of the building inspectors last night, who gave as a reason for their action that two stage walls of the hall were not fireproof, and that the registered proprietor of the place, J. A. Shoneman, had not complied with all the requirements of the theatrical law of 1901. The theatre is controlled by a group of Lilliputians, who have given performances at various places in the neighborhood for several years.

Shoneman says he has been conducting the place unmolested since March 20, when the building inspectors put their sign of approval on the building and declared it to be fireproof, and that the safety of the public was not endangered in attending concerts in the hall.

Friends of Shoneman, who say that they know the turbulent state of politics in the 46th Ward better than he does, declare there have been ulterior reasons for the closing, and when the question was put directly to Shoneman he said he believed politics had a lot to do with it, but because of his short residence in the ward and his inactivity in politics he would not enter into a discussion in which he could not produce names and facts.

His friends, however, say that since he came there the business of three other moving picture shows has suffered while he was making money. Those who suffered, they said, are strong politically.

Shoneman says the notice to cease his shows came without warning at 6 o'clock in the evening when it was too late to have the faults remedied by any one in authority in the Department of Public Safety. A large crowd of women and children had assembled outside the place for the evening performance when he told them the show would not go on.

Shoneman says that on March 20 he completed an expenditure of $12,000 on the place, which he built for a moving picture show. The hall occupies only the first floor, and the floors above are let out in flats. The seating capacity of the place is 250, and for this number of persons there are eight exits.

Edwin Clark, chief of the Bureau of Building Inspection, could not be found last night to tell why the place was allowed to start last March if it did not comply with the requirements.

BOY BLED TO DEATH

Leukemia Prevents Cessation of Flow After Tooth Extraction.

Daniel Rogeany, 10 years old, of Pineville, N. J., bled to death in the University of Pennsylvania Hospital, whither he had been taken Thursday from his home, near Millville, when the blood following the extraction of a tooth could not be stopped. The doctors diagnosed his case as leukemia, which means that there were

WIFE... HELD...

Woman F... Heart ... Hear...

PAIR FI...

Frenzied ... Declar...

William Fi... street, 60 ye... night charge... wife Amalia... "She war m... to ma)" axe... police locked... Fisher was... Policemen Br... Tenth and T... an hour afte... into his room... coming and... thrown hims... wife and kis... "She was m... work," he ... was led from ... Hall, along ... Charles Prut... house, who e... husband will ... before Magist... Fisher and ... the rear of th... At about half ... by Prutzer a... the third floo... but 20 minute... the door of th... the front of t... long hall bet... the Alde... was weeping. ... carried a revo... it. "Fix this f... man. "Amel... want to kill ... Alderman ... Fisher and ra... shop of Jacob ... corner of Tent... stein took the ... police station. ... sent out. Prutzer said ... out of the hou... arrived Fisher ... the stairs cry... volver. On th... kettle of beer ... was lying acro... in her left br... She was take... where she wa... The police a... Mrs. Fisher k... husband, accor... frequently qua... men. Fisher a... whether he ha... Mrs. Fisher a... where he could ... fused last nigh... obtained the ... Fisher is a v... say that he r... that the fami... earnings of M... tels. She neva... weeks at a t... were the alter... was at home t... mane had ser... stein, who own... Until a little ... lived at Tenth ... cigar store be... Siegel said th... move on comp... Since Wedne... husband had ... dents of the ... reached the ho... he met Mrs. Pr... ing to Prutzer, ... her and called ...

THE...

Local ...

United States W... Temperature... MAXIMUM (1 P... MINIMUM (7 a... MEAN ... Normal, 60.

Barometer ... Temperature ... Humidity ... Wind—Direction ... Velocity ... Weather ... Sunshine, 100 ... Temperature—E... since October 1, ... 1, 527 deg. ... Rainfall—Deficie... deficiency since J... Weather a year ...

Day's ...

Observations ma... T...

Stations.	Ap...
Abilene, Tex	...
Atlantic City	...
Atlanta, Ga.	...
Bismarck, N. D.	...
Boston, Mass.	...
Buffalo, N. Y.	...
Charleston, S. C.	...

666

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890506013

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Goldman Meeting Without Goldman / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. —(Oct. 9, 1909).

Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

...bboney Makes Caustic Criticism of Penrose's Speech to Kensington Folk.

...OOKE HAS TO EXPLAIN

...uditor Asks Why Former Assistant District Attorney "Flopped" to Organization

...ermantown Hall filled three halls night to give an uproarious reception to the Penn party's candidates. There ... much cheering along the thoroughfares and the Perseverance Band ... what it could to enliven the occasion ... were there.

The first political meeting of the evening ... held in the Town Hall, where women ... the party heard some words on the subject of woman suffrage. Most of what appeared to be the business community of ... ha.' But at Hibernia Hall a more ... ful event of the evening took place. ... Moore was speaking, when suddenly an auditor who gave his name ... Thomas Gaffney, of the 22d ... interposed a question as to why ... Moore "flopped" over to the reform ... The speaker had just concluded a ... reference to his sudden change of position ... the Organization ranks to those of ... Penn party.

... Moore endeavored to explain that ... had "flopped" over suddenly after a ... enlightening conversation on the ... ject of politics with a certain contractor of the city.

... Gaffney came back and wanted to ... the substance of that conversation.

Moore, becoming visibly embarrassed, explained that he would prefer ... to enter into details. Suddenly ... were cries of "Put him out! Put ... out!"

... that point the chairman of the ... eting, Charles Graham, rose to compel Gaffney to remain quiet, but Mr. ... requested Mr. Graham to be seated ... and said that he would attend to the ... ation. The situation had grown embarrassing to the entire assemblage when ... patrolman appeared and the man who ... facetiously referred to as the ... yor of Summerville was removed ... the hall.

Reyburn the Chief Target.

Mayor Reyburn was the chief target ... the evening, he along with McNichol ... the Vares, furnished the principal ... terial for the campaign arguments of ... evening at the various meetings.

Clarence Gibboney discussed Senator ... rose's attitude in the campaign briefly ... "As Lewis said, this is not about ... Senator Penrose. The Governor came to ... Philadelphia the other day and advised ... to vote for Rotan for District Attorney. ... am not inclined to take the Governor ... seriously on this topic. I am inclined to be reminded of two and a half ... ars ago, when he came to town to advise us to vote for Mayor Reyburn. We ... the Governor's advice two and a ... f years ago and voted for the Mayor. ... sure we did get a prize package."

Edwin O. Lewis also had a fling at the ... yor. He said that the election of ... illiam Penn candidates would bring to ... end the era of boss rule which had ... cided the city since 1905. He said that ... contractors' combine would fall to ... ces after November 3 if their candidates were defeated and the Republicans ... Philadelphia would have a ... ance to reorganize and reexamine their ... ty committees and separate them from ... control.

Mr Gibboney's Speech.

The candidates made virtually the same ... eches at the three meetings. Mr Gibboney said:

... observe that the distinguished senator from this State was drafted to ... ke a tariff speech in Kensington last ... ening. I read his speech with much ... terest and as an exposition of Republican economic doctrines it does not differ ... ch from my own conception of Republicanism. But what relation had his remarks to the question of the control of ... municipality by political contractors? ... nator Penrose very properly had both ... to say on that subject.

... sincerely regret that Senator Penrose ... not help the tens of thousands of ... publicans who voted for me at the June ... maries to redeem the city and the Republican party from the base rule of political contractors. Why does he not come ... for good citizens? Why does he not ... the great power of his position and ... influence against the domination by ... litical contractors of the Republican ... nization in this city? I would greatly ... n friends and myself on a common ... form for true Republicanism, which ... ors election frauds and all the other ... s which inevitably follow and are a ... t of government by a political com... of contractors.

Not a word of sympathy or approval ... the McNichols and the Vares could I ... in the remarks of Senator Penrose ... night. This silence on his part and ... of Governor Stuart on Wednesday ... ht is much more impressive in condemnation of these contractor-bosses than ... expression of party fealty ... el we hope that in the not far distant ... re the senior Senator from Pennsylvania will ally himself with the loyal Republicans who are striving to redeem this ... from its present boss rule."

... ...ruscle A. Lewis held the attention of ... auditors and pleased the women assembled at the Town Hall by his many ... will include D. Clarence Gibboney, John J. Murphy, Edwin O. Lewis, Vivien Frank Gable, Colonel Sheldon Potter and Zibe T. Moore.

nation for Sheriff some time in the past, to the evident amusement of the candidates and the audience, but to the discomfiture of the chairman.

Organization's Death Struggle.

Edwin O. Lewis was introduced following Magistrate Eisenbrown, and said in part:

"What a miserable spectacle the Mayor makes possessing the power of a king, yet playing only the part of a king's jester to McNichol and Vare. Boss rule has always meant that puppets are placed in high office. The contractors don't dare nominate for powerful offices men of independence or brains, for fear they would break the bonds of allegiance to the system that created them.

"So ex-Boss Dave Martin, chief of the Hog Combine, declares that no Republican will vote for John J. Murphy for City Treasurer. We will see. Some 80,000 citizens voted for Murphy on June 5, and does Mr. Martin dare to read them out of the Republican party? Martin says Murphy would not be worthy of election over Dobbins as treasurer of a secret society or a building association, but at least Mr. Murphy has no dollar mark on his forehead, nor has a United States Senator publicly branded him as a traitor.

"I have not heard that Mr. Murphy is a candidate for treasurer of any secret society. Mr. Dobbins can have the treasurership of Dave Martin's building society; what Murphy will get is the Treasurership of Philadelphia and the united workingmen and other unbossed citizens will put him there.

"Strip tickets and good transit service depend on this election. The William Penn party will get back the six-for-a-quarter tickets, if it is successful in the election. Nothing is more important to the development and happiness of a great city than its street car service, and there will be no betterment here so long as the Transit Company is bound, hand and foot, with the political contractors. It is to the interest of the real owners—not the stock-jobbing politicians of the street railway system that it be divorced from all connection with McNichol and Vare and Henry Clay, and be run as a business institution rather than as an annex of a contractors' machine."

Organization's Death Struggle.

Mr Lewis said that the contractors' organization was engaged in a struggle for its life and that the issue was, "Shall Philadelphia have government by the people or government by two contractors for the sole benefit of those two contractors?"

Mayor Reyburn is a creature of Organization rule, one of the visible examples of what curse boss rule is to a great city," he said. "We make no progress from one year's beginning to another. Reyburn's administration is a joke in City Hall and has been so looked upon by members of Councils from its inception. Contractors McNichol and Vare openly rule all departments of the city government. The Mayor is incompetent because he can't help it. He is childish in his thoughts, and in the control of unprincipled men becomes the instrument for much evil that he would not otherwise think of."

Walter E. Rex, Common Councilman of the 2d Ward, presided at Chestnut Hill. ... V. F. Gable and Thomas MacFarland were among the speakers who were not heard at the other two meetings.

At the Hibernian Hall, where Charles Graham, former president of the British-American Association, of which David M. Fowler was secretary, presided, it was said that the sentiment in favor of Pascoe would throw at least 500 votes to the cause of the reformers.

PERSONAL REGISTRY BADGES

Commissioners Now Wear Insignia of Office.

"Arrest that man!" exclaimed a friend of Personal Registration Commissioner Pierie yesterday.

Mr. Pierie wore on his left breast a bright silver badge, which did not look unlike the insignia of an officer of the law. Mr. Pierie smiled and exposed the badge, which proved to be nothing more than the State coat of arms on the rim of which was this, "Personal Registration Commissioner, Philadelphia."

This innovation was started some time ago. Each of the four commissioners and the two clerks now have the silver seal upon their persons. Some one suggested that it would be better if the State made the commissioners special officers an that they might arrest any man on sight who should fraudulently register.

Councilmen and city officers also wear badges of office. It is said that every city employe will be required shortly to carry some sign of his office, as is the case in European official circles.

POLITICAL CELEBRITIES HERE

Bellevue-Stratford Entertaining Men of Public Note.

It might have been thought there was a big political conference on in town yesterday, judging from the group of celebrated personages who were seen about the corridors of the Bellevue-Stratford. There were Governor Fort of New Jersey, Congressman Fowler, Congressman Loudenslager and ex-Governor Stokes, all of the same State, former Congressman James Watson, of Indiana, Senator John W. Daniel, of Virginia, Senator James P. Taliaferro, of Florida, and ex-Senator Allee, of Delaware.

Most of them are here for the automobile race today, and the others are in the city on private business. Senator Taliaferro has taken a box for the Fairmount Park event and will entertain a company of friends in it. He is a great automobile enthusiast, and came all the way from Florida, where many a big motor race has been held, to attend the Philadelphia meet.

WANTS HISTORICAL PAGEANT

...ends of Woman Anarchist Have Demonstration Under Police Guard.

LETTER FROM EMMA

Her Denunciation of Methods That Silenced Her Greeted With Applause.

Mayor Reyburn did not attend the anarchists' meeting in the Labor Lyceum, at Sixth and Brown streets, last night. He answered the invitation, which had been given him by Leonard Abbott, the chairman, by sending Captain Callahan, with four lieutenants and 50 policemen, to see that everything was conducted in a gentlemanly and ladylike manner.

Neither did Emma Goldman attend the meeting. Judges Audenried and Willson, who presided at the supplementary hearing as to whether Miss Goldman had a right to resort to the protection of the United States law when she was admittedly an alien, continued the case yesterday without rendering a decision. So, of course, the lady anarchist did not attempt to discuss her anarchistic principles in person. She sent instead a letter which was read with great gusto at the meeting, the reading being liberally punctuated with cheers and applause. In fact, so much did the anarchists like the letter that they had it read twice, and then adopted resolutions protesting against the denial of free speech to their Jeanne d'Arc.

The policemen received quite as hearty a greeting as did Emma Goldman's letter; only the welcome was a little different. The speakers mingled ridicule and compassion in their references to the "men standing there at the back of the hall who don't like their dirty job any more than you like it." Most of the speakers went over the head of Captain Callahan and addressed themselves to Director Clay, who unfortunately, said the speakers, was not present.

The talks all criticised the Director for his disregard of the law of free speech. The audience howled with pleasure every time the head of the Department of Public Safety was scored, so that the talkers scored him all the harder. In addition to the speeches, a number of letters were read from such personages as Elbert Hubbard, Eugene V. Debs, Senator C. S. Wood, of Portland, Ore., William Marion Reedy, of St. Louis; J. G. Phelps Stokes, of Connecticut, and Louis Post, of Chicago. All of these letters told how terrible a thing it was when free speech was denied an anarchist.

Chairman Abbott introduced the following speakers: Former Congressman Robert Baker, of Brooklyn, Dr. Ben L. Reitman, Voltairine de Cleyre, Will Price, William Robinson and Charles D. Ryan. The speakers also talked about free speech, using such expressions as the "price of the blood of martyrs," "what your forefathers died for," etc.

Then the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, the inalienable right to peaceably assemble and to hear a public address by Emma Goldman in Odd Fellows' Temple has been denied to us, the people of Philadelphia, and,

"Whereas, a human voice has been silenced before it was heard,

"We, the people of Philadelphia, protest against this illegal action of the city officials and demand our constitutional right.

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Mayor Reyburn, Director of Public Safety Clay and the press."

Emma Goldman's letter follows.

"It has been decreed by 'the wise fathers of this city' that I may not be with you tonight. Do you think Philadelphia will still be safe if I send you a message instead?

"Henrik Ibsen said that the majority accepts a great truth only when it has become a lie.

"Whosoever doubted Ibsen's deep understanding of the mass psychology had ample opportunity to be convinced in Philadelphia Tuesday, September 28.

"Ten thousand people came to a meeting at Odd Fellows' Temple, but because his Majesty had turned a great truth into a lie, free speech was stabbed in the heart Tuesday evening, September 28.

"'Life, liberty, happiness!' the inalienable right to free thought and expression, in the old long ago, represented a truth for the unpopular few. A sublime truth, for which men gave their all. The penalty of that truth was death. Heroic, unflinching death.

"'Liberty, independence, free speech, free assemblage' are now popular slogans hailed and proclaimed by all. 'Liberty by the grace of the law, independence at the behest of gold.' Free speech at the mercy of the club. What a mockery, what a terrible farce.

"Ibsen is right. The majority has accepted the truth only when it became a lie, a hideous, brazen lie.

"It was that lie, more than the police department of Philadelphia, that made the outrage of September 25 possible.

"Men had been known to shed their last ... expect any one to rise in rebellion for a lie?

"That's why 10,000 people submitted supinely to the brutal force of police clubs.

"I register my protest not against the ... gine of my voice. Silence is more powerful than speech. I protest with all the ardor of my soul against the perpetuation of the ... majority's lie.

"'Liberty tempered by law,' independence of the behest of gold,' 'Freedom of expression at the mercy of the club!'

"I protest against this lie, against this hideous, brazen lie."

P. R. T. TO BE ATTACKED

Committee of Fifteen Will Renew Campaign for Strip Tickets.

Charles L. Fluck, of the Committee of Fifteen, has arranged for the appointment of a sub-committee which will be empow-

Raymond L. Lauerhaus, 18 years old, was fatally shot in the breast and back last night while watching a fight, at Bodine street and Girard avenue, between a crowd of corner loungers and Andrew Sherer, of 418 Jefferson street. After the shooting Sherer threw away the revolver and ran four blocks with a crowd at his heels. As he stumbled exhausted from the fight and the run he was arrested by Policeman Holzwarth, at Fourth and Poplar streets. When the policeman took Sherer back to the call box, at Second and Girard avenue, the crowd had grown to such proportions and their passions had risen to such an extent that it looked for a time as if they would succeed in lynching Sherer. The policeman drew a revolver and backed up against a wall, protecting his prisoner. A concerted effort was made to push both him and his prisoner under the wheels of a passing freight train. Help in the form of several policemen arrived in time to avert a second tragedy.

The story told at the Front and Master streets police station was to the effect that as Sherer was passing the corner of Bodine street and Girard avenue, the crowd made fun of his bundle and called him names. A scuffle ensued, in which Sherer drew a revolver. The gang scattered, and Sherer fired at Lauerhaus, who is said to have been only an onlooker. The first shot struck him in the breast, and as he fell a second entered his back. Then Sherer ran. When the crowd saw him running they regained their courage and chased him.

At the station house 18 cartridges were found in Sherer's pockets. A revolver was found under a back gate along the route Sherer took in his dash to escape. The police say it is the one he used in the affray.

MIDGET BIJOU IS STRANGELY CLOSED

Lilliputians' Theatre, in 46th Ward, Notified Suddenly to Stop Performances.

The Midget Bijou, at 41-43 South 52d street, was closed by order of the building inspectors last night, who gave as a reason for their action that two stage walls of the hall were not fireproof, and that the registered proprietor of the place, J. A. Shoneman, had not complied with all the requirements of the theatrical law of 1901. The theatre is controlled by a group of Lilliputians, who have given performances at various places in the neighborhood for several years.

Shoneman says he has been conducting the place unmolested since March 20, when the building inspectors put their sign of approval on the building and declared it to be fireproof, and that the safety of the public was not endangered in attending concerts in the hall.

Friends of Shoneman, who say that they know the turbulent slats of politics in the 46th Ward better than he does, declare there have been ulterior reasons for the closing, and when the question was put directly to Shoneman he said he believed politics had a lot to do with it, but because of his short residence in the ward and his inactivity in politics he would not enter into a discussion in which he could not produce names and facts.

His friends, however, say that since he came there the business of three other moving picture shows has suffered while he was making money. These who suffered, they said, are strong politically.

Shoneman says the notice to cease his shows came without warning at 6 o'clock in the evening when it was too late to have the faults remedied by any one in authority in the Department of Public Safety. A large crowd of women and children had assembled outside the place for the evening performance when he told them the show would not go on.

Shoneman says that on March 20 he completed an expenditure of $12,000 on the place, which he built for a moving picture show. The hall occupies only the first floor, and the floors above are let out in flats. The seating capacity of the place is 350, and for this number of persons there are eight exits.

Edwin Clark, chief of the Bureau of Building Inspection, could not be found last night to tell why the place was allowed to start last March if it did not comply with the requirements.

BOY BLED TO DEATH

Leukemia Prevents Cessation of Flow After Tooth Extraction.

Daniel Rogeany, 10 years old, of Pineville, N. J., bled to death in the University of Pennsylvania Hospital, whither he had been taken Thursday from his home, ... the extraction of a tooth could not be stopped. The doctors diagnosed his case as leukemia, which means that there were not sufficient red corpuscles in his blood, and a corresponding predominance of white ones. In the marked absence of red corpuscles the blood will not coagulate. Hence when the dentist at his home pulled the tooth, not knowing the boy had the disease, the blood continued to flow because it would not solidify.

The boy rapidly became weaker and weaker, till at last his father took him to the University Hospital. There the cavity was plugged and the blood stopped. Treatment for leukemia was begun, but his system was so weakened from the long drain that it would not respond. He lapsed into unconsciousness Thursday night and did not recover.

667

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890513002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Miss Goldman's Views / Emma Goldman.— p. 7 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. —(Oct. 16, 1909).

Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

no other facts than those which have been stated, and, indeed, so far as the averments of the bill are concerned, there is no ground whatever upon which we could grant the injunction prayed for. With the past action of the defendants and with any injury which may have resulted to the plaintiff from such action, we are not concerned. If such action was unauthorized and illegal, the plaintiff has a right to proceed in the courts of law to recover damages for any resulting injury.

"Courts of equity do not grant injunctions to cure wrongs which have been already perpetrated. They can only endeavor to prevent future wrongdoing, and to enable such relief to be given it should be averred and made to appear that action has been threatened and is likely to follow for which there is no legal justification and which is likely to result in injury to a plaintiff. The bill filed in this case contains no such averments and for that reason alone would not sustain the prayer for relief which it contains.

"Waiving for the moment, however, this technical reason why we would be obliged, upon the case as it stands, to refuse any relief to the plaintiff, we may briefly consider the question which doubtless was intended to be raised. The plaintiff bases her claim of the right to deliver the lectures which she proposes to deliver on two grounds. First that, under the Constitution of Pennsylvania, 'Every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty', and second, that, under the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, no State can 'deny' to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.'

Denies Her Right of Citizenship.

"As to the first ground, we may say that the plaintiff cannot take advantage of the protection afforded by the Constitution of Pennsylvania, because she is not a citizen either of Pennsylvania or of the United States. As to the second ground upon which the plaintiff bases her claim of right to deliver the proposed lectures we may say at the outset that it does not appear that the State of Pennsylvania has attempted to discriminate against the plaintiff personally, or as one of a class of persons, and thereby to deny to her or to such class the equal protection of the laws.

"The question which the plaintiff would have us determine is whether or not public officers, entrusted with the preservation of the peace, acting, as we ought to presume the defendants would, in the honest exercise of their judgment, should be restrained from prohibiting the delivery of lectures which would be likely to excite public disturbances and to result in a breach of the public peace. If public officials should attempt to interfere in such a case, their interference would be justified, not upon the ground that the person to be effected by their action was an alien or a citizen, but the knowledge that dangerous and disturbing sentiments, tending to disturb the peace, would be uttered.

"We do not mean to say that an alien has the same or as full a right to attack the institutions of our country and to advocate the abolition of the constituted and constitutional government of the land that a citizen might have, but so far as the case which is before us is concerned, we should regard the right of a citizen as no higher than that of an alien. The Constitution of Pennsylvania, in giving the right to citizens to speak freely, confers the right subject to their being held 'responsible for the abuse of that liberty.'

Anarchistic Views Discussed.

"The plaintiff is an avowed anarchist. However honest or able she may be, she does not hesitate to declare that, in her belief, all government should be abolished and that every citizen should regulate his or her own conduct according to his own views of what is right and wrong and that force may be resorted to for the purpose of destroying government and establishing the right of individual independence from governmental control. It necessarily follows from the holding of such views that it would also be regarded as the right of any individual to determine, according to his own judgment, when the time arrives for the exercise of force to accomplish the destruction of government.

"That the utterance of such views in the community would be likely to excite such feelings and antagonism as would result in a breach of the peace is by no means unlikely. It is not unreasonable to hold that such speech is an abuse of the liberty to speak freely on any subject. Whether it be a citizen or an alien who desires to advocate ideas, which, if carried out, would naturally lead to the destruction of government, whose protection that person seeks, it would seem that, in the exercise of that right of self-preservation which belongs as well to governments as to individuals, such abuse of the right of free speech might, not unreasonably or unlawfully, be prevented.

"That the plaintiff intended to advocate such destructive views as have been mentioned was admitted by her when examined before us. If she avowed a purpose of delivering a lecture advocating wholesale assassination of any class of public officers or persons, we think it would hardly be questioned that the peace officers of the city would be justified in preventing the utterance of such views. We are unable to perceive that there would be any well-defined line of discrimination in such a case from one in which the views would be destructive of the life of the nation.

Federal Law Is Cited.

"By the laws of the United States there is a discrimination against those who are known as anarchists. The right of naturalization is forbidden to them and, when known, they are excluded from admission into the country. If when entering the country they are not known to belong to that class of disturbers and are afterwards discovered to belong to it, within a prescribed time, they may be deported from the country. The ban of governmental disapproval is thus placed upon the utterance of sentiments such as the plaintiff holds and desires to advocate in public. We are asked to afford the opportunity for the proclamation and advocacy of these destructive and dangerous sentiments and to compel officers of the peace, notwithstanding they may be of the opinion that breaches of the peace would result therefrom, to abstain from interfering with the holding of public meetings for the expression of such ideas. This we do not feel called upon to do.

"It is a familiar principle of equity that plaintiffs cannot ask relief if they do not come into court with hands that are clean. We cannot avoid reaching the conclusion that one who openly and in advance announces the purpose of advocating such doctrines and sentiments as the plaintiff avows is not within the class that can claim protection and relief from a court of equity.

"In what we have said we do not regard ourselves as in any sense ignoring or limiting that right of free speech which the Constitution was intended to give and protect. That right is one too sacred and fundamental to be lightly regarded or readily waived or withheld. It is, however, a right necessarily subject to limitation and restriction, arising out of its abuse in an effort to make use of it for the destruction of government or persons. It follows, therefore, from what we have thus stated, that, even if the case before us on the technical grounds before referred to were adequate for the purpose of obtaining relief against a threatened wrong, we would regard it to be our duty to refuse an injunction in the case."

MISS GOLDMAN'S VIEWS

Says Decision Proves There Is No Justice in the Courts.

Emma Goldman made the following statement last night:

"The refusal of the injunction has not come as news to me. But the arguments set forth in the refusal are certainly a surprise. I must confess I had credited the judges with more foresight and understanding.

"It is said that I came to ask the protection of the Government my ideas aim to destroy. I did not ask protection. I only asked that the Court live up to its own principles, non-interference with the right of free speech.

"Their refusal of the injunction proves more than anything anarchists can say, namely, that there is no justice in the Courts and that the very people who have sworn to protect liberty are the first ones to destroy it. Thus the decision as rendered by the Court will do more to destroy the belief in authority than 100 speeches on anarchism.

"Director of Public Safety Clay has stopped my meeting to save Philadelphia's peace. He might have done better had he saved the Philadelphia people a useless expense in watching me, while for five days I was in New York attending to my magazine and conferring with members of the free speech committee.

"Do the people of Philadelphia still think Director Clay a fit caretaker of their affairs?

"Needless to say, I still maintain my right to speak, which I shall certainly avail myself of as soon as arrangements have been completed.

"EMMA GOLDMAN."

Miss Goldman will go to New York tomorrow to attend a mass-meeting called to protest against the execution of Ferrer in Spain.

PROTEST AGAINST FARE RAISE

Citizens Living Along West Chester Pike to Meet Tonight.

A second meeting of citizens residing along the West Chester pike who are protesting against the raise of fare on the line of the Philadelphia and West Chester Traction Company is to be held this evening, at Newtown Square.

A committee, of which J. F. T. Lewis is chairman, will make a report on an interview with A. Merritt Taylor, president of the corporation. Many citizens along the pike have not used the trolleys since the increase in fare.

HILLEGAS F

Convicted of Aid tion of Ba

After a deliberat jury in the United yesterday convicted charged by the Go in the misapplicatio Farmers' National Sentence was defer for a new trial.

Hillegas and Mor ier of the bank, we elphia for the insolve which closed its doo

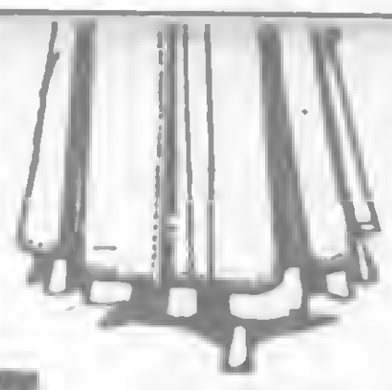
The charges agai will be disposed of term of court.

GIFTS MADE

Corporation Ente and Aw

The fourth annu the salesmen and the Charles E. H Red Room of the night. An armche Charles E. Hires, W. Williamson, manager of the cor On the part of was given to John shown the great last season. A w S. Frank Cofield largest individual vided for Mr. Ba leagues.

Mr. Hires was



$16.50 TO $75.00 MISSES' AND LITTLE WOMEN'S SUITS
$10.98 to $49.98

shades. Coats are cut 42 and 45 inches long, some prettily trimmed, others in plain mannish effects. Guaranteed satin lining. Skirts in the very latest models. The tailoring and fit of these suits cannot be duplicated in other stores for less than $20. As illustrated, $14.98. Lot of 150 only.

Three-quarter lined with good quality satin. Plain tailored sleeves and notched collar. A very stylish, perfect-fitting model, with the new side plaited effect, in finest quality black broadcloth. Well worth $20. Today, only $14.98.

The entire coat effectively braided. Collarless models inlaid with finest quality velvet. A very stylish, well-made perfect fitting coat for women, misses and little women. Coats that are marked to sell in other stores at $12.50, here at the low price of $7.98.

Several advanced styles in serge, homespun, worsted and fancy mixtures. Strictly man tailored garments with the new length coats; satin lined, and prettily trimmed. Newest cut skirts. These suits are actually worth from $16.50 to $75. Specially priced here at only $10.98 to $49.98.

Second floor.

Attractive Dresses
$9.98 to $2
Worth $15 to $22.

In our great dress section we are sho variety of models in moire silk, taffe plain serge, diagonal and wide wale made in Jersey effect. Moyen Age waisted styles, prettily strapped or b All the wanted shades.

Men's $1.50 Plaited Negligee Shirts at 98c

Men's $1.25 Underwear, 79c

Winter weight, fine quality, soft natural wool, with just enough cotton to prevent shrinking. Shirts & drawers to match. All tailored seams throughout. Sizes 34 to 48 inches. A bargain.

Men's $1.50 Pajamas, 98c

Good quality outing flannel. Coats have military collars, large pearl buttons, & with silk frogs. Trousers to match, with fly front & drawing tapes. Sizes 15 to 19 inches. Fine for the coming cold nights.

First floor, South.

$4.50 Petticoats, Here Today at

Black taffeta silk petticoats sectional flounce of plaits; n

$1 Petticoats

Black mercerized moreen pe flounce of satine strappings.

Second flo

The Rush for These Bargains Begins at 9 o'clock

Girls' $8.75 Chinchilla Coats,

$4.98



Promptly at 9 o'clock this tremendous sale begins, and it's a wonderfu opportunity for big savings, for these are all-wool chinchilla coats, in re gray and navy, all sizes 4 to 14. They're the smart-looking full-lengt double-breasted coats that button close to the neck. They're finished wit black velvet collars, lined throughout with handsome shepherd check materials. Regular $8.75 coats. Special at (No mail or 'phone orders)... $5.75

$3.50 "College" Dresses, $4.98

For girls of 6 to 14 years. Navy, red and brown serges with white embroidered Buster Brown collar and turn-back cuffs; trimmed with silk tie and brass buttons; priced at $4.98.

Children's Jaunty Coats

Sizes 2 to 6 years. All-wool broadcloth, thibet, velour, caracula, curly bearskin, etc., beautifully trimmed & tailored, lined or interlined. Worth $5 to $10,

$1.98 to $6.98

$3.50 Babies' Coats, $1.98

Short coats of serge and curly bearskin—double-breasted models with pearl buttons. Sizes 6 months to 5 years. Special at $1.98.

Girls' Stylish Fall Coats

The newest, up-to-date models, mad of all-wool kersey, cheviots, diagon mixtures, caracula and chinchilla fancy trimmed or man-tailored. Siz 6 to 14 years. Worth $5.50 to $14.9 at

$3.98 to $9.98

$4 Children's Coats at $2.98

Box and plaited coat models in whi serge with roll collar and cuffs, bra trimmings. Sizes 6 months to years. Regular $4 values, very sp cial at $2.98.

Second floor.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890513010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Anarchists Not Allowed to Meet / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. —(Oct. 17, 1909).

Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

PUBLIC LEDGER—PHILADELPHIA, WEDNESDAY MORNING, OC

ARRANGES FUNERAL AND ENDS HIS LIFE

Interviews Undertaker, Then Goes to Hotel and Kills Himself.

SUICIDE A DRUG USER

Says Cost of His Room Preparatory to Firing Fatal Shot.

A man who registered as Charles M. Gane, of Boston, was found dead in his room at the Continental Hotel yesterday morning. He came to this city Thursday. Friday he went to an undertaking establishment and calmly made arrangements for the cremation of his body. His death was not discovered until the undertaker called for the body. Gane had told the undertaker that the body for which he had made the crematory arrangements was that of his brother.

Gane was about 35 years old, and was well dressed. He had taken a room on the third floor of the hotel, facing Ninth street, and had kept to himself while in the hotel. He was found sitting in a chair in his room with a bullet wound in the head. A revolver was in his hand, and on the floor was a collection of morphine needles.

On Friday morning Gane went to the undertaking establishment of Colonel J. Lewis Good, at Spruce street near Tenth, and made arrangements for the funeral in detail. The man was composed and not in the least nervous at the time. He discussed the cost of cremation with Colonel Good without giving the slightest intimation that he was arranging the affair for himself.

"What does it cost to cremate a body?" asked Gane.

He was told the charges made for the work by the Germantown crematory.

"In this instance I want the body wrapped in a sheet, put in a plain coffin and taken to the crematory," continued Gane. "I know your firm and feel that you can be trusted to carry out the arrangements. How much will it cost for everything?"

He was told the total cost of the cremation and ceremony, and was then asked if it was necessary to send carriages for any relatives.

"No, I just want the cheapest funeral you can provide. What will it cost to bring the ashes from the crematory?" the man continued.

He was told the charge.

"That will be all right," replied Gane. "I'm going to Boston and will send you the money. You need not worry about that end of it."

The man was then asked for his name and the address from which the body was to have been taken. He declined to give the information, saying:

"You will get those details in time. It is not necessary for me to make explanations now."

When Colonel Good arrived at his undertaking establishment yesterday morning he found a letter from Gane. It read:

"Call at the Continental Hotel and get the body for cremation. The money you will find on a table in my room."

The undertaker called for the body. The hotel people were sure that a mistake had been made. They knew of no body to be taken from the hotel. The undertaker insisted on going to the room described in the letter. A clerk accompanied him and they found the door locked. There was no reply to their knocks, and the clerk looked over the transom into the room. There, sitting in a chair, fully clad, blood running from his mouth and a hole in the side of his head, sat Gane.

The suicide had gone to his room early Friday evening. He had not been seen since, and in all probability had not left the room. Both of the adjoining apartments were occupied, but none of the occupants heard the report of the revolver when fired. It is thought he shot himself early in the morning.

Who Gane is no one at the hotel or at the Coroner's office knows, and nothing definite can be learned until his Boston connections are found. The cause of the killing, also, is unknown, except that the man was a victim of morphine. Both arms were badly scarred from the use of the needles which were found in his room.

Two envelopes were left by Gane, carefully addressed and placed on the table in his room. One was for the management of the hotel and contained the exact amount of his bill, including the day of his death. The other envelope was addressed to the chambermaid and contained a $5 bill.

It is thought that Gane is a member of a well-to-do Boston family. His clothing, suit case and personal belongings are of good quality and show good taste. No papers had been left in the room, and there was no means of making a positive identification. The signature of the man on the register was sharply written and the first name was abbreviated.

FLAG FOR CENTRAL HIGH

Patriotic Order Sons of America Makes Gift to School.

The combined commanderies and camps of the Patriotic Order Sons of America in this city presented a flagstaff and flag to the associated alumni of the Central High School yesterday for the new athletic field at Broad street and Olney avenue. The presentation was made by Past State President Charles Hoffman, and the flag was received by Dr. Thomas S. Gates, president of the alumni association. Dr. Gates accepted the flag in behalf of the boys of the school, and said that the flag would be flown from the flagstaff on all athletic occasions.

KILLS HIS BOSOM FRIEND

Victim Said to Have Betrayed Secret of Alleged Murder.

Learning that his bosom friend, Marius Ricci, had betrayed the secret that he had murdered a man in Delaware several months ago, Antonio Paccitto, drew his revolver and fatally shot the man last night without a word of warning, in their home at 61 Montrose street. The two men, who were boyhood friends in Italy, came to this country together about two years ago and made their home in the same house. Last summer the two young men visited friends in a country town in Delaware. While there Paccitto had an argument with another countryman whom he met on the road. At the height of the quarrel Paccitto, it is alleged, drew his revolver and shot his opponent. The two men fled, leaving the prostrate form of the man on the road.

Recently Ricci and Paccitto had some words over a girl whom they are both said to have courted in Italy. Out of spite Ricci is said to have told several friends of Paccitto's alleged crime. Paccitto heard of it last night for the first time, and hurrying home told Ricci, who was playing cards in the dining room, that he wished to speak to him in the parlor. Ricci went into the other room and as he crossed the threshold Paccitto shot him. Policeman McBrearty was summoned and placed Paccitto under arrest. Ricci was removed to the Pennsylvania Hospital, where the physicians said that death had been instantaneous.

SCRATCH CAUSES DEATH

Vaccination Infected by Injury Received in Play.

William Plumridge, 6 years old, 2811 Vine street, died yesterday at the West Philadelphia Homeopathic Hospital of lockjaw, the alleged result of infection of a vaccination sore on his left arm.

In a deposition made before Deputy Coroner Weiden, the lad's father, Frederick W. Plumridge, said he attached no blame to Doctor Woodland, 3808 Haverford avenue, who vaccinated the boy five weeks ago. He believed the physician had exercised proper sanitary precautions, and that the disease that caused his son's death was contracted while "skylarking" with companions.

Mr. Plumridge said his son told him he had injured his arm by falling into a hole while playing in the woods near 40th and Race streets on October 12. The arm became sore and inflamed two days afterward, and he was removed to the hospital.

Porter F. Cope, secretary of the Anti-Vaccination League of America, has been subpoenaed by Coroner Ford to testify at the inquest to be held tomorrow in the case of the boy. Mr. Cope expects to show at that time that lockjaw was caused by impure virus being used to vaccinate the child, and that tetanus was not caused by the wound becoming infected with foreign matter some time after the vaccination had been performed.

"If it can be shown," said Mr. Cope last night, "that the virus was impure, as I imagine is the case in most instances, the manufacturer of the same lays himself open to serious charges. This is the fourth case of the same sort to occur within a month in Philadelphia, and, considering the number of children who have been recently vaccinated, I believe that many more cases will be heard of in a short time.

"It is very evident that an impure virus is on the market, and every time a child is vaccinated it is taking the gravest sort of a chance. Of course, it is quite possible that a wound may become infected with dirt, as has been said to be the case in all these four instances in which death has resulted, but, as a matter of fact, this is not the likely explanation."

BOY DIES OF HYDROPHOBIA

Bitten by a Dog Eight Weeks Ago.

Edward Leslie Fries, 5 years old, son of William Fries, of Ridge and Parker avenues, Roxborough, died yesterday in St. Timothy's Hospital, of hydrophobia, which resulted from the bite of a dog received about eight weeks ago. Edward was playing near his home one day in August. A black and tan terrier, belonging to Henry R. Edmunds, president of the Board of Education, whose summer home is on Fairthorn avenue, fought with a larger one, and the boy attempted to separate them. The terrier turned on him, biting him on the face, hands and leg. Mrs. Sarah Davis, his aunt, and Mrs. Sarah Grew, his grandmother, heard his cries and beat off the dog. Edward was taken to St. Timothy's Hospital, where the wounds were cauterized. They healed, and nothing was thought of the incident until Tuesday, when Edward complained of pains in the stomach. Dr. William Devitt, the family physician, gave the boy medicine but it did not relieve the pain. The doctor, upon learning that the boy had had spasms when water was offered, called in Dr. M. Howard Fussell, who diagnosed the case as hydrophobia. The boy was taken to the hospital on Friday evening, and continued in convulsions until his death yesterday morning. The dog that bit the boy disappeared the day Edward was bitten and has not been seen since.

TROLLEY RIDERS PROTEST

Ask Restoration of Old Rate of Fare

ANARCHISTS NOT ALLOWED TO MEET

Clay Issues Orders Against Memorial Assembly in Memory of Ferrer.

PASTOR CONDEMNS ACT

Emma Goldman Says in Spite of Police She Will Yet Speak Here.

Director Clay announced late yesterday that a meeting advertised as a memorial to Prof. Francisco Ferrer, who was executed in Spain on Wednesday as the instigator of the recent Barcelona riots, to be held tonight in Industrial Hall, Broad and Wood streets, would not be permitted. The Director explained that this action was taken because the list of speakers and the manner in which the meeting was announced showed that it was to be anarchistic. As evidencing his authority to prohibit the meeting, he quoted from the opinion of Judge Willson, rendered Friday, refusing an injunction against the Director, applied for by Emma Goldman.

The meeting for tonight had been widely announced by means of red cards with heavy black borders. At the top of each card were printed the "last words" of Professor Ferrer and of August Spies. "Aim straight! Long live the modern school!" read the former. "Our silence in the grave will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today," ran the latter. Professor Ferrer was referred to as "the man who wanted children taught the truth," and it was stated that "Emma Goldman's sketch of Ferrer and his life work will be read." The speakers were to be Voltairine De Cleyre, Frank Stevens, the single tax advocate, Harry Kelly, of New York, and Dr. Ben Reitman, of Chicago, Emma Goldman's advance agent, who was to be the chairman.

Clay Issued Orders.

Director Clay held one of these cards in his hand as he made the announcement in his office. He said that he had received positive information that the building had been leased for the purpose, and had issued orders that it must not be so used. He directed that a number of detectives and patrolmen be detailed to see that his order was carried out.

Mr. Clay said that he based his action upon Judge Willson's ruling. "The announcement of the meeting," he declared, "coming so closely upon the Court's decision, looks to me like a defiance of the Court and the law as laid down by the Court, that anarchists have no standing in this community. They cannot become citizens and be naturalized under the United States laws, and consequently they can have no status here. I shall use all the police power at my command to enforce the law and prevent the holding of this meeting."

Emma Goldman sighed wearily when told in her room, at 1508 Arch street, of this latest action of Director Clay. "I am not surprised," she said, as she leaned her head in her hands. "Judge Willson has now made the police omnipotent. I shall not now be surprised to see them stop every meeting advertised, whether it concerns astronomy, the drama or the North Pole, if only they can find an anarchistic looking name among the speakers. Director Clay can now back his empty head on the grounds that Judge Willson gave him. As a matter of fact, one of the speakers, Mr. Stevens, is not an anarchist at all, but a single taxer."

Not to Blame for Violence.

Miss Goldman declared that the anarchists would now not be to blame if the people of Philadelphia took to violence. "Judge Willson will drive the people to secret meetings," she said. "If they want to bring Russian methods into America we are satisfied. They are doing exactly what the Russian Government is doing. It stops free speech and thereby forces the people to secrecy and violence. There are other methods than open public discussion, and if the police drive the people to despair they will have to use those other methods. I am not responsible. It is certainly significant that it is only in a republic that a Ferrer memorial is prohibited when they have been held in the monarchical countries of Europe."

Miss Goldman herself will leave Philadelphia this morning to address a Ferrer memorial meeting in Clinton Hall, New York, tonight.

Doctor Reitman was present, and at this point he said:

"I am immensely pleased at the action of the police. Let them club the people and send them to jail. It will awaken a voice in Philadelphia greater than ours, a voice that even Director Clay will hear."

Miss Goldman deprecated this outburst and requested that care be taken not to print the words as here.

"We will go to the hall tonight in hold the meeting," said Dr. Reitman.

May Attempt to Speak.

"Of course," said Miss Goldman last night, "we are not going to be shut down in any such drastic and England way. It does not require very much wisdom to see that Judge Willson's decision was given only to get rid of the situation, and not to meet it. I suppose only just what we shall do yet. I may attempt to speak on the street at City Hall. The Free Speech Committee will undoubtedly carry my case to a higher court. A petition will probably be circulated in Philadelphia, to be signed by all who believe in free speech and to be presented to the Mayor. It is not alone a question of my right to speak, but even more of the right of the people to hear me."

One thing that Miss Goldman said would surely be done was the holding of a series of meetings in the interest of free speech in Philadelphia this winter for the purpose of arousing popular sentiment. "I have faith in my own," she said. "If women want a thing we get it."

"Miss Goldman will speak in Philadelphia at an early date," said Dr. Reitman. "When she attempts it there will be just three courses open to the police. They can allow her to speak. They can send her to jail. Or they can send her to the hospital. Either of the latter two courses will do anarchy more good than harm. Director Clay is making Philadelphia the laughing stock of the entire nation. In no other city has a high police official been so foolish and showed so little knowledge of law and psychology as to say in advance that Miss Goldman should not speak. In some places they have stopped her from speaking, but it has always been done by lower officials without the sanction of their superiors. But Clay is a Puritan of the type of 200 years ago. He thinks that he knows better than the average citizen what is good heavy, and that if it were not for his judgment the city would be ruined."

Miss Goldman said that tonight's meeting would be held at some place in private. "The police," she declared, "will not know where to find it, but it will be some place. We will fight it out this winter. Notices of the meetings will be sent on cards through the mails, or if necessary, we will carry them to the people. I am ready for the fight. I hate underhand methods, but if the police are determined not to allow free speech it is the only way left open to me."

Miss Goldman said that she would give her sketch of Ferrer to the papers for publication tomorrow morning, since it could not be read in public tonight.

Plain clothes men were shadowing Miss Goldman's residence in both front and rear last night.

NAVIGATION CONFERENCE

Plan to Increase Authority of Commissioners Discussed.

United States Shipping Commissioner Augustin R. Smith returned yesterday from New York, where he attended a conference of Federal officers who hold the same office as himself. The meeting was presided over by E. T. Chamberlain, the United States Commissioner of Navigation, with whose bureau the commissioners are connected. Many subjects were discussed, but the principal topic was in regard to giving more authority to the commissioners in settling disputes. The proposition, which was introduced by Mr. Smith, was favorably regarded by the other commissioners, though it would mean more work for them and no increase in salary if it should become effective.

"The plan," Mr. Smith said yesterday, "would expedite the settling of all differences between masters, consignees, agents or owners of vessels and the crews, and it would prevent needless litigation. Where cases are now taken to the United States Courts for adjudication, running on for months without settlement, the commissioners, like police magistrates, could pass judgment, from which, of course, there would be a right of appeal. The principal matters with which the commissioners have to deal are those of wages, discharging, provisions and fines for dereliction of duty.

"Being more familiar with the technical questions involved, and frequently with the record and character of the disputants, the commissioners could settle the differences in such cases more equitably and quickly than is now done. The suggestion meets with the approval of nearly every person in this city connected with the shipping business to whom I have spoken in reference to it."

The matter will be presented by Commissioner Chamberlain to Secretary Nagel, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and, if it has his indorsement, a bill embodying the plan will be introduced at the next session of Congress.

SHIPS DELAYED BY STORM

Merion, Overdue, Not Sighted. Lassel Arrives Two Days Late.

The American Line steamship Merion, which was scheduled to arrive here from Liverpool today, is not expected to reach her dock at Washington avenue [illegible] because of the stormy weather she has encountered in her voyage across the ocean. Until a late hour last night the vessel was not reported by any of the Atlantic coast stations. It is unusual for the Merion to get by the Nantucket station without being sighted.

Not since 1907 has the Merion crossed the ocean from Liverpool so heavily laden with passengers and cargo as she is on this trip. At the office of the line it was reported that she was bringing 136 cabin and 678 steerage passengers and a general cargo of 4400 tons.

The Philadelphia and Gulf Line steamship Lassel, two days overdue, arrived here yesterday from New Orleans

THOUSANDS EA[illegible] FOR STRIP TI[illegible]

Canvassers Report Ra[illegible] Interest in Petition t[illegible] Sent to Councils.

VOLUNTEERS ARE A[illegible]

More Than 100 Men [illegible] Campaign of Comm[illegible] of Fifteen.

Fragmentary reports brou[illegible] canvassers of the Committee [illegible] yesterday indicated that the st[illegible] the petitions for a restoration [illegible] tickets on the Rapid Transit [illegible] run for into the thousands.

Canvassers have been instru[illegible] turn their copies of the petiti[illegible] ert D. Drippa, secretary of t[illegible] too, on Wednesday, when th[illegible] preparing the papers for pres[illegible] Councils on Thursday will engr[illegible] af clerks.

Unexpected aid in making t[illegible] has come to the committee, as [illegible] 100 men have called at the [illegible] office to get petitions for cir[illegible] their neighborhood. The first [illegible] was a plumber, who had his [illegible] in his hand and was covered [illegible] grime of his day's labor. H[illegible] lives in the First Ward. Ten [illegible] he returned the paper with 120 [illegible] attached.

One of the residents of [illegible] brought back his paper yes[illegible] contained the names of 75 r[illegible] that suburban section of the ci[illegible] papers of these volunteer wo[illegible] sent in during the day. The [illegible] names appended ranged from [illegible] the average being about 100 to [illegible]

Many Eager to Canva[illegible]

"It is impossible to give eve[illegible] mate of the number of signa[illegible] petitions thus far," said Mr. D[illegible] we have heard from only a [illegible] ber of canvassers. The numb[illegible] who have called to ask for th[illegible] of getting names in one of th[illegible] of this movement.

"Before the canvass was [illegible] old a man well known to th[illegible] community, but whose name [illegible] give, came in, and in a very [illegible] his paper was returned with 20[illegible] tached. If similar work is [illegible] in other parts of the city it [illegible] reach more than the 100,000 es[illegible] members of the committee.

"From the meagre informat[illegible] at hand I cannot say that one [illegible] the city indicates more int[illegible] another. Citizens are simply [illegible] this demand for what we fe[illegible] plain right of the public."

It is probable that a meeti[illegible] committee will be held tomorr[illegible] sider the form of resolution to [illegible] in Councils. The petition wi[illegible] sented in the Common branch [illegible] the resolution there will be [illegible] Mr. Porter, of the 32d Ward. [illegible] that it will be couched in the [illegible] demand for the restoration o[illegible] tickets and will cite the ter[illegible] agreement drawn by the Mer[illegible] sociation.

When the long petition is p[illegible] will be accompanied with a [illegible] ment of the action of the tw[illegible] on the strip-ticket controversy [illegible] be arranged in chronological [illegible]

At the next meeting of the [illegible] the statement to be presented [illegible] cers of the Rapid Transit Co[illegible] be discussed. It was expecte[illegible] would be ready by tomorrow, [illegible] stated yesterday at the office o[illegible] mittee that it was not like[illegible] would be submitted for adopti[illegible] eral days. The statement to [illegible] the stockholders of the Rap[illegible] Company will likewise be s[illegible] careful consideration.

Demand That Faith Be

"This is not a movement to [illegible] either the officers of the Rap[illegible] Company or its stockholders," [illegible] Drippa. "It is simply a demand [illegible] company keep faith with the [illegible] do what its agreement promised [illegible] done. I think we will be ab[illegible] vince the stockholders of the [illegible] that they have a very vital [illegible] this popular movement, for th[illegible] public, but the shareholders [illegible] made to suffer by the mistak[illegible]

Canvassers were instructed [illegible] tering upon their duties to avo[illegible] discussion and not to urge [illegible] to sign the papers; that the [illegible] must be willingly given. The [illegible] of some of the men engaged h[illegible] have become known to the [illegible] through information that has [illegible]

"Some men want to go over [illegible] traction situation with the c[illegible] said Mr. Drippa. "Some indi[illegible] morous remarks at the expe[illegible] company, but there is a great [illegible] to sign. Some men even lacke[illegible] accompanying the canvasser a [illegible] block and aid in the work by [illegible] all their friends and explaining [illegible] of the fight with the politicians."

One of the enthusiastic [illegible] the Committee of Fifteen [illegible] urged that a procession [illegible] organized to escort the [illegible] Tenth and Chest[illegible] Hall with a [illegible]

669

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890513010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Anarchists Not Allowed to Meet / Emma Goldman.– p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. –(Oct. 17, 1909).

Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

[illegible] publishers of Thomas J. [illegible] Street, at Byron street near Tenth, had made arrangements for the funeral of Gans. The man was cremated and was in the best natures at the time. He [illegible] the cost of cremation with that [illegible] without giving the slightest [illegible] that he was arranging the affairs for the deceased.

"What does it cost to cremate a body?" asked Gans.

He was told the charges made for the work by the thermometre crematory.

"On this occasion I want the body wrapped in a sheet, put in a plain coffin and taken by the crematory. mentioned there. I know your firm and feel that you can be trusted to carry out the arrangements. Have much with it cost for everything."

He was told the total cost of the cremation and ceremony and was then asked if it was necessary to send carriages for any relatives.

"No, I just want the cheapest funeral you can provide. What will it cost to bring the ashes from the crematory?" the man continued.

He was told the charge.

"That will be all right," replied Gans. "I'm going to Boston and will send you the money. You need not worry about that end of it."

The room was then asked for his name and the address from which the body was to have been taken. He declined to give the information, saying:

"You will get those details in time. It is not necessary for me to make explanations now."

When Colonel Goed arrived at his undertaking establishment yesterday morning he found a letter from Gans. It read:

"Call at the Continental Hotel and get the body for cremation. The money you will find on a table in my room."

The undertaker called for the body. The hotel people were sure that a mistake had been made. They knew of no body to be taken from the hotel. The undertaker insisted on going to the room designated in the letter. A clerk accompanied him and they found the door locked. There was no reply to their knocks, and the clerk looked over the transom into the room. There, sitting in a chair, fully clad, blood running from his mouth and a hole in the side of his head, sat Gans.

The suicide had gone to his room early Friday evening. He had not been seen since, and in all probability had not left the room. Both of the adjoining apartments were occupied, but none of the occupants heard the report of the revolver when fired. It is thought he shot himself early in the morning.

Who Gans is no one at the hotel or at the Coroner's office knows, and nothing definite can be learned until his Boston connections are found. The cause of the suicide, also, is unknown, except that the man was a victim of morphine. Both arms were badly scarred from the use of the needles which were found in his room.

Two envelopes were left by Gans, carefully addressed and placed on the table in his room. One was for the management of the hotel and contained the exact amount of his bill, including the day of his death. The other envelope was addressed to the chambermaid and contained a $5 bill.

It is thought that Gans is a member of a prominent Boston family. His clothing, suit case and personal belongings are of good quality and show good taste. No papers had been left in the room, and there was no means of making positive identification. The signature of the man on the register was shakily written and the first name was abbreviated.

FLAG FOR CENTRAL HIGH

Patriotic Order Sons of America Makes Gift to School.

The combined commanderies and camps of the Patriotic Order Sons of America in this city presented a flagstaff and flag to the associated alumni of the Central High School yesterday for the new athletic field at 29th street and Lehigh avenue.

The camps assembled at 9th and Diamond streets in full regalia at 2 o'clock and, headed by the Liberty Band, proceeded to the athletic field. At the entrance to the grounds the pupils of the Central High School, headed by a fife and drum corps, fell into line and paraded around the grounds, passing the reviewing stand, which was occupied by members of the faculty and prominent members of the order. The Ladies' Auxiliary, Patriotic Order of America, led by District President Sarah L. Black, carried a flag.

After a number of musical selections, an invocation was offered by the Rev. [illegible] Gehl, pastor of the Methodist [illegible] at 26th and York streets. E. S. Hendricks, State president of the Patriotic Order Sons of America, made an address which he spoke of the purpose of the organization. Prof. Robert Ellis Thompson, president of the Central High School, also spoke.

H. J. Deily presented the flag and staff in behalf of the order. The speech of acceptance was made by Prof. Edward J. Gallen, a member of the High School faculty. As the flag fluttered to the breeze a myriad of tiny flags fell from the folds and most of the spectators captured one or more of them as souvenirs. The exercises closed with prayer by the Rev. H. F. Wentz.

The flagstaff is erected in close proximity to the running track, facing Somerset street, and occupies a position of vantage, as the flag can be seen for miles in every direction. The pole is 125 feet in height, is made of Oregon pine and is said to be the highest in the city. On a gas plate attached is inscribed: "Presented to the Associated Alumni of the Central High School of Philadelphia, by the Camps of Philadelphia, October 16, 1909." The flag is 10 by 20 feet.

Athletic contests and a game of football between the freshmen and sophomore classes followed the flag raising exercises.

Made Sick by Motor Cycling.

[illegible] conditions attach to the illness of Miss [illegible], of Crestmont. Mr. Bentz [illegible] automobile motorcycled, 1428 miles daily. His illness is the result of internal [illegible] the continuous jarring [illegible] with the riding of [illegible].

Physicians [illegible]

Edward Leslie Fries, 5 years old, son of William Fries, of Ridge and Parker avenues, Roxborough, died yesterday in St. Timothy's Hospital, of hydrophobia, which resulted from the bite of a dog received about eight weeks ago. Edward was playing near his home one day in August. A black and tan terrier, belonging to Henry R. Edmunds, president of the Board of Education, whose summer home is on Fairthorn avenue, fought with a larger one and the boy attempted to separate them. The terrier turned on him, biting him on the face, hands and leg. Miss Sarah Davis, his aunt, and Mrs. Sarah Grew, his grandmother, heard his cries and beat off the dog. Edward was taken to St. Timothy's Hospital, where the wounds were cauterized. They healed, and nothing was thought of the incident until Tuesday when Edward complained of pains in the stomach. Dr. William Deritt, the family physician, gave the boy medicine but it did not relieve the pain. The doctor, upon learning that the boy had had spasms when water was offered, called in Dr. M. Howard Fussell, who diagnosed the case as hydrophobia. The boy was taken to the hospital on Friday evening and continued in convulsions until his death yesterday morning. The dog that bit the boy disappeared the day Edward was bitten and has not been seen since.

TROLLEY RIDERS PROTEST

Ask Restoration of Old Rate of Fare on West Chester Road.

A protest meeting which crowded the public hall at Newtown Square last night, expressed its disapproval of the refusal of the Philadelphia and the West Chester Traction Company to consider returning to the old rate of fare, by hooting the decision of the Railway officials. The meeting represented the residents along the West Chester pike and was presided over by J. F. T. Lewis, the chairman of the committee who interceded with the company.

The Rev. H. J. Reydall, pastor of the Broomall Presbyterian Church, addressed the meeting and asked the residents of the pike to refrain from violence.

A general boycott of the company's cars was advocated by the citizens and another attempt will be made to convince A. Merritt Taylor, president of the trolley company, that an injustice is being done the residents of the pike. To this end and to formulate plans for the creation of a citizens' protective association, the following committee was appointed: William Taylor, of Media, Richard Dawson, Dilwyn Lewis and Horatio Donahauer, all of Newtown Township.

Another meeting will be held when the new committee has completed its business.

FRANCIS ON EVE OF FREEDOM

Storey Cotton Swindler Will Leave Prison Tomorrow.

Stanley Francis will finish the sentence tomorrow for the part he played in the notorious Storey cotton swindle. His term in the Eastern Penitentiary expired on September 11, but he was obliged to serve one more month in order to make [illegible] This additional month will really be completed today, but on a Sunday no application can be made to the Federal Court, which must give an order before the prisoner can be freed.

Tomorrow Henry J. Scott, Francis's attorney, will take him before Commissioner Craig to make formal application for his release. Francis will have to make affidavit that he is a bankrupt or not worth more than $300, which, according to his attorney, he will do. There are a number of liens against the Franklin Building on Sansom street below Fifth street, and Mr. Scott said that the court would have to decide whether individual creditors or the President Government Bureau have a right in the mortgages.

widely announced by means of red cards with heavy black borders. At the top of each card were printed the "last words" of Professor Ferrer and of August Spies. "Aim straight! Long live the modern school!" read the former. "Your silence in the arena will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today," ran the latter. Professor Ferrer was referred to as "the man who founded children taught the truth," and it was stated that "Emma Goldman's choice of Ferrer and his life work will be read." The speakers were to be Voltairine de Cleyre, Frank Stevens, the single tax advocate; Harry Kelly, of New York, and Mr. Ben Hellman, of Chicago, Emma Goldman's advance agent, who was to be the chairman.

Clay Issued Orders.

Director Clay held one of these cards in his hand as he made the announcement to his office. He said that he had received positive information that the building had been leased for the purpose, and had issued orders that it must not be so used. He directed that a number of detectives and patrolmen be detailed to see that his order was carried out.

Mr. Clay said that he based his action upon Judge Willson's ruling. "The announcement of the meeting," he declared, "coming so closely upon the Court's decision, looks to me like a defiance of the Court and the law as laid down by the Court, that anarchists have no standing in this community. They cannot become citizens and be naturalized under the United States laws, and consequently they can have no status here. I shall use all the police power at my command to enforce the law and prevent the holding of this meeting."

Emma Goldman sighed wearily when told in her room, at 1502 Arch street, of this latest action of Director Clay. "I am not surprised," she said, as she leaned her head in her hands. "Judge Willson has now made the police omnipotent. I shall not now be surprised to see them stop every meeting advertised, whether it concerns astronomy, the drama or the North Pole, if only they can find an anarchistic looking name among the speakers. Director Clay can now back his empty head on the grounds that Judge Willson gave him. As a matter of fact, one of the speakers, Mr. Stevens, is not an anarchist at all, but a single taxer."

Not to Blame for Violence.

Miss Goldman declared that the anarchists would now not be to blame if the people of Philadelphia took to violence. "Judge Willson will drive the people to secret meetings," she said. "If they want to bring Russian methods into America we are satisfied. They are doing exactly what the Russian Government is doing. It stops free speech and thereby forces the people to secrecy and violence. There are other methods than open public discussion, and if the police drive the people to despair they will have to use those other methods. I am not responsible. It is certainly significant that it is only in a republic that a Ferrer memorial is prohibited when they have been held in the monarchical countries of Europe."

Miss Goldman herself will leave Philadelphia this morning to address a Ferrer memorial meeting in Clinton Hall, New York, tonight.

Doctor Reitman was present, and at this point he said:

"I am immensely pleased at the action of the police. Let them club the people and send them to jail. It will awaken a voice in Philadelphia greater than ours, a voice that even Director Clay will hear."

Miss Goldman deprecated this outburst and requested that care be taken not to print the words as hers.

"We will go to the hall tonight to hold the meeting," continued Doctor Reitman, "and if the police do not let us in we will go to another hall. If some of us are arrested as will get the case into the courts again."

"But, Ben, you know that will be of no use," interrupted Miss Goldman in a despairing voice as she again laid her head in her hands.

"The action of the police," she resumed, "will only antagonize the very people they are afraid of—the people who do not reason coldly and may break into violence."

An Anarchist a Minute.

"It is making an anarchist a minute," declared the Rev. Dr. George Hooper Ferris, pastor of the First Baptist Church, when asked last night for his opinion of this latest move of Director Clay. "It seems to me an unwarranted assumption for the police to determine beforehand what the nature of the meeting is to be. It seems to me, like the prevention of Emma Goldman from speaking, to be a violation of our American principles. The example of Russia before our eyes is sufficient to teach us that that is not the way to grapple with the problem. Any action of a tyrannical nature only increases the very thing Director Clay is trying to suppress. I think the stand that the PUBLIC LEDGER has taken on this matter is admirable.

"I know what I am talking about, because I take pains to keep in close touch with the Socialists. It is unquestionably true that this move by the police will make more anarchists in Philadelphia than Emma Goldman and her associates could in years of talking. It will drive into anarchy that large class of Socialists who are Socialists for emotional and not for academic reasons. It will catch the kind of people that a dead-sure Cook catches with his tales of the North Pole."

Former Director of Public Safety Sheldon Potter said that he would not condemn Director Clay in his effort to uphold the law without knowing what his reasons for taking action be did. "I think," said Colonel Potter, "that in this country we lean possibly at times too much toward free speech on the part of those who declaim against government. The people of this country believe in law—in constitutional law.

"I do not understand that the revolution in Spain was an anarchistic one. It was an attempt against one dynasty and not against all government. It seems to be much the same as if a body of men had wanted to hold memorial services for a leader who died in the American Revolution. But maybe Director Clay had reason to know that this meeting was merely to be made the pretense for an opportunity to proclaim anarchy. I think that in this country we cannot be too careful in



Miss Goldman said that she would give her version of [illegible] before the publication [illegible] and would like to be [illegible] in public print.

Plain clothes men [illegible] Miss Goldman's residence in both [illegible] last night.

NAVIGATION CONFERENCE

Plan to Increase Authority of Commissioners Discussed.

United States Shipping Commissioner Augustin B. Smith returned yesterday from New York, where he attended a conference of Federal officers who hold the same office as himself. The meeting was presided over by E. T. Chamberlain, the United States Commissioner of Navigation, with whose bureau the commissioners are connected. Many subjects were discussed, but the principal topic was in regard to giving more authority to the commissioners in settling disputes. The proposition, which was introduced by Mr. Smith, was favorably regarded by the other commissioners, though it would mean more work for them and no increase in salary if it should become effective.

"The plan," Mr. Smith said yesterday, "would expedite the settling of all differences between masters, seamen, agents or owners of vessels and the crews, and it would prevent needless litigation. Where cases are now taken to the United States Courts for adjudication, running on for months without settlement, the commissioners, like police magistrates, could pass judgment, from which, of course, there would be a right of appeal. The principal matters with which the commissioners have to deal are those of wages, discreting, provisions and fines for dereliction of duty.

"Being more familiar with the technical questions involved, and frequently with the record and character of the disputants, the commissioners could settle the differences in such cases more equitably and quickly than is now done. The suggestion meets with the approval of nearly every person in this city connected with the shipping business to whom I have spoken in reference to it."

The matter will be presented by Commissioner Chamberlain to Secretary Nagel, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and, if it has his indorsement, a bill embodying the plan will be introduced at the next session of Congress.

SHIPS DELAYED BY STORM

Merion, Overdue, Not Sighted. Lassel Arrives Two Days Late.

The American Line steamship Merion, which was scheduled to arrive here from Liverpool today, is not expected to reach her dock at Washington avenue until tomorrow, owing to the stormy weather she has encountered in her voyage across the ocean. Until a late hour last night the vessel was not reported by any of the Atlantic coast stations. It is unusual for the Merion to get by the Nantucket station without being sighted.

Not since 1907 has the Merion crossed the ocean from Liverpool so heavily laden with passengers and cargo as she is on this trip. At the office of the line it was reported that she was bringing 150 cabin and 675 steerage passengers and a general cargo of 4400 tons.

The Philadelphia and Gulf Line steamship Lassel, two days overdue, arrived here yesterday from New Orleans. The delay was due to the recent storm, which overtook her when two days out. Though the steamship was tossed about severely by the hurricane, she was not damaged, and the only loss sustained was that of a lifeboat. Captain George MacDonald said that the Lassel was driven more than 100 miles out of her regular course, and that, though the tempest raged furiously at times, he never felt any alarm regarding the safety of his vessel.

ADAMS EXPECTED TOMORROW

No Anxiety Over Schoolship Felt by Nautical Officers.

The schoolship Adams, sailing under her own canvas, though she is equipped with steam, is expected to reach the Delaware Breakwater tomorrow or Tuesday. The vessel left Funchal, Madeira Islands, on September 11.

Though she was scheduled to reach this port yesterday or today, no anxiety is felt by the officers of the Pennsylvania Nautical School, under whose auspices the Adams is conducted, because she did not appear at the Breakwater yesterday. Several of the relatives of the 90 cadets on board manifested some alarm yesterday on account of her failure to arrive, thinking that perhaps she was caught in the recent Southern hurricane.

In shipping circles it was said that the Adams was not in the zone of the storm, her course being at least 500 miles distant from the center of the hurricane. The vessel is rated as one of the staunchest of its class, and had she been subjected to stormy weather she could have used her sails, but in the absence of [illegible] the ship slowly to her destination under sail, giving the cadets the full benefit of the trip.

Negro Women Held for Robbing Man

Two negro women were arrested last night by Reserve Policeman Conner and Policeman Franta, of the Fifteenth and Vine streets station, charged with having assaulted and robbed James J. Archer, of 25 North Peach street. Archer told the policemen that he was standing at Fifteenth and Ranstead streets when he was knocked down and $17 was taken from his pockets. The policemen hurried to the scene of the robbery and arrested Mabel Williams, of 1301 Waverly street, and Anna Ball, 1430 Bainbridge street. They had $8. Archer was held as a witness.

[illegible]

890513007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] N.Y. Socialists Protest / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. —(Oct. 18, 1909).

Obtained from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, PA.

BERLIN, Oct 17 Three mee[illegible] here today to protest against [illegible] tion of Prof Francisco Ferrer [illegible] auspices of the Social Democratic [illegible] so largely attended that thousands could not gain [illegible] were made and resolutions [illegible] denouncing the [illegible] hideous of a [illegible]

After the [illegible] a street process[illegible] police [illegible] and many [illegible] rested.

DISORDERS IN AMSTERDAM

Crowds Attempt Demonstration Before Spanish Consulate

AMSTERDAM [illegible] test meeting [illegible] an attempt at a demonstration before the Spanish [illegible] held in the Dam Square

RIOTING IN GENOA

Crowds in Piaa Hiss Cardinal and Bishops

GENOA, Oct 17 A pro-Ferrer [illegible] sion in which many of the [illegible] ried flags draped with crepe one of which having a [illegible] of King Victor with the inscription "Assassin" [illegible] ator" caused a fight with the police today

The police succeeded in capturing the offending flag but after it was [illegible] on either side The [illegible] vented from approaching the Spanish Consulate

RIGA, Italy Oct 17 Archbishop [illegible] Maffi Archbishops while attending [illegible] Sacred Music here today were hissed by the crowds, with cries for Ferrer

MASONS ATTACK VATICAN

Grandmaster in Italy Issues Manifesto Against Church

ROME Oct 17 An international subscription has been opened for the purpose of collecting funds to erect a statue in the Piazza of St Peters to Francisco Ferrer's Modern School which was suppressed at Barcelona

All indications point to the fact that the extremists in Italy are determined to undertake an anti-Clerical campaign more vigorous even than that in France This is being directed by the Free Masons, whose grand master has issued a most violent manifesto in behalf of Ferrer, recently executed, and against the Church.

The manifesto says

"Sacerdotal tyranny of Loyola [illegible] Italian blood impeaches [illegible] the fright of a boy and the cowardice of the Government the slaughter of an innocent man who was [illegible] murdered Italy which has seen [illegible] reddened, fire and [illegible] the slaughter even of unarmed women and children ordered by the [illegible] understand its duty

"Rome, which has inside its walls the Vatican that for centuries has supported a tyranny from which to [illegible] the slaughter of Barcelona [illegible] decree that the last crime [illegible] unpunished

PRIEST ATTACKED IN PARIS

Anti-Spanish Meetings and Processions Throughout France

PARIS Oct 17 [illegible] demonstrations culminated [illegible] meetings and processions in the larger cities [illegible] France, organized by the Socialists and workmen's organizations The organizers laid emphasis on the peaceful character of these demonstrations, and although violent speeches were made [illegible] disorder is reported

In Paris after the procession had [illegible] rowdies attacked a priest in the Tuileries Gardens and attempted to throw him into the lake, but the police rescued the priest [illegible] of the rioters were arrested

This was practically the [illegible] of violence here The Government had taken elaborate precautions to prevent the recurrence of [illegible] The procession passed through a double line of police and troops but the leaders succeeded in furnishing a line of pickets who assisted in preserving order and [illegible] in this city The Socialist deputies and municipal councillors headed the procession, which was composed largely of persons who sang the Internationale

While passing the Spanish Embassy and several churches there were cries of "Down with the clergy! Down with Spain!" but the majority of the paraders refrained from disorder of any kind obedient to the instructions of the leaders

In several cities the Socialist Senators and Deputies headed the processions M. Jaures leader of the Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies spoke at Lyons and delegates of the General Federation of Labor at other places

SMASH CHURCH WINDOWS

meetings were held in [illegible] towns

POLICE CHARGE MOB

Crowds in Havana Lift Red Flag and Stone Church

HAVANA Oct 17 A mob of several thousand [illegible] a majority of the [illegible] many Spaniards [illegible] demonstration this afternoon in honor of Francisco Ferrer They marched [illegible] through the principal streets [illegible] carrying red flags and cheering for Ferrer

Two [illegible] meetings were held at which [illegible] were made by Mayor [illegible] Enrique Lagnas [illegible] Castillo, who presided was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Second American Republic [illegible] and to exert [illegible] these were passed to boycott all Spanish goods and to accept the offer of the striking sea [illegible] union to refuse to unload Spanish [illegible] vessels [illegible] Ferrer's estate

The mob attempted to approach the Spanish [illegible] late and the Bishop's palace but was driven back by the police The [illegible] was then taken up to the church of the Angel Guardian, which was [illegible] with showers of stones and [illegible] the police charged the rioters A [illegible] fought [illegible] and several on both sides were hurt The mob then started [illegible] the office of the Diario de la Marina [illegible] was again driven back and [illegible] with the police and mounted [illegible] Guards There were many arrests

N. Y. SOCIALISTS PROTEST

Fiery Speech by Emma Goldman—Unmolested by Police

NEW YORK Oct 17 One thousand [illegible] Spanish anarchists [illegible] paraded an East Side [illegible] to the fiery [illegible] of Emma Goldman [illegible] Spanish [illegible] have called for her the [illegible] Queen of the Reds and [illegible] [illegible] and other speakers [illegible] the execution of Prof [illegible] Spain revolutionary

After the Anarchists [illegible] in Union Square Spanish and [illegible] speakers attacked the Spanish [illegible] and hoped that revenge was yet to come

Emma Goldman, who was the chief speaker, sought to draw a parallel between the case of Ferrer and those of Moyer Haywood and Pettibone of the Western Federation of Miners

"I am not here to mourn but to celebrate Ferrer's death" she cried "In this age of greed, avarice and indifference we must realize that there was a man like Ferrer who had rather die than live like a dog If I believed that the American people [illegible] I would ask them to follow the examples of France and Italy, go on a general strike, and die or live to their losses their liberty It [illegible] Ferrer"

Miss Goldman was the last speaker Among others who addressed the crowd were Alexander Berkman her associate who served time for shooting H C Frick and Adolph Hungard who knew Ferrer in France

[illegible] adopted [illegible] are in part

The murder of Ferrer was committed by the [illegible] church money and [illegible] Ferrer [illegible] free anti-clerical [illegible] where the results of independent [illegible] were taught

"The world [illegible] the murder as [illegible] one of the most cowardly crimes ever committed under the disguise of the law and expresses its sincerest sympathy and [illegible] with the thousands of fighters for free [illegible] who are struggle in the [illegible] of the Bourbonic imputation

At the conclusion of the meeting it was announced that a more comprehensive gathering would be held Tuesday night at Cooper Union

Forty [illegible] police were on duty in the hall but no arrests were made

20,000 PROTEST IN TAMPA

Spanish-Americans Denounce Execution of Ferrer.

TAMPA Fla Oct 17 At a mass-meeting today of the Centro Asturiano, a Spanish organization here, representing [illegible] persons a resolution was passed [illegible] against the execution of Francisco Ferrer

Professor Ferrer had many personal friends here some of whom spoke this afternoon, [illegible]

ROBBER CAUGHT UNDER BED

Tries to Shoot Camden Detective When Arrested.

After a desperate struggle Robert Burns, 19 years old, was arrested by City Detective Moffett, of Camden, at National Park yesterday, on a charge of breaking and entering and was locked up in the Camden City Jail for a hearing in the Camden Police Court this morning The young man was caught under a bed in his brother's house, and threatened to shoot

Miller's body was covered with bruises

Upon investigating the case, the police were astounded to find that the events of the night could be explained only on the supposition that Mrs Miller had killed Harper after a violent quarrel had quieted down and then, after the policemen had gone and all was quiet, had lain down on the bed and shot herself sometime during the early hours of the morning

The woman was a character in the neighborhood and was known as "Bloody" Harper had been away from the house for a month but returned Saturday evening Neighbors saw large quantities of beer carried into the house and heard loud disputes At 9 30 o'clock Mrs Frank Burrell, who lives next door, No 3446, met Policeman Ulmar, of the Nineteenth station at Germantown avenue and Ontario street, four blocks away

"I heard a shot in Harper's," she said, "and I think Bloody has killed her finally"

Ulmer at once went to investigate He met Willmuter the policeman on the beat and Alonzo Klein, night watchman at Brotherton's lumber yard just across the street from Harper's house They rang the doorbell The house was lighted throughout but there was no response They went around the house seeking an opening and kicked at the back door Still there was no answer but the blinds in the second story front room, the room in which the two bodies were found ten hours later were lowered Then some one turned out the lights on the first floor Finally the watchers in the street saw the lights go out on the second floor

"We had no right to enter the house on the word of a neighbor, unless we heard a cry of murder or heard a shot inside" said Ulmer yesterday afternoon "Besides Mrs Burrell told me that she was looking for her husband We thought that she had had a fight with the Miller woman, and had just got us over there as a protection to herself When we were [illegible] Mrs Burrell's husband and little girl came He and the girl went into their room, and she went away

So the police went away thinking that all was right At 8 o'clock yesterday morning Mrs Bagnell was at the house of Mrs Miller's son-in-law, Charles [illegible] Madger 3324 North Hickory street "I think that your mother has killed Harper" she said to Mrs Madger Madger and the house took an axe in the yard and broke open the back door The gas fumes which poured out nearly overpowered him [illegible] opening windows as he went [illegible] through the house

Every room was in disorder In the kitchen pots kettles and dishes were lying all over the floor In the dining room the carpet was torn from the floor, beer bottles were all over the room, newspapers were scattered as if by a whirlwind, and fragments of china were everywhere On the parlor floor was a claw hammer and pieces of a cut glass dish, while the rugs were rolled up into little heaps Everywhere the gas jets were turned on full

After he had closed the gas jets and opened the windows on the first floor Madger went upstairs Here, too, everything was disarranged When he opened the door of the front room he saw Harper lying on his back on the floor, at the foot of the bed There were bullet wounds in his right and left breasts and the blood formed a pool about him Beside him lay a long butcher knife, and a steel such as is used for sharpening a carving knife His shoes and coat were off On the bed, lengthwise, with her head on the pillow, lay Mrs Miller There was just one wound in her breast and a revolver was near her right hand It had three cartridges in it and three empty shells

Madger notified the police station, and Policeman Weiss and Deputy Coroner Braun went to the house After investigating the facts, they concluded that Mrs Miller must have shot Harper in a desperate quarrel in which he had beaten her, that he had got the knife and steel and she had obtained the revolver with which she drove him into the front room after they had fought all over the house, that she had shot him twice as he was about to attack her with the knife, and that hearing the police at the door she had [illegible] the gas jets to make sure of it As no one heard a shot it is supposed that Mrs. Miller waited until the police had gone and then shot herself while a train was passing on the Reading Railway, which runs near the house. Both bodies were cold.

Harper was a son of Sergeant Harper, of the Germantown Police Station. He was 25 years old, while Mrs. Miller was 42. He worked irregularly as the driver of a butcher wagon. It is not known where he went during the month he was away.

Mrs. Miller's husband, Edward, died 12 [illegible] has [illegible] daughter, Mrs

was the matter, ran with the rest [illegible] body in the cabin was frightened, and many were thrown to the floor in the turmoil, but the two women were the only ones who were injured seriously enough to be removed to a hospital.

It was with considerable difficulty that the deck hands preserved order and assured the passengers that nothing serious was the matter The mouse escaped, much to the dismay of its fair owner, who wanted it back for future sport.

HER ROMANCE SHATTERED

Overbrook Girl Wants Her Marriage to Hawaiian Annulled.

A dispatch from Reno, Nev., says that a young woman who still calls herself Miss Florence G. Batterson, and whose father lives at 6351 Woodbine avenue, Overbrook, is in Reno seeking a divorce

Ambitious for an educational career after her graduation from Smith College in 1908, Miss Batterson went to Honolulu as instructor in the Government Normal School There she fell in love with a native, David Dowsett, a real estate and insurance broker, a member of the University Club and a favorite in society. He was also the husband of a native dancer, but he got a divorce, and the day after Christmas last year married the American

The wedded bliss of the couple was short lived According to reports, Dowsett's actions were such that within three months his bride resigned her position in the Normal School, where she was teaching 40 women older than herself, and left for Nevada, determined to sever as quickly and quietly as possible the ties that bound her to the man.

Mr Batterson refused yesterday to discuss the case

CASPAR WISTAR HACKER ILL

Marriage to Miss Annette Page May Have to Be Postponed.

Caspar Wistar Hacker is seriously ill with typhoid fever at his home in Wister street Germantown, and it is likely that his marriage to Miss Annette Page, daughter of Mr and Mrs. Louis Rodman Page, will have to be postponed. The ceremony had been planned to occur in Holy Trinity Church on November 16, but it is said by friends of the family that it is hardly likely that Mr. Hacker will be sufficiently recovered by that time for the wedding to take place.

Yesterday was the 12th day of his illness, and the crisis is not due until late this week. Miss Page has already had most of her trousseau completed in anticipation of her wedding, and she is said to be much affected over the possibility of its postponement.

HER WEDDING DATE FIXED

Miss Stewart and Former Senator Dietrich to Wed October 27.

The marriage of Miss Margaretta Shaw Stewart, daughter of Mrs William Shaw Stewart, of 1725 Pine street, and former Senator Charles H Dietrich, of Nebraska will take place quietly at the home of the bride, on Wednesday, October 27. Only members of the immediate families will be present

While Miss Stewart was attending a New England college, her closest chum was a daughter of the former Senator, and it was through her that the young Philadelphia girl met the man who is to become her husband. He is immensely wealthy, owns many acres of land in Nebraska, and is interested in many manufacturing enterprises

BLACK HAND WAS SUSPECTED

Dynamite Found in Murdered Man's Trunk Had Been Sent by Friend.

There was a suspicion, for a brief period yesterday, that murder of Enrico Ricci, who was shot at 511 Montrose street, on Saturday night, by his roommate, Antonio Paccitto, was a new instance of Black Hand activity

When the police went to the house where the man boarded, to take charge of the body, they were surprised upon opening the trunk of the murdered man to find in it eight sticks of dynamite, with fuses for exploding them The sticks were such as are used by railroad contractors. The man did not work on a railroad, while the murderer was known to have been a railroad laborer.

Investigation showed that a friend of Ricci's, who is said to work at Malvern, sent the dynamite to him The police say that it is not unusual for the men who [illegible] explosive, which they in some manner succeed in selling; whether or not to Black Hand agents, they do not know.

FLAMES MENACE CLUBHOUSE

Members Form Volunteer Fire Brigade and Subdue Blaze.

The prompt action of several members of the Merion Cricket Club yesterday morning saved from loss by fire the beautiful golf house of that organization, when sparks from a chimney set fire to the shingle roof and, fanned by a high wind, threatened for a time to destroy the structure.

671

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890222014

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman, Raconteur / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. – (Oct. 23, 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

...her American campaign at ... Temple to-night. Before an ... of more than 2,000 she spoke ... hours on the "civil war" in ... country.

...ated the cause of women from ... standpoint of a wife and moth... with emphatic arguments claimed ... suffrage was based upon the ... Rights and that women as well ... always had the right of petition. ...scribed the recent hunger strike ... most terrible weapon which had ...ed in the contest, and went into ... the methods pursued by the au... in attempting to combat that ... phase of the movement.

...Pankhurst said that the suffra... were in politics as an appeal as ... shield for women, and predicted ... would prove a betterment for men... ...tion was necessary for the educa... ...children, and in that legislation ...should have an equal voice with ... The last question which was asked ... speakers in England was "Why ... not give women a chance to vote ... ...tions which so vitally con... ...es and their children?"

...made an effort to urge her audience ... America the methods of ... ...tactics, but showed how ... were received in her own ... ...ason she said that the ... which could come to a ... England was to be dragged ... ...e meeting and to suffer ... ...that 700 women had ...

FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

Of Canadian Senate Talks to Chicago Business Men.

... 22.—Rabbi Dandurand ... Speaker of the Canadian ... ...ial leaders plea for indus... ...international peace in an ... the Chicago Association of ...

...arred" he said, speaking ... since 1815 to live side by ... and harmony and we have ... ...al confidence by disarm... ... simply as against each ... the other side of the At... ...impossible even to bring ...ation of armaments.

...peace yet a wall remains ... ...er which is not guarded ... erected by human beings, ... as an investment in the ... ...ar joint work, but for ... ...that you are the rich... ...t is doubly the height of ...

...remained your haughty ... ...e have continued to ... ...The fever ceased ... ...seemed ... ...dence with us. We ... ...comprehen... ...seem to take the ... ...a war existence, but as ... ...been freely ... ...for [illegible] ... ...to pay ... ...heavily. We [illegible] ... ...Canada is ... ...if ... ...for ... ...for [illegible] ... ...England ... ...and the ... ...

New York State Association, in Session at Troy, Renews Demand for Ballot.

THE REV. ANNA SHAW TALKS

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont Sends Letter in Which She Tells Why She Believes in the Cause.

TROY, N. Y., Oct. 22.—The Rev. Anna Howard Shaw of New York, President of the National Woman Suffrage Association, arrived here to-day to take part in the convention of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association in progress at Y. M. C. A. Hall. At the afternoon session she spoke briefly on "Our Progress as Indicated by the Press," and in the evening on "National Suffrage."

The following officers were elected:

President—Mrs. Ella Hawley Crossett of Warsaw; Vice President—Miss Harriet Mary Mills of New York City; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Frank Shuler, of Buffalo; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Nicholas Shaw Fraser of Geneseo; Treasurer—Mrs. William M. Ivins of New York City; Auditors—Mrs. Eliza Wright Osborne of Auburn and Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard of New York City.

Resolutions were adopted as follows:

Resolved, That we call upon the enfranchised half of the State to grant the ballot to women in order that they may be enabled to perform the duties of citizenship.

Resolved, That we ask the Senators and Assemblymen of this State to unite in passing in the coming Legislature a concurrent resolution to strike out the word "male" from Article 1, Section 2, of the Constitution, thereby conferring on the women full citizenship.

In connection with these resolutions it was affirmed that women are afforded equal opportunities for education with men and that from one-third to one-half of the property of the State is owned by intelligent women, who are taxed without representation; also that 70 per cent. of the instruction of the youth of the country in the duties of citizenship is in the hands of disfranchised women. Several of the women slated for addresses in the afternoon were unable to be present and they sent letters of regret. These included Mrs. Clarence Mackay, of New York, President of the Equal Franchise Society, and Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont, of New York.

Mrs. Belmont, in her letter, which was addressed to Mrs. Crossett, said that she had been strongly advised by her physicians not to attempt the trip to Troy. She inclosed the address which she had hoped to deliver. It is as follows:

I believe in woman suffrage because I have a logical mind and because I believe in justice.

Long years ago men modeled a figure of a cultured woman; they placed scales in her hands and a bandage over her eyes and even now this figure is emblematic of Justice.

I ask you women, and I ask you men, to realize that the hour is at hand all over the world, and especially here in this land of boasted liberty—I ask you to understand that this blind deity must be replaced by the woman of the twentieth century. For [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ...

890222015

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchist–Socialist Parade for Ferrer / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Oct. 24, 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ANARCHIST-SOCIALIST PARADE FOR FERRER

Led by Emma Goldman, Marchers Cry "Down with the Pope!" Before St. Patrick's.

THEN LOWER THEIR FLAGS

As They Pass the Cathedral—Goldman and Berkman Denounce Ferrer Execution In Carnegie Hall.

With cries of "Down with the Church; down with Alphonso," and "Long live Ferrer," as they passed each church along the line, a parade of some 600 Socialists, mainly members of Italian societies, marched up Fifth Avenue last night from Madison Square to Fifty-seventh Street, with red banners draped in black. In the centre of [illegible] marched the anarchist, Emma Goldman.

This was a preliminary to a meeting of protest in Carnegie Hall against the execution of Ferrer in Spain on a charge, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

840514071

The Emma Goldman Papers

Francisco Ferrer / Emma Goldman. — pp. 275-277 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 4, no. 9 (Nov. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

the child with the greatest attention, and we shall eagerly seek for means of applying their experience to the education we wish to build up, in the direction of an ever fuller liberation of the individual. But how can we attain our end? Shall it not be by putting ourselves directly to the work favoring the foundation of new schools, which shall be ruled as much as possible by this spirit of liberty, which we forefeel will dominate the entire work of education in the future.

A trial has been made which, for the present, has already given excellent results. We can destroy all which in the present school answers to the organization of constraint, the artificial surroundings by which the children are separated from nature and life, the intellectual and moral discipline made use of to impose ready-made ideas upon them, beliefs which deprave and annihilate natural bent. Without fear of deceiving ourselves, we can restore the child to the environment which entices it, the environment of nature in which he will be in contact with all that he loves, and in which impressions of life will replace fastidious book-learning. If we did no more than that, we should already have prepared in great part the deliverance of the child.

In such conditions we might already freely apply the data of science, and labor most fruitfully.

I know very well that we could not thus realize all our hopes, that we should often be forced, for lack of knowledge, to employ undesirable methods; but a certitude would sustain us in our effort, namely, that even without reaching our aim completely we should do more and better in our still imperfect work than the present school accomplishes. I like the free spontaneity of a child who knows nothing, better than the word knowledge and intellectual deformity of a child who has been subjected to our present education.

What we have attempted at Barcelona, others have attempted elsewhere, and we have all seen that the work is possible. And I think it should be begun without delay. We should not wait until the study of the child has been completed before undertaking the renovation of the school; if we must wait for that, we shall never do anything. We will apply what we do know, and, progressively, all that we shall learn. Already, a complete plan

of rational education is possible, and, in such schools as we conceive, children may develop, happy and free, according to their natural tendencies. We shall labor to perfect and extend it.

It is with this object in view that this Review has been founded, that the International League for the rational education of children has been founded. We ask the aid of all those who desire, with us, the liberation of the child, who desire through it to contribute to the coming of a more beautiful, a stronger humanity. In this Review we shall confine ourselves to the discussion of a plan of rational education, such as it is possible to carry out in these days.

Moreover, as soon as circumstances permit, we shall take up again the work begun in Barcelona, we shall rebuild the schools destroyed by our adversaries. In the meantime, we shall labor to found a normal school in Barcelona, for the training of teachers destined to second us later; we shall create a library of the modern school, in which such books will be published as will serve for the education of the educators, as well as for that of the children. We shall also found a pedagogic museum, containing a collection of all the necessary materials for a renovated school.

Such are our plans. We are aware that their realization will be difficult. But we want to begin, convinced that we shall be aided in our task by those who are everywhere struggling for human liberation from dogmas and conventions which assure the support of the present iniquitous social organization.

* * *

FRANCISCO FERRER

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

NEVER before in the history of the world has one man's death so thoroughly united struggling mankind.

Never before has one man's death called forth such a universal cry of indignation.

Never before has one man's death so completely torn the veil from the sinister face of the hydra-headed monster, the Catholic Church.

674

840514071

The Emma Goldman Papers

Francisco Ferrer / Emma Goldman. – pp. 275-277 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 9 (Nov. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Never before in the history of the world has one man's death so shaken the thrones of the golden calf, and spread ghastly fear among its worshippers.

One solitary death, yet more powerful than a million cringing lives. More powerful even than that black spectre which, for almost two thousand years, has tortured man's soul and poisoned his mind.

Francisco Ferrer stretched in the ditch at Montjuich, his tender, all-too-loving heart silenced by twelve bullets —yet speaking, speaking in a voice so loud, so clear, so deep. . . . Wherein lies the secret of this wonderful phenomenon?

Francisco Ferrer, the Anarchist and teacher? Yes, but there were other Anarchists and teachers: Louise Michel and Elisée Reclus, for instance, beloved by many. Yet why has their death not proved such a tremendous force?

Francisco Ferrer, the founder of the Modern School? But, then, the Modern School did not originate with Francisco Ferrer, though it was he who carried it to Spain. The father of the Modern School is Paul Robin, the latter-day Dr. Pascal,—old in years, with the spirit of Spring, tender and loving, he taught modern methods of education long before Ferrer. He organized the first Modern School at Cempuis, near Paris, wherein children found a home, a warm, beautiful atmosphere.

Again, there is Sebastian Faure and his Beehive. He, too, has founded a Modern School, a free, happy, and harmonious place for children. There are scores of modern schools in France, yet no other man's death will act as a fertilizing force as that of Francisco Ferrer.

Was Ferrer's influence so great because of a lifetime of devoted effort? During eight years his heroic spirit strove to spread the light in the dark land of his birth. For eight years he toiled, ceaselessly, to rescue the child from the destructive influence of superstition. One hundred and nine schools with seventy thousand pupils crowned the gigantic efforts of our murdered comrade, while three hundred and eight liberal schools sprang into being, thanks to his beneficial influence. Yet all this and more fails to account for the tremendous volcano that swept the civilized world at Francisco Ferrer's death.

His trial was a farce. The evidence against him perjured. But was there ever a time when the State hesitated to resort to perjury when dealing with opponents? Was there ever a time when it exercised justice toward those who endangered its stronghold? The State is the very embodiment of injustice and perjury. Some make a pretence at fairness: Spain was brazen; that is all.

What, then, is the secret of the phenomenon?

* * *

Driven from its omnipotent position of open crime by the world's progress, the Catholic Church had not ceased to be a virulent poison within the social body. Its Borgia methods merely became more hidden, more secret, yet none the less malignant and perfidious. Cowed into apparent submission, it had not dared since the days of Huss and Bruno to openly demand a noble victim's blood. But at last, blinded by arrogance and conceit and the insatiable thirst for martyrs' blood, the Catholic Church forgot the progress of the world, forgot the spirit of our age, forgot the growth of free ideas. As of old, it was the Jesuit hand that stretched forth its bloody fingers to snatch its victim. It was the Archbishop of Barcelona who, in a statement signed by the prelates of the Church, first denounced Ferrer and demanded his life. As of old, Inquisition methods were used in the incarceration and mock trial of Ferrer. No time was to be given the progressive world to check the premeditated murder. Hastily and secretly was the martyr assassinated. Full well the Church knew that the dead cannot be saved.

In vain the frantic efforts of Church and State to connect Francisco Ferrer with the uprising at Barcelona. In vain their delirious cries defaming the character of the dead. In vain the scurrilous attacks of their harlots upon the ideas and comrades of Ferrer—attacks which have now reached even the American press.

Before the awakened consciousness of mankind the world over the Catholic Church stands condemned as the instigator and perpetrator of the foul crime committed at Montjuich. It is this awakened human consciousness which has resurrected Francisco Ferrer.

Therein lies the secret of the force of one man's death, of one solitary man in the ditch of Montjuich.

675

840514072

The Emma Goldman Papers

Adventures in the Desert of American Liberty / E[mma] G[oldman]. – pp. 292-297 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 9 (Nov. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ADVENTURES IN THE DESERT OF AMERICAN LIBERTY

By E. G.

IN selecting this title for my traveling notes I little realized how significant it would prove.

"Adventures in the Desert of American Liberty"! Its barrenness and utter desolation were not new to me. Yet never did that desert seem more real, more deadening than when I reached Philadelphia.

There it was that American liberty was born; there, too, it has been stabbed to death; what is left of it, is but a hideous nightmare that benumbs the mind and weakens the spirit of the erstwhile liberty-loving Philadelphians.

Mindful of the petty police persecution in that city in 1901 and 1903, the Free Speech Committee wrote to Henry Clay, Director of Public Safety, informing him of our intention to test free speech. "Of course, he would not interfere with the right of free speech; he, the guardian of the City of Independence."

When I saw Henry Clay I realized how much he must have enjoyed the credulity of the Free Speech Committee. Credulity, indeed, to suppose that Henry Clay knows anything of Philadelphia's traditions in regard to liberty.

When Dr. Reitman presented himself before the watchdog at the City Hall, he found him suffering from hydrophobia. Such must have been the nature of the poor man's affliction. Else one could hardly account for his mad ravings against "that woman who will never speak in Philadelphia."

Some good friends have severely censured Dr. Reitman for his militant methods in dealing with the police. As a physician he probably knows that mad dogs, if not muzzled, are highly dangerous.

On the day of the meeting hallucinations set in at City Hall. The Director of Public Safety imagined himself the Russian Tsar. He despatched two Cossacks to my hotel, demanding that I submit my manuscript for the consideration and approval of His Majesty. That

I refused to do, of course. (I shall show later that what was self-evident to me, seemed "imprudent" and undiplomatic to some who call themselves liberals.)

In the evening the neighborhood of our hall had the appearance of being under martial law. When, in company with Mr. John H. Nelson (our attorney), I reached within half a block of the hall, we were charged by the brave two hundred and forced to go,—not where we chose (no such rights in the Independence City), but by the route mapped out for us by Henry Clay. The meeting, however, was "graciously" permitted to proceed.

The day after the memorable event, and for nearly four weeks, the real Philadelphia liberty reigned. I was shadowed by those most contemptible of all human professionals—detectives. Hotelkeepers were annoyed and harassed until they ordered us to leave. When I finally found shelter, the house was constantly watched, and the servant offered a bribe if only she would tell of the terrible conspiracies that were being hatched in my rooms.

The awe of authority is deeply rooted in the average American; even the liberal man and woman have implicit faith in it. This is no doubt the reason why American liberty has long since departed. The worship of law has taken its place.

During years of public activity I have often been reproached by many good people for attacking the machinery of government from the standpoint of theory rather than from experience. "There is nothing the matter with the law," they would say; "it's the abuse thereof. The police are arbitrary and despotic; they break the law; why not appeal to the courts? They surely will stand by constitutional rights."

Strangly and possibly inconsistent as it may seem to my comrades, I finally consented to appeal to the courts. Not because I believed that justice could possibly prevail; but because I wanted the court itself to substantiate the Anarchist contention so powerfully set forth by Ralph Waldo Emerson: "All governments, in essence, stand for tyranny."

As expected, the apeal was refused; but the grounds on which it was refused brand the court and govern-

676

840514072

The Emma Goldman Papers

Adventures in the Desert of American Liberty / E[mma] G[oldman]. – pp. 292-297 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 9 (Nov. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ment more forcibly than the bitterest attacks of the wildest fanatic.

For the benefit of MOTHER EARTH readers I quote the major portion of the argument, as set forth by Judge Wilson:

> The question which the plaintiff would have us determine is, whether or not public officers, entrusted with the preservation of the peace, acting, as we ought to presume the defendants would, in the honest exercise of their judgment, should be restrained from prohibiting the delivery of lectures which would be likely to excite public disturbances and to result in a breach of the public peace. If such public officers should attempt to interfere in such a case, their interference would be justified, not upon the ground that the person to be affected by their action was an alien or a citizen, but by the knowledge that of dangerous and disturbing sentiments tending to disturb the peace would be uttered. We do not mean to say that an alien has the same or as full a right to attack the institutions of our country and to advocate the abolition of the constituted and constitutional government of the land that a citizen might have, but, so far as the case which is before us is concerned, we should regard the right of a citizen as no higher than that of an alien. The Constitution of Pennsylvania, in giving the right to citizens to speak freely, confers the right subject to their being held "responsible for the abuse of that liberty." The plaintiff is an avowed anarchist. However honest or able she may be, she does not hesitate to declare that, in her belief, all government should be abolished and that every citizen should regulate his or her own conduct according to his own views of what is right and wrong, and that force may be resorted to for the purpose of destroying government and establishing the right of individual independence from governmental control. It necessarily follows from the holding of such views that it would be considered as the right of any individual to determine, according to his own judgment, when the time arrives for the exercise of force to accomplish the destruction of government. That the utterance of such views in the community would be likely to excite such feelings and antagonism as would result in a breach of the peace, is by no means unlikely. It is not unreasonable to hold that such speech is an abuse of the liberty to speak freely on any subject. Whether it be a citizen or an alien who desires to advocate ideas which, if carried out, would naturally lead to the destruction of government, whose protection that person seeks, it would seem that, in the exercise of that right of self-preservation which belongs as well to governments as to individuals, such abuse of the right of free speech might, not unreasonably nor unlawfully, be prevented.
>
> That the plaintiff intended to advocate such destructive views as have been before mentioned, was admitted by her when examined before us. If she avowed a purpose of delivering a lecture advocating wholesale assassination of any class of public officers or persons, we think it would hardly be questioned that the peace officers of the city would be justified in preventing the utterances of such views. We are unable to perceive that there will be any well defined line of discrimination in such a case, one in which the views would be destructive of the life of the nation.
>
> By the laws of the United States there is a discrimination against those who are known as Anarchists. The right of naturalization is forbidden to them and, when known, they are excluded from admission into the country. If when entering the country they are not known to belong to the class of disturbers and are afterwards discovered to belong to it, within a prescribed time they may be deported from the country. The ban of governmental disapproval is thus placed upon the utterance of sentiments such as the plaintiff holds and desires to advocate in public. We are asked to afford an opportunity for the poor Anarchist and advocates of the destructive and dangerous sentiments and to compel officers of the peace, notwithstanding they may be of the opinion that breaches of the peace would result therefrom, to abstain from interfering with the holding of public meetings for the expression of such ideas. This we do not feel called upon to do. It is a familiar principle of equity that plaintiffs cannot ask relief if they do not come into court with hands that are clean. We cannot avoid reaching the conclusion that one who openly and in advance announces the purpose of advocating such doctrines and sentiments as the plaintiff avows, is not within the class that can claim protection and relief from a court of equity.

It requires but little wisdom to see that Judge Wilson has made frantic efforts to get out of a dilemma. He failed, however. True, the decision has increased the arroganee of the police; but the decision also stands as the greatest indictment against the absurdity and cowardice of the law.

As I said before, I expected nothing better; I am, therefore, not disappointed.

The disappointing and discouraging feature of the Philadelphia experience is the utter lack of interest in the issue of free speech,—or if not indifference, it is certainly lack of spirit, absolute lack of backbone. The handful of liberals who were at first inclined to make a stand for free speech, because I was not "diplomatic" enough to let Henry Clay act as censor, withdrew their assistanee. The party Socialists played the usual sorry part, as in all questions of liberty. As to the public at large, no other city represents such a white-livered specimen. To put red blood in its veins it will have to be

677

840514072

The Emma Goldman Papers

Adventures in the Desert of American Liberty / E[mma] G[oldman]. – pp. 292-297 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 9 (Nov. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

clubbed still more, and starved and kicked about. And even then it may never give birth to the spirit of revolt.

It is hardly credible, but nevertheless true, that the Philadelphians will stand more bullying than any European people I know. When, after four weeks of a complete despotic reign, of the stopping of a Ferrer memorial,—though held in all monarchical countries,—after four weeks of petty persecution and torture the police of Philadelphia broke up a private meeting in a private house, a few meek voices were heard to protest. Not against the reign of terror. Oh, no; but against the invasion of the sacred rights of property. Oh, yes, the Philadelphians, like all Americans, are sensitive in that respect.

Yet, even Philadelphia deserves to be saved, because of her two wonders: Mrs. Weda Addicks, a Socialist bigger than her party, and—a thrice blessed wonder, a Baptist minister, Rev. Cooper Ferris. Weda Addicks, outside of our own immediate comrades, was a friend indeed. She helped in every way possible to interest people, but soon found herself facing an iron wall. Rev. Ferris protested very loudly, delivered a sermon on Anarchism which, I hear, was very good. He also tried to get his congregation to take a stand, but out of eight hundred only thirty-eight had the courage to go on record.

A few contributed small sums to aid the fight, but were so fearful of public opinion that they did not dare to allow their names to be used.

Under such impossible circumstances why throw pearls before swine? Why exert energy on free speech for people who have neither ideas to express nor rights to exercise? Such is the reasoning of my practical, utilitarian friends.

Fortunately, I am neither. Nor am I particularly concerned whether or not the Philadelphians want free speech. *I want it*, and having learned that unless one is willing to take his rights, they will never be given to him, I do not yet consider the Philadelphia chapter closed.

Judge Wilson "kindly" informs us, that as "avowed Anarchists" we are not entitled to protection. That

absolves us from any consideration or recognition of the position of Judge Wilson and the institution he represents. Anarchists need no protection. But a government that will put a ban on any set of people, for their ideas, must protect itself, for it is indeed in danger.

* * *

OUR POLICE CENSORSHIP*

By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE

FELLOW-MEN:

I have written my speech; I generally write my speech. We have a censor, and the censor may call me to account. He has some reporters here; and in their anxiety to earn their money, and their shortage of intelligence, they are likely to report me as uttering a lot of idiocy which the censorship wishes me to utter, in order to excuse its illegal, unconstitutional, and tyrannical action. To illustrate the mental caliber of the servants of the law, who are set to judge what you, the people, ought to be allowed to hear, I will relate a little incident of last week. A policeman, straying into a cigar store for a rest, remarked to the young lady at the counter, "Think of a woman like Emma Goldman wanting to speak!"

"Well," said the lady, "why shouldn't she speak if she wants to? How do you know that what she was going to say was bad when you didn't let her even open her mouth?"

"Oh," replied Sapience, "everybody knows what she's going to say. Why, she carries a red flag with her; everybody knows red means danger."

Now, this person has doubtless been trained to know that a red lantern over a break in the curbstone signifies danger; or a little red flag put up in the middle of the street means a place to be walked around; and he probably conceives that Emma Goldman has appropriated one of these little flags and runs around waving it, notifying all the people that she is dangerous. Upon sources of information like these, the censorship depends for its knowl-

* Address delivered October 8, 1909, in Philadelphia, at a public meeting of protest against the police suppression of Emma Goldman's lectures.

678

840514075

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Tribute / Emma Goldman. — pp. 323-325 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 4, no. 10 (Dec. 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ment with hard labor, and is patted on the back by a Roman Catholic judge. "The community must uphold Espindola," says this precious specimen of the judiciary, Judge Malone, "for the confidence he placed in American courts and in the American sense of honor and justice by bringing his case to us."

Verily the spirit of liberty is dead in America when so outrageous a decision awakens hardly a ripple of interest, and hardly a word of protest, outside the radical movement.

It is all a disgraceful business, and three of the Tafts have had a hand in it. President Taft set the seal of official approval upon the barbarities of Diaz when he met him and shook hands with him at El Paso, Texas, on October 16. Charles Taft, one of the President's brothers, is helping to perpetuate Mexican peonage on his estate. Henry Taft, another brother, helped to crush Fornaro, as already related.

Under Judge Malone's ruling, any minion of any tyrant who does not like what is said about him in the press can come to New York and have authors and journalists sentenced to one year's imprisonment and hard labor, with a judicial homily thrown in. Lieut. Colonel Lacalle, for instance—may his name be accursed!—the president of the military cabal that sentenced Francisco Ferrer to death, could come to America, hale the editor of MOTHER EARTH into court, and have him sent to prison for calling Lacalle by his real name, "murderer." Premier Stolypin, of Russia, might have Herman Bernstein punished because, in a recent letter to the New York *Times* he expressed his detestation of Stolypin's bloody methods. In practically every instance, so long as reactionary lawyers could be hired and a reactionary judge was at the helm, the foreigner would win his case, since it is almost impossible to obtain public evidence against despotism in a country ruled by despotic methods. A Mexican is hardly likely to testify against his government if he knows that the price of his testimony may be his life. And so almost any denunciatory statement becomes a "libel."

Fornaro's conviction shows all this and more, but Fornaro, fortunately, is a philosopher and is willing to suffer in behalf of the cause he has taken up. Fornaro in jail,

moreover, is a living and dramatic example of the very injustice against which his book is aimed.

It may be that even before he has served his full sentence the American people will begin to understand something of what he has tried to tell them. The Mexican issue already looms large, and will soon loom larger. "Conditions in Mexico," says Mother Jones, who knows of what she speaks, "are even worse than portrayed in Fornaro's book. Under the rule of Diaz and the ring of American capitalists he serves, no man's life is safe. The people are exploited to an incredible degree. Elementary civil rights are denied, and whoever dares to protest is shot or imprisoned. Thousands of Americans, railroad men, miners and others, who have worked in Mexico, know that this is true." John Kenneth Turner's articles on "Barbarous Mexico," now running in the *American Magazine*, confirm Mother Jones's statements.

Unnumbered Mexican patriots have tried to change these horrible conditions, and been killed or imprisoned for their pains. Ten Mexican revolutionists at the present moment are languishing in American jails. Fornaro joins this noble company in the full consciousness of what such action means. "Martyrdom," he reminds us in his book, "is never barren, because every man sees on the martyr's brow a line of his own duty."

* * *

A TRIBUTE

BY EMMA GOLDMAN.

THE MOST cruel and disgusting aspect of the Ferrer tragedy is the hypocrisy of his enemies as well as of his friends.

While the former are using every means to make Francisco Ferrer appear as a moral monster, the latter strain every effort to paint him as an angel of purity.

Between the two, the man Ferrer is being emasculated, and his life mutilated. Yet, more than anyone else, Francisco Ferrer worked for life in all its manifestations, the fullest and deepest expression of man's nature.

In a barren, desolate Spanish village, Teruel, in the province of l'Aragon, a woman is kept in exile—Saledad Villafranca, the one woman in Francisco Ferrer's life and

679

840514075
The Emma Goldman Papers
A Tribute / Emma Goldman. — pp. 323-325 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 4, no. 10 (Dec. 1909).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

work. Had this woman a legal claim on the murdered man, friend and foe would pay her tribute and lament her loss. A marriage certificate covers a multitude of sins. Hatred, disgust, friction, prostitution, nay even rape, are quite the usual thing, so long as "God hath joined together."

But Saledad Villafranca and Ferrer have met in another realm, the realm of love and freedom, comradeship and harmony; a realm that has no place for the vulgarity of Church and State. Saledad Villafranca shared Ferrer's ideas and worked with him in the Modern School; she was probably the greatest factor in the man's life, yet with all that his friends have ignored the woman if only to save Ferrer from the "terrible calumny" of being considered a free lover. Oh, for the hypocrisy and pettiness of respectability!

Soon after Francisco Ferrer's arrest, Saledad Villafranca, Ferrer's brother, and several teachers of the Modern School were placed under arrest and exiled to Teruel, where they are being kept under strict police surveillance. There she spent thirty-two days of waiting, of terrible anxiety, not knowing what had become of Ferrer. Those of us who have ever been in a similar situation will appreciate the fortitude, the courage, and character of Saledad Villafranca.

On October 2nd she received the first sign of life from Ferrer, followed by three more letters, the only fragment left of a life that began in love, in joy and comradeship.

Le Journal, a French paper of Catholic tendencies, interviewed Saledad at Teruel. How pathetic and impressive her life must be that the reporter of such a paper even should pay her tribute.

"Saledad Villafranca is not only very beautiful," he writes, "but she is of extraordinary kindness and simplicity. But more than anything else, I was overawed by her serene and sombre demeanor. Not a word of her own great loss; Ferrer's innocence is all she cared to talk about." Saledad Villafranca gave the reporter a minute account of Ferrer's movements between July 26th and August 31st, the day of his arrest. "And why did you not send this account to the prosecuting attorney?" asked the reporter of *Le Journal*. "Send it?" replied Saledad. "I had my mother take it. She was not even received. I

sent it through the mail; it was returned. There was no desire to exonerate Ferrer, you see." Until September 27th Saledad could not even learn when Ferrer's case would come up. On the 30th she received news from his judge that no further testimony would be considered.

Yet with all that, Ferrer himself believed in his accusers until the last. As late as October 8th, five days before that bloody October 13th, he assured Saledad in a letter that he would surely be set at liberty. Francisco Ferrer shared the fate of all idealists: absolute inability to comprehend the gravity of reality.

His childlike faith and hope may have helped Saledad during those terrible days of uncertainty. And yet, the final blow would surely have been less fierce had she not been lulled by Ferrer's trust in the judges that finally slew him.

"No reason to worry," he wrote in his first letter of October 2nd, "you know I am absolutely innocent. Today I am particularly hopeful and joyous; it is the first time I can write to you, and the first time since my arrest that I can bathe in the rays of the sun streaming generously through my cell window. You, too, must be joyous: I will be free." No doubt Saledad was joyous, joyous in the vain hope that life which gave her a great love, could not be so cruel and take that gift from her.

Saledad Villafranca to Francisco Ferrer was, no doubt, like that sun streaming in his cell window,—warmth, light, freedom. That she could be all that, makes Francisco Ferrer very human and therefore dearer to all free spirits.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

THE WAY TO FREEDOM

They never die who fall
In a great cause. The block may soak their gore,
Their heads may rotten in the sun, their limbs
Be strung to city gates and castle walls.
But still their spirit walks abroad. Though years
Elapse and others share as dark a doom,
They but augment the deep and sweeping thought
Which overpowers all others and turns the world
At last to freedom. —BYRON.

680

880809001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Suffrage Quest a Wild Goose Chase / Emma Goldman. – p. 16 ; 43 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Dec. 13, 1909).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THE SUFFRAGE QUEST A WILD GOOSE CHASE

And Woman Ever a Fetich Worshipper, Emma Goldman Tells an Audience of Suffragettes.

VOTE HER LATEST FETICH

She'll Suffer for It as for Its Predecessors—Shocks and Thrills Frequent in Anarchist's Lecture.

Emma Goldman underwent, without a scar, the acid test for reckless courage yesterday afternoon at Lyric Hall, in Sixth Avenue. Faced by Maud Malone, commander of the Flying Squad of Street Suffragettes, and by 800 other women, most of whom were strong for equal rights with men, she told them that women have always been and still are fetich worshippers; that they are narrow minded and puritanical, and that in their hunt for the vote they are on what is often called a wild-goose chase.

A veiled woman with a mad, liquid voice was so imprudent as to ask a question about Miss Goldman's intimate opinions, and then the lecturer turned on the full stream of her raw, double-strength Anarchism. Some 200 women gasped, turned pale, sat back in their chairs, and listened. By advertising that she would lecture on woman suffrage, Emma Goldman filled Lyric Hall. After it was over she hurried out to help several lieutenants sell Anarchist literature at the door.

"Woman has always been an idolater, a fetich worshipper," began Miss Goldman. "Her gods change, but still she is upon her knees. She doesn't even change her vocabulary. She either loves or hates; to her, things are all good or all bad. See her in relation to religion.

"Her latest fetich is the vote. That is her new idol. Her religious feeling is poured out for that, and she will suffer ridicule, imprisonment, the most exquisite pain, for the new idol, just as she has suffered for fetiches down the ages. It is such a pity that all her wonderful zeal is wasted on idols, which are always of clay.

"Mind you, I'm not opposed to the women having the vote. There is no reason why she shouldn't have just as much chance to make a fool of herself with it as men have made of themselves in the last hundred years. I am here to express my sympathy for the women who are suffering heroic things in England for something they believe in. But the vote is not worth living, that's all.

"I don't believe women could do even as well with the vote as men, who have done only harm to themselves. The man is not all bound around with morals; he is more or less out of that. But the woman is a Puritan. She is always wanting to clean up something. In her narrowness and puritanism she would pass all sorts of prohibitive laws which would only make things worse than they are. The country would be ridden to death with cranks who are a danger to society. Just look at Connecticut. Are that kind. Would you want a country governed by cranks?"

A collection was taken up for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who has just been sentenced to prison for three months in Spokane, Wash., for talking in the street against the orders of the police. The collection netted $16.

The collectors had hardly started when a tall figure rose quickly in the middle of the house. One hand held a red hat with green feathers; the other a rolled-up yellow banner with lettering on it that read, from the under side, suspiciously like Votes for Women."

"Isn't there going to be a discussion?" asked.

"Ah, Miss Malone," commented Miss Goldman acidly, "I thought I'd hear from you. Go ahead, let's have it altogether."

Miss Malone spoke for some time. Afterward Miss Goldman, in response to a request for her opinion of Carrie Nation, said: "I wouldn't waste five minutes talking of her. She is narrow-minded, superficial, a fanatic. She wants to stop people drinking when they want a drink. Let her stop herself drinking if she does that, and wants to do, but let her stop at that point."

A woman with a sad voice, much [illegible]

"Then you don't you believe [illegible]

[illegible] Miss Goldman, which [illegible] Let Bellingdale pass on [illegible] themselves, and all [illegible] and the child I believe in teach [illegible] and that I mean [illegible] by educating to mean [illegible] they've [illegible] that's where they're [illegible]

[illegible] the conversation [illegible]

BOXING LESSONS SAVED HIM.

Jostled Hustler Knocks Down Highway [illegible] Who Attacked Him.

PRAISE CONGREGATION'S ACT.

Washington Heights Wardens a Synagogue, Say Rabbis at Its Dedication.

The first synagogue to be established on Washington Heights was dedicated yesterday. A number of prominent rabbis of the city took part in the ceremonies. The synagogue is that of the Congregation Peni-El, in 187th Street, between Amsterdam Avenue and Broadway. Its minister is the Rev. Elias Margolis, a graduate of the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati.

As explained by Rabbi Margolis, the congregation is conservative-orthodox. It will use an orthodox Jewish ritual, but there will be several departures from what is practiced in the majority orthodox synagogue. For instance, men and women will not sit in separate pews, and the services, except the sermon, will be in the Hebrew language.

The need of a synagogue upon the Heights was emphasized by almost all of the speakers. On festivals and holidays the small synagogues in the Jewish institutions in the neighborhood have had to turn away hundreds.

After the keys of the synagogue had been turned over to the President, Joseph Schindler, by Louis Ehrenberg, Chairman of the Building Committee, the Rev. Dr. F. de Sola Mendes spoke on behalf of the Board of Jewish Ministers of the city.

"It is particularly noteworthy," said he, "that you have gone out to this somewhat remote portion of the city to pitch your tents. This is the very thing the Jews of the city ought to do. It will not do to congest in one location; we must get out among our neighbors and there unfurl what banner we may have. To a certain extent we still have a Maccabean war on our hands, against ignorance and prejudice among ourselves as well as misunderstanding and ignorance outside of us. This idea of going out to the confines of the city to establish a standard of Judaism is a good one, for it becomes a centre from which misunderstanding and prejudice may be combated."

Max S. Gufenhagen, Register-elect, said in part:

"Twenty-five years ago when I came out to this section as a sort of pioneer, I was one of three Jewish men—the only Jews on the Heights. There was then a population of 25,000 people from 162d Street to Spuyten Duyvil Creek. To-day there are 80,000 people, 15 per cent. of them Jews, conservatively estimated."

The Rev. Dr. J. L. Magnes preached the dedication sermon. He congratulated the congregation upon being conservative and said they should rejoice that they were not among those who had cut themselves off from the roots of Judaism.

Rabbi Margolis said that the ambitions for the new pulpit were modest, and "we won't attempt to make it a Jewish cathedral of Washington Heights."

The officers of the congregation are: Joseph Schindler, President; Adolph M. Engel, Vice President; Elias Gussaroff, Treasurer; Henry Salmsky, Financial Secretary, and Emanuel Friedman, Recording Secretary. The cantor is Hirsch Kleinert.

The synagogue was erected at a cost of $40,000, which was practically contributed by a dozen members.

THE JEWS' PART IN FREEDOM.

The Story of Their Struggle, Says Dr. Wise, the Greatest Incentive to Liberty

"What the Jew Has Done For Freedom" was the subject discussed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise yesterday in his lecture in the Free Synagogue, Eighty-first Street and Amsterdam Avenue.

"The story of what the Jew has done for freedom is contained in this book," declared Dr. Wise, holding up the Bible. "The greatest service of the Jew is that he survives to tell that story of the struggle for freedom. Within the covers of this volume, the Hebrew Bible, is perhaps to be found the most potent influence throughout the ages to move people to the struggle for freedom."

Of the inscription on the old liberty bell in Philadelphia, words from the third book of the covenant of Moses, "And he shall proclaim liberty throughout the land," Dr. Wise said, "I have often thought that this was prophetic of the part the Jew was to play in upbuilding the commonwealth and preserving her liberties."

Asserting that "the other great churches are not generally found on the side of liberty," Dr. Wise continued: "Not a Christian church in this city commemorated, as we did last Sunday, the anniversary of the execution of John Brown—just as if he had been a common thief and murderer. Freedom is the very essence of the religious heritage of the Jew. I have scandalized some good friends by exclaiming, 'Better freedom without Judaism than Judaism without freedom.' Fortunately we do not have to choose such an alternative. We are loyal to Israel and free in Israel."

At the risk of causing "resignations to-morrow from the Free Synagogue," [illegible] shirtwaist makers and condemned the employers' refusal to arbitrate the strike because the workers demanded recognition of their union.

DENIES BIG COPPER MERGER.

Untermyer Says There's No Truth in a Report of a Great Consolidation.

Samuel Untermyer, who has been generally understood to be conducting the negotiations for the Copper merger as counsel for the Boston Consolidated Copper Company and on behalf of other interests concerned, when asked [illegible] told about the negotiations of syndicates in a

PROPHECY!

SOUTH BROOKLYN is to experience a marvelous rise in land values.

On the completion of the Fourth Avenue Subway the history of the Bronx will be repeated.

Buy land now, while prices are reasonable.

We have several plots right near stations

Realty Trust

Wm. C. Demorest
President

60-62-64 LIBERTY STREET
NEW YORK CITY

BOY ARTIST BEACHED ON BOWERY'S SHOALS

Arthur Corson's New-Found Friends Get His Money and He Quickly Lands in Jail.

BACK TO QUIET PORTLAND

Paid to Get a Job with a "Famous Painter" Whom He Has Not Yet Met.

In his first venture on a career as an artist Arthur J. Corson, Jr., 17 years old, found plenty of contrasts and striking color schemes between his home in Portland, Me., and a hotel at 1 Chatham Square, Manhattan, and he spent last night in a cell in the Queens County Jail contemplating impressions in black and white. Far from being a culprit young Corson was a victim of his own innocence, and he is convinced now that they do things differently on the Bowery than in his native Prohibition State.

In his story to Magistrate Fitch in the Far Rockaway Court yesterday, where he was arraigned on a charge of vagrancy, young Corson said that in his ambition to be an artist he packed his belongings in the family traveling bag and with $15 safely tucked away in an inside pocket took a train for this city. He found New York quite a town.

He went to 1 Chatham Square, where two chance acquaintances of the place learned that he had $10 left of the money he had brought with him from Portland. His new acquaintances invited him out to Jamaica, L. I., to place him with a famous artist. They found it necessary to have $5 each before they would produce their friend the artist. Young Corson parted with his money and then sat down to wait for the return of his friends. He was still waiting after midnight when he was apprehended by a policeman and taken to the station. A telegram was sent to young Corson's father, who sent a money order by telegraph, and the young artist will be shipped back to Portland to-day.

SPENT 50 YEARS IN PRISON.

Wife Murderer Hopes to be Set Free Before Christmas.

WINSTED, Conn., Dec. 12.—John J. Warren, aged 71, who will have rounded out a half century in the Wethersfield State Penitentiary on Tuesday and who is said to have been longer behind prison bars than any other criminal in the world, is expecting his freedom as a Christmas gift to-morrow. He murdered his 18-year-old wife by holding her head in a brook. What prompted him to kill her is a secret he has never divulged. He is still strong, physically and mentally.

To-morrow, when his appeal for freedom is heard by the State Board of Pardons, assurance will be given that Warren's two younger brothers in Winchendon will take care of him if he is released.

681

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890222016

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Doesn't Like New Theatre / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 28 cm.
In The New York Times. —(Dec. 20, 1909).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

the public it may help us a great deal in getting a new building for School 125.

MRS. GERINO,
MRS. GARBARINI,
Committee.

Inquiry at the Building Department of the Board of Education led to the statement there that the structure is not only very old, but dark, damp, and probably unsafe. It developed that the Board of Education does not wish to shoulder responsibility for the further use of such a building.

According to a statement from the School Building Superintendent's office, as early as last April a definite demand for $427,000 was made by the Board of Education to the Board of Estimate for a new building in Wooster Street or thereabout. All the appropriations asked for at that time except this one were granted. The Research Bureau, it was said, asked a postponement on the matter. Nothing more has been heard of it by the school authorities.

Church Thinks Milk Too High.

The Manhattan Church has had a committee investigating the milk question. The committee reported last night that as a result of its investigation it believed a uniform price of 9 cents a quart for milk the year around would be unwarranted, and that during a large part of the year, when milk production is large and the price paid to the farmer is low, that 8 cents a quart would give the dealer an ample margin of profit.

DOESN'T LIKE NEW THEATRE.

Emma Goldman Sees a Labor Play There and Objects to Its Environment.

Emma Goldman went to The New Theatre the other day and saw "Strife," the labor drama by John Galsworthy. Last night she told an audience in the Woman's Trades Union Hall in East Twenty-second Street what she thought of the play, which was complimentary, and what she thought of The New Theatre, which was not.

"That 'Strife' should be produced at The New Theatre is as much an insult to labor as the shirtwaist workers being entertained at the Colony Club," she said. "To put a strike meeting of shivering workmen in the setting of The New Theatre only shows the poor taste of The New Theatre management. If the management had set about discrediting Mr. Galsworthy's ideas it could not have succeeded better. It's a crime against art to put 'Strife' on that stage.

"The interpretation of the play is an insult to labor," continued Miss Goldman. "The character of David Roberts, as played by Albert Bruning, is an insult to labor. David Roberts is a man of ideals. Mr. Bruning makes him a ruffian. I don't mean to say that the management intentionally gave the part to a man who would portray the way Mr. Bruning does, but in giving it to him they showed their poor taste and poor judgment again.

"That theatre, it is here shown, is not the place it was intended for. John Galsworthy is an artist, and the work of an artist is to portray things as they are. He has portrayed the psychology of the workingmen as he saw it. It's a great labor play, though, and I hope it will be given in another theatre, where it will not be an insult to labor."

Hobart Family Physician Stricken.

PATTERSON, N. J., Dec. 19.—Dr. William K. Newton, one of the most prominent medical specialists in this section and family physician to the late Vice President Hobart, was suddenly stricken to-day with an intestinal disease. Physicians who were called to him say he cannot recover.

REID WILL RETAIN LONDON EMBASSY

Continued from Page 1.

public which makes it desirable to have an accomplished diplomat on duty.

Garret Hillington's attorneys, for Frost. It is stated that the property rights were not settled, and that there may be a fight in the New York courts over the division of the community property.

Mrs. Mabel L. Shellabarger has filed a suit for divorce against Lucien Shellabarger of Decatur, Ill. She is a daughter of A. W. Lord of New York. Shellabarger is a wealthy real estate man of Decatur, Ill. Incompatibility is said to be the ground of the complaint.

BURNS NOW BANKERS' SLEUTH

Heney's Man Gets American Association Job Away from the Pinkertons.

William J. Burns, former secret service agent, who figured prominently in the San Francisco graft prosecutions, has established the William J. Burns National Detective Agency in this city, with headquarters in the Park Row Building.

The Burns Agency has been in business now three weeks, and it has, among other things, captured the contract for detective work for the American Bankers' Association, which the Pinkerton Agency had for fourteen years. The American Bankers' Association is the largest single client in the country employing detectives. The Pinkertons collected a large assortment of photographs of bank robbers in their work for the association, but Burns says he can get along without them. Most of the robbers are either dead or in jail, he says, and he feels capable of dealing with the new generation.

Burns was connected with the Government's secret service for twenty-three years, and made a record hunting down counterfeiters. One of his achievements was in fixing guilt upon two exceptionally resourceful engravers, Taylor and Bredell, who had flooded the country with bogus $100 bills so perfectly executed that it was almost impossible to distinguish them from the real certificates. They confessed, involving twelve other men.

In 1901 Burns worked in the Washington

safely out. No one knows how the fire started. It did about $700 damage.

Somehow or other a fire started yesterday in the attic of the old Connolly mansion, at 1826 Street and Northern Avenue, now unoccupied, but once the home of Richard Connolly and his brother, Charles, both of them powers in politics in the days of the Tweed ring. A passerby saw the blaze and turned in an alarm which started Truck 34 from its building in 161st Street, near Amsterdam Avenue.

Driver John Garrid was guiding his team up Broadway at full speed when he had to turn into Depot Lane. Just then the chalkbit on one of the horses broke, and the animal ran upon the sidewalk, dragging his mate after him. The truck kept on its wheels, but the horse smashed through the window of a store on the corner, was cut badly, and finally shot. The fire was put out with $2,000 damage, after the firemen had torn off the roof of the house to reach the flames.

Jacob Weinberg, who makes paper boxes on the fourth floor of the six-story factory building at 432 and 434 Broome Street, was called downtown early yesterday morning to find that a fire which had started on Saturday night had broken out again at 8 o'clock yesterday morning and done $50,000 more damage. The blaze Saturday night did $2,000 damage.

After Saturday's fire James Bennett, an insurance company's watchman, remained in the building. He made one last round of the building before his relief came, when he discovered the second blaze. High-pressure lines were run into the building and only one alarm was turned in. Mr. Weinberg declared that he believed the fire on Saturday night had not been attended to thoroughly. The first blaze started in a pile of paper, and the manufacturer said he believed this had smoldered all night.

Fire Marshal Kelly is investigating a fire which did little damage to the confectionery store of Moses Silverman, in the basement of the five-story tenement at 428 East Ninth Street yesterday. Neighbors had the fire almost out before the firemen arrived.

Kelly found two men who told him that they had seen a man throwing packing cases into the blaze instead of trying to put it out. Kelly summoned Silverman and his daughter Bessie to Fire Headquarters for an investigation this morning. The Marshal says he knows the name of the man who threw packing cases on the blaze, and will question him if he can locate him.

MORE NAVY YARD THIEVES.

Arrests of Other Marines Suspected of Selling Uniforms.

It is believed that other men besides the seven marines taken into custody on Saturday will be arrested by the Federal authorities in Brooklyn in connection with the investigation of the selling of uniforms by marines and sailors at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. The seven marines under arrest have been held by United States Commissioner Morle for the action of the Federal Grand Jury. Four of the men whom they are accused of having sold the goods are also being held.

It is believed that thousands of dollars' worth of uniforms that accounts at the Navy Yard have been short in the last six months. A timekeeper, theatrical costumer is accused of having purchased two khaki uniforms from one of the Marines under arrest.

A BIG PRIVATE AUDITORIUM.

Stoeckel Does Not Believe in Opera and Aids Choral Union.

Special to The New York Times.

WINSTED, Conn., Dec. 19.—Carl Stoeckel, patron of Litchfield County choral union, comprising five societies with a membership of 600 is having the largest private auditorium in America built on his premises in Norfolk. His hobby is to give the people of Litchfield County a fine musical education. It is said he expends about $10,000 annually in the work. Mr. Stoeckel says:

"The nearest gateway to divinity is by the road of truth to art. We must find truth. If we look about the pasteboard scenery, the tinsel and the trapdoors of the operatic stage, so freely exploited by commercial managers as educational and even consecrational. We must look for it rather in the great choral and orchestral works which are standing the test of the ages and which appeal to the poetry and imagination of every normal nature. To such end our organization is committed. It is blazing a narrow path which succeeding generations of workers until all can enter the Olympian heights by the toll-road highway of truth to art."

The union will begin rehearsals early next month preparatory to singing Verdi's "Requiem Mass" and Coleridge Taylor's Indian music in Mr. Stoeckel's festival June 1 and 2. Coleridge Taylor has accepted an invitation to come to Europe to conduct his own compositions.

RICE PLAY FOR CHILDREN.

Man Who Staged "Evangeline" to Produce "Cinderella."

Edward E. Rice, who put on "Evangeline" and "1492," will produce a [illegible] play for children. He has been out of the producing business for several years, but he is returning to it in a version of Santa Claus's life with the [illegible] of "Cinderella" as the offering and the Hippodrome as the place. The date of the first performance is Christmas Eve, and two performances a day will be given for the next two weeks at the [illegible]



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

682

830131003

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism and Other Essays / Emma Goldman.— 2nd. rev. ed. —New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [between 1910 and 1919, advertisement].— 4 p. ; 22 × 14 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of California, Santa Barbara. Institutional Location: Goldman-Holzwarth Collection, Department of Special Collections.

ANARCHISM

AND OTHER ESSAYS



By EMMA GOLDMAN

PUBLISHER OF MOTHER EARTH MAGAZINE

Including a biographic SKETCH of the author's interesting career, a splendid PORTRAIT, and twelve of her most important lectures, some of which have been suppressed by the police authorities of various cities. This book expresses the most advanced ideas on social questions—economics, politics, education and sex.

Second Revised Edition.

Sachs & Steinfeld, Union Printers, 12 Jefferson St.

683

830131003

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism and Other Essays / Emma Goldman.— 2nd. rev. ed. —New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [between 1910 and 1919, advertisement]. — 4 p. ; 22 × 14 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of California, Santa Barbara. Institutional Location: Goldman-Holzwarth Collection, Department of Special Collections.

CONTENTS.

BIOGRAPHIC SKETCH.
PREFACE.
ANARCHISM: What it really stands for.
MINORITIES VERSUS MAJORITIES.
THE PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE.
PRISONS: A Social Crime and Failure.
PATRIOTISM: A Menace to Liberty.
FRANCISCO FERRER AND THE MODERN SCHOOL.
THE HYPOCRISY OF PURITANISM.
THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN.
WOMAN SUFFRAGE.
THE TRAGEDY OF WOMAN'S EMANCIPATION.
MARRIAGE AND LOVE.
THE DRAMA: A Powerful Disseminator of Radical Thought.

WHAT THE REVIEWS SAY OF THIS BOOK.

Emma Goldman's book on "Anarchism and Other Essays" ought to be read by all so-called respectable women, and adopted as a text-book by women's cluhs throughout the country. . . . . For courage, persistency, self-effacement, self-sacrifice in the pursuit of her object, she has hitherto been unsurpassed among the world's women. . . . . Repudiating as she does practically every tenet of what the modern State holds good, she stands for some of the noblest traits in human nature.—Life.

* * * *

Few people in this country outside democratic politics would recognize the name of Emma Goldman, or be able to give an application if it were mentioned to them. Yet for good or ill, Emma Goldman is likely to influence the future of the United States a great deal more than noisy Mr. Roosevelt or stout Mr. Taft. . . . . For twenty years she has been the prophetess of revolt throughout the United States.—London (Eng.) Chronicle.

* * * *

Emma Goldman—the notorious, insistent, rebellious, enigmatical Emma Goldman—has published her first book, "Anarchism and Other Essays." In it she records "the mental and soul struggles of twenty-one years," and recites all the articles of that strange and subversive creed in behalf of which she has suffered imprisonment, contumely and every kind of persecution. The book is a vivid revelation of a unique personality. It appears at a time when Anarchistic ideas are undoubtedly in the ascendant throughout the world.—Current Literature.

* * * *

This may be regarded as an authoritative work on anarchism, one that speaks clearly and definitely. More scholarly works have appeared in defense of anarchism, but none more vital, none more popular in statement and appeal.—New York Call.

* * * *

No, it is not a nice book. It is radical, revolutionary. It shocks all conventionality and tears respectability to tatters. It is not the kind of book you leave on your library table, nor do you pass it around among your friends indiscriminately. It handles dangerous themes with boldness and customs and institutions, hoary with the centuries, are viciously attacked. This book isn't bad or immoral or treasonable; it is simply unusual and quite original. With her little hammer she knocks upon our rock-ribbed prejudices and with her scalpel she neatly and cleverly lays bare some of our social sores: and while we shall not accept her heroic remedies she gives us some interesting ideas to think about.—Los Angeles Herald.

684

830131003

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism and Other Essays / Emma Goldman.— 2nd. rev. ed. —New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [between 1910 and 1919, advertisement].— 4 p. ; 22 × 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of California, Santa Barbara. Institutional Location: Goldman-Holzwarth Collection, Department of Special Collections.

Every thoughtful person ought to read this volume of papers by the foremost American anarchist. In whatever way the book may modify or strengthen the opinion already held by its readers, there is no doubt that a careful reading of it will tend to bring about greater social sympathy. It will help the public to understand a group of serious-minded and morally strenuous individuals, and also to feel the spirit that underlies the most radical tendencies of the great labor movement of our day.—Hutchins Hapgood in The Bookman.

* * * *

The open-minded reader who devotes an hour or two to a perusal of "Anarchism and Other Essays," by Emma Goldman, will put down the book with a new respect for the author and perhaps also with some measure of respect for certain of her doctrines.—Baltimore Sun.

* * * *

Those who are not acquainted with the early life of Emma Goldman and the persecution she has had to endure for the CRIME UNDER CAPITALISM of telling the TRUTH, cannot afford to be without this wonderful history of one human being, and the 200 pages of TRUTH which follow.

The book deals fully with those subjects so much sought after by students everywhere who are at all interested in the revolutionary movement.—Industrial Worker.

* * * *

"Anarchism and Other Essays," discloses its author as a student of general literature, especially of a radical sort, and an experienced and effective writer. Her style is by no means of the perfervid sort that might be expected. Her views are sufficiently extreme, not to say startling, but she does not preach violence and she disclaims participation in any plotting to that end. Readers who seek a clear exposition of anarchism unadorned—not including the "propaganda of the deed," which the author does not approve, though she has befriended many who have followed it—will find it in Emma Goldman's essays. And aside from the exposition of her views, there will be especial interest in the chapters in which she reviews the famous political assassination of recent years and the case of Francisco Ferrer in Spain. A chapter on the drama discloses a considerable acquaintance with modern dramatists, and her brief sketches and analysis of a number of important plays by the iconoclasts show appreciation of their art as well as a shrewd readiness to draw lessons from them in support of the theories which she upholds. But the main interest in the book, of course, is in Miss Goldman's direct exposition of the theory and practice of anarchism. "Anarchism," as she interprets it, "stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individdal desires, tastes and inclinations. . . . . Methods must grow out of the economic needs of each place and clime, and of the intellectual and temperamental requirements of the individual."—Springfield Republican.

* * * *

The volume contains an interesting biographical sketch by Hippolyte Havel, which throws new light on the character of this remarkable woman. It is a book well worth reading from start to finish, if only to change the ideas which the majority of people have on the subject.—San Francisco Call.

Price $1.00 By mail $1.10

ORDER THROUGH YOUR BOOK DEALER OR SEND TO

Mother Earth Publishing Association

55 West 28th Street, New York

685

830131003

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism and Other Essays / Emma Goldman.— 2nd. rev. ed. —New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [between 1910 and 1919, advertisement]. — 4 p. ; 22 × 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of California, Santa Barbara. Institutional Location: Goldman-Holzwarth Collection, Department of Special Collections.

ANARCHIST LITERATURE

The literature of Anarchism is very extensive. Numerous books and pamphlets have been written, treating of the various phases of Anarchist thought, and various publications, both here and abroad, are devoted to this philosophy of life. No well-informed man or woman can afford to ignore this vital subject. Your library is not complete unless it includes works on Anarchism.

* * * *

Our office is the headquarters for all kinds of anarchist literature; we have on sale more than 100 different books and pamphlets. We can furnish you with anarchist publications in any language.

Prepare for the social revolution by reading Peter Kropotkin's "Great French Revolution." Our price, $2.00, by mail 15c extra.

AN UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY.

We offer a small library on Anarchism consisting of the following books:

ANARCHISM, by Eltzbacher. An able and impartial exposition of Anarchism $1.50

WHAT IS PROPERTY? by Proudhon. A brilliant arraignment of property and the state..... 2.00

CONQUEST OF BREAD, by Peter Kropotkin. The economic basis of Anarchism..... 1.00

ANARCHISM AND OTHER ESSAYS, by Emma Goldman..... 1.00

MOTHER EARTH, a monthly magazine devoted to literary and revolutionary topics 1.00

Total $6.50

This set every social student should own. Send your order at once and get these books for $5.00.

Ready soon. "The Autobiography of an Anarchist," by Alexander Berkman. $1.25 in advance.

Other standard books on Anarchism.

THE LIFE OF ALBERT PARSONS $1.50

MUTUAL AID. By Peter Kropotkin..... 2.00

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST. By Peter Kropotkin..... 2.00

THE BOMB. By Frank Harris..... 1.00

NEWS FROM NOWHERE. By William Morris..... 75c.

SPEECHES OF CHICAGO ANARCHISTS, bound..... 75c.

BOOKS ON FREE SPEECH.

FREE PRESS ANTHOLOGY. By Theodore Schroeder..... 2.00

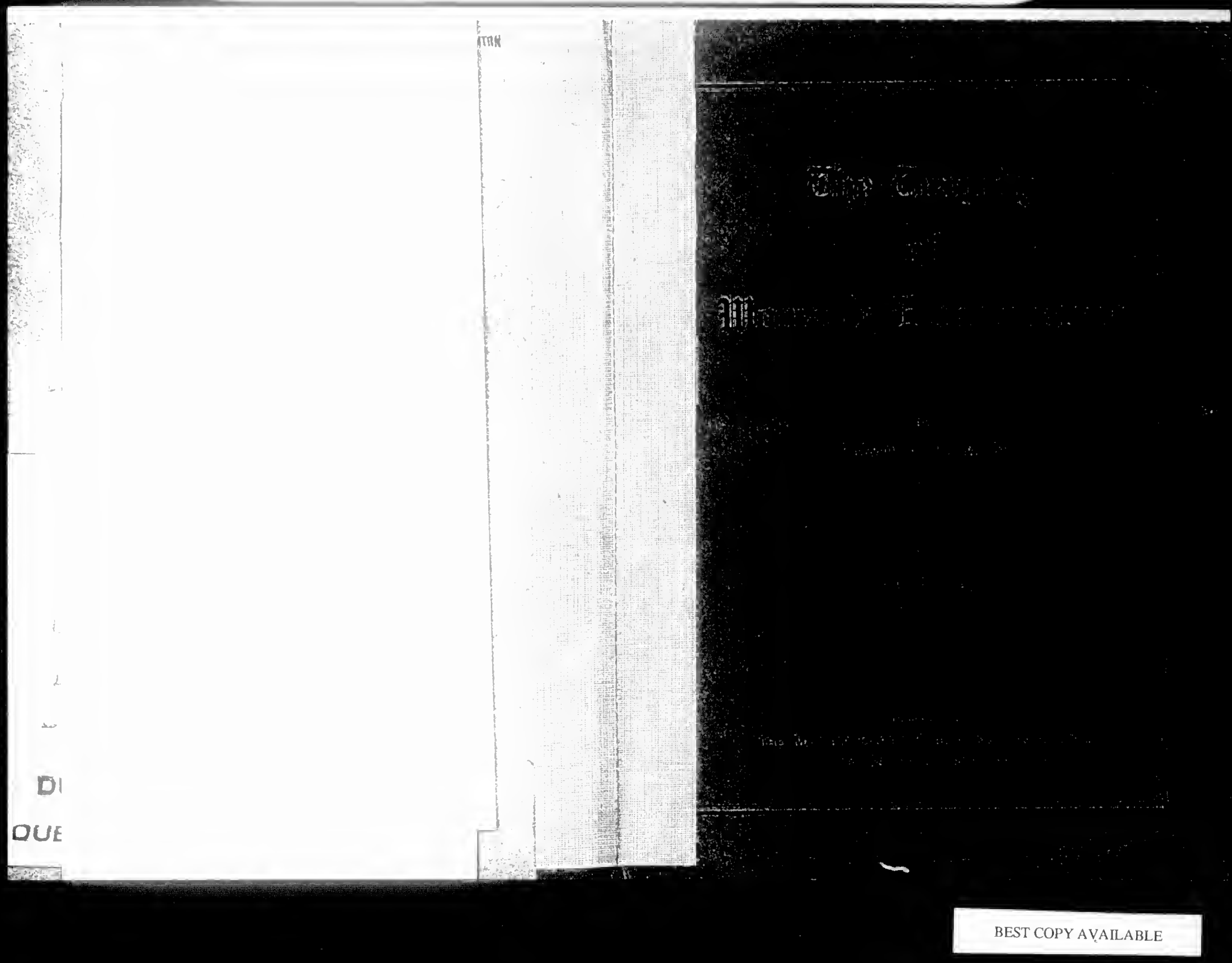
"OBSCENE" Literature and Constitutional Law.
By Theodore Schroeder..... 5.00

Mother Earth Publishing Association, 55 West 28th Street, New York.

890322059

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1910?].— 8 p. ; 20 × 28 cm.
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890322059

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1910?].— 8 p. ; 20 × 28 cm.

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation

BY

EMMA GOLDMAN

PUBLISHED BY

THE MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

210 EAST 13th ST., NEW YORK

688

890322059

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1910?].— 8 p. ; 20 × 28 cm.
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

HQ
1426
G5'1

3 9091 00172977 5

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation

I BEGIN with an admission: Regardless of all political and economic theories, treating of the fundamental differences between the various groups within the human race, regardless of class and race distinctions, regardless of all artificial boundary lines between woman's rights and man's rights, I hold that there is a point where these differentiations may meet and grow into one perfect whole.

With this I do not mean to propose a peace treaty. The general social antagonism which has taken hold of our entire public life to-day, brought about through the force of opposing and contradictory interests, will crumble to pieces when the reorganization of our social life, based upon the principles of economic justice, shall have become a reality.

Peace and harmony between the sexes and individuals does not necessarily depend on a superficial equalization of human beings; nor does it call for the elimination of individual traits or peculiarities. The problem that confronts us to-day, and which the nearest future is to solve, is how to be one's self, and yet in oneness with others, to feel deeply with all human beings and still retain one's own innate qualities. This seems to me the basis upon which the mass and the individual, the true democrat and the true individuality, man and woman, can meet without antagonism and opposition. The motto should not be: forgive one another; rather, understand one another. The oft-quoted sentence of Mme. de Stael: "To understand everything means to forgive everything," has never particularly appealed to me; it has the odor of the confessional; to forgive one's fellow-being conveys the idea of pharisaical superiority. To understand one's fellow-being suffices. The admission partly represents the fundamental aspect of my views on

704683

689

890322059

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1910?].— 8 p. ; 20 × 28 cm.
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

the emancipation of woman and its effect upon the entire sex.

Emancipation should make it possible for woman to be human in the truest sense. Everything within her that craves assertion and activity should reach its fullest expression; all artificial barriers should be broken and the road towards greater freedom cleared of every trace of centuries of submission and slavery.

This was the original aim of the movement for woman's emancipation. But the results so far achieved have isolated woman and have robbed her of the fountain springs of that happiness which is so essential to her. Merely external emancipation has made of the modern woman an artificial being, who reminds one of the products of French arboriculture with its arabesque trees and shrubs—pyramids, wheels and wreaths; anything, except the forms which would be reached by the expression of her own inner qualities. Such artificially grown plants of the female sex are to be found in large numbers, especially in the so-called intellectual sphere of our life.

Liberty and equality for woman! What hopes and aspirations these words awakened when they were first uttered by some of the noblest and bravest souls of those days. The sun in all his light and glory was to rise upon a new world; in this world woman was to be free to direct her own destiny, an aim certainly worthy of the great enthusiasm, courage, perseverance and ceaseless effort of the tremendous host of pioneer men and women, who staked everything against a world of prejudice and ignorance.

My hopes also move towards that goal, but I insist that the emancipation of woman, as interpreted and practically applied to-day, has failed to reach that great end. Now, woman is confronted with the necessity of emancipating herself from emancipation, if she really desires to be free. This may sound paradoxical, but is, nevertheless, only too true.

What has she achieved through her emancipation? Equal suffrage in a few states. Has that purified our political life, as many well-meaning advocates have predicted? Certainly not. Incidentally, it is really time that persons with plain, sound judgment should cease to

talk about corruption in politics in a boarding-school tone. Corruption of politics has nothing to do with the morals or the laxity of morals of various political personalities. Its cause is altogether a material one. Politics is the reflex of the business and industrial world, the mottoes of which are: "to take is more blessed than to give"; "buy cheap and sell dear"; "one soiled hand washes the other." There is no hope even that woman, with her right to vote, will ever purify politics.

Emancipation has brought woman economic equality with man; that is, she can choose her own profession and trade, but as her past and present physical training has not equipped her with the necessary strength to compete with man, she is often compelled to exhaust all her energy, use up her vitality and strain every nerve in order to reach the market value. Very few ever succeed, for it is a fact that women doctors, lawyers, architects and engineers are neither met with the same confidence as their male colleagues, nor do they receive equal remuneration. And those that do reach that enticing equality generally do so at the expense of their physical and psychical well-being. As to the great mass of working girls and women, how much independence is gained if the narrowness and lack of freedom of the home are exchanged for the narrowness and lack of freedom of the factory, sweat-shop, department store, or office? In addition is the burden which is laid on many women of looking after a "home, sweet home"—cold, dreary, disorderly, uninviting—after a day's hard work. Glorious independence! No wonder that hundreds of girls are so willing to accept the first offer of marriage, sick and tired of their independence behind the counter, or at the sewing or typewriting machine. They are just as ready to marry as girls of the middle class, who long to throw off the yoke of parental dependence. A so-called independence which leads only to earning the merest subsistence is not so enticing, not so ideal that one could expect woman to sacrifice everything for it. Our highly praised independence is, after all, but a slow process of dulling and stifling woman's nature, her love instinct and her mother instinct.

Nevertheless, the position of the working girl is far more natural and human than that of her seemingly

690

890322059

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1910?].— 8 p. ; 20 × 28 cm.

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

more fortunate sister in the more cultured professional walk of life—teachers, physicians, lawyers, engineers, etc., who have to make a dignified, straightened and proper appearance, while the inner life is growing empty and dead.

The narrowness of the existing conception of woman's independence and emancipation; the dread of love for a man who is not her social equal; the fear that love will rob her of her freedom and independence; the horror that love or the joy of motherhood will only hinder her in the full exercise of her profession—all these together make of the emancipated modern woman a compulsory vestal, before whom life, with its great clarifying sorrows and its deep, entrancing joys, rolls on without touching or gripping her soul.

Emancipation, as understood by the majority of its adherents and exponents, is of too narrow a scope to permit the boundless joy and ecstasy contained in the deep emotion of the true woman, sweetheart, mother, in freedom.

The tragedy of the self-supporting or economically free woman does not lie in too many, but in too few experiences. True, she surpasses her sister of past generations in knowledge of the world and human nature; it is just because of that that she feels deeply the lack of life's essence, which alone can enrich the human soul and without which the majority of women have become mere professional automatons.

That such a state of affairs was bound to come was foreseen by those who realized that, in the domain of ethics, there still remained many decaying ruins of the time of the undisputed superiority of man; ruins that are still considered useful. And, which is more important, a goodly number of the emancipated are unable to get along without them. Every movement that aims at the destrucion of exising institutions and the replacement thereof with such as are more advanced, more perfect, has followers who in theory stand for the most extreme radical ideas, but who, nevertheless, in their everyday practice, are like the next best Philistine, feigning respectability and clamoring for the good opinion of their opponents. There are, for example, Socialists, and even Anarchists, who stand for the idea that property is robbery, yet who will grow indignant if anyone owe them the value of a half-dozen pins.

The same Philistine can be found in the movement for woman's emancipation. Yellow journalists and milk and water literateurs have painted pictures of the emancipated woman that make the hair of the good citizen and his dull companion stand up on end. Every member of the woman's rights movement was pictured as a George Sand in her absolute disregard of morality. Nothing was sacred to her. She had no respect for the ideal relation between man and woman. In short, emancipation stood only for a reckless life of lust and sin; regardless of society, religion and morality. The exponents of woman's rights were highly indignant at such misrepresenttation, and, lacking humor, they exerted all their energy to prove that they were not at all as bad as they were painted, but the very reverse. Of course, as long as woman was the slave of man, she could not be good and pure, but now that she was free and independent she would prove how good she could be and how her influence would have a purifying effect on all institutions in society. True, the movement for woman's rights has broken many old fetters, but it has also established new ones. The great movement of *true* emancipation has not met with a great race of women, who could look liberty in the face. Their narrow puritanical vision banished man, as a disturber and doubtful character, out of their emotional life. Man was not to be tolerated at any price, except perhaps as the father of a child, since a child could not very well come to life without a father. Fortunately, the most rigid puritanism never will be strong enough to kill the innate craving for motherhood. But woman's freedom is closely allied with man's freedom, and many of my so-called emancipated sisters seem to overlook the fact that a child born in freedom needs the love and devotion of each human being about him, man as well as woman. Unfortunately, it is this narrow conception of human relations that has brought about a great tragedy in the lives of the modern man and woman.

About fifteen years ago appeared a work from the pen of the brilliant Norwegian writer, Laura Marholm, called "Woman, a Character Study." She was one of

691

890322059

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1910?].— 8 p. ; 20 × 28 cm.

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

the first to call attention to the emptiness and narrowness of the existing conception of woman's emancipation and its tragic effect upon the inner life of woman. In her work she speaks of the fate of several gifted women of international fame: the genius, Eleonora Duse; the great mathematician and writer, Sonya Kovalevskaia; the artist and poet-nature, Marie Bashkirzeff, who died so young. Through each description of the lives of these women of such extraordinary mentality runs a marked trail of unsatisfied craving for a full, rounded, complete and beautiful life, and the unrest and loneliness resulting from the lack of it. Through these masterly psychological sketches, one cannot help but see that the higher the mental development of woman, the less possible it is for her to meet a congenial mate, who will see in her, not only sex, but also the human being, the friend, the comrade and strong individuality, who cannot and ought not lose a single trait of her character.

The average man with his self-sufficiency, his ridiculously superior airs of patronage towards the female sex, is an impossibility for woman as depicted in the "Character Study" by Laura Marholm. Equally impossible for her is the man who can see in her nothing more than her mentality and genius, and who fails to awaken her woman nature.

A rich intellect and a fine soul are usually considered necessary attributes of a deep and beautiful personality. In the case of the modern woman, these attributes serve as a hindrance to the complete assertion of her being. For over a hundred years, the old form of marriage, based on the Bible, "till death us do part," has been denounced as an institution that stands for the sovereignty of the man over the woman, of her complete submission to his whims and commands and the absolute dependence on his name and support. Time and again it has been conclusively proven that the old matrimonial relation restricted woman to the function of man's servant and the bearer of his children. And yet we find many emancipated women who prefer marriage with all its deficiencies to the narrowness of an unmarried life; narrow and unendurable because of the chains of moral and social prejudice that cramp and blind her nature.

The cause for such inconsistency on the part of many advanced women is to be found in the fact that they never truly understood the meaning of emancipation. They thought that all that was needed was independence from external tyrannies; the internal tyrants, far more harmful to life and growth—ethical and social conventions—were left to take care of themselves; and they have taken care of themselves. They seem to get along beautifully in the heads and hearts of the most active exponents of woman's emancipation, as in the heads and hearts of our grandmothers.

These internal tyrants, whether they be in the form of public opinion or what will mother say, or brother, father, aunt or relative of any sort; what will Mrs. Grundy, Mr. Comstock, the employer, the Board of Education say? All these busybodies, moral detectives, jailers of the human spirit, what will they say? Until woman has learned to defy them all, to stand firmly on her own ground and to insist upon her own unrestricted freedom, to listen to the voice of her nature, whether it call for life's greatest treasure, love for a man, or her most glorious privilege, the right to give birth to a child, she cannot call herself emancipated. How many emancipated women are brave enough to acknowledge that the voice of love is calling, wildly beating against their breasts demanding to be heard, to be satisfied?

defiance and [illegible] awareness

The French novelist, Jean Reibrach, in one of his novels, "New Beauty," attempts to picture the ideal, beautiful, emancipated woman. This ideal is embodied in a young girl, a physician. She talks very clearly and wisely of how to feed infants, she is kind and administers medicines free to poor mothers. She converses with a young man of her acquaintance about the sanitary conditions of the future and how various bacilli and germs shall be exterminated by the use of stone walls and floors, and the doing away of rugs and hangings. She is, of course, very plainly and practically dressed, mostly in black. The young man, who, at their first meeting, was overawed by the wisdom of his emancipated friend, gradually learns to understand her, and recognizes one fine day that he loves her. They are young and she is kind and beautiful, and though always in rigid attire, her appearance is softened by

692

890322059

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1910?].— 8 p. ; 20 × 28 cm.

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

a spotlessly clean white collar and cuffs. One would expect that he would tell her of his love, but he is not one to commit romantic absurdities. Poetry and the enthusiasm of love cover their blushing faces before the pure beauty of the lady. He silences the voice of his nature and remains correct. She, too, is always exact, always rational, always well behaved. I fear if they had formed a union, the young man would have risked freezing to death. I must confess that I can see nothing beautiful in this new beauty, who is as cold as the stone walls and floors she dreams of. Rather would I have the love songs of romantic ages, rather Don Juan and Madame Venus, rather an elopement by ladder and rope on a moonlight night, followed by a father's curse, mother's moans, and the moral comments of neighbors, than correctness and propriety measured by yardsticks. If love does not know how to give and take without restriction, it is not love, but a transaction that never fails to lay stress on a plus and a minus.

The greatest shortcoming of the emancipation of the present day lies in its artificial stiffness and its narrow respectabilities, which produce an emptiness in woman's soul that will not let her drink from the fountain of life. I once remarked that there seemed to be a deeper relationship between the old-fashioned mother and hostess, ever on the alert for the happiness of her little ones and the comfort of those she loved, and the truly new woman, than between the latter and her average emancipated sister. The disciples of emancipation pure and simple declared me a heathen, fit only for the stake. Their blind zeal did not let them see that my comparison between the old and the new was merely to prove that a goodly number of our grandmothers had more blood in their veins, far more humor and wit, and certainly a greater amount of naturalness, kind-heartedness and simplicity than the majority of our emancipated professional women who fill our colleges, halls of learning, and various offices. This does not mean a wish to return to the past, nor does it condemn woman to her old sphere, the kitchen and the nursery.

Salvation lies in an energetic march onward towards a brighter and clearer future. We are in need of unhampered growth out of old traditions and habits. The

movement for woman's emancipation has so far made but the first step in that direction. It is to be hoped that it will gather strength to make another. The right to vote, equal civil rights, are all very good demands, but true emancipation begins neither at the polls nor in courts. It begins in woman's soul. History tells us that every oppressed class gained its true liberation from its masters through its own efforts. It is necessary that woman learn that lesson, that she realize that her freedom will reach as far as her power to achieve her freedom reaches. It is therefore far more important for her to begin with her inner regeneration, to cut loose from the weight of prejudices, traditions, and customs. The demand for various equal rights in every vocation in life is just and fair, but, after all, the most vital right is the right to love and be loved. Indeed, if the partial emancipation is to become a complete and true emancipation of woman, it will have to do away with the ridiculous notion that to be loved, to be sweetheart and mother, is synonymous with being slave or subordinate. It will have to do away with the absurd notion of the dualism of the sexes, or that man and woman represent two antagonistic worlds.

Pettiness separates, breadth unites. Let us be broad and big. Let us not overlook vital things because of the bulk of trifles confronting us. A true conception of the relation of the sexes will not admit of conqueror and conquered; it knows of but one great thing: to give of one's self boundlessly, in order to find oneself richer, deeper, better. That alone can fill the emptiness and replace the tragedy of woman's emancipation with joy, limitless joy.

693

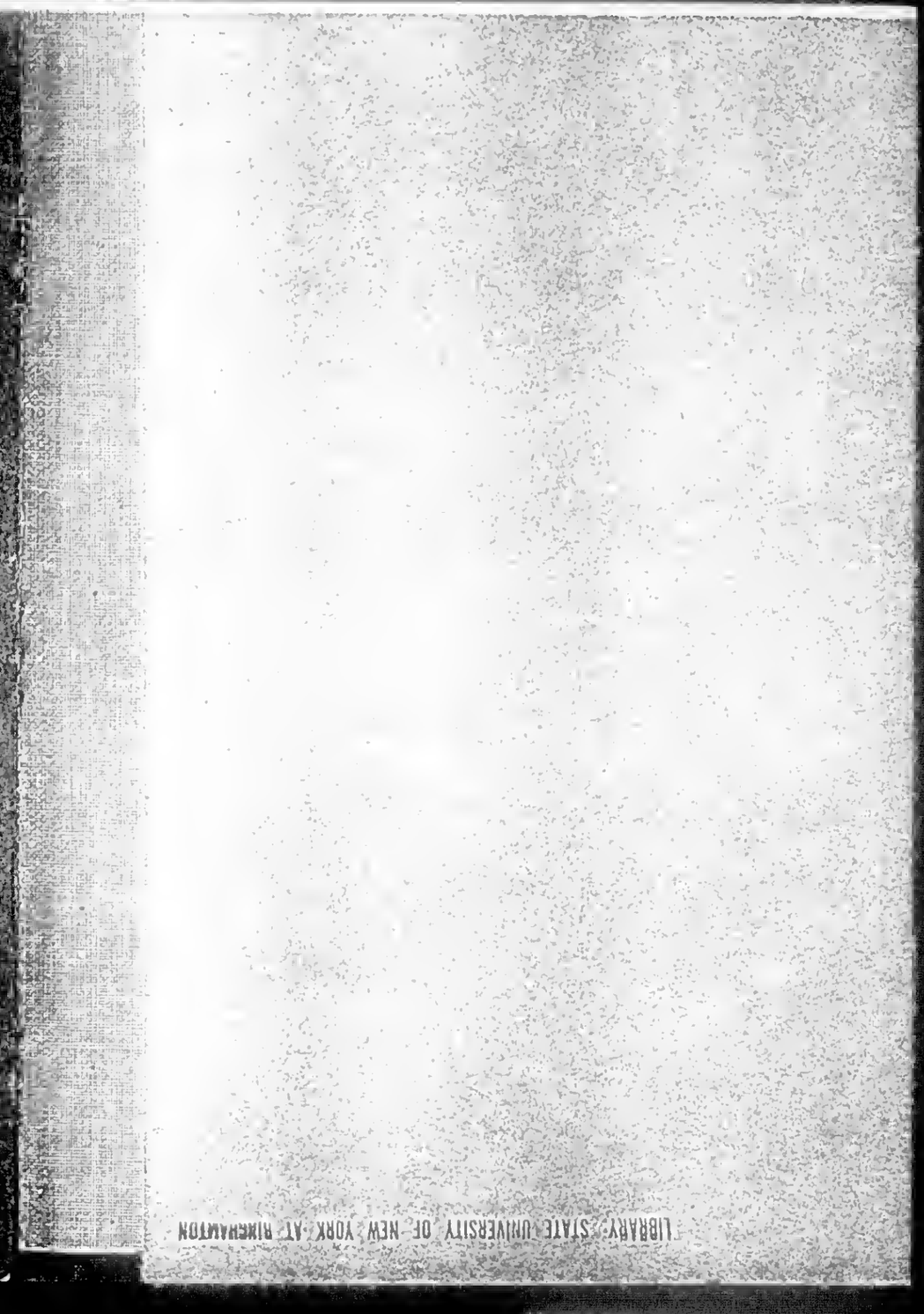
890322059

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation / Emma Goldman.– New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1910?].– 8 p. ; 20 × 28 cm.

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.





BEST COPY AVAILABLE

820407000

The Emma Goldman Papers

Appeal / Emma Goldman, *et al.*— New York : [Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n?, 1910, leaflet].— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. Institutional Location: Jack London Collection.

APPEAL

Dear Friend—In the name of humanity and international brotherhood, we earnestly beg of you to protest energetically to the Japanese ambassador in Washington against the unjust and barbarous penalty of death pronounced upon Dr. Denjiro Kotoku, his wife and twenty-four other Socialists and anarchists.

Dr. Kotoku, his wife, and their friends were brought before a court specially appointed for the purpose, judged guilty of plotting against the imperial family, and sentenced to death. The fact that it was an unusual judicial procedure shows that the proof of the alleged crime was weak.

Denjiro Kotoku is a man who has devoted himself to intellectual pursuits and has tried to popularize "Western" ideas in Japan. His "crime" consists in spreading radical ideas and in translating the works of Karl Marx, Leo Tolstoy, Peter Kropotkin and Michael Bakunin. As a leader of the "Left" in the social revolutionary movement in Japan, he was called the "head of the Kropotkinists." We are convinced that the charge of conspiracy against the emperor is false.

Kotoku's condemnation marks the climax of the reaction against liberal ideas, which has taken place in Japan during the last few years. Mr. Takayama, the leader of the Socialist party in Japan, has recently protested to western civilization against the persecutions of the Liberals in Japan.

We, the international soldiers of freedom, are not willing to have our friends in Japan fall victims to the reactionary forces. Shall the Japanese government imitate the barbarous methods of Spain and Russia, and do to death their scholars and thinkers? We must act vigorously in the cause of humanity and civilization, and we hope you will not fail to send an urgent protest to the Japanese ambassador.

HUTCHINS HAPGOOD,
LEONARD ABBOTT,
EMMA GOLDMAN,
HIPPOLYTE HAVEL,
SADAKICHI HARTMANN,
ALEXANDER BERKMAN,
DR. BEN L. REITMAN,
ROSE STRUNSKY.

It is our purpose to launch a widespread protest in the form of large public meetings. If you are willing to assist, communicate with, or call at, MOTHER EARTH, 210 East 13th Street, New York City.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

840514076

The Emma Goldman Papers

The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. – pp. 344-351 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 4, no. 11 (Jan. 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

OUR reformers have suddenly made a great discovery: the white slave traffic. The papers are full of these "unheard of conditions" in our midst, and the lawmakers are already planning a new set of laws to check the horror.

How is it that an institution, known almost to every child, should have been discovered so suddenly? How is it that this evil, known to all sociologists, should now be made such an important issue?

It is significant that whenever the public mind is to diverted from a great social wrong, a crusade is inaugurated against indecency, gambling, saloons, etc. And what is the result of such crusades? Gambling is increasing, saloons are doing a lively business through back entrances, prostitution is at its height, and the system of pimps and cadets is but aggravated.

To assume that the recent investigation of the white slave traffic by George Kibbe Turner and others (and by the way, a very superficial investigation), has discovered anything new is, to say the least, very foolish. Prostitution was and is a widespread evil, yet mankind goes on its business, perfectly indifferent to the sufferings and distress of the victims of prostitution. As indifferent, indeed, as mankind has so far remained to our industrial system, or to economic prostitution.

Only when human sorrows are turned into a toy with glaring colors will baby people become interested,—for a while at least. The people are a very fickle baby that must have new toys every day. The "righteous" cry against the white slave traffic is such a toy. It serves to amuse the people for a little while, and it will help to create a few more fat political jobs—parasites who stalk about the world as inspectors, investigators, detectives, etc.

What really is the cause of the trade in women? Not merely white women, but yellow and black women as well. Exploitation, of course: the merciless Moloch of capitalism that fattens on underpaid labor, thus driving thousands of women and girls into prostitution. With Mrs. Warren these girls feel, "Why waste your life working for a few shillings a week in a scullery, eighteen hours a day?"

Naturally, our reformers say nothing about this cause. George Kibbe Turner and all other scribblers know the cause well enough, but it doesn't pay to say anything about it. It is so much more profitable to play the Pharisee, to pretend an outraged morality, than to go to the bottom of things. Yet no less an authority than Dr. Sanger, the author of "The History of Prostitution,"* although not a radical, has this to say:

"A prolific cause of female depravity can be found in the several tables, showing the description of the employment pursued and the wages received by the women previous to their fall, and it will be a question for the political economist to decide how far mere business consideration should be an apology on the part of employers for a reduction in their rates of remuneration, and whether the savings of a small percentage on wages is not more than counterbalanced by the enormous amount of taxation enforced on the public at large to defray the expenses incurred on account of a system of vice, *which is the direct result in many cases of insufficient compensation of honest labor.*"

The economic reason given for prostitution in the above quotation can be found in all works of any consequence dealing with the question. Nor is it necessary to seek information in books; one has but to observe everyday life to realize that there are thousands of girls working for two or three dollars a week, withering away in factories and shops, while life passes by in all its joy and glory, leaving them behind. What else are they to do? However, our present-day reformers would do well to look into Dr. Sanger's book. There they will find that out of 2,000 cases under his observation, but few came from the middle classes, from well-ordered conditions, or pleasant homes. By far the largest majority were working girls and working women. Some driven into prostitution through sheer want, others be-

* It is a significant fact that Dr. Sanger's book has been excluded from the U. S. mails. Evidently the authorities are not anxious that the public be informed as to the true cause of prostitution.

696

840514076

The Emma Goldman Papers

The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. – pp. 344-351 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 4, no. 11 (Jan. 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

cause of a cruel, wretched life at home, others again because of thwarted and crippled physical natures (which I will speak of again later on). Also it will do the maintainers of purity and morality good to learn that out of 2,000 cases 490 were married women, women who lived with their husbands. Evidently there was not much of a guarantee for their safety and purity in the sanctity of marriage.

The very last to cry out against prostitution is our "respectable" class, since it was that class that ushered in prostitution, from Moses to Trinity Church. Dr. H. Bloss, Dr. Alfred Blaschko, Dr. W. W. Sanger, and other eminent writers on this subject convincingly prove that prostitution originated with the so-called upper classes. I quote Dr. Sanger:

"Our most ancient and historical records are believed to be the books of Moses; according to them it must be admitted that prostitutes were common among the Jews, many centuries before Christ. Moses appears to have connived at the intercourse of Jewish young men with foreign prostitutes. He took an Ethiopian woman himself. Assyrian women, Moabites, Midianites, and other neighbors of the Jews established themselves as prostitutes in the land of Israel. Jephtha, the son of a prostitute, became none the less Chief of Israel." Moses evidently believed that therein lay the greatest safeguard for the daughters of his own people. We shall see presently that the Christians were not so considerate of their own daughters, since they did not employ foreigners for that purpose.

The history of the Christian Church will also serve as a history of prostitution, since the two always went hand in hand and furnished thereby great revenues for the Church.

Dr. Sanger cites the case of Pope Clement II., who issued a bull that all prostitutes were to pay a certain amount of their earnings, or that those living on prostitution were compelled to give half their income to the Church. Pope Sixtus IV. received 20,000 ducats from a single brothel, which, incidentally, he himself had built. Nor is it unknown that a great many cloisters and nunneries were in reality nothing else than brothels.

In modern times the Church is a little more careful

in that direction. At least, it does not openly demand tribute from prostitutes. It finds it much more profitable to go in for real estate, like Trinity Church, for instance, to rent out death traps at an exorbitant price to those who live off and on prostitution.

Much as I should like to, my space will not admit speaking of prostitution in Egypt, Greece, Rome, and during the Middle Ages. The conditions in the latter period are particularly interesting, inasmuch as prostitution was organized into guilds, presided over by a Brothel Queen. These guilds employed strikes as a medium of improving their condition and keeping a standard price. Certainly that is more practical a method than the one used by the modern wage slave in society.

Never, however, did prostitution reach its present depraved and criminal position, because at no time in past ages was prostitution persecuted and hounded as it is to-day, especially in Anglo-Saxon countries, where Phariseeism is at its height, where each one is busy hiding the skeletons in his own home by pointing to the sore of the other fellow.

But I must not lose sight of the present issue, the white slave traffic. I have already spoken of the economic cause, but I think a cause much deeper and by far of greater importance is the complete ignorance on sex matters. It is a conceded fact that woman has been reared as a sex commodity, and yet she is kept in absolute ignorance of the meaning and importance of sex. Everything dealing with that subject is suppressed, and people who attempt to bring light into this terrible darkness are persecuted and thrown into prison. Yet it is nevertheless true that so long as a girl is not to know how to take care of herself, not to know the function of the most important part of her life, we need not be surprised if she becomes an easy prey to prostitution or any other form of a relationship which degrades her to the position of an object for mere sex gratification.

It is due to this ignorance that the entire life and nature of the girl is thwarted and crippled. We have long ago taken it as a self-evident fact that the boy may follow the call of the wild, that is to say that the boy may, as soon as his sex nature asserts itself, satisfy that nature, but our moralists are scandalized at the very thought

697

840514076

The Emma Goldman Papers

The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. -- pp. 344-351 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. -Vol. 4, no. 11 (Jan. 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

that the nature of a girl should assert itself. To the moralist prostitution does not consist so much in the fact that the woman sells her body, but rather that she sells it to many.

Having been looked upon as a mere sex-commodity, the woman's honor, decency, morality, and usefulness have become a part of her sex life. Thus society considers the sex experiences of a man as attributes of his general development, while similar experiences in the life of a woman are looked upon as a terrible calamity, a loss of honor and of all that is good and noble in a human being. This double standard of morality has played no little part in the creation and perpetuation of prostitution. It involves the keeping of the young in absolute ignorance on sex matters, which alleged "innocence," together with an overwrought and stifled sex nature, helps to bring about a state of affairs that our Puritans are so anxious to avoid or prevent. This state of affairs finds a masterly portrayal in Zolá's "Fecundity."

Girls, mere children, work in crowded, overheated rooms ten to twelve hours daily at a machine, which tends to keep them in a constant over-excited sex state. Many of these girls haven't any home or comforts of any kind; therefore the street or some place of cheap amusement is the only means of forgetting their daily routine. This naturally brings them into close proximity with the other sex. It is hard to say which of the two factors brings the girl's over-sexed condition to a climax, but it certainly is the most natural thing that a climax should follow. That is the first step toward prostitution. Nor is the girl to be held responsible for it. On the contrary, it is altogether the fault of society, the fault of our lack of understanding, of lack of appreciation of life in the making; especially is it the criminal fault of our moralists, who condemn a girl for all eternity because she has gone from "the path of virtue"; that is, because her first sex experience has taken place without the sanction of the Church or State.

The girl finds herself a complete outcast, with the doors of home and society closed in her face. Her entire training and tradition are such that the girl herself feels depraved and fallen, and therefore has no ground to stand upon, or any hold that will lift her up,

instead of throwing her down. Thus society creates the victims that it afterwards vainly attempts to get rid of.

Much stress is laid on white slaves being imported into America. How would America ever retain her virtue if she didn't have Europe to help her out? I will not deny that this may be the case in some instances, any more than I will deny that there are emissaries of Germany and other countries luring economic slaves into America, but I absolutely deny that prostitution is recruited, to any appreciable extent, from Europe. It may be true that the majority of prostitutes of New York City are foreigners, but that is only because the majority of the population is foreign. The moment we go to any other American city, to Chicago or the middle West, we shall find that the number of foreign prostitutes is by far a minority.

Equally exaggerated is the belief that the majority of street girls in this city were engaged in this business before they came to America. Most of the girls speak excellent English, they are Americanized in habits and appearance,—a thing absolutely impossible unless they have lived in this country many years. That is, they were driven into prostitution by American conditions, by the thoroughly American custom for excessive display of finery and clothes, which, of course, necessitates money, money that can not be earned in shops or factories. The equanimity of the moralists is not disturbed by the respectable woman gratifying her clothesophobia by marrying for money; why are they so outraged if the poor girl sells herself for the same reason? The only difference lies in the amount received, and of course in the seal society either gives or withholds.

I am sure that no one will accuse me of nationalist tendencies. I am glad to say that I have developed out of that, as out of many other prejudices. If, therefore, I resent the statement that Jewish prostitutes are imported, it is not because of any Judaistic sympathies, but because of the fact inherent in the lives of these people. No one but the most superficial will claim that the Jewish girls migrate to strange lands unless they have some tie or relation that brings them there. The Jewish girl is not adventurous. Until recent years, she had never left home, not even so far as the next village or town, unless it were to visit some relative. Is it then

698

840514076

The Emma Goldman Papers

The White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman. — pp. 344-351 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 4, no. 11 (Jan. 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

credible that Jewish girls would leave their parents or families, travel thousands of miles to strange lands, through the influence and promises of strange forces? Go to any of the large incoming steamers and see for yourself if these girls do not come either with their parents, brothers, aunts, or other kinsfolk. There may be exceptions, of course, but to state that a large number of Jewish girls are imported for prostitution, or any other purpose, is simply not to know the Jewish psychology.

On the other hand, it speaks of very little business ability on the part of importers of the white slaves, if they assume that the girls from the peasant regions of Poland, Bohemia, or Hungary in their native peasant crude state and attire would make a profitable business investment. These poor ignorant girls, in their undeveloped state, with their shawls about their heads, look much too unattractive to even the most stupid man. It therefore follows that before they can be made fit for business, they, too, must be Americanized, which would require not merely a week or a month, but considerable time. They must at least learn the rudiments of English, but more than anything else they must learn American shrewdness, in order to protect themselves against the many uniformed cadets, who prey on them and fleece them at every step.

To ascribe the increase of prostitution to alleged importation, to the growth of the cadet system, or similar causes, is highly superficial. I have already referred to the former. As to the cadet system, abhorrent as it is, we must not ignore the fact that it is essentially a phase of modern prostitution,—a phase accentuated by suppression and graft, resulting from sporadic crusades against the social evil.

The origin of the cadets, as an institution, can be traced to the Lexow investigation in New York City, in 1894. Thanks to that moral spasm, keepers of brothels, as well as unfortunate victims of the street, were turned over to the tender mercies of the police. The inevitable consequence of exorbitant bribes and the penitentiary followed.

While comparatively protected in the brothels, where they represented a certain value, the unfortunate girls

now found themselves on the street, absolutely at the mercy of the graft-greedy police. Desperate, needing protection and longing for affection, these girls naturally proved an easy prey to cadets, themselves the result of the spirit of our commercial age. Thus the cadet system was the direct outgrowth of police persecution, graft, and attempted suppression of prostitution. It were sheer folly to confute this modern phase of the social evil with the causes of the latter.

The serious student of this problem realizes that legislative enactments, stringent laws, and similar methods can not possibly eradicate, nor even ameliorate this evil. Those best familiar with the subject agree on this vital point. Dr. Alfred Blaschko, an eminent authority, convincingly proves in his "Prostitution im 19. Jahrhundert" that governmental suppression and moral crusades accomplish nothing save driving the evil into secret channels, multiplying its dangers to the community. In this claim he is supported by such thorough students as Havelock Ellis, Dr. H. Bloss, and others.

Mere suppression and barbaric enactment can serve but to embitter and further degrade the unfortunate victims of ignorance and stupidity. The latter has reached its highest expression in the proposed law to make humane treatment of prostitutes a crime, punishing anyone sheltering a prostitute with five years imprisonment and $10,000 fine. Such an attitude merely exposes the terrible lack of understanding of the true causes of prostitution, as a social factor, as well as manifesting the Puritanic spirit of the Scarlet Letter days.

An educated public opinion, freed from the legal and moral hounding of the prostitute, can alone help to ameliorate present conditions. Wilful shutting of eyes and ignoring of the evil, as an actual social factor of modern life, can but aggravate matters. We must rise above our foolish notions of "better than thou," and learn to recognize in the prostitute a product of social conditions. Such a realization will sweep away the attitude of hypocrisy and insure a greater understanding and more humane treatment. As to a thorough eradication of prostitution, nothing can accomplish that save a complete transvaluation of all accepted values—especially the moral ones—coupled with the abolition of industrial slavery.

699

890611042

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman to Talk on the White Slave Traffic / Emma Goldman.—27 cm. *In* The Milwaukee Daily News. —(Jan. 22, 1910).

Obtained from the Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee, WI.

...ore, ten miles from Oshkosh, was threatened with a famine Friday. The heavy snow and the drifts put the Oshkosh-Omro interurban cars out of commission from Thursday night until this morning and the people there suffered considerably on account of being unable to get supplies. Today, however the line is opened and every car to Omro is laden with supplies, bread being one of the principal items.

...inton house this afternoon of the University Alumni association.

At the meeting new officers will be elected for the association and there will be a general discussion of affairs of interest to the University of Wisconsin.

Fur bags are the latest thing. In almost every kind of fur, too, to match one's coat or muff. Some of them are finished with heads and tails and mounted on gold, silver or gunmetal.

EMMA GOLDMAN TO TALK ON THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

Emma Goldman, advocate of anarchism, and Dr. Ben Reitman, champion of free speech, are guests in the Plankinton house. Tomorrow afternoon and night they will lecture in the Freie Germeindo hall, 284 Fourth street. Francisco Ferrer and the modern school will be Miss Goldman's subject. Dr. Reitman will confine himself to free speech. At night Miss Goldman will talk on the drama and on Monday night on the white slave traffic.

Today she chatted freely concerning Ferrer, the execution of whom called forth a protest from the world. She said she wanted Americans to know him as he was and not as he has been painted. The modern school she intends to discuss as it concerns the development of the child, leaving him free to accept an idea without prejudice and without fear.

"The drama is the greatest disseminator of radical ideas," she said. "It is more powerful in this respect than all the lectures, books and periodicals. It is greater than all other means of expression that come before intelligent people.

"Take the corruption of the press. Paterson portrays it powerfully in his 'Fourth Estate.' Kline's 'Third Degree' has been the means of sending home the high-handed, unconstitutional practices of the police in their dealings with persons accused of crime.

"Eugene Walter's 'Paid in Full' exemplifies the low economic condition of a class of people that lives beyond its means, members of which will sin to keep afloat."

When someone mentioned the difference between Socialism and Anarchism, the little woman who has a fund of information on every subject and who speaks English correctly with a slight German accent, quickly replied:

"Please don't mention Socialism to me. Socialists as a class are too narrow and despotic. If they were in power we would have a helarchy beyond conception. You know the American Socialists are not Socialists at all. They are politicians. The real ones live in Europe."

Miss Goldman asserted that although the United States boasts of being a free country, its people are muzzled and far behind the English. She cited Hyde Park in London as a place where one may free his mind and she complimented Judge Gaynor on his promise to provide a similar forum.

...this morning a jury returned ... verdict in favor of John Loos ... ton against the Walter Brewing ... of that city. The jury, answ... questions favorable to the pl... decided he was entitled to d... the total extent of $1,731.42.

Mr. Loos had been employ... Miller Brewing company fo... years and he was induced ... agent for the Walter Brewing ... signing a five-year contract.

Upon the charge that compl... being made, officers of the co... deavored to relegate Mr. L... bottling department and he r... quit his job.

Democratic Committee M...

The Democratic city comm... hold another meeting in the ... of the Plankinton house tonig... The meeting is for a further ... of campaign plans, candidates ... tion work and the circulation ... tion papers.

LIVE HA...
CLEAR S...



Assured by the ...
CUTICU...

ELLISON D. SMITH



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

700

840514078

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of Avant-Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 383-391 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 4, no. 12 (Feb. 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

but I cannot altogether withhold them. Finally, I say, it is entirely contrary to the usage of other governments."

Can anyone claim that the agitation of the suffragettes springs from base motives, or that its character is not political? Why, then, the discrimination against these women? Is it because of their sex? Not at all. They are persecuted so cruelly because they are the first political party in Great Britain who have resorted to the most powerful and effective weapon in the whole arsenal of life: *direct action.*

No other political group has ever used such tactics, except the Anarchists. And with what ingenuity and effect the suffragettes have employed this method! This the politicians and diplomats will never forget nor forgive.

Since the suffragettes have initiated direct action tactics, they have defeated their opponents at every point. They have created the strongest organization in England, collected a fund of £50,000, organized demonstrations which in point of numbers, enthusiasm, and beauty have never been equaled in the history of the country. What artistic joy, not to speak of the revolutionary spirit, the tremendous Hyde Park demonstration would have afforded William Morris.

Since the fifth of July of last year till the dissolution of the Parliament the latter was besieged day and night, without intermission, by the epical watch. Hundreds of meetings, to be addressed by Cabinet Ministers, were broken up; banquets, private and official receptions disturbed, and life made a nightmare for officialdom.

What a spectacle! Never before had England witnessed such a humiliating sight.

The dissolution of Parliament and the following elections form a turning point.

Such a propaganda cannot possibly stop at mere suffrage. Already there are among the suffragettes certain elements whose demands go much further. They are awakening to the realization that the fight for the feminine mess of pottage is but the prelude to a greater and more tremendous struggle of social proportions. They will gradually join that movement, and the experiences they have thus far gathered will prove of great value for the general emancipation of mankind. Their self-

sacrifice and heroism can serve as an example deserving the respect and sympathy of every revolutionist. The seed they have sown will not fail of a rich harvest.

The words of Mary Neal, one of the participants in the hunger strike, will come true:

"Nearer to the Earth Mother than man, wiser in the wisdom learnt at the gates of death, through which enters each new-born life, in the depths of her being untouched by the sophistries of a masculine interpretation of her place in life, woman has committed the seed of her liberty to the earth. Ploughed in by suffering as it has been, ruthlessly cut down again and again, condemned to death by the Kings of Prejudice, Tyranny, and Lust, it has risen triumphant, and the harvest is near at hand."

O, Barleycorn is the choicest grain
That e'er was sown on land;
It will do more than any grain
By the turning of your hand.

* * *

LIGHT AND SHADOWS IN THE LIFE OF AN AVANT-GUARD

AN avant-guard of many years of public activity? How discouraging. Yet if we consider that Anarchism is the only social theory that has undertaken to transvalue all values, we will see at once that the position of its exponents must needs remain that of the avant-guard, for some time to come.

Traditions and habits cling with great tenacity, both to man and institutions. Not merely because every effort of to-day is being bent on perpetuating the past, but because the past has a most marvelous capacity of not letting go.

Thus we see that the most radical, aye, the most advanced, rarely outgrow the old.

It is but a comparatively short period, considered in the light of historic events, that Anarchism, the reconstructor of social life, the transvaluator of all values, has made its advent on the intellectual horizon of the world.

Its task was stupendous, indeed. The Rock of Ages, huge and immovable, blocked its way. Yet unafraid, serene and proud, Anarchism began its onslaught. To-

701

840514078

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of Avant–Guard / Emma Goldman. — pp. 383-391 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 4, no. 12 (Feb. 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

day it is a living, working force, most hated and most beloved of all theories that have come to rebuild the world.

The wonder is not that it has accomplished so little; the wonder is that it has done so much. Therefore the life of the avant-guard, with all its shadows, can never lose its light, its rich warm light.

Of the shadows, I have talked on more than one occasion. In fact, during the last two years MOTHER EARTH has reported nothing but gloom.

In 1908 my tour was affected by the crisis and its inevitable result: outraged humanity manifesting itself in the acts of Averbuch and Silverstein.

The police, like the forest beasts, at the sight of blood became mad for more. Who but the avant-guard of Anarchism could be better prey? Anarchist meetings were closed, and Anarchist speakers suppressed. My tour, though strong enough to withstand every obstacle, has rendered MOTHER EARTH very little financial assistance.

The avant-guard, like the wicked, finds no rest. In the early Fall of 1908 another tramp was undertaken. By that time the crisis had thoroughly whipped people into submission, completely breaking their will; poverty and despair have no interest in life and life's problems. Then, too, it was the period of the presidential election, which in this "free land" has become a greater national calamity than the coronation of the Russian Tsar. This tour, too, was a failure.

I had almost despaired of a change. Everything seemed to conspire to turn the shadows of life into black clouds, shutting out faith and hope.

It seemed useless to begin a tour again, and without visible means of maintaining MOTHER EARTH, I had almost decided to give up the struggle.

But the power of perseverance overcomes all difficulties.

When the indefatigable Ben Reitman wired me from Chicago: "Police consent to let you speak in this city. Telegraph dates," all disappointments of the past two years were forgotten. The future once more held out new possibilities.

That one should have to depend on police permission in a country where liberty is an every-day slogan, is not a cheering aspect. Still, it is better to meet the enemy in the open than to be overtaken by him unawares. Time

and again labor, energy, and money were spent on the arrangements of meetings, only to see it all wasted through police interference. Experience has taught us this lesson: Since freedom of speech is no longer everyone's right without fear or favor, it is best to ascertain beforehand where it will meet with the least interference.

We had barely begun our tour when Detroit placed itself on record against free speech.

Oh, spirit of Robert Reitzel, where art thou?—and you who gloried in the song of that lark of liberty, you who worshipped at the shrine, has the last note of his song died away that you submit to the Russianization of your city? Has your love of freedom been a mere reflection of Reitzel's genius, leaving you poor and empty now that he is no more. You will soon have the opportunity to prove whether the work of the *Der Arme Teufel* has been a strong factor or a mere passing fancy. We are coming to Detroit to assert our right of free expression.

In Buffalo the police are evidently still peril-stricken by the shadow of that lone boy whom they had done to death before Christian justice placed him in the electric chair. Else it is hard to account for their dread of the free voice. The energetic effort of a true friend of liberty, Mr. Fred Schulder, has been in vain. And yet not altogether, as his own letter will prove.

DEAR EMMA:—

Yours of the 9th, with clipping, reached me yesterday.

After having seen the mayor twice, his secretary three times, and the Chief of Police three times, I have not succeeded in getting a promise that you will be allowed to speak in Buffalo.

Yesterday Chief Regan told me that he would have to be compelled by the courts before he would consent to your speaking, but I pressed the matter so hard that he finally asked me to see him again to-day and get a definite reply. Told the clerk of my engagement, and he went to see the Lord at once. Coming back he informed me that the Chief could not see me this morning, as he had been subpoenaed to court and would have to leave at once; but that at any rate "She can't speak"; I should come in at 2 P. M. if I wanted to see him. I went to see a friend whom I know to be in thorough sympathy with Free Speech. I told him of the result of my various interviews, and that I would like to have someone with me as a witness if I saw the Chief again. I thought as a last resort I would ask him if he would permit you to recite the Lord's Prayer in Buffalo. His answer being either yes or no, he would have placed himself in a position to be made the laughing stock of my friend. My friend felt sure that the Chief would only quibble; as there is no

702

840514078

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of Avant-Guard / Emma Goldman. — pp. 383-391 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 4, no. 12 (Feb. 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

paper here that would dare to say anything derogatory of the police department, he thought it would be useless. Furthermore, he said that if he should come out in this matter, the police would find a way to injure his business. Partly owing to Mr. B's advice, and partly owing to the fact that for several days I have had a severe cold which seems to amount to a slight attack of grippe, and the weather alternating snow and rain, with slush ankle deep, I decided to stay indoors this afternoon and nurse my cold. I may write to the mayor, but it will probably be of no avail.

I never before appreciated the corrupting influence of the political machinery—what cowards it makes of persons! Why, one sleek eel-like politician told me that he was not sure but what he was a philosophical Anarchist himself. But of course in his position, etc. I never call myself a "philosophical," and when someone else describes me thus, I usually laugh at it; but after seeing cringing and scheming politicians, persons without a backbone, applying this term to themselves, I shall feel a shiver whenever I hear that combination of words.

My friend has learned the truth of what I have maintained for many years, namely, that the term "Philosophic Anarchist" is really an apology for cowardice that craves to appear interesting.

Columbus, O., can boast of an intelligent mayor; at least he is intelligent enough to know the difference between Socialism and Anarchism.

"If Emma Goldman were a Socialist I would let her speak. But she is an Anarchist." Like Gen. Funston, the mayor knows that Socialism perpetuates government, that it is therefore not so dangerous to the position of an army officer or a mayor as Anarchism, that contains no place for either.

Those who live in New York and count among their friends Socialists like Leonard D. Abbott, Annie and Rose Strunsky, English Walling, etc., have no idea of the material that goes to make up the party Socialists in the Middle West. Certainly a more conservative, retrogressive, bigoted set of people is hardly conceivable.

In Chicago the editor of the *Daily Socialist* would not endanger the opportunity of vote getting by announcing the fact that Free Speech was again to assert itself in that city; yet he is quite willing to charge double rates for E. G.'s ads. Naturally, saloons, banks, and other crooked business are more important

to the Socialists of Chicago than the right of a human voice to be heard.

In Milwaukee the Socialist ward heeler Berger would not take our ads. How could he soil his clean, pure, white political soul by such a thing? In his righteous indignation he urges "that some one ought to get after the Chicago *Daily Socialist* for accepting and printing a big advertisement of an Emma Goldman meeting."

When two thieves quarrel the honest man comes to his own. Possibly when autocrat Berger will get after autocrat Simons, the poor, deluded party subjects will learn to value their independence.

In Hannibal, Mo., a Socialist judge, Abner S. Smith, whose Socialist activities consist in ordering people dispossessed if they fail to feed the landlord, hastens to assure the people of that city that Socialists are above all law abiding citizens. "We believe in laws and in obeying them, but of course we believe the people should have part in framing them." How is this for a follower of Karl Marx, who died in hopes that his theory would revolutionize the world.

And with all this compromise, with all this cowardice, with all this cringing servility to public opinion—defeat, nothing but defeat. Too bad. Too bad.

If human beings were not beter than parties, one would have to despair of the future. But the consciousness that there are Socialists with character and personality often makes up for all the sins of the party politician. Several of such precious rarities we have met in Madison, Wis. I will speak of them later.

The first ray of light made itself felt in Cleveland. English meetings in that city have always been mediocre, but when January 9th came, three days after Ben Reitman had reached Cleveland, the meeting surpassed the highest expectations. Two large audiences came, not out of curiosity, but interested to learn the truth about the greatest crime of the 20th century committed by the Catholic Church. The subject was Francisco Ferrer and the Modern School.

That the heroic death of that tragic figure at Montjuich continues to arouse widespread indignation is

703

840514078

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of Avant–Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 383-391 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 4, no. 12 (Feb. 1910).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

proved by the multitudes that come to hear about the life and work of that man.

By dispelling the lies and calumnies which continue to appear in the Catholic press of America about Ferrer, I hope to make his name and work a living, working force in our midst, thus paying my tribute in a small measure to the memory of our dead comrade.

A large Yiddish meeting closed our successful visit in Cleveland.

In Toledo the gloom of the city and the mirror-like polish of the icy sidewalks could not obscure the light that followed. A meeting arranged within twenty-four hours again attracted a large audience, and everything moved smoothly. Even I, on my way from the hall to the hotel; so smoothly, indeed, that I landed on one of the mirrors, leaving its icy glass intact, but nearly breaking my back. How little reform does reform the broken arms, legs, and backs of the people, Toledo bears witness.

Chicago has been thoroughly swept by that hurricane, Ben L. Reitman. During three weeks, single handed, with friends and foes against him, with a conspiracy of silence on the part of the Chicago press, Reitman proved to the satisfaction of all that one determined individual can move mountains.

The success of the meeting in Chicago meant a great deal to our doctor friend. This is the city in the streets of which he spent his childhood. It was here, too, that he became part of our so-called underworld. It was in Chicago that he obtained a pass to respectable society, in the form of a doctor's certificate. In Chicago, too, he learned the glory of American citizenship by receiving his first baptism of police clubs during the unemployed parade. It was there he was made to appreciate the true meaning of Free Speech, dependent on the police department. Yes, the success of the meetings meant more to him than many people can realize. So he worked as only a man with a great purpose can work, with the result that never in years, not even on the occasion of Peter Kropotkin's visit, was there such marvelous success.

Six English and three Yiddish meetings, crowded

every night regardless of the wretched Chicago weather. Over four thousand people paid admission, and a tremendous amount of literature sold, thanks to the energy and skill of Dr. Reitman. But the most valuable feature of the campaign is the reorganization of the old Social Science Club into a young, lusty fighter with new workers and systematic English weekly meetings. No wonder our comrades, the most timid even, became rejuvenated. Inspired by the zeal of one, all worked faithfully. Little Dr. Yampolsky, Wm. Nathanson, B. Weinninger, Anna and Jake Livshis, Edith Adams, F. Weber, and other comrades whose names I cannot remember.

Milwaukee was the next stopping-place. The same fine results. Three excellent meetings, arranged in a few days. Added to that was the joy of decent accounts in several daily papers, conservative papers, mark you, not the Socialist one.

Madison, Wis., has had a great charm for me the last few years because of its historical library. But what I really found there is extraordinary indeed. Certainly a better equipped and better managed institution I have never seen in any other city in America. No other library has such a collection of books, papers, and magazines on the labor question, trade unionism, Socialism, and Anarchism. Yes, even Anarchism, that most hated, most tabooed and misunderstood theory.

During the few hours that I could spend in the library, thanks to the generous assistance of Mr. Andrews, the chief research worker, I saw collections of the earliest Anarchist papers, books, and pamphlets in America. Complete files of the *Alarm, Fackel, Vorbote, Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung, Free Society, Liberty, Freiheit, Mother Earth,* and scores of others. Also numerous pamphlets dating almost half a century back. In fact, a perfect mint for the earnest student. If the liberal endeavor of this historical library will continue, it bids fair to become for America—in a small measure —what the British Museum is for England.

In all my travels through the length and breadth of this land I found its university cities the most bigoted, arrogant, and conservative. Madison, Wis., is

704

840514078

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of Avant–Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 383-391 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 4, no. 12 (Feb. 1910).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

undoubtedly a happy exception. The progressive spirit among professors and students is unusual indeed. Profs. Ross, Commons, Yastrow, and others are making history in America. Thanks to them the American student is becoming humanized and socialized. He feels an interest in other things besides baseball, football, and scabbing. That university men should turn out in large numbers to hear Emma Goldman was more than some citizens of Madison could stand. Since we left that city the *Democrat,* a yellow sheet, has been attacking the university most venomously. I am convinced, however, that its barking will not intimidate the progressive element. Nor will it hamper it in its commendable desire to learn the truth from right sources. Surely Prof. Ross, who has withstood the various attacks upon his right to think independently and to interpret modern sociology, both in Stanford and the Nebraska University, is not likely to be disturbed in his march by anything the *Democrat* may say. It was a great treat to meet Prof. Ross. His wonderful physique with its large, generous lines, his broadminded views of social events, and his great humanism, were refreshing after meeting so many pygmies who are infesting the American colleges.

The inspiration of our short stay in Milwaukee was the Socialist Students' Club, whose members tower mountain-high above their political leader. Both Dr. Reitman and myself were invited to their round table at the Y. M. C. A. (holy horrors!), where we were asked to address the Club. The doctor spoke of the relation between the educator and agitator, and I made a few remarks on the difference between the students of Russia and America. One member of the Club helped faithfully at our own meetings, in a true fraternal spirit. Thus our visit to Madison was not only very interesting and profitable, but it was also a very delightful one. A sleigh ride in that very beautiful country, with all the glory of a white winter, bore me back to the never-to-be-forgotten joys of the Russian troika, dashing along through the cold, the music of its bells re-echoing through forest and field. For this childhood day in Madison I am indebted to a

friend of former days, who is now professor at the University and a respectable citizen of the place.

The light continues in its bright colors, even while I write this in the city of St. Louis, the success of which I will describe at another time.

The life of the avant-guard,—how rich, how full, how all absorbing. The only life worth living.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

ANARCHIST SYMPOSIUM

JOSIAH WARREN.

NOTHING is more common than the remarks that "no two persons are alike," that "circumstances alter cases," that "we must agree to disagree," etc.; and yet we are constantly forming institutions which require us to be alike, which make no allowance for the individuality of persons or of circumstances, and which render it necessary for us to agree, and leave us no liberty to differ from each other, nor to modify our conduct according to circumstances.

On what, then, rest all customs and institutions which demand conformity? They are all directly opposed to the individuality, and therefore false. Every one is by nature constituted to be his or her own government, his own law, his own church—each individual is a system within himself; and the great problem must be solved with the broadest admission of the inalienable right of supreme individuality, which forbids any attempt to govern each other, and confines all our legislation to the adjustment and regulations of our intercourse or commerce with each other.

To require uniformity in thought, feeling, or action, is a fundamental error in human legislation—a madness which would be equaled only by requiring all to possess the same countenance, the same voice, or the same stature.

Each individual should be at all times free to differ from every other in thought, feeling, word, and deed; and free to differ from himself, or to change from time to time; in other words, that every one is constituted by nature to be, at all times, sovereign of himself, or herself, and of everything that constitutes a part of his or her individuality. That society, to be harmonious and suc-

705

8901178028

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman in St. Louis to Attack Clergy / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis-Post Dispatch. —(Feb. 1, 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Only Evening Paper in St. Louis With the Associated Press News Service.

VOL. 62, NO. 165. ST. LOUIS, TUESDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 1, 1910. PRICE ONE CENT.

MISS MARY LUCAS IS TO BE MARRIED TO J. A. HART



MISS MARY LUCAS.

Announcement of the Engagement at Reception Held in the Woman's Club — Both Are of Old St. Louis Families.

Miss Mary Lucas, daughter of Mrs. J. B. C. Lucas of 4486 West Pine boulevard, and one of this season's most beautiful and popular debutantes, is to become the bride of John A. Hart, youngest son of Mr. and Mrs. August B. Hart of Portland place. Formal announcement of the engagement will be made at a reception to be tendered Miss Lucas at the Woman's Club Tuesday afternoon.

Miss Lucas was recently graduated from an Eastern school and made her debut at the Veiled Prophet's ball, serving as one of the maids of honor.

The coming wedding will be of unusual interest to St. Louis society, as it will unite two of the first families of St. Louis.

Miss Lucas is of rare beauty and poise.

Father an Aristocrat.

Her father, the late J. B. C. Lucas, was prominent in business in St. Louis and was one of the leaders of the aristocracy of his time. At the time of his death 14 months ago, he was president of the Wellston Bank; president and treasurer of the Lucas Mutual Fire Insurance Co., vice-president of the St. Louis Dairy Co., and a director of the American Exchange National Bank, the Mechanics'-American National Bank and the Missouri State Mutual and Marine Fire Insurance Co.

The early members of the Lucas families owned a large part of what is now the downtown section of the city. On the old Lucas farm now stand the Courthouse and Federal Building, the Planters Hotel, the Globe-Democrat Building, the Missouri Trust, Chemical, Wainwright, Century and other buildings. The property is now estimated to be worth $20,000,000.

J. B. C. Lucas was the grandson of Judge Jean Baptiste Charles Lucas, the founder of the Lucas family in St. Louis. Since the days of Judge Lucas in the early period of St. Louis' history, the name of the Lucas family has been intimately identified with the history and development of the city.

Kept Secret Well.

Miss Lucas has been liberally entertained by St. Louis friends during the past week, but she had managed to keep her secret well guarded.

Among other affairs planned in her honor, she will be the guest at dinner of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Barret of West Pine boulevard next Monday evening, to which a number of her young friends have been invited.

EMMA GOLDMAN IN ST. LOUIS TO ATTACK CLERGY

Noted Woman "Red" Says She Expects to Raise Cain With Ministers.

IS READY FOR JAIL

Incarceration Possible as Result of Clash With Anthony Comstock.

CAME FROM HANNIBAL

Police There Took Names of All Persons Who Attended Her Lecture.

W[illegible] and I [illegible] here to raise Cain with the ministers.

That was the slogan sounded by Emma Goldman, who got into town at 1 o'clock p. m. Tuesday. She is accompanied by Ben Reitman, one of the lights of the Chicago world of unfettered thought and action, and self-styled "King of the Hobos," who was rescued from the coal chute by Lizzie Lade Blow, who is now addressed as the queen of the rods.

She is [illegible] and [illegible] and will [illegible] the [illegible] of a hall. In fact, [illegible] Emma declares. She rather [illegible] thought of a [illegible] Behind the bars every now and then, but now she is [illegible] and [illegible] as the result of an [illegible] with Anthony Comstock [illegible] for an article recently published on "The White Slave Traffic."

Willing to Rest in Jail.

"A little rest at the expense of the government will not hurt me a bit," she says. "But I'll give Comstock a 'run' for, run. He'll find he's not dealing with an inexperienced girl."

When she stepped into the parlor at the Maryland Hotel Emma Goldman looked a little bored. In fact she said she had been bored the night before with Hannibal, Mo. The police of that city had insisted on taking the names of everyone who went in to hear her talk and as there were [illegible] who did not care to be on Emma's calling list her audience was not as big as it might have been.

"I'm going to have a little fun in St. Louis," said Emma. "I'm here to raise Cain with your ministers. You know it's an old truth that 'the more ministers, the less human development and St. Louis seems to be suffering keenly with the affliction.

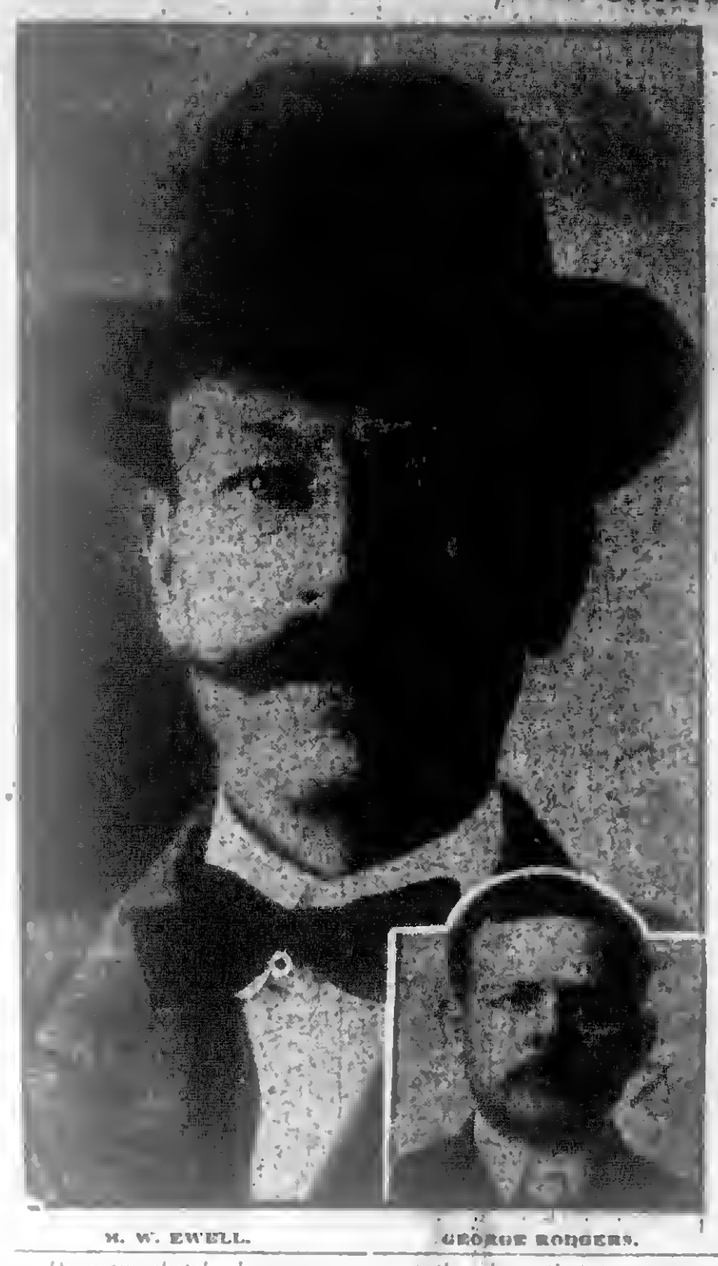
"Whether it knows it itself or not this city is becoming the laughing stock of civilized Europe through the ministers' crusade for a censor for the stage, particularly in England where they have such a thing established and where every thinking man and woman is raising a rumpus about it. The state can't teach genius any more than it can teach flowers to grow beautiful. It's just another breaking out of what Emerson termed 'the state ever in a conspiracy against the individual.'

"But to come back to the ministers and the dance. What are clothes, anyhow, but artificial devices to cover men's deficiencies? It is because people are so vulgar and coarse that we have adopted this puritanical folly and hidden the body so long that it has become disfigured.

"The high cost of living today is merely the natural outcome of trusts and centralized industry. It is the result of our hothouse training. Everything in the present system is artificial and it will have to be torn down from top to bottom. Clothes are the first artifice. You can put evening dress on a ninny and get him into the 'best society.' But let a genius go to a reception, sensibly attired, and he couldn't get into the house."

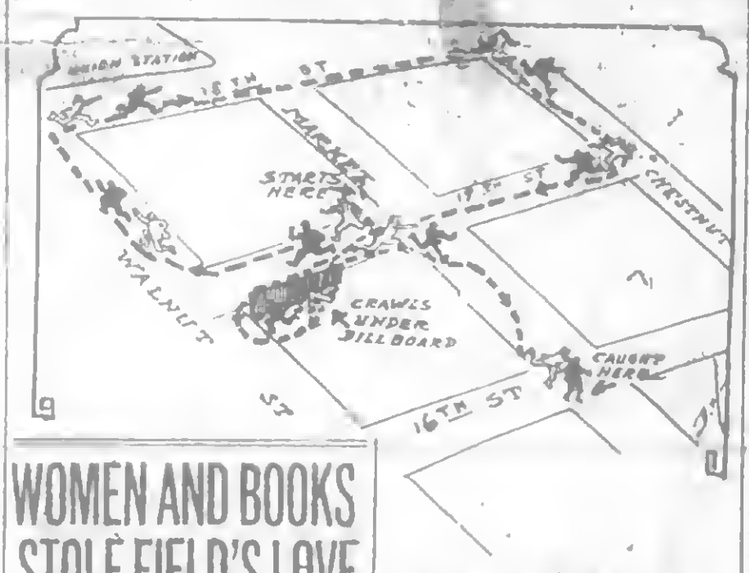
Miss Goldman had intended to remain in St. Louis only until Friday night. But she says if there is any chance of participating in a debate with one of the local ministers, she will stay until after Sunday. She will lecture Wednesday, Thursday and Friday at Druid's Hall, Ninth and Market streets.

TENNESSEE MAYOR AND MAN HE CAUGHT IN MARATHON THIEF CHASE



M. W. EWELL. GEORGE RODGERS.

Diagram sketch showing course of the chase that pursuer and pursued went before it ended



WOMEN AND BOOKS STOLE FIELD'S LOVE WIFE'S SUIT AVERS

Poet's Son Read All Night in His Bed, Is Her Complaint.

Special to the Post-Dispatch.

CHICAGO, Feb. 1.—A fondness for adventures with other women and his passion for books lured Eugene Field Jr., son of the late poet, Eugene Field, away from his wife. Three weeks ago they agreed to disagree and he departed for the West. She has filed suit for divorce in the Superior Court.

The last previous appearance of Mrs. Field's name in public was in connection with that of George W. Peavey, a Minneapolis millionaire, about two years ago. At that time an elopement was asserted and denied. A trip to Europe figured in the gossip of the time.

At their home, 667 Pemberton avenue, last night, Mrs. Field, who was Mrs. Elinor Brooks previous to her marriage to Field, said she and her husband were still friendly, but were not [illegible] that he [illegible] was in the West and probably would go to Seattle, Wash., to live.

"We had differences which could not be adjusted, so we just decided to quit," said Mrs. Field.

"Mr. Field had an abnormal passion for books. He would sit up and read till broad daylight, and then I could not get him up for reasonable hour.

"A [illegible]

TENNESSEE MAYOR CAPTURES THIEF IN A LONG CHASE

Six-Foot Southerner Pursues Pickpocket Around Block for 20 Minutes.

M. W. Ewell, a six-foot Tennessean, Mayor of Dyersburg in "Old Hickory's" State, pursued for 20 minutes Tuesday and without a policeman's aid, caught George Rodgers, street car pickpocket, with a criminal record of 20 years. Among Rodgers' victims is Andrew M. Finley, vice-president of the Wallace-Pierce Oil Co.

The chase began just after Rodgers' hand in his pocket on a crowded Market car. [illegible]

'Round and 'round the blocks to the east of Union Station, through alleys, under billboards and in and out of back [illegible] visitor, who had arrived in St. Louis only a few minutes before, started his coat. Once the man [illegible] with a knife, but the Tennessean flashed a knife of his own and the almost-spent fugitive surrendered his booty.

At Sixteenth and [illegible] ing the thumb. The [illegible] handed over to [illegible]

YOUNG ALDRICH, DIVORCED IN JULY, WEDS MILLINER

By Wire from the Washington Bureau of the Post-Dispatch.

UNSETTLED WEATHER AND COLDER, IS PREDICTION FOR NEXT TWENTY-FOUR HOURS

FOUR KILLED IN WRECK OF FAST MORNING PASSENGER

Flyer Collides With Freight in Early Morning at Wilson, Ind.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Feb. 1.—The fast [illegible] train on the Monon road which [illegible] at Wilson this morning collided with a freight [illegible] 35 miles above New [illegible]

706

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890117031

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman's Talk As Heard by Miss Martyn / Emma Goldman. – p. 4 ; 28 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. –(Feb. 3, 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

EMMA GOLDMAN'S TALK AS HEARD BY MISS MARTYN

Teachers Listen to Woman Anarchist's Attack on Modern Public Schools.

REPLIES TO QUERIES

Speaker Tells Audience That American Educators Aim at Quantity Only.

By MARGUERITE MARTYN.

THOSE ministers who have likened the attacks of Emma Goldman upon organized society to such ailments of childhood as measles and whooping cough, would have been surprised no doubt at the general maturity, the intensity and the high-browed appearance of the audience who so quietly submitted to such inoculation Wednesday night.

The occasion was Emma Goldman's anarchistic lecture on "Francisco Ferrer and the Modern School." The subject no doubt accounted for the predominance of public school teachers and other educators in the audience. The speaker's eulogy of Ferrer, her comparison of his work with that of Froebel, Pestalozzi and Tolstoi was accepted with the bitter denunciation of the Roman Catholic Church, responsible, in her opinion, for the death of Ferrer.

The declaration of her belief that from the moment of Ferrer's death his work became universally alive, was applauded enthusiastically. Another period in Miss Goldman's address which brought forth applause was when she declared France to be the cradle of liberty and a woman, Louisa Michel, the originator of the modern school.

Answers Questions Asked by Auditors.

SHE was asked, "What is the difference between the modern school and the public school of America?

What effect has the modern school anarchy upon the child?

Are the accusations of the Catholic church that the Masons instigated the fe occasioned by the death of Ferrer in any way justifiable?"

Miss Goldman answered the questions at great length. The teachers heard the American system reviled from first to last.

"American schools ignore quality while they exploit quantity," she said. "Their method of education consists of two things, discipline and restraint, which is all right for creating little slaves.

"It is necessary to educate the educators that they must respect the personality and physical needs of the child. At present the idea prevails that children are created for the convenience of the teachers only. They provide them only with what Goethe called predigested food, which the parent and grandparent has chewed over for generations. They seem to think that teaching is the greatest art in the world, where in the training, coloring, outlining of character [illegible] with live material, real [illegible] human, ideas."

[illegible] of Use of Pencils Is Insisted.

One [illegible] hour after another was exploded—sufficient if they had taken effect to annihi-late the entire system of school in this country, but the stolidity of the two policemen on guard at the door was not disturbed until an individual of huge physique arose while a collection was being made to further the cause of free speech, and demanded that Emma Goldman and her associate, Dr. Reitman, be made to show proof of their good faith in the appropriation of this fund.

Police interference, which is always a part of the conventional report of Emma Goldman's meetings, was imminent until the big man, who of course was a Socialist, was assured that the contributions of his neighbors were protected by the proper credentials.

Miss Goldman lectures on "Woman's Suffrage" Thursday, and Sunday afternoon upon "The Drama." This last subject she will treat with particular reference to a situation which now is peculiar to this community. She believes she will show the drama to be the greatest disseminator of radicalism and the most formidable enemy of the clergy, and she proudly says she will do her utmost to make her doctrines dangerous to organized society and the church as it exists today.

Rich in Cod Liver Oil

WOMAN ANARCHIST SKETCHED AT LECTURE AND SOME OF THOSE WHO SURROUNDED HER



Ward Club to Give Dance.

With William L. Igo, member of the House of Delegates from the ward, acting as musical director, the annual dance of the Twenty-first Ward Democratic Club will be held at Hibernian Hall, 3619 Finney avenue, Thursday evening. A vaudeville program has been arranged.

The Post-Dispatch is the only evening newspaper in St. Louis that receives or publishes news gathered by the Associated Press.

Stabbed by One-Armed Highwayman.

Two highwaymen, one of them minus an arm, accosted Anton Saake in the doorway of his home at 1204 South Third street Wednesday night. One of the robbers choked him while the one-armed man took $5 cents from his pockets. A roll of bills in Saake's inner vest pocket was overlooked.

Busy Bee Bargain Day Tomorrow
Bag Assorted Caramels and Nougat 5c lb

7 1-2 CENT FARE IS OPPOSED

Belleville Merchants Ask Council Reject Street Railway Offer.

ADAM HAD NEGRO BROTHER, BELIEF OF A MISSIONARY

Dr. E. H. Richards Believes Eden's Tenant Had Several Fraternal Kinsmen.

NOT DUE TO CLIMATE

Preacher Repudiates Theory That Sun and Condition Produced Ethiopian.

That the negro did not get his color from Ham and that he is not even a member of the race of Adam, but a descendent of some four or five brothers that he thinks Adam must have had, is the theory advanced by the Rev. Dr. Edwin H. Richards, one of the African missionaries here for the Laymen's Evangelical Convention which opens Thursday in the Armory, Grand and Menchester avenues.

Dr. Richards has spent 30 years with the black men in Africa. He is stationed in Uganda, in deepest Africa. He thinks ex-President Roosevelt is one of the greatest teachers of the age.

"I am glad Roosevelt is in Africa," said Dr. Richards to a Post-Dispatch reporter at the Marquette Hotel. "There are those who criticise him for shooting wild animals, but he need not spare them. We have great fields with tens of thousands of them there and if he places a few in the Smithsonian Institute's where our children can enjoy them forever, I don't think he is to be censured.

From his 30 years of observation and study of the negro in his native Ethiopia Dr. Richards has reached the following conclusions:

"The negro never came from Ham. You cannot get a black man from a white one either by time or conditions. There is no verse of Scripture that

PREACHER WHO ADVANCES NEW THEORIES OF RACE



DR. EDWIN H. RICHARDS

maintains any such idea. The notion that the negro came from Ham is from the commentaries and not from the Bible.

"The Boer has been in Africa 400 years and you can't stand in the same 10-acre lot with him and tell him that he's getting black. There'd be only one of you left and it would be the Boer. The Boer and his woman are as fair as ours and fairer and there is no tendancy to darkness in them. Our Arab friend has been there 3000 years that we know of and his hair is as straight, his nose as aquiline, and his complexion as Asiatic as those of his brothers who remained in Asia.

"The black man is co-Adamic with Adam. Adam probably had about four brothers that the Bible doesn't mention.

Negro Created for Africa.

"The black man is altogether different from a son of Adam. The nose, the growth on his head where we have hair, and his lips, these are things that time and sun will not change.

"God Almighty knew what he was doing when he made the black man and he made him for Ethiopia. On a cold morning in Uganda when I would arise well clothed and run up and down to get warm, rows of negroes would just stand and absorb the heat through their backs and then face around take it in on the other side of the body. My body was fashioned to accept heat when it caught it, the negro's to absorb and repel it as the circumstance required.

"The growth on the top of the black man's head is not hair. It does not even feel like hair. It is a fibrous kind of grass. If you examine it, you will see that a thread of it is triangular where yours is round. The nose is not flattened as was Adam's. It was made to breathe in Ethiopia."

Busy Bee Bargain Day Tomorrow.
Bag Assorted Caramels and Nougat 5c lb.

Japan Increasing Naval Strength.

VANCOUVER, B. C., Feb. 2.—Twenty-one warships, to be added to the Japanese navy before 1917, are included in the new Japanese naval program. Four dreadnoughts, five cruisers and two dispatch boats are nearing completion and other vessels will be laid down soon.

Bailey Market

Central 6282

Bring your basket and let us fill it and see if it's worth while. Hundreds of children come daily and get what they are sent for.

With This Ad and $2.00 Purchase, $5.00 in Stamps Free.
With This Ad and $3.50 Purchase, $10.00 in Stamps Free.

$10.00 in Stamps with 50c Tea.
$5.00 in Stamps with 30c Coffee.
$3.00 in Stamps with 25c Coffee.
$4.00 in Stamps with 25c Pepper.
$1.00 in Stamps with 10c Bottle Vanilla.
$4.00 in Stamps with 80c can Baking Powder.
$1.00 in Stamps with 30c Bitter Chocolate.
$3.00 in Stamps with 25c Scouring.
$4.00 in Stamps with 30c Scouring Powder.
$5.00 in Stamps with 35c Washing Powder.

Best Lard, Guaranteed Pure, 2 pounds 25c

Bologna Sausage, 8 lbs. 25c
Frankfurter Sausage, 3 lbs. 25c
Wieners, 3 lbs. 25c
Smoked Meat Sausage, 3 lbs. 25c
Corned Sausage, 3 lbs. 25c
Boiled Ham, lb. 25c
Smoked Shoulder, lb. 20c
Smoked Meat of Pork, lb. 15c
Dry Salt Pork, lb. 12½c
Pickled Pork, lb. 12½c
7 bars Pearl Soap 25c
3 cans Salmon 25c
3 cans 2-3 Peas or Corn 25c

Post-Toasties, Pancake Flour, Buckwheat Flour, 3 Packages 25c

Crackers—
Oil Sardines—
Sack Salt—
Ammonia—
Bluing—
Mustard—
3 FOR 10c

4 lbs. Prunes 15c
Seedless Raisins, pkg., 5c
2 lbs. Apricots (fine), 25c
Dried Apples, lb . . . 10c
4 cans Apples 25c
Sweet Relish, bottle, 5c
Pickle Relish, 2 jars, 15c
2 bottles Catsup . . . 15c
2 jars Mustard . . . 15c
2 cans Red Salmon, 15c
4 lbs. Barley . . . 15c

5 Cans Best TOMATOES for 35c

Kidney Beans, lb. . . . 5c
4 lbs. Good Rice . . . 15c
2 cans Salmon . . . 15c
8 cans Hominy . . . 25c
Fine Prunes, lb. . . . 6c
2 cans Syrup . . . 15c
2 cans Peas . . . 15c
2 cans Corn . . . 15c
3 pkgs. Jell-O . . . 25c
2 pkgs. Mother's Oats, 15c
2 pkgs. Corn Flakes, 15c
2 pkgs. Graham Crackers . . . 15c
6 lbs. Fine Rice . . . 25c
2 lbs. Whole Rice . . . 15c
2 lbs. Butter Beans, 15c
6 lbs. Navy Beans, 25c

Table Peaches, Pears, and Egg Plums, Reduced from 12½c to 10c per can

Corn Sweet Peas, per can 10c
Large Cans Blueberries 10c
6 boxes Excelsior Matches 25c
6 cans Pumpkin 25c
Spaghetti or Macaroni, lb. 5c
Imported Olive Oil, bottle 25c
3 lbs. Starch 25c
5 lbs. Wash Blue 25c

Special Prices on Large Sheets of Pure Ice

Fine Apple Pie 5c
Fine Cranberry Pie 5c
Pumpkin Pie 5c
Washington Pie 5c
Prune Pie 5c
Apricot Pie 5c
Raisin Pie 5c
2 large Loaves Bread 5c
2 dozen Rolls 15c
2 Layer Cakes 30c
Pound Cake 30c
Cream Puffs, 2 for 5c
Round Roast, lb. 8c
Sirloin Roast, lb. 8c
Leg Veal, lb 8c
Loin Veal Roast, lb 10c
Veal Cutlets, lb. 12½c
Boneless Beef Stew, lb. 6⅔c

Kline's

A Remarkable Sale of Coats

350 Tailored Coats, Values From $18.50 to $39.75, at $9.75 and $14.75

This is the final sale of our Winter Coats. It includes practically every fine Coat in our stock, and the reductions are truly remarkable. Not a Coat in the entire lot but has been cut to a price considerably less than manufacturers' cost.

350 Tailored Coats

In 2 Great Lots as Follows:

$18.50, $22.50 and $25.00 Coats on Sale Friday

$9.75



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890125008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Drama Is Aid to Anarchy Emma Goldman Asserts... / Emma Goldman. – p. III: 7 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. – (Feb. 6, 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH SUNDAY MOR

DRAMA IS AID TO ANARCHY EMMA GOLDMAN ASSERTS IN A TALK WITH MISS MARTYN

Woman Who Exploits Propaganda of Radicalism Declares That Stage Is Teaching a Lesson in Its Own Way—Personality Off the Lecture Platform Is Analyzed.

By MARGUERITE MARTYN.

PERHAPS it is time our preachers and moralists would busy themselves about censoring the theater, for the drama has come within the pale of anarchism. Emma Goldman has decided to take up its defense.

Not that the theater as a whole pleases Emma Goldman. Far be it from her rebellious soul to be pleased with any existing institution or condition.

But she asserts that America has produced one play to her liking, namely, "The Easiest Way." And she rejoices that the drama shows signs of a sweeping revolution in Europe.

"The drama is the most powerful and liberal disseminator of radicalism and the propaganda of anarchism, in its own way, today," to use her own words.

Emma Goldman, individualist, arrayed against all our cherished institutions, surmounting somehow, the strenuous surveillance, threats and imprisonment by so mighty an institution as our Government, withstanding the almost national condemnation of our independent press, remains as steadfastly unyielding in her convictions and continues to express them as vigorously as ever.

Moreover, many superficial observations indicate that Emma Goldman is prospering. Her meetings in the past week in St. Louis have been attended by four or five hundred men and women nightly and the appearance of the audiences have been surprising—white collared, kid gloved and high browed—considering the shabby obscurity and inaccessibility of Druids Hall, where she has spoken.

Interruption Is Resented By an Interested Audience

To be sure these meetings have not been altogether free from disturbance. On one occasion a group of representatives of various nationalities arose and asked questions which were quite beside the subject. Emma Goldman herself complained of his demand for free speech, but the interruption was so disturbing to the logical spell into which the artist's fascinating eulogy of Peary and Perry had thrown her audience as to be shocking indeed.

Other indications of her prosperity may be social favors. At any rate Miss Goldman has been feted by various literary lights and persons of social prominence in St. Louis.

Last night she was the guest of honor of the Artists' Guild.

However, it probably is in her personality that the greatest danger to her opponents lurks. It requires constant assertion and reassertion of her personality to obliterate the traditional idea that the anarchist, Queen of the Reds must be dark visaged, red-mouthed, flaming tongued, dagger fingered, slow eyed and terrible.

Consumed with her subject, tragically



EMMA GOLDMAN

sensible of the responsibility of the cause resting heavily upon her gifted pen when not on platform, Emma Goldman's natural appearance, I have said, is entirely submerged.

In [illegible] she is quite an ordinary looking woman. The moment her lecture is [illegible] she becomes extremely gracious and delightfully pleasant conversationalist and notwithstanding in native coquetry. The lines of her face relax, [illegible] with the freshness of [illegible] and her eyes apart from [illegible] are the most [illegible]

Yesterday [illegible] rooms at the Mayfair, [illegible] little bundle [illegible] forty. And when [illegible] advance agent, [illegible] Tramp" kept [illegible] her and [illegible] only to [illegible] Emma Goldman [illegible] contending [illegible] who [illegible]

Personality Is Attractive When She Is Off Platform

[illegible] Goldman is [illegible] personality [illegible] described. [illegible] several persons [illegible] the platform, [illegible] of [illegible] make her [illegible] with [illegible] Sunday [illegible]

[illegible] point [illegible] there. [illegible] which does not be [illegible] like [illegible] worship has not advanced further than to employ the young [illegible] to replace it.

Famous Authors Are to Be Cited In Coming Address

"[illegible] Power of Darkness" [illegible] organized to [illegible] keep the world in darkness. I shall talk of Ibsen to show Ibsen's conception of religion, dealing with [illegible] Before Sunrise, Lonely Lives and [illegible] which I shall [illegible] Ibsen's [illegible] like [illegible] worship has not advanced further than to employ the young [illegible] to replace it.

"77"

Hunphreys' [illegible]

CHILDREN COLLECT $27 FOR THE FAMILY OF SICK PRINTER

Give Entertainment at Third Baptist Mission and Others Help With Cash.

Twenty-seven dollars was collected at the entertainment given by children at the Third Baptist Mission, 3124 Laclede avenue, for the benefit of Alphonse Camp, 4470 Easton avenue.

Camp and his family were in a destitute condition until friends read of their plight in the Post-Dispatch and hastened to relieve them. Camp, a job printer, had been attempting to support his family by working in bed, to which he is confined with rheumatism. His wife [illegible] fonts to him and he set [illegible] and corrected the type. The woman ran the hand bills off on a press which she operated with her foot.

The children who gave the entertainment Friday night were former customers of Camp when he had a candy store on Laclede avenue. The idea of the entertainment was originated by Helen [illegible] daughter of W. G. Bess, [illegible] Laclede avenue. Little Miss Bess has figured prominently in [illegible] entertainments for several years.

Others who took part in the children's drama benefit for Camp were Gertrude Doris, Virginia and Helen Mandeger, Allie and Hawes Davis, Margaret and Bartlette Stone, Esther and Willie Taylor, Leona and Jeanette Silvey, Mattie Hall, Hester Bess, Inez Roberts and the Misses Mary M. Madden and Laura Bolles.

The children send [illegible] for the entertainment.

The St. Louis Provident Association has made arrangements to have Camp and his family removed to the country. To help the family temporarily [illegible] sums of money have been given by office employes of the Sawyer Med Iron [illegible] Chestnut street, and by the employes of the St. Louis Law Printing [illegible] where Camp formerly was employed.

Give Your Stomach A Vacation

By Using Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets Which Digest Food Without Any Aid.

A Trial Package Sent Free.

The stomach should have a rest when it is tired out and irritated from dyspepsia and indigestion. One should not call upon the stomach in this condition to do its full and complete duty. What the stomach needs is natural assistance and when this is given it the stomach responds quickly to the needed rest and comes back to its duties refreshed and invigorated.

When you feel as though your stomach were a piece of lead, when gases or foul odor issue from your throat, when your tongue is coated and your appetite gone, it is high time to send your stomach on a vacation.

The stomach is constantly coming in contact with foreign substances, which it must reduce in form to give strength and health to the other organs of the body. It is the commissary department of the human system and must furnish from such supplies as come to it all that such a system demands.

If the stomach becomes deranged and cannot furnish all that is necessary, it weakens the entire machinery of man and is itself placed out of commission. It cannot cure itself because the curative powers of Nature receive their force from the stomach so that if the stomach issues imperfect nourishment it cannot receive perfect curative means for its own benefit.

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets impart all the power, vigor and strength necessary to the stomach. They do the stomach's work and without call on this organ for assistance.

If you would put your meal in a glass jar and with it place the correct amount of Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets you could sit down and watch these little tablets digest the meal as perfectly as the most healthy stomach. This demonstration has

Sale

Of Furn
With E

Sever
tomor
purch
of all
which
servic
tionat
ing o
is nov



Mahoga

$42.50 3-Piece Leath
$48.75 3-Piece Leath
$50.00 3-Piece Leath
$62.00 3-Piece Leath
$69.00 3-Piece Leath
$78.00 3-Piece Leath
$80.00 3-Piece Silk
$98.00 8-Piece Pann
$115.00 3-Piece Silk

Din

$ 3 50 Golden Oak,
$ 4 00 Golden Oak,
$ 4 25 Golden Oak,
$ 4 50 Golden Oak,
$ 5 00 Golden Oak,
$ 5 50 Mahogany, L
$ 6 75 Solid Mahog
$ 7 85 Solid Mahog
$ 8 50 Solid Mhg., L
$ 9 50 Solid Mahog
$10 50 Solid Mhg., L
$13 85 Solid Mhg., L

Exter

$12.00 E. E. or G. O
$14.50 E. E. or G. O
$18.00 E. E. or G. O
$15.00 E. E. or G. O
$20.00 E. E. or G. O
$24.75 E. E. or G. O
$30.00 E. E. or G. O
$37.50 E. E. or G. O
$40.00 E. E. or G. O
$55.00 Mahogany S
$67.50 Mahogany S

Parlor and

$23 Mhg. Arm Cha
$25 Mhg. Rocker
$35 Mhg. Wing Ar
$36 Mhg. Wing Ro
$39 Mhg. Wing Ar
$40 Mhg. Wing Ar
$40 Mhg. Rocker

708

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890125008

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Drama Is Aid to Anarchy Emma Goldman Asserts... / Emma Goldman. – p. III: 7 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. – (Feb. 6, 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Interruption Is Resented By an Interested Audience

Personality Is Attractive When She Is Off Platform

Famous Authors Are to Be Cited In Coming Address

Christianity's Teaching of Sacrifice Hotly Denounced

"ART, like all that is right proves itself. Time is the test. And the classic decree goes all the way back to ancient Greece for its authority.

"And if right survives do you think the Christian religion will prevail?"

"No, because Christianity teaches the great lie which is sacrifice. Submission, self denial, self abnegation, make a slave morality. Life was never intended as a penance.

"Yet no man can develop all his senses equally and be thoroughly well balanced as Nature intended within the scope of the organized church. You become a faintist to yourself when you live up to the teachings of the church."

Give Your Stomach A Vacation

By Using Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets Which Digest Food Without Any Aid

A Trial Package Sent Free

The stomach should have a rest when it is tired out and irritated from dyspepsia and indigestion. One should not call upon the stomach in this condition to do its full and complete duty. What the stomach needs is natural assistance and when this is given it the stomach responds quickly to the needed rest and comes back to its duties refreshed and invigorated.

When you feel as though your stomach were a piece of lead, when gases or foul odor issue from your throat, when your tongue is coated and your appetite gone it is high time to send your stomach on a vacation.

The stomach is constantly coming in contact with foreign substances, which it must reduce in form to give strength and health to the other organs of the body. It is the commissary department of the human system and must furnish from such supplies as come to it all that such a system demands.

If the stomach becomes deranged and cannot furnish all that is necessary it weakens the entire machinery of man and is itself placed out of commission. It cannot cure itself because the curative powers of Nature receive their force from the stomach so that if the stomach issues imperfect nourishment it cannot receive perfect curative means for its own benefit.

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets impart all the power, vigor and strength necessary to the stomach. They do the stomach's work and without calling on this organ for assistance.

If you would put your meal in a glass jar and with it place the correct amount of Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets you could sit down and watch those little tablets digest the meal as perfectly as the most healthy stomach. This demonstration has been made in almost every state in the Union by these tablets, one grain of a single ingredient being capable of digesting 3000 grains of food.

If you have the slightest doubt about your stomach, go to the nearest drug store and buy a box of Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets, price 50c, or send us your name and address and we will immediately send you by mail a trial package free. Address F. A. Stuart Co., 150 Stuart Bldg., Marshall, Mich.

"77"

Humphreys' Seventy-Seven Famous Remedy for Colds & GRIP

LA GRIPPE, INFLUENZA is known by a general sense of illness, pains or soreness over the entire system or in the Head, Back or Limbs, Sore Throat or Cough, sometimes very obstinate, hoarseness, and often pain in the breast or side, sneezing, running from the nose, or weeping, itching, and redness of the eyelids. In some cases the sense of general soreness at some particular part, in others, the cough and hoarseness or the sore throat, or, again, the profuse catarrh or flowing from the eyes and nose are most prominent. The appetite is impaired, the whole nervous system involved, and much depressed and run down, recovery is slow, and after effects continue, in many cases, to show themselves for a considerable time. It is, therefore, desirable that the disease should be promptly taken in hand. "Everything is Grippe while Grippe prevails."

TREATMENT: "Seventy seven" is the remedy and cure. It meets the epidemic condition and is the cure for all its manifestations. Taken early it cuts it short promptly, taken during its prevalence, prevents its invasion; taken while suffering from it, a relief is speedily realized, which may be continued up to entire cure. Six pellets, every two hours, or in extreme cases every hour, is the rule. "Seventy seven" breaks up hard stubborn colds that cling.

Handy to carry, fits the vest pocket. All Drug Stores, 25 cents.

Humphreys Homeo Medicine Co. Cor. William and Ann Streets, New York.



REMINGTON, $18.75

One machine only in new local office to secure desirable agent. Special Agents' prices supplied on all makes of typewriters.

Standard Typewriter Exchange, 23 Park Row, New York.



FUN AND MONEY IN HYPNOTISM

YOU MAY BECOME A HYPNOTIST

Not a Natural Gift—Anyone of Ordinary Intelligence Can Master This Wonder-Science.



It takes but a few hours time. The study is both easy and fascinating. Hypnotism is an endless source of fun and wonder. If you know how to hypnotize you can perform the most marvelous feats imaginable. You can do a thousand amazing things that other people cannot do. You can surprise all your friends and make yourself famous. You can place others under this strange and magic spell and compel them to think, act and feel just as you wish. You can study the minds of others and create fun and amusement for hours at a time. Through hypnotism you can reform the vicious and cure diseases and bad habits. It will open to you a new and wonderful path to the attainment of your fondest ambitions in life. If you want to MAKE MONEY you can do it by giving entertainments, curing diseases or teaching the art to others. These are three sure and easy ways to win a fortune. Why be poor? Why work for others when you can master this money-making profession so easily? Investigate NOW. For full free particulars write to M. D. Hotta, Station 44, Peekskill, Michigan.

Dini

$ 3 50 Golden Oak, L
$ 4 00 Golden Oak L
$ 4 25 Golden Oak L
$ 4 50 Golden Oak L
$ 5 00 Golden Oak L
$ 5 50 Mahogany Le
$ 6 75 Solid Mahoga
$ 7 85 Solid Mahoga
$ 8 50 Solid Mhg., Le
$ 9 50 Solid Mahoga
$10 50 Solid Mhg., Le
$13 85 Solid Mhg., Le

Extens

$12.00 E. E. or G. O.
$14.50 E. E. or G. O.
$16.00 E. E. or G. O.
$18.00 E. E. or G. O.
$20.00 E. E. or G. O.
$24.75 E. E. or G. O.
$30.00 E. E. or G. O.
$37.50 E. E. or G. O.
$40.00 E. E. or G. O.
$55.00 Mahogany 8-ft
$67.50 Mahogany 8-ft

Parlor and L

$23 Mhg. Arm Chair
$25 Mhg. Rocker—Ar
$35 Mhg. Wing Arm
$36 Mhg. Wing Rock
$39 Mhg. Wing Arm
$40 Mhg. Wing Arm
$40 Mhg. Rocker—Ta
$45 Mhg. Wing Chair
$59 Mhg. Arm Chair
$63 Mhg. Arm Chair
$67 Mhg. Arm Chair

Sample

$45 Haviland China D
$60 Haviland China D
$33 Austrian China D
$28.75 Austrian China
$20 Austrian China D
$20.00 American Por
pieces
$16.50 American Por
pieces
$15.00 American Por
pieces
$12.00 American Porc
pieces

Sample Din

20, 22 and 24 inch size
– art glass.
$49.00 Dor
$45.00 Dor
$32.50 Dor
$16.50 Dor
$15.00 Dor

Bedding

Silkoline Comfor
white cotton, fil
this week $1
$2.50 Wool Nap Blan
—gray, white or t
11-4 size, this w
pair $1
$3.00 Feather Pillo
pounds to pair
week . $1

709

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890125006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Elite Peek at "Red" Emma, She Peeks at Them / Emma Goldman. – pp. III: 1, 5 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. –(Feb. 6, 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

FLITTING STORK KEEPS HARGADINE WEALTH IN COURT

Girl Babies Born to Heirs So Fast Estate Can't Be Divided.

ANOTHER IS IMMINENT

For Three Years Cooes From Crib Have Balked Best Legal Talent.

Babies are arriving so fast in the homes of heirs of the late William A. Hargadine, one of the millionaire founders of the Hargadine McKittrick Dry Goods Co., that lawyers and the courts are wondering whether the estate ever will be settled.

Several hundred thousand dollars worth of real estate is being held in trust by Cashier William H. Thompson of the Boatmen's Bank to be turned into cash for the beneficiaries. But babies have persistently interposed legal obstacles.

These cherubs have not only defied the courts and lawyers in their advent they have thwarted the plans of their grandfather, Mr. Thompson, who has been striving for three years to get a court settling. Each time a petition has been filed, however, a new increment of birth in the family has necessitated legal process to a halt, for under the law no estate can be settled while children of the appearance of every babe.

Amending petitions has caused delays and no end of trouble for William T. Jones, attorney, who is handling the case for his firm.

Girls Are the Cause.

And all the tumult has been caused by dancing, gladsome baby girls. They are the Misses Ann Thomson, three years old, daughter of Lieut. and Mrs. Shuma Thomson, three of Hitchcock, Ariz.; Virginia Holmes Tracy, 6 months, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George W. Tracy of 4127 Westminster place, and Elizabeth Meredith Collins, 2 months, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. [illegible] Collins at 30 Lenox place.

While Grandpa Thomson has been called to hold several times by the purring lisps of infant voices, these interruptions have not ruffled him. On the contrary, they have stirred his risibilities. He has had several good laughs at the learned attorneys and staid benchmen who have been forced to check their legal machinery at the behest of his progeny.

And then, too, we can ridicule the charge that the stork shuns the homes of West Enders.

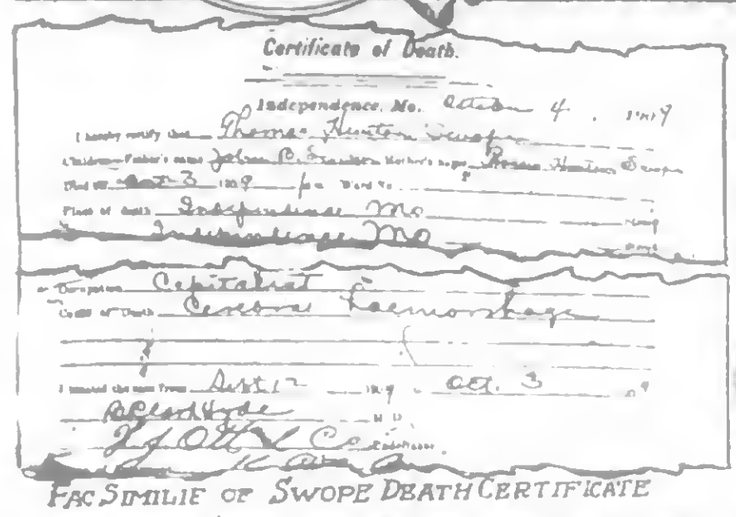
William H. Hargadine, great grandfather of the little girls who have successively and successfully stumped the courts, died Jan. 2, 1892. His fortune consisted of money and real estate, much of the latter being ogas Fifteenth street and Washington avenue, heart of the new wholesale district. This property has been enhanced in value, and the heirs have discussed the advisability of disposing of it. Under the terms of the Hargadine will there is a question as to whether the trustees could sell and give good title. The right of conveyance in deed will be the main point at issue.

To determine this, according to At-

Continued on Page 8, Col 5.

SWOPE HEIRESS, HER HUSBAND, EXECUTOR AND FACSIMILE OF DEATH CERTIFICATE





Certificate of Death.

Independence, Mo. March 4, 1909

I hereby certify that Thomas Hunton Swope

Father's name John C. Swope Mother's maiden name Susan Hunton Swope

Died on March 3 1909 [illegible] Ward

Place of death Independence Mo [illegible]

Usual residence Independence Mo [illegible]

Occupation Capitalist Length of time [illegible]

Cause of death General Hemorrhage [illegible]

I attended the deceased from March 1 1909 to March 3 1909

Address Austin Texas [illegible]

Dr. B.C. Hyde M.D.

Date March 4 1909 [illegible]

FAC SIMILIE OF SWOPE DEATH CERTIFICATE



JOHN G. PAXTON

SWOPES' SECRETS WILL BE BARED A CORONER'S INQUE

Members of Family, Who Have Voluntary Prisoners in Man sion, to Testify.

TEMPORARY TRUCE STOP TAKING OF DEPOSIT

Evidence Submitted by Nurses and the of Chemists Who Examined Bodies Poison to Play Important Part in the Hearing.

By a Staff Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Feb. 5.—When Coroner B. begins taking testimony Monday morning at 10 o'clo Independence Courthouse in the inquest into the dea Thomas H. Swope, the Swope mansion at Independence to give up the secrets which have been locked within its ing the weeks that an investigation into the deaths of and his nephew, Chrisman Swope, has been in progress.

The doors of the great house in Swope place will Mrs. Logan H. Swope and her daughters, who have been prisoners for nearly a month, will come forth and tell about the circumstances of the philanthropist's death circumstances which have made the Swope mansion a nation-wide interest.

With them will come the nurses whose revolt started the investigation which led up to the exhumation of the bodies of Col. Swope and Chrisman Swope and the inquest. Their lips, doubly sealed by the wishes of the family and the ethics of their profession, will open at the Coroner's behest and they will tell what their trained eyes saw in the wrecks that they cared for Col. Swope and Chrisman Swope and the other sufferers from the epidemic which made the Swope mansion a place of mystery and death.

Dr. Hyde to Subpoenaed.

Dr. B. Clark Hyde, one of the physicians who attended Col. Swope and Chrisman Swope and other members of the family, will be called upon to testify. He was subpoenaed by Coroner Zwart today. And Dr. Frank J. Hall and Dr. William L. Stewart, who made investigations after the deaths, will tell the result of those inquiries. Dr. O. T. Twyman, the family physician, will break the silence he has felt obligated to maintain.

Dr. Ludwig Hektoen of Rush Medical College in Chicago will tell of his examination of the stomachs of Col. Swope and Chrisman Swope and give the result of his pathological research, partial reports of which already have been made public.

John G. Paxton, attorney of Mrs. Logan Swope and one of the executors of the Swope estate, who has directed the investigation, will add to the information made when his deposition was taken last Thursday, and Coroner Zwart will testify.

And when all these pieces of the much of mystery which has surrounded the house of Swope will have faded away before the light of their testimony.

Further Taking of Depositions Is Deferred Until After the I

Defeat of Dr. Hyde's attorneys today in the battle for priority in the taking of depositions in damage suits he has instituted renders it unlikely that further attempts will be made to take depositions until after the inquest. The hearing held here by Judge Powell of Independence on the application of Hyde's attorneys, Frank P. Walsh and J. M. Cleary, for an injunction against Reed, Atwood, Yates, Mastin and Herzog and John F. Green, to restrain them from taking depositions developed the fact that Walsh and Cleary had forfeited their right to ask for an injunction, because they had failed to keep their deposition process alive by adjourning from day to day, as required by Judge Brumbach's order when he granted a temporary restraining order against the Reed firm Thursday.

Right for Deposition Lapses.

The injunction was asked on the ground that Walsh and Cleary had a prior right to take depositions. The discovery that their prior rights had been allowed to lapse took the ground from under them. Judge Powell, however, deferred final action to give Walsh and Cleary a chance to ask Judge Brumbach to reinstate the language of his entry, which it is not expected he will do.

Unless he does so, the Reed firm and Mr. Green will have their say in Dr. Hyde's suit for his deposition only with leave to adjourn from day to day as [illegible]

Many surprises are sprung by each side [illegible] That the full report of chemists, when it is presented to the coroner's jury by Dr. Hektoen, will contain a number of these surprises was attributed today to [illegible] the cage.

Await Inquest Di

"We have not made demand for the results of analysis made by Dr. Hektoen," the attorneys [illegible] opportunity to demand. We simply ask Dr. Hektoen makes his Coroner's jury. Then it is necessary we may Court to appoint a to investigate the and make a new analysis of the viscera. That the first tests as to such analysis."

Importance to [illegible] analysis of the elixir, Spangler, the valet Swope, testified [illegible] ing the several days died. This is [illegible] taining [illegible] could be obtained [illegible]

YOUTH IN WEST VIR WRITES 'TEAR ME OF COL. THOMAS

KANSAS CITY, M

ELMER C. SWOP burg, W. Va., in ceived this aft Prosecuting Attorney W ling, says he is the Thomas H. Swope. reads:

I see by the ne my father, Col. Th Swope, died under circumstances. I woul their particulars.

The writer gives h himself, Col. Swope married, so for as a knows. Mrs. Logan sister-in-law, says he

FORD JURY HELD ALL NIGHT IN BLACKMAIL CASE

Judge's Instructions Favor Woman Accused by Warriner, Railway Embezzler.

By Associated Press.

CINCINNATI, Feb. 5. After many hours consideration the jury in the case of Mrs. Jeanette Stewart Ford accused of blackmail, was unable to reach a verdict and was locked [illegible] this a.m.

Mrs. Ford is charged with having extorted large sums of money from Charles L. Warriner, defaulting treasurer of the Big Four Railroad, who was convicted on his confession that he had embezzled $[illegible].

When court convened this morning counsel for the defense rested the case and the jury began its deliberations. Mrs. Ford was depicted as a [illegible] who had been seized by a maniacal desire of Edgar Stuart Cooke of Chicago and Warriner.

The State rested its case and Judge Swing then charged the jury. He defined the law of blackmail and instructed them that the mere fact that Mrs. Ford knew of the Big Four shortage would not prove her guilt. The charge was accepted as favorable to the defendant.

Her Child in Court.

All day long Mrs. Ford sat in the courtroom, crying bitterly and watching the antics of her little girl, Jeannette Ford. She came to the court at 9 o'clock this morning fully an hour before the session began. She heard the pleas of her attorneys, William Thorndyke, heard the instructions to the jury and then burst out crying as they filed in the jury room. She refused to be comforted either by Mrs. Mellermott, who sat beside her, or her maid, Susie.

Thorndyke left the room shortly after the jury had been instructed and did not return until in the afternoon. In his plea for his client he said the prosecution had proved nothing against her, that she was not a criminal, that she had taken money from Edgar Street Cooke and Charles L. Warriner, but that it had been taken from Cooke as a partial reparation for the wrongs he had done her and from Warriner purely as a friend and as one who stood forth to help her when the Cookes had treated her badly.

Prosecutor Cash that Warriner was as "white as the driven snow in comparison to the others in this mess of scoundrels," adding the Court if it were possible to be pleas as snow and still steal nearly a million dollars from one's employers.

He pleaded with the jury to end the injustice being done this woman, of [illegible] in the case had thrown [illegible] but said both the [illegible] and the [illegible]

SLAYER'S LAWYER OBJECTS TO 20-YEAR VERDICT, SO JUDGE GIVES HIM A CHANCE TO DIE

Attorney Asks New Trial, as Matter of Course, and Plea Is Unexpectedly Granted.

By Leased Wire From the New York Bureau of the Post-Dispatch.

NEW YORK, Feb. 5.—If [illegible] killed a man and been tried for murder, the penalty for which is death, and the jury, after finding it guilty, spends [illegible] hours, [illegible] in a verdict of second degree murder, which at worst is only 20 years in prison, and your prisoner [illegible] and stands [illegible] the request and [illegible] a judge's good [illegible] of being [illegible] what would you be mad?

That is what occurred in Judge Goff's court today. Edward Metire was tried and convicted [illegible] Lawyer Hubbard [illegible] and who had been assigned to defend Metire made the usual motion for a new trial and the setting aside of the verdict. [illegible] the room [illegible] Hubbard [illegible] Metire [illegible] Nothing [illegible] Assistant District Attorney Morse.

Motion granted. [illegible] Lawyer Hubbard arose and [illegible] I take an exception to [illegible] ruling," said Lawyer Hubbard.

"How so you," asked Judge Goff, "when I have granted your motion?"

"I didn't think [illegible] that was I wanted [illegible] insisted Lawyer Hubbard.

Judge Goff shook his head and discharged the jurors.

McIlrath was wild with rage. Judge Goff instructed Mr. Morse to put the McIlrath case on trial again forthwith.

IT IS BOUND TO BE COLD AND FAIR UNTIL MONDAY, THE WEATHER MAN THINKS

THE TEMPERATURES.

12 (noon)	43	8 p. m.	36
2 p. m.	44	10 p. m.	33
4 p. m.	45	Midnight	30
6 p. m.	40		



Oh, three of a kind make a strong combination, and flushes, both straight and royal, win, but our lid clubs have given the best demonstration of a clean there as a sure and strong as a [illegible] charter—the deals with case—then seek an injunction against the police.

And the policeman has trouble past understanding when he's dealt a lid club to make a raid; if he believes his orders [illegible] contempt of court that the [illegible]

ELITE PEEK AT "RED" EMMA, SHE PEEKS AT THEM

Anarchy's High Priestess is Guest of the Artists' Guild.

Early Saturday evening a thin line of [illegible] queued silently against the Ninth street side of the Druids' Building at Ninth and Market streets. They were soft hatted and soft shirted and some of them seemed in any way ill fed to talk. But after some time one of them stepped out from the line and facing his companions asked in a startled sort of way.

Where's Emma?

In answer to the query a second stepped out from the line and asked:

Where's Ben? The three referred to were Emma Goldman. The Ben was Ben Reitman.

While the [illegible] questions were being asked Ben was standing in a [illegible] carpeted corridor of the Mary [illegible] Hotel trying to answer as many questions as possible of an interviewer and at the same time not lose any strokes of the file and brush with which he was deftly manicuring his nails. Yes Ben Reitman, King of the Hobos was manicuring his nails.

Where was Emma? Emma Goldman, Queen of the Reds, was standing before the mirror in her room at the hotel, trying a chemise to see if all the powder was worn.

And stranger still! Down on the curb, bareheaded and hand ready to dip his cap at a moment's notice, waited a chauffeur at the side of a taxicab. And the taxicab was in waiting for "Queen Emma and King" Ben.

The dark stairways of Druids' Hall did not feel the tread of Emma's little feet or Ben's big ones Saturday night. That's not what the taxicab was there for. The taxi was waiting to whisk Emma and Ben out to Union boulevard to the Club of the Artists' Guild.

Wanted Close Look at Her.

Coldly stated, the fact was that Emma had been extended and had accepted an invitation to be the guest of the St. Louis Artists' Guild for the evening. They wanted to get a near-to view of her and hear her ideas of art and morality.

Emma and Ben started all right, and so did the taxi. And before the night was over they got there. The trouble was that chauffeurs are not esthetic. Neither do Emma and Ben usually [illegible] St. Louis. The chauffeur said the name sounded to him like something west of Grand avenue, and he was game to take a chance and shoot for it, if Emma and Ben were.

Away after wandering around the West End until the drivers that had been prepared in their homes had been left alone by the passage of the clock [illegible] hours, in [illegible] they [illegible]

they do it!

men decrease their adver-
spapers that do not pay,
e their advertising in
that do pay. This
s why the St. Louis
ants bought more
y space in the
t-Dispatch
day, Thursday and
last week than these
hants bought in the
ocrat, Republic and
d on each of these days

CH EXCESS over our three near-
papers combined on
last week was 10 cols.
week was 1 col.
week that counts
ATION is

710

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

8901250106

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Elite Peek at "Red" Emma, She Peeks at Them / Emma Goldman. – pp. III: 1, 5 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. –(Feb. 6, 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley, Institutional Location: Doe Library.

HIM CHIVALROUS

Dorothy Hesler Reported Engaged to Doctor Who Aided in Defending Her.

CHAMPION CONVICTED

Navy Paymaster's Sentence Probably Will Be Reduction In Rank.

Special to the Post-Dispatch.

BOSTON, Feb. 5.—"Every real true American man resents any freedom taken with a woman's name. I believe that American chivalry is just as active and real as was the old time chivalry of centuries ago," said Miss Dorothy Hesler today.

Miss Hesler is just 18 years old, and yet it is on her account that Paymaster George Percival Auld was tried by courtmartial this week and Past Assistant Surgeon A. H. Robnett will be courtmartialed next week.

Auld, it was reported from Washington today, has been convicted on two charges, conduct unbecoming an officer and assault.

"Surely American men are chivalrous," Miss Hesler said, "and the service is where the ideal side of life is most emphasized. Consequently things which are not according to the code stand out all the more conspicuously."

"A man cannot honorably stand by and hear another man use a woman's name lightly or know that she is being annoyed, without resenting it. Surely American men are like that.

"The court martial has been awfully unpleasant, but our great anxiety was to see Mr Auld and Dr Robnett vindicated. I can't see how they can find them guilty, and I am sure that as men and officers of the navy the judges cannot blame Mr Auld and Dr Robnett. I look for a complete vindication."

The relationship between Mrs Hesler and Dr. Robnett and his brother make it evident that the young navy doctor and the attractive little Chicago girl are engaged to be married. Mrs Hesler, while too young and charming to seem motherly toward two grown men is yet called "Mother" by both of them.

COURTMARTIAL CONVICTS AULD

Navy Paymaster Found Guilty of Assault at Naval Hop.

By Wire From the Washington Bureau of the Post-Dispatch.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 5.—The plea of chivalry as a defense for Paymaster George Percival Auld in the naval courtmartial at Boston failed to save the young officer from conviction.

The testimony of Miss Dorothy Hesler, the young Chicago girl about whom the fight between Dr. Edward Spencer Cowles, of Boston and Auld started, did not deter the courtmartial from sentencing Auld to punishment.

The papers in the Auld case reached the Navy Department today. They were kept secret, but it was learned by the Post-Dispatch, from an indisputable source, that Auld has been convicted on two of the charges preferred against him by Dr. R. B. Ames, Inspector at the Charleston Navy Yard.

The accusation of falsehood, which practically dropped during the trial, was held to be groundless, but the charges of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman and maltreating an inhabitant were sustained.

The degree of punishment has not been made public. It is believed that it is severe and that the Secretary of the Navy will mitigate it to a reduction of a few numbers in rank. The fight occurred at a naval hop given by Dr Ames and his daughter.

Verdict No Surprise to Auld.

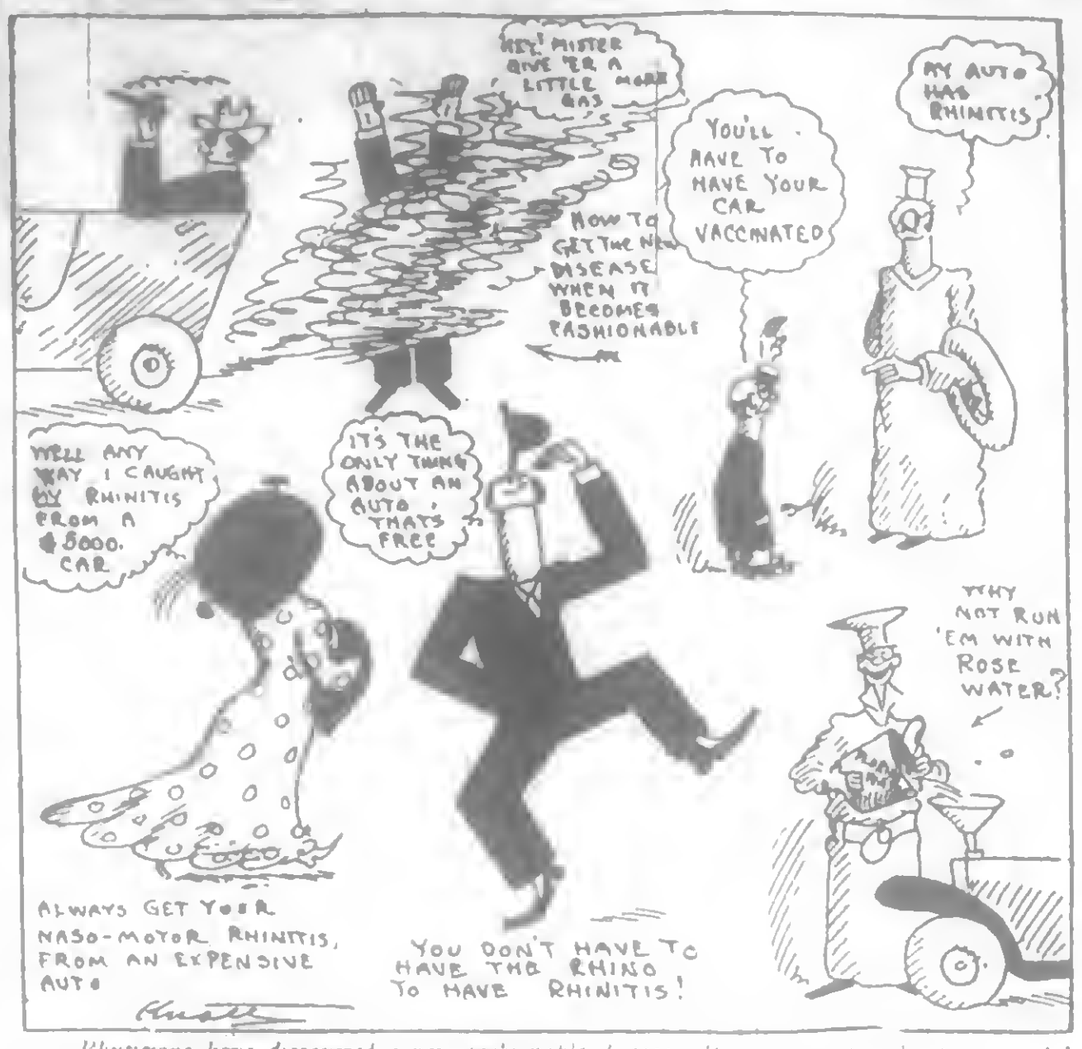
BOSTON, Feb. 5.—Paymaster Auld expressed no surprise when informed of the probability that he had been convicted on two of the three counts brought against him in the court martial. Beyond expressing satisfaction "that the whole story" had come out of the court martial proceedings, Paymaster Auld declined to make any comment. Joseph Auld, the paymaster's father, is understood to have gone to Washington.

VIRGINIA BILL SETS DOWN DIVORCE BARS, MAKING THE EAST MECCA OF MISMATES

Lawyer's Measure Merely Liberalizes, But Shall Be Separated Three Years.

[illegible], Va., Feb. 5.—An [illegible] makes a change of the divorce laws of Virginia. A large number of persons [illegible]

Vogue Now, It's Rhinitis



Physicians have discovered a new fashionable disease. It is naso-motor rhinitis, caused by inhaling the vapors discharged from the engines of automobiles.—Cartoon Item.

NO longer is it de rigueur
To have had appendicitis
To be elite you now must catch
The naso-motor rhinitis.

To get it buy an auto car
And as the engine wheezes
Its fumes from your new motor car
Stoop near and catch the sneezes.

The [illegible] are quite immune—
They get rhinitis' Norse.
The have an ailment just the same
It [illegible] hay-fever.

'Red' Emma Shatters Ideals of Home in Artists' Guild Talk

Continued From Page One.

their hearings about the same time that the guild lost hope of their pulling in an appearance.

All Were Starched Shirts.

A strange crowd was that which Emma saw herself call it upon to address. Every man in the hall had on a starched shirt and there was white shirts. There wasn't a torch in the place but lights, lights all around. Everyone there and his lady was what is known to Emma's usual followers as "high brow," the real kind that make pictures and form men and women out of clay.

Emma beat them all to the recovery with the possible exception of Chairman William Chanvenet who called on her for a few remarks.

Then she started in to smash things. Not the pairglass in the walls or the pieces of sculpture but art in the abstract.

"American art," she told the guild, "is not in spirit with the social movement of the times. It is artificial and commercial, always appealing to the rich and never in sympathy with the struggles of the poor against oppression."

When she had properly demolished American art, Miss Goldman broke up the Ten Commandments. She wanted to know why a Christian nation should go to war when the commandments said "Thou shalt not kill," and a number of other things. [illegible] received and her remarks were frequently applauded.

Ridicules Home Ideals.

Just [illegible] the "Queen of the Redskins" [illegible] could be hard to please. Mr. [illegible] man and burst several migraine [illegible] made her female auditors [illegible] Her instance [illegible] sanity of the [illegible] was under. The there was [illegible] on Sunday in the home and [illegible] shouldn't be any homes.

[illegible] were [illegible] children to be true to [illegible] [illegible] How to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

881021005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Anarchist Leader Waves Red Flag / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 29 cm. *In* The Michigan Daily [Ann Arbor]. –(Feb. 20, 1910).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan. Institutional Location: Michigan Historical Collection, Bentley Library.

The Michigan Daily

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1910 No. 96

FOUNDERS' DAY TO BE COMMEMORATED

Medical Faculty and Students to Celebrate Birth of their Department Tuesday Night.

[illegible] Tuesday evening [illegible] a department [illegible] interest [illegible] The exercises [illegible] the auspices of the Medical Society. The principal address will be made by Dr. W [illegible] of the medical faculty and Dr. George E. Frothingham, Boston [illegible] University of [illegible]

Dr. Frothingham also lived in Ann Arbor, graduating with degree of M. D. in 1870. In this university. Returning to New England he practiced his profession for a year. At this time he accepted a call to return to Michigan and made Detroit his field. Surgery and [illegible] of Anatomy [illegible] Frothingham gave special attention to the diseases of the eye and ear and established the clinic of [illegible] Aural Surgery. He [illegible] position for [illegible] year.

[illegible] Dr. Frothingham resigned [illegible] his chair as to the removal of [illegible] to Detroit. Until [illegible] of the willful policy of the Board of [illegible] who headed against the idea [illegible] After his resignation he [illegible] Detroit where he practiced until [illegible]

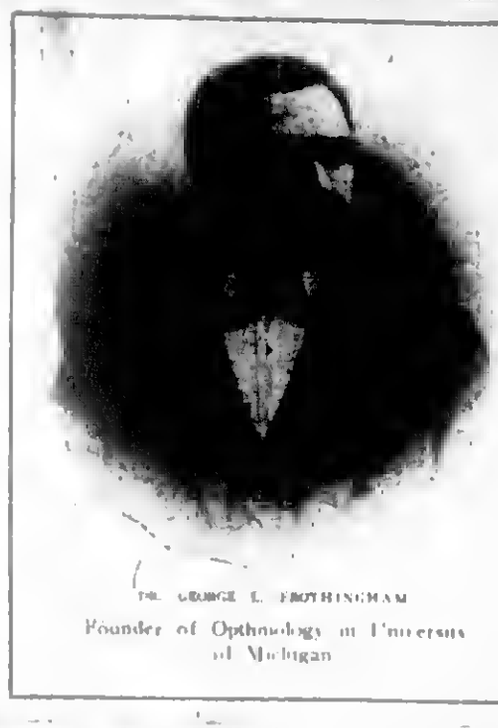
The program was a prominent [illegible] the medical society of the [illegible] Many [illegible] receptions and [illegible] will be given [illegible] published. Among the guests at the banquet will be Dr. Frothingham's [illegible] and former colleagues [illegible] A. Vaughn will speak on "The Ethics of Medical Profession." H. H. Cumming, president of the Students' Medical Society, will give a short talk. Dancing in dance followed the exercises but only near faculty reception will be held in the parlors of Barbour gymnasium the committee believing that in this way the students and faculty will be brought in closer contact.

NINE GIRLS STILL KEEP NAME OF PLAY A SECRET

In spite of the eagerly expectant public around the senior lit girls still refuse to make known the name of the play which they are at present preparing. A meeting of the cast was held Friday afternoon in Barbour gymnasium but owing to the inability of Mrs. Bird to attend very little was done, besides distributing parts of the book. Another meeting will be held Monday night. Regular rehearsals will begin after this.

DR. ANGELL HAS IMPROVED

Reports from Florida are to the effect that Dr. Angell who went south last week for his health, stood the trip well and is now rapidly recovering from his recent illness.



DR. GEORGE E. FROTHINGHAM

Founder of Opthalology in University of Michigan

NEW SUBJECTS DISCUSSED

Second Day Of Religious Conference Has Varied Program.

Yesterday morning's program of the conference being held under the auspices of the Ann Arbor School of Religion, was opened by Prof. George A. Coe, president of the Religious Education Association. Though not expressly stated as such, the title of his discussion was, What Would Jesus do if He Were a Professor?" He depicted the results to our educational institutions of the will if Jesus could be carried out.

He expressed the belief that boys and girls should make the will of God the principal consideration in their whole lives, and that the adoption of this principle would radicalize the spirit of modern education. He further stated that the social worker is beginning to realize the short comings of social service which stopped short of religion.

Prof. Coe was followed by Orrin S. Davis, president of Chicago Theological Seminary. Pres. Davis made a plea for the study of theology. He received much merriment by showing the absurdity of trying to teach astronomy or botany without any regard at all to the science of it. He emphasized the importance of scientific training for the teacher of religion.

Dean Shailer Matthews closed the morning's program with a short address on the difference between the immature and men in other realms.

Shailer Mathews, Dean of the University of Chicago Divinity School opened in the afternoon with a paper entitled "The Stories school as an educational institution, not for the mere giving of information, but to bring out a child's ability into full expression." The belief is that the Bible itself should be taught and not the mere theories of it. The individuality of the child should be developed.

Mr. Cope, secretary of the association followed Dean Mathews on "Bible Study in the Sunday School."

In the evening Prof. R. M. Wenley presided. The principle speakers were Prof. Coe, President Davis and Henry F. Cope. The subject under discussion was "Present Need for Religious Leadership." This subject involved the difficult question of how to make sure of thorough training for our religious leaders.

GUNZAULUS HERE TUESDAY

Chicago Orator to Speak on Americanism of Washington.

According to established precedent the law department will hold their customary Washington birthday exercises in University hall next Tuesday evening. Dr. Frank W. Gunsaulus, president of the Armour Institute of Chicago, will deliver the address. The subject which he has chosen for this occasion is, "The Americanism of Washington." Besides the address of the evening, the University musical clubs will render several numbers.

The three classes of the law department will meet at appointed places in the law building before marching to University hall, where seats will be reserved for them. Guests of the various societies for the members of the law department of the hall will be opened to all those who care to attend.

[illegible] across street.

The Monday evening Debaters of the Junior Law orders will contest in room B of the Law building. J. B. Peters will preside. Mr. Brunson, Mr. Leidal and Dr. Ernest Brewster will act as judges. The following students have entered the meet: J. E. Black, S. Blanchard, J. Dow, L. Gutknecht, L. Patterson, H. L. Nichols and M. B. Riggel.

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH

[illegible] STATE AND HURON STREETS

HENRY WILDER FOOTE, Minister

[illegible] Morning service.

[illegible] Universal Brotherhood." [illegible] by Rev. H. M. Foote.

[illegible] meeting of A. P. R. U.

7:30 Evening service, with an address by Rev. Henry F. Cope, secretary of the Religious Education Association, on "The Human Christ."

ANARCHIST LEADER WAVES RED FLAG

Emma Goldman Speaks to Full Houses but Fails to Arouse Student Sympathy.

Before two crowded houses Emma Goldman, anarchist, delivered her lectures on "Anarchism and The Influence of the Drama on Anarchy" Saturday afternoon and evening in the Johnson Lyon hall. In the afternoon Miss Goldman confined herself to telling of the wonderful power of drama over all other forms of literary productions and incidentally scoring the present economical system. In the evening she analyzed anarchy, discussed its advantages over the present system of "thievery and robbery." Her reception was not particularly cordial. The hall was packed with students who greeted every economically doubtful statement with cheers and laughter. Miss Goldman was equal to the occasion and repaid them each time with some horn of repartee which cast serious reflections on their intelligence.

In delineating the influence of the drama as a disseminator of radical ideas, Miss Goldman chose Tolston, Ibsen, Hauptman, Suderman, and others, taking their principal plays and showing the underlying tendency in them towards social reform and radicalism. As an exponent of radicalism she did not advance many new arguments and failed to establish some of his principal assertions.

Her discussion of anarchy on the evening was clear and concise so far as it went but soon she turned to matters which she failed to prove eventually tying herself a few minutes later. Her chief attack was against government. She pictured a society in which there would be no government no private ownership of land no capitalistic oppression and no law whatever. Each one would be free to do as he wished. A few minutes later she declared that under the new regime the capitalists would be forced to work if they wanted food, as they little idea of organized anarchy was manifest with each other and that there would be no laws or regulations this machine could not function even a day.

She declared society to be in a condition which does not require much work. In this respect she was plainly different from most men who believe in the centralization of power, while anarchists believe only in decentralization or elimination of it.

After the lectures she opened questions. For this the audience was ready and a call was asked which Emma Goldman evidently could not answer. She resolved, of course, but turned a deaf ear to all argument on the plea of lack of time.

The success of a hoaxed was met this by a number of the undergraduates who, for diversion, organized an anarchist club and exploited the principles of anarchist. Red neckties and beards were the insignia and flag sold as buttons and ticket takers. Their press also attracted not a few.

At dinner Miss Goldman was entertained at one of the fraternity houses.

(Continued on Page 2.)

FRITZ KREISLER WILL PLAY HERE

Famous Violinist Scheduled for March First.—Engagements Made for May Festival.

As the last of the exceptionally attractive concerts which have comprised this year's Choral Union Concert series there is scheduled a violin recital by an artist whose name and rank are familiar to every one interested in the affairs and people of the musical world—Fritz Kreisler. With the exception of Schumann Heinck and Campanini, the name of Kreisler is one that, of all the artists who come to Ann Arbor this year, probably stands for most in the minds of those who have the average knowledge of musicians and music.

Fritz Kreisler plays in Ann Arbor March the first. Without relying upon the tricks which so many of the violinists consider an indispensible adjunct of their art, through the simplicity and naturalness of his playing, Mr. Kreisler has attained a position at the top of his profession. He is a man of the highest sincerity, courtesy, seriousness, and modesty. There is nothing of the sham star, qualities not always found in one but never sleeps to the level of commonplace secrets for the sake of effect. Unlike so many players he does not resist changes in temperature and minute variations in the qualities of strings and bows as the cause of an imperfection in his performance. If a note is not faultless, but have his fingers whatever he may happen to read them and it goes unalterably at such. It is no particular loss or even [illegible] and imperfections are sometimes rare I could in his work.

His ideas in regard to what is generally accepted in regard to the medium through which he expresses his art were well shown when he sold his Stradivarius some time ago. It was reported at the time that he got up his playing [illegible] and declared. It is said that he [illegible] retained the possession of Kreisler as a memento and had parted with the best he could find. But rare [illegible] is divided to dispose of the [illegible] instrument and now uses those which he previously possessed. With an [illegible] the value of the instrument [illegible] the great violin maker, [illegible] considers that possession a fad and [illegible] but [illegible] Joseph [illegible] Another characteristic [illegible] is his pleasure which he derives from playing in and violin when [illegible] has the opportunity deriving [illegible] from the possibilities which a real artist can introduce into ensemble playing.

Fritz Kreisler's recital is the last of the concerts which precede the May Festival. The recital is still three months away, but the artists are engaged, the program practically completed, and in the last two weeks many have been coming their seats for the festival. The [illegible] sale began Janu-

(Continued on Page 2.)

MARTHA WASHINGTON CANDY FRESH DAILY AT TICE'S BOOK STORE, 117 S. MAIN ST.

3:30 P. M. 6:30 P. M.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

712

881021006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Students Jeer Anarchy / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 28 cm. *In* The Michigan Daily [Ann Arbor]. – (Feb. 22, 1910).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

The Michigan Daily

VOL. XX ANN ARBOR MICHIGAN, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1910 No. 97

LAWS AND MEDICS CELEBRATE TODAY

Simultaneous Addresses Jurists at University Hall—Medics Meet in Angell Hall.

Washington's birthday anniversary [illegible] a [illegible] celebration in [illegible] of the university [illegible] Law and Medical departments [illegible] up all exercises to take [illegible] morning. The laws will [illegible] at the tabernacle of our [illegible] building in which [illegible] special seats [illegible] announce the [illegible] the chairs in their [illegible] President Harry A. Sutherland of [illegible] Chicago will deliver [illegible] before the laws in University [illegible] His subject will be the Constitution of Washington. Prest [illegible] Butterworth has international fame as an after-dinner and it was with feeling of great satisfaction that the law students obtained Mr Cannaulis for [illegible] as it. The president declares that [illegible] rather opportunity to hear one [illegible] orators of national fame [illegible] treat. I hope that many of the [illegible] students will take advantage of it.

The three law classes will meet in [illegible] building at 5 p.m. the seniors in [illegible] the second year men in room [illegible] and the freshmen in room 11. From [illegible] on building they will march to [illegible] the University hall where [illegible] be given. will begin at 8 o'clock [illegible] at the main floor of the hall will be reserved for the law students but [illegible] there are seated the remaining seats will be open to the public admission [illegible] The glee club will give a short [illegible] program.

At the same hour as the law celebration in University hall the medics will assemble in Angell Lawell Angell hall. The short address of their program will be given by Dr W R Parker who will speak on George L Frothingham, founder of Frothingham at Michigan. Dr Parker occupies the chair which Dr Frothingham founded in 1891. Prest [illegible] addresses of the Senior Medical [illegible] under whose auspices the program is to be given, will make a few introductory remarks. Dean Vaughn will close the program of speeches with a talk on the Future of the Medical Profession." An orchestra will furnish music for the occasion.

After the exercises there will be a faculty reception in Barbour gymnasium along with out of town guests are expected, but among whom are the wife and family of the late Dr Frothingham.

BATES CUT ON SUBSCRIPTION ADDRESS.

At the regular monthly meeting of the Woman's League Saturday it was decided to charge only ten cents admission to the lecture to be given by Miss Grenfell in Newberry hall, Feb 4th. The advisory committee recommended that Miss White be employed as solicitor for the coming year and that she carry on her work in New York, Chicago and other western cities (This recommendation was accepted

STUDENTS JEER ANARCHY

Notorious Emma Goldman Plays her University Audiences.

Emma Goldman has her own private opinion of the students of the University of Michigan, and it isn't a flattering one either. At a meeting in Detroit Sunday evening, where she had as fine audience everything from the social elect to the social riff-raff, she unburdened herself after the following manner:

"I was surprised indeed to find that the library of that great institution is woefully lacking in literature upon anarchism, but my surprise in the attitude of the student body was greater.

Never in my entire career as a speaker upon radical subjects, have I been accorded a more hostile or discourteous reception. To tell the truth I am glad that it happened as it did, for it gives me just so much more respect for the quality of manhood that is to be found in the working classes where advanced ideas are respected, and lecturers given courteous attention.

"I would be violating my own principles if I felt in the least angered by the unseemly conduct of the students at by the mob spirit that manifested itself afterward. I had them simply represented the evil effects of the economic system under which they have been reared. But I am surprised that students, who in all Europe represent the advance thought and advance action, should in this country, and especially at Ann Arbor, be so slow to realize and appreciate the significance of this great reform movement."

The youthful Emma has departed the state for Buffalo where she has won her long fight for free speech. She intends to deliver a number of lectures there, but threatens to come back to Ann Arbor "some day." Before departing from this city she uttered thanks that at least she had found "one or two radical spirits to carry on the work." Members of the student body who assisted in the handling of the student speaker's state that these spirits didn't evidence their presence while the tables were flying and shoes falling over after the lecture. In fact even the redoubtable Dr Ben would admit had it been a product of the bad economic system that saved his shaggy cranium from assault.

CLASS RELAY RUN AND TUG-OF-WAR.

Interclass relays will be begun next Saturday night at the preliminary track meet. Many classes have not as yet had any practice on the track and the managers of these teams are urged to interclass Manager Lawton to get the men out immediately in order that the may have some practice. Every class team that competes will run next Saturday night

THE SUNDAY MEETING.

Rudolph Tombo, Jr., Professor of German at Columbia university will lecture under the auspices of the Deutscher Verein in Tappan hall Saturday room Thursday at four o'clock. His subject will be Hauptmann's "Die Sunkenen Bell." Mr Tombo is an interesting talker and as the lecture will be in English it is possible for everyone to enjoy it.

WRNLEY LAUDS THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

Philosopher Pays Highest Tribute to Religion—Conference Today and Tomorrow.

An audience which packed McMillan hall heard Prof R M Wenley express in a simple and direct way his belief in Christianity, when he spoke on Christianity, the way to [illegible] Sunday. "No man requires an [illegible] development or intellectuality in order to become a real Christian," remarked the professor of philosophy. "If that were the case, heaven would be occupied solely by lecturers on philosophy. I [illegible] that small of a heaven as man of his [illegible] ought to desire to enter."

The fact that seem to be supreme Professor Wenley in getting the heart of the matter was that found in the fifth verse of the first chapter of John. "Jesus and truth came by Jesus Christ." Jesus said he is a way of life, a matter of life, and all men are compelled to agree that Jesus' way of living has never been equalled or surpassed. Therefore if you want the truth, seek to prove the wisdom of some [illegible] other than Jesus' way of living as your way of living and you will lose the grace that was his. Emphatically we have known truth only as we know it in men. Truth that has never been incarnated is a truth that is of no service.

In closing Professor Wenley quoted that familiar passage—"Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." "I hope you don't believe this statement, said Professor Wenley, "try it. You have no right to disbelieve it until you have actually given it a trial. Those of us who have tried it are under the greatest obligation imaginable to testify of its truth."

President Otota S Davis was the speaker on Sunday evening. State universities are barren fields as to production of ministers [illegible] said. While formerly these institutions [illegible] out [illegible] to preach and [illegible] missionaries in large [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

840514080

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant-Guard / Emma Goldman. — pp. 16-23 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 5, no. 1 (March 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

LIGHT AND SHADOWS IN THE LIFE OF AN AVANT-GUARD

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

AFTER the joyous ring in my last report my friends will think the tone of this epistle rather depressed, and yet my tour continues good, with a few trifling disappointments unavoidable in the work of an avant-guard.

If one has not known the sensation of passing through the rich, fragrant scenery of California and then through the deserts of Nevada, he will not appreciate my state of mind when I suddenly woke up in Hannibal, Mo. A stretch of mud along the Mississippi.

What a curious imagination must have been his, who named that dead, barren town Hannibal. There is not enough energy or spirit there to fight a chicken, let alone to deserve the name of an historic warrior. Yet this dull, gray speck of earth has a ray of gold to give it color and relieve the eye from its monotony—Comrade A. H. Garner.

Since Ibsen gave the world the giant figure of Dr. Stockmann, we have learned to appreciate the true hero in him who can stand alone, maintaining a truth against all odds. But Stockmann was never so alone as our brave comrade in Hannibal. Stockmann had the woman of his love, who, while she could not understand his spirit, yet went with him. He had his children, his Petra, herself a rebel and fighter. Last, but not least, he had Hausten, the weather-worn and rugged friend, who betrayed him not. But what must be the fortitude and courage of a man who really stands all alone in a community of densest ignorance and darkness.

Six years Comrade Garner has lived in Hannibal, an open and avowed Anarchist, holding his banner high against all odds. Verily, his is a greater heroism than that of martyrs who died for the truth.

The very idea of a meeting in that city seemed ridiculous. But who could refuse the genuine enthusiasm and zeal which prompted our comrade to shun no expense and labor to get me there?

The meeting was a fizzle, of course; still, I should not

have missed the experience for anything. To know that in this great land there is one American Anarchist brave enough to defy a whole community, is an inspiration worth even the trip to Hannibal.

The patron saint of the avant-guard dwells in the lower regions. The saint of St. Louis has not yet been admitted there. That may account for his grace with the fairies. Certainly none but kind fairies could arrange a visit so cloudless and smooth as mine has been in St. Louis.

"Social functions" are rather a novelty in the life of the avant-guard; but the dear captain who steered the forlorn ship through the shoals of a middle-class luncheon and of a would-be bohemian dinner, was the brilliant editor of the St. Louis *Mirror*. His suave, jovial, kindly spirit could smuggle the most dangerous contraband into the enemy's camp. No wonder Emma Goldman, the fire spitter, was dined and watered by so many "nice people." Surely, people who let others work must be nice. As for themselves? Oh, they have a greater mission. That's why they came to hear how the Anarchist proposes to manage society, where a "thrifty, saving man would not be safe from his shiftless brother, if there be no law to stay him."

Such was the gist of the hundred and one questions hurled at the sinful head of the avant-guard. A luncheon served on idle questions, plenty of water and little spirit. The inspiring element was Billy Reedy, sparkling wine after a prayer meeting.

My second "debut" was at the Artists' Guild, a society composed of "respectable bohemians"—a bohemianism that compares favorably with Jack London's exploits in the East End of London as portrayed in his "Children of the Abyss." "He stood in the bread line, waited hours to be given a chance to shovel coals, had himself locked up in the workhouse," in the blissful consciousness that he can at any time go back to his lodgings, take a bath, change his linen, and eat a hearty dinner. Poverty under such circumstances is not so bad, after all.

No doubt there are among the Guilders a few who know the stress and agony of a real bohemian life; but the majority of the people who were present took their

714

840514080

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant–Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 16-23 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 1 (March 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

bohemianism as the flavor of life without which a middle class existence must be barren indeed.

It was, however, to the former that I addressed my remarks on "Art in relation to Life." To the few who are themselves that part of humanity who eke out a drab existence, to whom art must remain terra incognita, so long as life is forbidden them.

Life in all its variety of color, in all its fulness and wealth is art, the highest art. He who does not help to bring about such a life is not an artist, no matter if he can paint sunsets or compose nocturnes. All the truly great artists of the world have realized that: Millet, in taking the struggle of his people for his themes; Meunier, in showing the world the power of labor; Rodin, in representing the pathos and tragedy of blighted youth; Charpentier, in singing love unchained and unfettered, in Louise. Artists, the world over, have gone to the life of the people, have become one with their struggles, their hopes and dreams. Only in America the artists are commodities like everything else that has been debased by money. Is not the Artists' Guild thriving on the patronage of those whose art criterion is the dollar?

I hope that the few who are still artists in the making (I have met a few at the dinner), will learn to appreciate their real sphere, the true relation between art and life.

My meetings in St. Louis were well attended, especially the Ferrer lecture. Genuine enthusiasm and interest in the life and works of that great man are manifested at every meeting dedicated to him.

The lecture on "The Drama" was very much apropos in St. Louis, owing to the frantic efforts of some ministers to "purify the stage." Christian purity, a deceased lady, clothed in hypocritical rags. Altogether St. Louis proved both interesting and profitable, thanks to Wm. Marion Reedy's good graces in fairyland. But I must also not forget the untiring devotion of Ada and Ben Capes, two staunch friends and comrades.

Springfield, Ill., is the seat of law-manufacture and the scene of one of the most brutal race feuds in recent years. How stupid to carry an idea of liberty and brotherhood there! But this, too, is the privilege of the avant-guard, to do stupid things sometimes.

The Chief of Police, who attempted to stop the meetings, may have been prompted by good motives. Why throw pearls before swine? Law-making and man-hunting are not likely to develop a better human breed. As to the foreign element, it is too exploited and worn-out to go to meetings or pay admission. I never wished more to be able to stay over Sunday and have free meetings, since "them ignorant foreigners" are the only material worth while in Springfield.

Detroit, Mich., was conquered after all. Alas, it was not the spirit of Robert Reitzel that helped. Of that there is no more. An erstwhile lickspittle of Reitzel, who in a foolish moment was induced to join the committee for free speech, took to his heels when he learned that we actually came to test the situation. Another whose claim to radicalism consists of silly stunts, was still more "liberal": he kept in the background. Only one remained true to the spirit of *Der arme Teufel*—Conrad Pfeifer; but even he was worried lest the "mighty be offended."

The saviors of free speech in Detroit were, as usual, the single taxers, urged on by Mr. Ingram, the most spirited of them all.

Ridicule is a tremendous weapon against authority; thus Tsar Croul of Detroit may have come down from his throne for fear of appearing ridiculous. At any rate, our meetings did take place. Yet not without great loss of time and considerable expense. However, it was worth it all, not merely because of the material and moral success, but for the sake of our comrades there.

Carolus Nold, the erstwhile stormer, wastes his life in the mental atrophy of German *Vereinsmeierei* (club life). Too bad for the boy who could still do much in a healthier atmosphere. My visit to Detroit bears me out. Carl became rejuvenated. He threw himself with the old fire in the work, as in the days when his spirit was as young as his years.

Dear old, romantic Emma Clausen, now Dr. Clausen, *s'il vous plaît*, needs but half a chance; her spirit is ever ready to break the bars of convention. What a pity a woman like Emma must live in Detroit. Such a rich nature, such abilities, withering in the desert of philistinism. Life to-day is indeed a terrible mess.

715

840514080

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant–Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 16-23 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 1 (March 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Ann Arbor! Brain producer of Michigan, hide thy face in shame!

Five hundred university rowdies in a hall, whistling, howling, pushing, yelling like escaped lunaties. How infinitely superior is the roughest element of workers, longshoremen, sailors, miners, street-cleaners. I have addressed them all, been with them all. Men with not enough knowledge to write their name, men who have been hardened and brutalized by drudgery and poverty. Yet all of them are as boarding-school girls in behavior and demeanor compared with the university rowdies of Ann Arbor, who packed the hall to create a riot. That the latter was averted is altogether due to my recollection of Ibsen's estimate of mob psychology, so wonderfully expressed in the lines of Dr. Stockmann: "Not two decent stones in the whole lot, the rest are pebbles. And yet they stood down there and yelled and swore they'd slay me—but for deeds, for deeds, there is not much for that in this town."

These pampered parasites, not one of them with enough backbone to fight a flea; yet there they were yelling and screaming in true American demoeratie fashion.

My subject being Anarchism, I needed no better argument against government than that living mass nurtured and bred on law and authority, yet the first to break not only man-made law, but every human law of tolerance, kindness, and respect for the rights of others. These famous American chevaliers, who revere woman so much that their wild pushing and shoving practically endangered the lives of the women present, these defenders of property rights, who demolished everything in the hall, fell over each other to steal literature, and forced their way into the hall, although an admission was charged. The quality of these would-be students certainly speaks poorly for the professors. A course on behavior and decency would not be amiss at the University of Ann Arbor.

If not for a few students who were our hosts at a fraternity dinner and those that felt deeply the disgraceful conduct of their colleagues at the meeting, one might despair of a country whose intellectual training creates such a breed. As it is, the maniacs at my meeting may

represent but a small part of that student body. Let us hope so, at least.

The encouraging feature of the Ann Arbor experience was furnished by a group of Socialists, also students, their instructor, Wm. Boehn, and his wife, Maud Thompson.

How wonderful is the spirit of solidarity, if it can sweep away all theoretic differences in a moment of need. Staunch friends it has never been my fortune to meet, at such a critical moment. Dear Maud Thompson. I never shall forget her terror-stricken face, when I made my way through that mad mob. Terror-stricken, not out of anxiety for herself, but for me, in that awful, trying hour at the meeting. And Wm. Boehn, no longer the cold theoretician of "scientific Socialism," as he was during luncheon, when Dr. Reitman and I were his guests, but all aglow with comradely love and sympathy, ready to fight, if necessary, for one who was but a stranger to him. And Lee White, too, stood his ground to the very end, although he was in no small danger to be swept away by those Ann Arbor maniacs. Yes, when theoretic barriers and differences are swept away, comradeship can assert itself to the fullest.

In Buffalo, N. Y., happened the miracle of all miracles. Anarchism has been heard there again. Two meetings, and "without an order of the court." Our friends will recollect the reply given to Fred Schulder when he tried to make my speaking possible. Poor Chief Regan, it must have outraged his sensitive soul, when Emma Goldman could lecture in Buffalo, after he had decreed that it must not be.

Here we found ourselves in a house divided against itself. Chief Regan using every open and underhanded way to stop the meeting; the Mayor, through his secretary, adhering to non-interference. That Secretary! What peculiar human compounds America does create. Liberal, radical, non-believer, yet bound to the spook of a New England conscience. Dreamer of great dreams, but doer of small things. A politician and opportunist, afraid of public opinion, yet recklessly waving the public aside. Certainly he had nothing to gain and much to lose in taking sides for free speech for Emma Goldman. But he stood his ground with puritan tenacity.

716

840514080

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant-Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 16-23 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 1 (March 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

After the Ferrer lecture the Chief was even more frantic. His beloved holy Mary was attacked, the Catholic Church. The Mayor would listen to no entreaties. What difference which of the religious impostors is in the seat of heaven. As a last resort Catholic priests were sent to the hall keeper.

Two hours before the meeting our hall was refused. But Ben Reitman quickly found another hall, and the second meeting, too, was thus saved. The third had to be abandoned, all halls, barns, and stables being taken for that night. The fourth and fifth meetings were the least eventful, poor Regan having grown weary of the wild chase.

Our victory in Buffalo will be appreciated only by those who know that during the last nine years not a known Anarchist was allowed to speak in that city. During nine years Anarchism was vilified and Anarchists held up as the blackest criminals, yet not a word could be raised in protest. During nine years the memory of Czolgosz was besmirched as that of a traitor, liar, and informer. Yet no one dared to cry out against that outrage, to show that it was the police and the press who were the liars and informers, and not that boy. That I should have been able to speak in Buffalo makes the victory even greater. What if it cost us no end of anxiety; what if Reitman was made ill from the strain; what of the money even that the Buffalo campaign consumed? It was worth it all.

The most tangible result, however, is the formation of a free speech league, which will never again submit to the censorship of the last nine years.

Rochester, N. Y., the city of my inauguration into the beauties of American factory life; the place where I first learned the brazeness of American liberty. Rochester where I was made to suffer the narrow American provincialism, with its busy-body guardianship of every soul unlike its own. Here, too, it was that I understood the mockery of the legalized sanctity of the home. Rochester also, where I first beheld the light of liberty, of independence. We held three meetings. Although arranged in one day and in a wretched hall, the English meetings were exceptionally good. During my visit, I heard and met for the first time one other American contradiction—Brand Whitlock, the Mayor of Toledo.

How strange that the author of that terrible arraignment of government, "The Turn of the Balance," a truly human document, should himself participate in the exercise of authority. How strange that this poet and dreamer should be a party to the ugliness of politics and political life. Yet is not all life strange? And is not the life of the avant-guard strangest of all?

Hope and joy, pain and despair! The sublime and the ridiculous, separated by one step.

* * *

THE FREE SPEECH FIGHT

By Dr. Ben L. Reitman.*

FRIENDS:—

Two years have passed, and sometimes two years make a difference. Let us look back two years, and see a man by the name of George Shippy at his height. "Shippy was an ideal Chief of Police." The newspapers praised him, and he had the confidence of the people of Chicago.

Two years have gone: Shippy is down and out. The newspapers have bitterly attacked him; they have unmercilessly condemned him, he has no longer the confidence of the people of Chicago.

Two years ago Emma Goldman was hounded and persecuted. Two years ago she went to the Anthropological Society, and a hundred policemen followed to prevent her from speaking. To-night, Emma Goldman addresses a Chicago audience without a uniformed policeman in the hall.

I don't know whether Emma Goldman has the confidence and respect of the people of Chicago, but I am sure that she has the confidence of a small number of people in Chicago who know that the persecution and hounding she was subjected to was unjustifiable.

Let us look back again, and see the changes which have taken place; let us see the steps that were responsible for the former Chief of Police Shippy being down and out, and Emma Goldman being able to speak.

Two years ago to-morrow the unemployed had a parade

* Police stenographic report of an address delivered by Dr. Reitman at Chicago, Jan. 19th, 1910.

717

840514082

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant–Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 45-50 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 2 (April 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

it was rather to be expected; they are, after all, hangers-on of the bourgeoisie; but the brewers and typos have disgraced themselves.

Well, Philadelphia has set the first example,—a feeble example, lacking in purpose, wasting itself by reason thereof, and by reason of lack of organization and delay. However, it forced the company to the semblance of compromise; it made the Mayor and the City representative on the Board of the P. R. T. do what they had loudly proclaimed they would not do, confer with the officers of the car men; and while the terms were not accepted by the car men, as being deceptive and a mockery, and they are still out, there is no doubt that the enemy recognizes that the weapon of industrial warfare in the future will be the general strike,—and dreads it.

Do they perceive, do *the workers* perceive, that it must be the strike which will *stay in* the factory, not *go out?* which will guard the machines, and allow no scab to touch them? which will organize, not to inflict deprivation on itself, but on the enemy? which will take over industry and operate it for the workers, not for franchise holders, stockholders, and office-holders? Do they? Or will it take a few thousand more clubbings to knock it into their heads?

Philadelphia began a certain other fight one hundred and thirty-four years ago; she didn't win it on that 4th of July either. She was held by the British after that. But the fight went on, as this one will. What transportation company will be the next to precipitate the battle? *Six different companies in as many cities have raised the trolleymen's wages since this strike began.* Evidently they decline the battle, and are more after immediate profits than crushing unions. But in a year or two some other city will have the fight. Let them profit by our mistakes.

LIGHT AND SHADOWS IN THE LIFE OF AN AVANT-GUARD

BY EMMA GOLDMAN.

THE Jews believe that continual success tends to make one forget the omnipotence of God. Evidently they know that the Lord is not a very generous gentleman. He allows them just so much success as would never make them forget their dependence upon him. Gods are petty creatures, anyway.

The avant-guard has no such easy consolation as the infantile mind of the religious man, who places all the responsibility on the broad shoulders of Jehovah. He knows that his success or failure depends on the conspiracy, not of the things in heaven, but on earth; far more inexorable, much harder to overcome, than the wrath of the God of Israel.

The majority of people in America are mentally so lazy that nothing short of an explosion can wake them up from their apathy. Thus, anything that is not sensational and loud has no interest to the average, self-satisfied, sluggish philistine. To overcome this difficulty is something that will tax the patience and hardihood of the staunchest avant-guard, yet this is only one of the ninety-nine other hardships one has to fight against and struggle with, which allows but little light in the life of the avant-guard.

PITTSBURG, PA. Eighteen years ago, on Thanksgiving Day of 1892, I made my first pilgrimage to that city of smoke and fire—that hell compared with which Dante's Inferno was but a milk and honey affair.

Thanksgiving! What a mockery in American life. The giving of thanks at the order of Washington for the right to be duped, to be fleeced and robbed; for the right to be consumed by the horrible, insatiable flames of the Carnegie Smelter; to be killed, burned, and maimed.

Never before was I so conscious of this huge American lie, as on the 2th of November, 1892, on my first visit to Pittsburg.

I came to tramp the road to Golgotha, to the shame of

718

840514082

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant-Guard / Emma Goldman. — pp. 45-50 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 5, no. 2 (April 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

civilization—the Western Penitentiary. Ah, yes! I had all reasons to celebrate Thanksgiving. Two months prior, an American court of "justice" had bestowed a "mere trifle" on my Comrade and friend, Alexander Berkman, —a twenty-two years' imprisonment.

Twenty-two years' prison for a "crime" which even the corrupt State of Pennsylvania held punishable with only seven years. Twenty-two years' confinement in an American prison, and in that worst hell of all hells—the Western Penitentiary. Legal justice is a cold and cruel thing. So terribly cruel, that of late it has aroused the timid even to the barbarous, inhuman, and blood-curdling conditions behind American prison walls.

"This, too, I know—and wise it were
If each could know the same—
That every prison that man builds
Is built with bricks of shame,
And bound with bars, lest Christ should see
How men their brothers maim."

In 1892 the world had not yet been stirred by the inimitable cry of an agonized soul, Oscar Wilde's "Ballad of Reading Jail," and I had never before seen the hideous prison walls. But when the horrible dream of a mock visit was over,—a visit as hideous as everything else in prison life, a visit in the presence of a human beast in the form of a keeper, degrading every manifestation of feeling,—when the nightmare was lifted from my chest, and I breathed the pure air of nature again, my whole soul felt then, what has since been described by Oscar Wilde in these lines:

"The vilest deeds, like poisoned weeds,
Bloom well in prison air;
It is only what is good in man
That wastes and withers there.
Pale anguish keeps the heavy gate,
And the Warder is Despair."

The "good" Christians, who had the power to watch over my Comrade, among them Warden Wright, assured me that I need never come again, as Alexander Berkman will not live very long. "We will see to it that he never comes out alive."

That he did, is surely not the fault of those monsters who thrive on the blood and pain of their helpless victims. Nine years later, in 1901, I came again to see my friend. The shrewd vigilance of prison authorities is no check for friendship and love. I found our Comrade strong in body and spirit, a living proof of what perseverance, courage, and determination can accomplish, in spite of all odds.

Every little incident of the terrible years between 1892 and 1906 stood before me in all their horror, when I made my recent pilgrimage to that awful hell on the banks of the Ohio River.

It was no longer Golgotha to me, for my youth's companion was there no longer. Yet when I placed my hand on that hideous grey prison wall, I felt the heart of all that human mass within, chained and fettered, beaten, flogged, and outraged, victims of a wretched, cruel world, and as of yore I promised myself to continue with greater zeal, with intenser devotion, the labor of making man conscious of the brutality and inhumanity of our Christian civilization.

* * *

Two meetings, one English and one Jewish, were fairly successful. The difficulties in finding halls, and the fear of the newspapers to mention my subject, "The General Strike," failed to bring the usual large attendance of previous meetings in Pittsburg.

I came to this tremendous industrial center at the very beginning of the general strike in Philadelphia. No doubt the press realized the danger of such a subject, at such a time. In fact, one of the newspaper men expressed himself thus: "Well, Miss Goldman, don't you think you are taking too much responsibility in advocating a general strike now? Fancy if the workers of Pittsburg should become conscious of that weapon! Why, it would tie up not only the State but the entire country; it would mean a revolution. Indeed, we could not let the people know at this moment that you are to speak on such a dangerous topic."

Ah, if the workers would only become conscious of this dangerous weapon. Indeed, they will, they must, some day, even though the truth be suppressed now. What

719

840514082

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant-Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 45-50 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 2 (April 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

then? The authorities, the legalized pilferers, and highway robbers know; the press knows; the workers, too, will know.

Apropos of the American press. It has so thoroughly fettered the American mind, that the most advanced, the radicals even, are under its sway. They, too, believe every silly, ridiculous statement they see in the papers, although experience must have taught them how utterly false, inaccurate, deliberately dishonest, the papers are.

"E. G. advises the extermination of children in every family that has more than two." Evidently the newspapers in this country have exhausted their supply of "degrees" they have been bestowing on Emma Goldman. "Exponent of violence, bombs, and dynamite, the propagator of general chaos and disorder," are epithets out of date. Nobody believes in them any more. "The believer in a liberal supply of husbands and the destruction of the sanctity of the home," are also rather stale. Something new must be found to discredit the woman and her work, else people will begin to believe in her sincerity. We have got it brand new, straight from Pittsburg: Emma Goldman proposes to kill poor, innocent infants, to exterminate the race of idiots, cripples, policemen, jailers, soldiers, newspaper liars and vilifiers.

Isn't it pathetic that even some thinking people actually believe such rot? I hear that some of my own comrades have grown alarmed; they even asked me to make a public declaration denying the story. Yes, the press is a poisonous germ. I am almost inclined to believe with our friend Reitman, that if any blowing-up is ever to take place, the American press will have to get the first dose of explosives.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. How little the success of our meetings depends on the newspapers was manifested in Minneapolis. On previous occasions they wrote columns upon columns of interviews. This time they maintained a conspiracy of silence. Yet we had four English lectures, two of which were tremendously attended, although the meetings had been arranged in three days. The Sunday afternoon audience was particularly large and intensely interested in the general strike. A collection for the Philadelphia carmen, which unfortunately was taken up after many people had left the hall, netted $5.50. Minneapolis continues to remain a splendid field for propaganda.

SIOUX CITY, IOWA. My first visit here, though only with twenty-four hours to arrange meetings, proved a moral success. The material end of it was frustrated by none other than the managers of the hall, the Labor Temple. Friend Reitman rented the hall for $4, but on the evening of the meeting he was informed that if he "charged admission, the committee of the Labor Temple will insist on $25 rent." A fair example of how much justice may be looked for from the millennium of our friends, the Socialists, when the working man will be in power. As the demand of the Labor Temple people was a regular hold-up, we decided to have free admission.

The next evening our meeting was held in the City Hall. Yes, there is actually one city in America that still maintains the old tradition of using the town hall for all public purposes. That no exception was made with Anarchists was much to the credit of the liberal spirit of Sioux City. However, I confess I did not enjoy the hospitality of the city hall, probably because I was too conscious of the graft and fraud that are going on within the walls of every public building. In Sioux City the town hall is also used for a court room. Remembering the many victims who are brought up daily in the same place to receive their doom at the hands of some kind judge, I felt too depressed in that atmosphere. I was glad when the ordeal was over. I shall never again attempt to plead for liberty on the same floor where it is being outraged every hour in the year.

The most pleasant experience of my visit in Sioux City was the meeting of the group of Jewish men and women, mostly Socialists, who are carrying on effective educational work through the Hebrew Progressive Library. They have a beautiful little hall of their own, with quite a variety of books, and the members are most eager to read and learn.

OMAHA, NEB. When I came to this city the first time—eighteen months ago—my good friend Herman Michailovitch had worked hard for six weeks to organize the meeting. This time everything had to be done in two days. Of course, the audiences were not very large, but Omaha makes up in quality what it lacks in quantity.

720

840514082

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant-Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 45-50 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 2 (April 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

This is particularly true of the women who come to the meetings. In no other city have I had such a large percentage of women, so thoroughly wide-awake and interested in all progressive subjects. Thus it is always a pleasure for me to visit Omaha, even though I never need an express wagon to help me carry away the filthy lucre.

I have just completed my work in Denver, but space will not permit me to report the many pleasant and unpleasant incidents. I leave that for the next issue of our magazine.

Spring is in the air, and Golden California before us. Shall it be light or shadow for the avant-guard? Who cares—to the reckless belongs the world.

* * *

ANARCHIST SYMPOSIUM

TOLSTOY.

LYOFF NIKOLAIEVITCH TOLSTOY, born in 1828 at Yasnaya Polyana, Russia, is known throughout the world for his writings, which have dealt with all the principal phases of the social question. He has written so much that it is difficult to select from the mass, but "My Confession," "What I Believe," "My Religion," "On Life," "What Shall We Do Then," "The Kingdom of God is within You," "Patriotism," and "Thou Shalt Not Kill" contain the pith of his philosophy. His style is singularly clear and easy of comprehension, in accordance with his repeatedly avowed conviction that all that is necessary for the solution of social questions is to speak plain truths in the most absolutely plain manner. Despite this extreme outspokenness, he is probably one of the most generally misunderstood of modern authors, thanks to his profound admiration for the teachings of, or attributed to, Christ. Instead of being, as some appear to think, an upholder of religion and the church, he is unquestionably one of the most formidable and unrelenting foes that the church and religion, as the term is usually understood, have ever had, for the essential fact regarding Tolstoy is that he is entirely free from mysticism, his criticism of life being based, solely and exclusively, on reason. The following passage from his work entitled "On Life" shows this clearly:

"Human life, from getting up in the morning to going to bed at night, is an unbroken series of actions; man must daily choose, from hundreds of actions possible to him, those actions which he will perform; therefore, man cannot live without something to guide the choice of his actions." * * * "Reason is that law, recognized by man, according to which his life is to be accomplished." * * * "If there is no higher reason—and such there is not, nor can anything prove its existence—then my reason is the supreme judge of my life."

This passage gives clue to Tolstoy's method of approaching social problems; accounts for his extreme individualism and shows, apart from his repeated express declarations on the point, that he has no conception of an external God, the sole arbiter being within each one of us, and each acting according to the dictates of his reason. Tolstoy's appeal, therefore, is always to reason, the "still, small voice." He has expressed himself as having no great liking for Herbert Spencer, but in this matter, which is basic with him, he entirely agrees with the demonstration that Herbert Spencer gives of the fact that whether we recognize it or not, we invariably act as at the moment we consider best; that is, according to the dictates of our reason. In the work just quoted from, Tolstoy further states that "the ever increasing subjugation of the bestial personality to the rational consciousness is the true life; is life, as opposed to mere existence." In all this Tolstoy is in complete accord with his fellow-Russian, the Anarchist Bakunin, who, viewing the social question as a part of the evolutionary law of the progress of mankind from a less perfect to a more perfect existence, says: "History consists in the progressive negation of man's original bestiality by the evolution of his humanity."

Tolstoy, therefore, admires Christ solely because Christ seems to him to have been the most reasonable of teachers. So far is he from regarding that teaching as supernatural that he expressly declares that he hopes it may be true that such a man as Christ never existed, since, if the doctrines attributed to him were really a part of the general philosophy of the age in which Christ is said to have lived, they would have far more weight than if coming from one man.

721

830907109

The Emma Goldman Papers

Goldman's Own Narrative of Her Visit and Reception in Madison / Emma Goldman.— 19 cm. *In* The State Journal [Madison]. —(April 1, 1910).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Wisconsin Madison Archives. Institutional Location: Charles R. Van Hise Presidential Papers, General Correspondence, Series 4/10/1,Box 18.

GOLDMAN'S OWN NARRATIVE OF HER VISIT AND RECEPTION IN MADISON

State Journal April 1, 1910

Emma Goldman and her traveling mate, Dr. Ben Reitman, publish a New York magazine known as "Mother Earth." In the issue of February, over her own signature, Emma tells of her visit to Madison.

"Madison, Wis., has had a great charm for me the last few years because of its historical library. But what I realy found there is extraordinary indeed. Certainly a better equipped and better managed institution I have never seen in any other city in America. No other library has such a collection of books, papers, and magazines on the labor question, trade unionism, socialism and anarchism. Yes, even anarchism, that most hated, most tabooed and misunderstood theory.

"During the few hours that I could spend in the library, thanks to the generous assistance of Mr. Andrews, the chief research worker, I saw collections of the earliest anarchist papers, books, and pamphlets in America. Complete files of the Alarm, Fackel, Vorbote, Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung, Free Society, Liberty, Freiheit, Mother Earth, and scores of others. Also numerous pamphlets dating almost a century back. In fact, a perfect mint for the earnest student. If the liberal endeavor of this historical library will continue, it bids fair to become for American—in a small measure—what the British museum is for England.

In all my travels through the length and breadth of this land I found its university cities the most bigoted, arrogant, and conservative. Madison, Wis., is undoubtedly a happy exception. The progressive spirit among professors and students is unusual indeed. Professors Ross, Commons (sic) Jastrow, and others are making history in America. Thanks to them the American student is becoming humanized and socialized. He feels an interest in other things besides baseball, football, and scabbing. That university men should turn out in large numbers to hear Emma Goldman was more than some citizens of Madison could stand. Since we left that city the Democrat, a yellow sheet, has been attacking the university most venomously. I am convinced, however, that its barking will not intimidate the progressive element. Nor will it hamper it in its commendable desire to learn the truth from right sources. Surely Professor Ross, who has withstood the various attacks upon his right to think independently and to interpret modern sociology, both in Stanford and the Nebraska university, is not likely to be disturbed in his march by anything the Democrat may say. It was a great treat to meet Professor Ross. His wonderful physique with its large, generous lines, his broad-minded views of social events, and his great humanism, were refreshing after meeting so many pigmies who are infesting the American colleges.

"The inspiration of our short stay in Madison was the socialist students' club, whose members tower mountain high above their political leader. Both Dr. Reitman and myself were invited to their round table at the Y. M. C. A., where we were asked to address the club. The doctor spoke of the relation between the educator and agitator, and I made a few remarks on the difference between students in Russia and America. One member of the club helped faithfully at our own meetings, in a true fraternal spirit. Thus our visit to Madison was not only very interesting and profitable, but it was also a delightful one. A sleighride in that beautiful country, with all the glory of a white winter, bore me back to the never-to-be-forgotten joys of the Russian troika, dashing along through the cold, the music of its bells re-echoing through forest and field. For this childhood day in Madison I am indebted to a friend of former days, who is now professor at the university, and a respectable citizen of the place.

"The light continues in its bright colors, even while I write this in the city of St. Louis, the success of which I will describe at another time.

"The life of the avant-guard,—how rich, how full, how all absorbing. The only life worth living.

"Emma Goldman."

840514084

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant-Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 87-90 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 3 (May 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

may trample and flee; to be smitten by these gods that have as little of the idea of stone in them as a dragon-fly, one instant poised upon a wind-swayed petal edge. I think no one can look upon them without realizing at once that those figures came out of the boil of life; they seem like rising bubbles about to float into the air, but beneath them other bubbles rising, and others, and others,—there will be no end of it. When one's eyes are upon one group, one feels that behind one, perhaps, a figure is uptoeing to seize the darts of the air and hurl them on one's head; one must keep whirling to face the miracle that appears about to be wrought—stone leaping! And this though nearly every one is minus some of the glory the old Greek wrought into it so long ago; even the broken stumps of arms and legs live. And the dominant idea is Activity, and the beauty and strength of it. Change, swift, ever-circling Change! The making of things and the casting of them away, as children cast away their toys, not interested that these shall endure, so that they themselves realize incessant activity. Full of creative power, what matter if the creature perished. So there was an endless procession of changing shapes in their schools, their philosophies, their dramas, their poems, till at last it wore itself to death. And the marvel passed away from the world. But still their marbles live to show what manner of thoughts dominated them.

And if we wish to know what master-thought ruled the lives of men when the mediæval period had had time to ripen it, one has only at this day to stray into some quaint, out-of-the-way English village, where a strong old towered Church yet stands in the midst of little straw-thatched cottages, like a brooding mother-hen surrounded by her chickens. Everywhere the greatening of God, and the lessening of Man: the Church so looming, the home so little. The search for the spirit, for the *enduring* thing (not the poor endurance of granite which in the ages crumbles, but the eternal), the etenal,—and contempt for the body which perishes, manifest in studied uncleanliness, in mortifications of the flesh, as if the spirit should have spat its scorn upon it.

Such was the dominant idea of that middle age which has been too much cursed by modernists. For the men who built the castles and the cathedrals, were men of mighty works, though they made no books, and though their souls spread crippled wings, because of their very endeavors to soar too high. The spirit of voluntary subordination for the accomplishment of a great work, which proclaimed the aspiration of the common soul, that was the spirit wrought into the cathedral stones; and it is not wholly to be condemned.

In waking dream, when the shadow-shapes of world-ideas swim before the vision, one sees the Middle-Age Soul an ill-contorted, half-formless thing, with dragon wings and a great, dark, tense face, strained sunward with blind eyes.

(*To be continued.*)

* * *

LIGHT AND SHADOWS IN THE LIFE OF AN AVANT-GUARD

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

DENVER is not unlike a prison. Its inhabitants, too, have been sent there "to do time." That which makes the position of the prisoner preferable, is the consolation that the State will feed him and that some day his time will expire. The majority of Denverites have no such cheerful outlook. Although arriving there with hopes of a speedy return, it's usually imprisonment for life.

We all know the paralizing effect of the daily grind for existence, even for most of us who can boast an average physique. How much more paralizing must it be for those who go to Denver as a last resort to rescue life from its downward path?

Under such conditions and in such an atmosphere people are not interested in abstract ideas. "To hell with Bebel's speech," said the consumptive in "Sanin," in reply to the query of his companion enthused over the latest word-battle in the Reichstag. "I am interested in one thing—Life, and how long I may still see the sky, the stars."

723

840514084

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant-Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 87-90 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 3 (May 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Artzibasheff, himself a victim of tuberculosis, understands the psychology of these people only too well.

And yet, those who attended our meetings in Denver must have been interested. Else they would not have come, night after night. Or was it merely to get away from the grim reality? If so, I am happy to have furnished that opportunity, even though it was but for the moment.

The Ferrer lecture and the one on "Marriage and Love" brought the largest audience. Particularly the latter. Sex is a vital factor, after all; few people realize how very vital it must be for the exiles of Denver.

Fair newspaper treatment of an Anarchist is as scarce as light in the life of the avant-guard. One must therefore consider it an event if three papers in one city, during almost a week, devoted columns to *verbatim* reports of Anarchistic lectures, not to forget the extraordinary discovery of the dramatic critic of the Denver *Times*, to wit: "Emma Goldman is being treated as an enemy of society because, with Dr. Stockman, she is pointing out the ills and defects of society." O, for the naivety of an American dramatic critic! As if that was not the crime of all crimes, to point to the swamps of society.

CHEYENNE.—Even woman's votes have failed to affect the grey matter of the police. Yet my sisters still believe in the miraculous power of woman suffrage. Wyoming can boast women politicians, but the police are just as stupid as in other States, and a little more, as our dear editor has already described in a delightfully humorous comment in the April issue. I shall, therefore, only add that the danger signal was hoisted in Cheyenne by the Acting Mayor. The poor fellow was quite a nonentity in his town. To make himself conspicuous, he set the town afire, and when the smoke was over, he found he had only burned his own fingers. By noon of the day after our arrest the "hero" came slinking into our lawyer's office, whining, "Please, sir, I'll be good. I'll never do it again." As for the majesty of the law, four meetings instead of the original two, and the sale of a quantity of literature, helped to make her majesty appear pretty flat and silly.

I cannot close this very important chapter without expressing our thanks to the faithful few in Denver, who

came to the rescue the moment they heard of our arrest. The money they sent helped us to reimburse, in a small measure, the attorney who was instrumental in setting the dislocated funny bone of the Acting Mayor.

SALT LAKE CITY.—The Mormon husband may be as agreeable around the house as the Christian dears, but as builder of cities the Mormons are certainly superior.

I have traveled through the length and breadth of this very Christian country, but I know of no city that can compare with the stronghold of the Mormons. Nothing mean about these people, whatever else they may be. They could not indulge in many wives if they were small or miserly. No wonder they are so generous with their city.

Spacious, beautifully laid out, and spotlessly clean, Salt Lake City has much more the appearance of an European than an American city, where every inch of ground is mutilated for business purposes. As regards public buildings, the Mormons are almost as extravagant as in the number of wives. Quite a variety of them, each one a joy to the eye.

My dear old friend Thurston Brown (who lost a fat church because he dared, as few did, give reasons for Czolgosz's act), together with Comrade Cline, of Salt Lake City, arranged two meetings, which proved the most successful of the second part of our tour. The audiences were large and remarkably appreciative, which was best proved by the quantity of literature purchased.

A drive into the glorious country surrounding Salt Lake City, with Comrade and Mrs. Cline, added to our short but delightful visit to the Mormons.

RENO, NEV.—The divorce mill of America. What a farce the marriage institution is, anyway. Here are thousands of women flocking to Reno, to buy their freedom from one owner in order to sell it more profitably to another. Thus a well known lady married the second man four hours after she was divorced from the first. These respectable women do have it easy. No heartache, no soul agony of the free woman, who suffers a thousand torments in the transitory period between an old and new experience. Just a piece of paper bought for so many dollars, and all is proper. What shallowness, what terrible hypocrisy. Yet these same respectable ladies of

724

840514084

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant-Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 87-90 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 3 (May 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Reno hold up their hands in holy horror when they hear of a free relationship of the free woman, who would never think of giving herself to any man, except when she loves. Some of these good women were perfectly scandalized when Emma Goldman registered in the same hotel. No, they could not stand for that. Either they or Emma Goldman must go. And the hotel keeper, poor lackey. The ladies have money; never mind their lack of character, or provincialism. Emma Goldman was told to get out. It would have been surprising if she hadn't. Respectability is indeed a shallow thing.

The greatest farce of Reno, however, is that in democratic America divorce is but an exclusively aristocratic privilege. The poor women, thousands of them, abused, insulted, and outraged by their precious husbands, must continue a life of degradation. They have no money to join the colony in Reno. No relief for them. The poor women, the slaves of the slaves, must go on prostituting themselves. They must continue to bear children in hate, in conflict, in physical horror. The marriage institution and the "sanctity of the home" are only for those who have not the money to buy themselves free from both, even as the chattel slave from his master.

Reno, the divorce mill of America, needed more than any other place to learn the cause of the failure of marriage and the meaning of love. Not the kind that is bought and sold, but the kind that is free as the elements to give itself in abundance or to deny itself in the same measure.

The beginning was made in Reno. I spoke on Anarchism, and on Marriage and Love. What I said may have been Greek to some. But that a few did understand, their faces betrayed. Theirs was the expression of the blind beholding the light of day for the first time.

To accomplish this much it was worth going even to Reno. The supreme effort of the avant-guard is onward, ever onward.

ANARCHIST SYMPOSIUM

TOLSTOY.

TOLSTOY asks how it is that the people submit to oppressive governments, and answers that it is owing to "a highly artificial organization, created with the help of scientific progress, in which all men are bewitched into a circle of violence from which they cannot free themselves. At present this circle consists of four means of influence; they are all connected and hold each other, like the links of a chain."

The first means is the "hypnotization of the people," leading them to the erroneous opinion that the existing order is unchangeable and must be upheld, while in reality it is unchangeable only by its being upheld." It is accomplished by "fomenting the two forces of superstition called religion and patriotism."

The second means that the State employs is the bribery of a small class, to which it gives official positions and special privileges.

The third means is intimidation, which "consists in setting down the present State order—of whatever sort, be it a free republican order or be it the most grossly despotic—as something sacred and unchangeable, and imposing the most frightful penalties upon every attempt to change it.

The fourth means is to "separate a certain part of all the men, whom they have stupefied and bewitched by the three first means, and subject these men to special, stronger forms of stupefaction and bestialization, so that they become will-less tools of every brutality and cruelty that the government sees fit to resolve upon." "Intimidation, bribery, hypnosis, bring men to enlist as soldiers. The soldiers, in turn, afford the possibility of punishing men, plundering them in order to bribe officials with the money; hypnotizing them, and thus bringing them into the ranks of the very soldiers on whom the power for all this is based."

Tolstoy is positive that the conditions that he describes so graphically cannot endure much longer, for he says: "To-day every man who thinks, however little, sees the impossibility of keeping on with the life hitherto lived, and the necessity of determining new forms of life."

725

840514086

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant-Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 124-130 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 4 (June, 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

find our own child pointing the finger of scorn at us and crying, "You hypocrite!"

As to our economic life, the student of labor conditions is well aware of the disorganizing and enslaving effect of compromise. Here in America, especially, are the relations of capital and labor still based on the treacherous sands of weak-kneed surrender, with evident results. In no land is the workingman so mercilessly exploited as here; yet in no land is he such a *willing* slave, so bigotted, narrow-minded and patriotic, thoroughly persuaded by the long practice of compromise that this is a *free* country, that it is *his* country, and that his masters are his real benefactors.

Conditions, indeed, force us all to compromise, to some extent, and especially on the economic field. But compromise under protest and the glorification of compromise as a noble ideal, are two entirely different things. As long as the workers *believe in* compromise—under whatever euphonism it may express itself: arbitration, identity of interests, legislative regulation, reform of labor conditions within the confines of wage slavery; as long as the workingmen are trained by their misleaders to cheerfully relinquish their right to the entire product of their labor, and taught to consider every surrender a victory; as long as their power of resistance is thus paralyzed more and more while their gaze is directed to piously contemplate some divine or governmental Messiah—as long, in short, as labor regards the economic arena as a fraternal compromise banquet instead of a *battle-field,* just so long will the workingman remain the abject wage slave that he is, without hope of emancipation.

* * *

LIGHT AND SHADOWS IN THE LIFE OF AN AVANT-GUARD

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

MANY years ago, when I first learned to know America's most human writer, Bret Harte, I was told by a friend: "You will never be able to fully appreciate Bret Harte until you have been in California."

Since then it has been my fortune to see that golden stretch of soil five times, and with every new pilgrim-

age I realize more keenly how truthfully my friend had spoken.

The California of to-day has not the primitiveness, the savage beauty, the daring recklessness of Bret Harte's time. Like everything else in our life- and soul-destroying commercialism, California is fast becoming ordinary and commonplace. Yet, with all that, it is still so gloriously beautiful, so rich and fragrant, so thrilling and yet so soothing as to remain forever the enchantress of all those who first followed her lure.

Thirteen years ago I made my first trip to the West, and still I feel the same breathless awe, the same exaltation the moment California is before me. Possibly this is due to the contrast between the endless stretch of desert-like Nevada, with its bareness and deathlike gray, and the rich, soft green that suddenly greets the weary wanderer. A magic hand that turns death to life, ugliness into beauty, and imbues one's drowsy, listless body with intense alertness and expectancy.

We reached California the 18th of April, after fourteen weeks of constant motion through rain and cold, with the winter's chill in body and soul. But California was all Spring, Mother Earth reborn, holding out warmth, hope, and cheer to all her children, the avant-guard not excepted. And who is more in need of Earth's bounteous gifts than the avant-guard, the forerunner of a new life?

Thanks to the gracious hospitality of Dr. George Pyburn, the old young banner bearer of Sacramento, I could make a halt in our restless march. Not so our "Hobo"; he had to go on to San Francisco to pay his usual toll as manager of our meetings. If anyone has envied Dr. Reitman his "lucrative position," he is welcome to try it for a while; the manager will be glad to take a rest.

Dear Doctor Pyburn—Daddy Pyburn, as I best like to call him—is one of the oldest, if not the oldest Anarchist on the coast; yet his interest and enthusiasm in the cause of liberty would put many a younger comrade to shame. He is truly an inspiration to all who have lost faith in the truth and in themselves. At 78 he is as strong in body as in mind, lives in free-

726

840514086
The Emma Goldman Papers
Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant-Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 124-130 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 4 (June, 1910).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

dom, attends his house and garden, and keeps his door and purse always open to those who work for human emancipation.

A few days under Daddy Pyburn's roof and within the fragrance of his roses, and I felt rejuvenated to begin the battle anew.

SAN FRANCISCO has gone back on her record, or perhaps some of those who profess to be radicals have. At any rate, our meetings were not up to the usual mark.

The preliminary arrangements were made by a friend who was too much burdened with other affairs, and San Francisco is too large a city to be thoroughly canvassed in a few days. Still, the faithful few, together with Dr. Reitman, succeeded in saving the situation. Five meetings and a debate furnished the opportunity to dispose of quite a quantity of literature. The debate as to whether collective regulation or free love will guarantee a healthy race was really nothing else than the question whether the State or the individual shall control human affairs. My opponent was a Socialist. That's the reason.

GLEN ELLEN, Jack London's ranch.

Among the people I notified of my lectures in San Francisco was Jack London. As I much wanted to meet him, I asked him to come to San Francisco. He replied in this caustic manner:

"Dear Emma Goldman.—I have your note, but would not go to a meeting even if God Almighty were to lecture. The only time I attend a lecture is when I am to speak. (Poor Jack!) But we want you here. Will you not come to Glen Ellen and bring whomever you have with you?"

Who could resist such a unique yet straight-from-the-heart invitation? And so we went to Glen Ellen. Fortunately for Jack and Charmian London, I had only two friends with me, Ben Reitman and E. E. Kirk; no cats, dogs, or canary birds. But if I had to bring a caravan the trouble would have been worth while.

What a beautiful, jovial, hearty man, this Jack London. So altogether different from the cold, mechanical, bell-button Socialist of the "Crampton and

Vace Letters," the man to whom love, romance, sympathy, and beauty were nothing but machine results. How silly are theories, after all, if they fail to have the human, the red blood in them. Jack London is so much bigger than his matter-of-fact, mechanical attitude toward the million complexities of life. One who can bring us so close to the soul struggle, the mental agony of a "Martin Eden" is not only a great artist, but must also have in him the precious element of life, warm, red blood that beats in unison with every soul in pain.

Everything about Glen Ellen, the glory of the country which showed me California as I had never seen it before; the truly great hospitality of Charmian and Jack London, a hospitality that relieves and soothes and does not bind; above all, the free spirit of the whole atmosphere made our two days' visit a memorable event, a truly great experience.

LOS ANGELES remains one of the faithful. Comrade W. C. Owen was the patron saint this time. Although far from being well, and with an enormous amount of daily grind in behalf of the Prison Reform work, he nevertheless managed to do a great deal for our meetings. Other friends also helped. Failure was therefore out of the question. As I have repeatedly said, if our meetings are poor it is not because of indifference on the part of the people, but rather owing to poor advertising. We have so few willing to do work, and still fewer who know how to do it. A couple of days are usually enough to arrange meetings in a small city. Dr. Reitman has done it in twenty-four hours. But large cities require a thorough canvass. Where that has been done our work was crowned with success.

Los Angeles has surpassed all our expectations. We had large gatherings every night, including a meeting in Yiddish (the first in that city, by the way). The debate on "Woman Suffrage," with the same gentleman who stood for Colleetive Regulation, Mr. Edward Adam Cantrell, brought a crowded house. Still the Los Angelites, like Oliver Twist, wanted more. We added another meeting to the list of eight, and that one, too, was literally jammed.

727

840514086

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant–Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 124-130 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 4 (June, 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

I know Comrade Owen was happy; in fact, everybody was, not only because of the moral and material results, but because of the good will, the harmony, and solidarity among those who helped so faithfully in the work.

The Los Angeles visit, aside from the pleasure of meeting my many dear friends there, proved particularly interesting to me this time. I met there that rare man who, released from prison, had not forgotten the unfortunate victims behind the bars: Colonel Griffith J. Griffith, who, together with that tireless worker, Comrade W. C. Owen, has started the disclosures of the horrors in American prisons by the publication of "Crime and Criminals," a book every social student ought to read—the most scathing indictment against our entire penal system ever published. The extensive correspondence carried on by the Prison Reform Association has further helped to awaken an interest in the life of our social outcasts. The whole work has been financed entirely by Colonel Griffith J. Griffith.

If I thought that a great wrong is sure to awaken social consciousness and fellow-feeling, I should wish for all men the experience of Mr. G. J. Griffith. Especially would I wish that people of wealth should get a dose of American prisons. Perhaps they would follow the good example of the man in Los Angeles. But that is expecting almost the superhuman. Colonel Griffith is still a believer in legislative enactment, as a measure of reform. 'Tis the political germ. But if Mr. Griffith could learn the injustice practiced within the prison, he will also learn the greater injustice of the thing that makes prison abuses inevitable—that is, government.

SAN DIEGO. The rarest of all rarities in America is to find a German proletarian who has interested himself in the life struggle of his people rather than in pinochle and singing-vereins. Such a curiosity is Comrade Ernest Besselman, as saturated with the spirit of revolt, as completely devoted to the cause of liberty, as if he had just stepped out of the early revolutionary movement of Germany. I mean the proletarian Germany of twenty-five or thirty years ago, not of the

sleek and polished political demagoguerie of to-day. Although our comrade earns an American fortune of nine dollars per week, I am confident that at least six of them go every week to the revolutionary cause, which to him is the very breath of life.

He is no mean artist, this proletarian. A skilled decorator, he would, in a sane world, beautify public halls for the festivals of the people. But in this stupid society of ours he decorates the palaces of the parasites who fatten on the sweat of the disinherited. Among his "patrons" was Mrs. Suffragist Belmont, whose great "generosity" to the shirtwaist makers brought the newspaper lackeys to her feet.

For this lady our comrade worked. He decorated a smoking room for ladies in a wonderful damask red, as red as the blood of the countless millions that are being devoured by the Moloch of Greed. Ernest Besselman forgot that lives like his are cheap in this Christian world. He fell off the scaffold, dislocated his left arm, and broke his shoulder blade. What did Sister Belmont do? Nothing, since there was no chance for newspaper notoriety and vote-getting. Oh, I forgot: She immediately stopped Ernest Besselman's pay. Not enough, you say. Too much for a working man. However, our comrade has humor He told me that a minister visited him in the hospital and asked him whether he had ever worked on Sundays. Our friend naively told him that he did. "Well, my friend," said the minister, "bear your accident like a Christian, for it is God's punishment for your sin of working on the Sabbath." Two years later our comrade was again sent to work on the Belmont estate. At that time he had affiliated himself with the I. W. W. He wore the emblem of that organization. Mrs. Belmont, who wants the vote because her gardener has it, upbraided poor Besselman for being a Russian revolutionist, because of the innocent red button. Pity the constituents who will place Mrs. Belmont in power.

This bit of history must prove especially interesting to my friends who were carried away last winter by the hysteria of Mrs. Belmont and Miss Anna Morgan, in connection with the shirtwaist makers' strike.

728

840514086

The Emma Goldman Papers

Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant-Guard / Emma Goldman. – pp. 124-130 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 4 (June, 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Ernest Besselman can no longer follow his art for a living. But his love of the beautiful is too deep to be smothered. So he decorates the I. W. W. hall, his own little bachelor room, and whatever else he may. How many Besselmans die for want even of that much!

With infinite devotion and care he arranged my meetings, pasted the town in the early morning hours, and proved a veritable inspiration in that lethargic, dead San Diego.

I am sure our comrade was as happy as a lark over the results, though they were not very great. But if the meetings had actually been a failure, it would have been worth the effort, if only to meet such a rare and refreshing specimen of humanity. Dear, brave Comrade, if not for such as you the shadows in the life of the avant-guard would shut out the light completely.

* * *

CHILD LABOR

By H. KELLY.

THE N. Y. *Sun* has long been noted for its brutal and sinister defense of the present form of wage slavery. With a staff of writers trained in the Dana school, they often make the most outrageous abuse of human rights look plausible. It requires skill to make child labor seem defensible; it takes genius to make it appear beneficial and humane, for even the most callous bourgeois has qualms of conscience on this subject—unless he is a direct beneficiary.

In an editorial published in a recent issue, the *Sun* attempts to prove that child labor in Southern mills is both beneficial and humane; the writer, however, not being a genius, the attempt is a stupid failure. Thus runs his argument:

"Some time ago, perhaps three weeks, we took occasion to say that the women and children taken from the smaller Southern farms and employed in the cotton mills were vastly benefited by the transplantation; improved physically and morally, transformed from forlorn and anæmic conditions into conditions of health and activity

and vigor, and elevated to higher planes of enlightened well being. Of course we did not refer to the *exceptional mills* where searchers after hardship and neglect can find almost any deplorable circumstance they happen to be looking for. We had in view the *normal mill* towns, representing six-tenths if not more of the now progressive industry.

"There are mills all over North and South Carolina where so-called 'child labor' has been most beneficent, where the mill owners build schools and churches and for the most part pay the salaries of the teachers and the ministers, where they establish clubhouses and libraries and kindergartens for the training and development of the youth within their influence, and where the objects of these ministrations emerge from the pallid and unwholesome products of the isolated farms into rosy, happy, and perfectly natural children. Some have established bands and military companies, playgrounds, halls for light theatrical entertainments, and behind it all are the sanitary homes, the cooking schools, the system of picnics and other social reunions which illumine life and bring health and knowledge and high spirits to the individual."

All things are possible in this world. It may even be that the luxuries purchased with the thirty-five to fifty cents a week, paid some of these children, have brought roses to their cheeks and increased the vitality of their bodies. Likewise the clubhouses, libraries, churches, schools, etc., have improved their minds, and the music developed their culture and added a poetic touch to their imagination. When, however, our writer talks about the "exceptional mills where searchers after hardship and neglect can find almost any deplorable circumstance they happen to be looking for," and having "in view the normal mill towns, representing six-tenths if not more of the now progressive industry," we must draw the veil. Six-tenths is, if we are not mistaken, three-fifths; and if three-fifths is the normal and two-fifths the exceptional, words have lost their meaning. On the face of it, deplorable conditions exist in two-fifths of the cotton mills of the South, for even our apologist admits that. It would seem as if there is still plenty of work left the "muckraker" to do. In our glad childhood

729

840514088

The Emma Goldman Papers

The End of the Odyssey / Emma Goldman. — pp. 159-163 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 5, no. 5 (July 1910).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

the child. Is it not courage which will in a great measure decide the battles which are coming, and which our children will see if we do not ourselves see them?

It is to the militant members of all advanced parties, to the workers grouped in their unions that we turn, to ask that they shall give life to a work which is essentially their work, to help us accomplish a task which is essentially their task.

It will, perhaps, be objected that to realize our ideal of education completely, a social transformation must first be accomplished. We know it. But we also know that even within the narrow framework of present constraints and difficulties, we can do much. Our domain, because it is that of education, escapes to a certain extent the iron laws which elsewhere hem us in.

No human force, for example, can exempt a wage-worker from the material consequences of his wage-slavery. Certain educators on the contrary, more enlightened, more courageous, and more alert than the rest, are already giving instruction in conformity with our ideal, at any rate superior to that suggested by the bourgeois State. Be sure that the number of these valiant souls will rapidly increase if they feel themselves aided, guided, and sustained by an active and powerful organization.

Such is the aim of our League; it will attain that aim, if you but will it so.

For the Committee,
Officers: ANATOLE FRANCE, Honorary Pres.;
SOLEDAD VILLAFRANCA, President;
C. A. LAISANT, Vice-President;
CHAS. ALBERT, Secretary;
AUGUSTE BERTRAND, Treasurer.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

ANARCHIST—A believer in Anarchism; one opposed to all forms of coercive government and invasive authority; an advocate of Anarchy, or absence of government, as the ideal of political liberty and social harmony.

THE END OF THE ODYSSEY

HERE is July, and I am still writing of "Light and Shadows." But six months' touring as an Anarchist lecturer furnishes enough material for a whole volume, were one to relate every incident. The latter may not look important in cold print, but in the life of the avant-guard each little event plays a part in the great struggle.

In Portland our Comrade Agnes Fair proved true to her name. Some day I shall acquaint our readers with Agnes. For the present it will suffice to mention that she is a most typical American woman "hobo," a true child of the Open Road, with the naturalness and simplicity of one who has never lived the cramped city life. Agnes is a proletarian, devoted to the workers with every fiber of her being. Untiring and with boundless zeal she goes like her Russian sisters among the people, into factory, shop, and mine, into the lumber regions, fisheries, and on the street, always knocking at the dull minds and indifferent hearts of the oppressed, urging them to think, to feel, and to rebel.

In co-operation with Comrade Sivin, she arranged five lectures, canvassed every labor gathering and meeting, distributing cards; nor did she overlook any detail that might help to make my visit in Portland a real holiday. Thus, thanks to her efforts, our work was crowned with the greatest success we had ever had in that city.

SEATTLE did not look promising. Though there is a considerable coterie of Anarchists in the Mecca on the Pugent Sound, only one was sufficiently interested to take the preliminary arrangements in hand. The others, I understand, had no end of grievances, which on closer inspection proved, what Nietzsche called, mental laziness. Friend Cassius Cook, however, went about in his highly methodical manner, doing the best he knew to make my coming known. Owing to the difficulty of procuring halls in Seattle, only two English meetings were arranged. But they made up in quality.

At the lecture on white slavery the audience was given a treat which it will long remember. During the discussion I was attacked bitterly by an Englishman, who was terribly shocked at my frank handling of the sub-

730

840514088

The Emma Goldman Papers

The End of the Odyssey / Emma Goldman. — pp. 159-163 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 5, no. 5 (July 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ject. With usual Anglo-Saxon cant he protested against the preposterous idea that respectable women should at all consider the prostitute. After the King's subject had closed his plea for "goodness and virtue," a young Hindu student of the University of Washington followed, and in a brief but eloquent discourse he drew a vivid picture of British "goodness and virtue" in India, which kept the audience spellbound. Nothing but intenseness of purpose, great human sympathy, and a deeply outraged soul could speak as that Hindu did.

How little we know in America of the horrors in India, of the robbery, outrages, and pilfering under English rule. How great must be the suffering of the Hindu people if, with their serene attitude towards life, her sons are driven to violent resistance.

Curiosity may sometimes lead to real interest, but those who suffer much from the disagreeable invasion of the curious must needs become impatient and inaccessible. The penalty thereof is that, because of the mass, one rarely comes in closer contact with the individual man and woman. Yet it is only the individual who is of consequence, who adds to one's experience, and deepens one's view of life.

While in Seattle it was my good fortune to meet two women—not the ordinary middle class sort, who out of ennui and lack of stability dabble in all kinds of reform issues, but rather women eager for their own development, and deeply interested in the great social unrest. They have helped to strengthen my conviction that in America women, and not men, will prove the most ardent workers for social reconstruction. Already we find in all radical movements women as the most zealous workers. I say this not because I am partial to my sex, but because the middle class and even the professional man has been made an almost complete automaton by our commercial life; he lacks red blood, without which active interest in an ideal is impossible.

Last year, when the Industrial Workers of SPOKANE began their free speech fight, I was strongly tempted to go to the scene of action. But knowing the antecedents of the majority of the Industrial Workers—De Leon as parent, and the *Daily People* for their baby food—I realized that my presence would have been a hindrance instead of a help. But with the free speech fight lost, and all the boys out of prison, I decided to visit Spokane, if only to pay my respects to Chief Sullivan, the Terrible.

Comrade Dickinson was the one who prepared the battlefield; the "manager" preceded me by one day, yet we found Spokane to be the red-letter town of our entire itinerary. Our success was extraordinary. Though hot as in Gehenna, every meeting, afternoon and evening, brought large audiences, and the demand for literature exhausted our supply long before the campaign was over.

The only incident that clouded the otherwise sunny sky of Spokane, and nearly proved our Waterloo, was an automobile accident. For the peace of mind of some of my "friends," I might say that the accident happened not as was reported, in Emma Goldman's car, but in that of the hallkeeper, who, like most well-meaning people, possessed more generosity than experience—as a chauffeur. Also the railroad company, with usual American recklessness, had neither bears nor flagman at the dangerous crossing.

Twenty years of tramping has, like the outdoor life of the savage, helped to sharpen the senses of our "Hobo." Certainly he must have felt the train approach before he could see it. It was he who gave the danger signal while jumping off the car, a fraction of a second before the locomotive struck the wheel. As for myself, like the infesters of the air, I went up in an aeroplane and down again to mother earth,—fortunately not on my head. . . I was considerably bruised, but otherwise fate seems to have reserved me for a more useful ending. I hope so, at least.

BUTTE is still owned, spiritually, by the Catholic Church, and bodily by the Copper kings. What chance, then, for Truth?

Of the many States we visited, North Dakota is, for its size, the most wide-awake and eager for new ideas. In both BISMARCK and FARGO the meetings were splendidly attended. Particularly interesting was the audience in Bismarck, consisting chiefly of firemen, delegates to the Firemen's Convention. They were greatly pleased when, in discussing Anarchism, I cited the fire department as

731

840514088

The Emma Goldman Papers

The End of the Odyssey / Emma Goldman. — pp. 159-163 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 5, no. 5 (July 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

one of the original voluntary organizations, and, though now under government control, it still retains the spirit of solidarity and helpfulness. Indeed, the firemen are the only useful uniformed men, rendering the hardest and most perilous social service, yet they have neither as much recognition nor remuneration as policemen; certainly not as much chance for graft, which probably accounts for the sturdiness and decency of the average fire fighter.

The Socialist Arcadia of MILWAUKEE had to be inspected on our way to Chicago. It would have been almost criminal to miss the revolutionary upheaval that was to consist in reformed street sprinkling and three-cent fares. Of course, without bloodshed. To be sure, we found that no blood had been spilt, nor much water, either. The car company still charges five cents, and the police look just as stupid, but a little bit more—class-conscious.

However, some important reconstruction has taken place: the wretched condition of the girls in the beer-bottling department will hereafter be examined by lady inspectors, instead of mere men. Prostitution is to be wiped out by a very drastic measure: the dance halls, which furnished some forgetfulness to the victims of Pabst and Schlitz, are to be taxed by a higher license, or entirely abolished. Thus, Milwaukee will be purified by the old maid, Berger, and the virtue of Socialist morality. But what of economic determinism, which alone is responsible for the social and other evils? Ah, well, so long as it is not responsible for the stupidity of Socialist politicians, all is well.

* * *

And now to the *resumé*. The tour began January 5, closing June 18th. We visited 37 different cities in 25 States, delivering 120 lectures, before a total audience of 40,000, 25,000 of which paid admission,* the balance—being unemployed—were, as usual, admitted free. Nearly 10,000 pieces of literature were sold, and five thousand distributed free. In five cities a successful free speech campaign was made, the expense thereof having been raised at our own meetings. Also, eighty dollars were collected for the Ferrer fund, and a small sum for the striking car men of Philadelphia.

* See financial report.

During fifteen years I had been lecturing, depending entirely on the good-will of my comrades at large. Every tour brought the same result: small audiences, mostly of a foreign element, with absolutely no opportunity to dispose of literature. Consequently, my work left nothing of lasting effect.

With the birth of MOTHER EARTH and its dependence on meetings, and the necessity of reaching an American public, the lectures arranged by my comrades, much as I appreciated their solidarity, were absolutely inadequate. Two years ago Dr. Reitman offered to do advance work. Though doubting the practicability of the scheme, I accepted his offer. For that I was roundly condemned. What! An Anarchist to travel with a manager, an ex-tramp, a man of unsettled habits, one who wasn't even a comrade. Surely E. G. is going straight to perdition. Too bad Anarchists have no centralized authority, or we would have to excommunicate her.

I think I am not exaggerating when I say that during the last two years I have done better work, have reached more people, certainly more English-speaking people, have disposed of a larger amount of literature, and have helped to make Anarchism more widely known than in many previous tours. The credit for the difference is due chiefly to the zeal, the devotion, and skill of Ben Reitman. I believe in giving even the devil his due.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

FINANCIAL REPORT

RECEIPTS.

Box receipts, $4,213.00; Literature sold, $1,019.00; M. E. subscriptions and renewals, $300.00. Total—$5,532.00.

EXPENDITURES.

Railroad fares, $515.00; hall rent, $1,175.00; printing, $455.00; signs and posters, $173.00; advertising, $180.00; invested in literature, $150.00; telegrams, postage, expressage, freight, excess baggage, $100.00; to M. E. printer and office expenses, $1,120.00; repayment debts, $250.00; hotel expenses for 5½ months, $914.00. Total—$5,032.00.

Balance on hand, $500.00.

732

880819009

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Comstock Heckled at Labor Temple / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(Nov. 2, 1910).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

COMSTOCK HECKLED AT LABOR TEMPLE

Vice Crusader Is Made the Storm Centre for Anarchists' Questions.

JUSTIFIES HIS WORK

Emma Goldman, Dr. Reitman, and Others Try in Vain to Get Him to Admit Himself a Persecutor.

Anthony Comstock stood up yesterday before an audience at the Labor Temple, Fourteenth Street and Second Avenue, and replied to a volley of questions fired at him by Emma Goldman, Dr. Reitman, and their sympathisers. The debate got so hot and Reitman was so negligent of the rules of the meeting that Mr Comstock threatened as a peace officer of the county to take him off to jail, and a young Brotohman demanded if there were not men enough in the church to punish the "millionaire bqbo" for his irreverence, but in the end the meeting closed with no worse effects than Mr. Comstock's loss of his train to Summit.

Mr Comstock told the story of his fight for the adoption of the laws against the use of the mails for nbsceno literature and pictures and spoke especially of the convention of "so-called liberals, free thinkers, and free lovers" which had met to obtain their repeal. As soon as he had finished the Rev. Charles Stelzle, the Chairman, invited questions, the rule of the debate being that no man might ask a second question while there was any one else wishing the floor.

"Is it true that you have sent 1,000 people to jail," demanded Dr. Reitman at once, "for spreading necessary information about sex?"

"No," replied Mr Comstock shortly.

"Yes," shouted Emma Goldman.

"And drove as many to suicide?" Reitman went on.

"I have acted only according to the rules of law," retorted Comstock.

"Who furnished you the perjured testimony?" demanded Emma Goldman.

"I have not used perjured testimony," said Mr. Comstock. "Your remarks are indecent and uncalled for."

A burst of applause followed this retort, but Miss Goldman was on her feet in a minute armed with a lengthy list of questions on a sheet of paper.

"Do you believe it honest for you to assume, in your investigations, the fictitious name of Max Jansen?" she asked.

"As a Post Office Inspector I am entitled to any name I please," said Comstock. "I am not so stupid as to write to a publisher and say I am a Post Office Inspector and will you please forward to me any obscene books you may be selling out?"

Says She Represents the Truth.

He then explained that in his opinion no one should acquaint a child with the facts of life but his mother.

"How far ought school children go in the Metropolitan Art Gallery?"

"I do not know," replied Mr. Comstock. In the next minute he was roused to anger by a questioner, who wanted to know if it was right to place in the hands of a child the Bible.

"I will not consider, I will not listen to such remarks on the Word of God," said Mr. Comstock. "There is nothing in it that cannot be taken in the right spirit."

"He has avoided the question," came a voice amid shouts of indignation. Miss Goldman was signaling the Chairman wildly, but he passed her over for some one who asked:

Is the opera 'Salome' a moral play for children?"

A general laugh drowned whatever Mr. Comstock may have said, and as Miss Goldman was still waving her paper at Mr Stelzle he closed the meeting in spite of her protests.

"We may all have our views on art," said the Chairman, "but as we walk down Fourteenth Street and see Hell open before our eyes we want some one to hit somebody square between the eyes. I believe Mr. Comstock is the man who is doing that."

"Well, I've missed my train now," said Mr. Comstock as a vote of thanks to him was passed. "I might as well have stopped and fought it out."

$1,000 A MAN FOR FOOTBALL.

Expense of Harvard Team During Season Is Close to $35,000.

One thousand dollars per player for an eight-week season is what it costs Harvard to turn out a high-class football team. This does not mean $11,000 for an eleven, but nearer $35,000 for a squad of about thirty-five men.

The high cost of living is blamed for the big price of gridiron gladiators, for the $1,000-mark per man was never reached until last season. This year, with the cost of living still growing, it is expected to come nearer the $1,200 mark for a gridiron player.

In commenting upon the criticism over the expenditure of $127,945.99 for Harvard athletics during the year 1909-10, the Harvard Bulletin says:

"The sum is large, no doubt, and it represents an increase of several thousand dollars over the expenses of the year preceding. But the high cost of living seems to be a spear that knows no brother, and it costs a good deal more to put through any schedule of games to-day than it did a few years ago.

"Football costs nearly one-quarter of the whole outlay, and if the permanent squad be reckoned as containing thirty or thirty-five men, it took about $1,000 per player to put the team through its season of seven or eight weeks."

The Bulletin comments upon the gap existing between the requirements of admission to Harvard and the ordinary curriculum of the New England public high school.

"Of this rather unfortunate fact there can be no serious question, and it is a situation which no college can permanently afford to tolerate. If the schools will not come to the college, (and there is no reasonable ground for expecting that they will,) then the college had better go to the schools.

"Otherwise it will pay the penalty for its lack of adjustment by a steadily relaxing hold upon what ought to be the chief feeders of the freshmen class, the public high schools of New England."

'TWAS A BEERY TAXICAB.

Chauffeur Named Bear and His Passenger Took It.

DEAD MAN CARRIED ON QUEENS PAY ROLL

Chief Clerk in Highway Department Unable to Explain Additions to List of Workers.

CONTRACT GRAFT CHARGED

Ex-Inspector Said Court House Architect Told Him He Was to Get $1,000 Added to Heating Estimate.

Padded payrolls on which it is alleged the name of P. Welsh, who has been dead three years, was carried, and the testimony of Robert J Boverin that Peter M Coco, architect of the new Queens County Court House, expected to get $1,000 out of an extra $1,800 added to the heating contract, were features of the hearing of the charges against Borough President Gresser of Queens before Commissioner Ordway yesterday.

Herman Ringe, Chief Clerk of the Highway Department, who has been employed in Queens Borough since 1897, was called as a witness. He testified that just before the primaries in 1909 more horses and carts were obtained for borough work. Orders assigning horses and carts to work were made out in his department, he said. He did not remember giving assignment slips to Michael Mayer, Anton Novotney, Daniel Marscheuser, George Seigel, James Dermody, Thomas F. Loughlin, Fred S. Otego, James Cosgrove, Max Charles Ulrich, Maurice Paladino, James F. Burns, William G Horner, or William Broom. These names were read to him by counsel for the Taxpayers' Committee. He said he did not know it was reported in his department that many of the horses and carts listed did not exist. When asked why he signed the payroll of his department as "mathematically correct," witness said he did so to protect himself. He said he had no means of knowing personally if the work given him on the time sheets had all been performed.

"Did you ever give an assignment slip to P. Welsh or Pat Welsh?" counsel for the taxpayers asked.

Mr. Ringe said he did not remember.

"Well, would it surprise you," continued Mr. Caldwell, "to learn that P. Welsh died three years ago?"

Mr. Ringe said the Welsh he knew was very much alive. Commissioner Ordway then directed him to find Welsh's address in order that he might be subpœnaed. Counsel for the committee said he had found from Welsh a brother he had been dead for three years.

The witness's attention was then called to a name that appeared at the bottom of the pay roll in different colored ink and different handwriting from the rest of the document, and in answer to the question as to whether he would have certified to the pay roll had he noticed this peculiarity, he replied that if it had been called to his attention he would have

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880819009

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Comstock Heckled at Labor Temple / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Nov. 2, 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

A roar of laughter greeted Mr. Comstock's retort, but through it Miss Goldman shouted: "Do you realize that purity is truth?"

"Who do you represent?" cried some one in the hall.

"I represent the truth," replied Miss Goldman, who wanted to know how it could be if Mr. Comstock had for forty years been inspecting obscene literature that his mind remained pure.

"A man can remain pure," said the vice hunter, "if he keeps his will under subjection, and obeys always the laws of God and morality."

The name of Robert Ingersoll then came up, and Mr Comstock declared that he could prove that his was the first name on the petition asking the repeal of the laws against the use of the mails for obscene literature.

"Do you say that Mr. Ingersoll was in favor of obscene literature?" demanded his interrogator.

"I say that his name was first on the petition. I am not running from loud-mouthed infidels and back-biters," said Mr. Comstock.

He declined to be led into a discussion as to how much knowledge should be disseminated without knowing what he was speaking about, and pointed out that matters fit for a medical work would cause the arrest of a man who displayed them in his shop window.

"Well, what harm would they do?" called some one. A shout from the audience went up, and the question was disregarded. Another man from the back of the hall demanded:

"Isn't prudery the chief cause of immorality?"

"Such a question is too absurd to be answered," said Mr Comstock. He went on to speak of the decisions of the English courts in some cases and declared that unnecessary details that would tend to degrade the morals of those who read them might render a book illegal.

"Do you consider Boccaccio's 'Decameron' obscene?" said some one.

"It has been so held by the courts for years," said Mr. Comstock.

"Well, you can buy it on the bookstalls on the Bowery. I saw three there today."

Willing to Buy Them at $5 Each.

"I beg your pardon. You can't find it in this city. I'll give you $5 for every copy you bring me," said Mr. Comstock.

"You can make $15 easy money there," put in Mr. Stetsle.

"What about Leo Tolstoy's 'Resurrection'?" came from another earnest inquirer.

"I don't pass on what I haven't seen," responded Mr. Comstock.

Then a man declared that a director of physical culture had been fined in New Jersey as the result of having extracts from his magazine read to the jury, and asked whether thousands of dollars in fines could not be obtained by reading to an equally unintelligent jury extracts from the Bible.

Mr. Comstock sidestepped by entering on a defense of New Jersey juries. They were, he declared, composed of farmers of a highly intelligent type, well read and well informed.

To the suggestion that after forty years of fighting vice it was strange that he found still so much to do, Comstock retorted that his task to-day is hard because of the license that prevailed before he began his agitation, and that there is less than half the obscene literature for sale in New York to-day than in many of the small cities of the country.

Reitman now began to be anxious to ask another question, and the Chair would not recognize him. He persisted, and Mr Comstock burst out:

"I am a peace officer of this county. I will take you into custody and charge you with disorderly conduct."

"Go ahead," cried Reitman.

"To 165th Street and the Bronx River!" shouted Edgar V. Nelson, a lawyer of Cold Spring, N. Y., who has been stopping for several days at the Hotel Belmont, as he jumped into a taxicab in front of Churchill's at 7 o'clock last night. Charles Beer, the chauffeur, started up the machine. He says beer was both inside and outside the machine.

After roaming for four hours through the Bronx in a vain search for 165th Street and the Bronx River, which happens to be one of the few localities in the Bronx which do not exist, Beer stopped the taxicab, jumped down and said:

"I'm tired of hunting that there 165th Street and Bronx River! You pay this here bill of $4.20!"

But the Cold Spring lawyer was fast asleep within. When Beer woke him, he merely asked, according to the chauffeur:

"Is this Buffalo? My friend Henry Stimson will pay the fare, conductor."

Thereupon Beer conducted him in rage to the Morrisania police station, where, in default of the wherewithal to pay the taxicab bill, Nelson was locked up on charges of intoxication and disorderly conduct.

DIES OF SHOT FIRED BY WIFE.

Pistol Accidentally Discharged While Examining It, Boston Woman Says.

BOSTON, Nov. 1.—William H. Davidson, an inventor, died at the City Hospital early to-day from the effects of a bullet wound inflicted yesterday at his home, 89 Barry Street, Dorchester. His wife is said to have admitted that she shot him.

Mrs. Davidson said that her husband had laid the weapon on a table preparatory to cleaning it. Not knowing that it was loaded she picked it up and it was discharged, the bullet piercing her husband's right temple.

"Throughou
Franz, Jaco
and Anton
horses and
of the mec
partment u
These nam
sheet in dif
ferent color
lime sheet
the other na
was a secon
had been ad
the Commis
could not id
might know
sheets were
foreman, Pe
fied to by:
possible th
omitted by
ward forem
the ward f
take of le
day. The
whether th
on the time
and finally
claimed:
"It is all
tampered w
is responsi
out these a
added the
happen?"
The witne
question.
In the m
erin, who d
tions for in
the new C
an extra a
made to ins
paratus wi
particular k
in the ori
the contrac
fied that h
vise the wo
he found t
according t
had called
President
the informa
tractors we
he said, pro
held up for
the witness

A Quick Brea

Better than the average

Post T

This food has won its way
ular favor by its distinctive qu

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

734

880819009

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Comstock Heckled at Labor Temple / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. – (Nov. 2, 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

on the Bowery. I saw three there to-day."

Willing to Buy Them at $5 Each.

"I beg your pardon. You can't find it in this city. I'll give you $5 for every copy you bring me," said Mr. Comstock.

"You can make $15 easy money there," put in Mr. Stetzle.

"What about Leo Tolstoy's 'Resurrection'?" came from another earnest inquirer.

"I don't pass on what I haven't seen," responded Mr. Comstock.

Then a man declared that a director of physical culture had been fined in New Jersey as the result of having extracts from his magazine read to the jury, and asked whether thousands of dollars in fines could not be obtained by reading to an equally unintelligent jury extracts from the Bible.

Mr. Comstock sidestepped by entering on a defense of New Jersey juries. They were, he declared, composed of farmers of a highly intelligent type, well read and well informed.

To the suggestion that after forty years of fighting vice it was strange that he found still so much to do, Comstock retorted that his task to-day is hard because of the license that prevailed before he began his agitation, and that there is less than half the obscene literature for sale in New York to-day than in many of the small cities of the country.

Reitman now began to be anxious to ask another question, and the Chair would not recognise him. He persisted, and Mr. Comstock burst out:

"I am a peace officer of this county. I will take you into custody and charge you with disorderly conduct."

"Go ahead," cried Reitman.

Impossible to Describe Them.

"And you call this an open forum," shouted Emma Goldman. A shout went up from the audience, but Mr. Stetzle managed to restore order. Then a young girl said simply:

"I don't quite understand. Will you kindly tell us what these obscene books are?"

"It would be impossible," declared Mr. Comstock hurriedly. "It would be shameful for me or any one else to try to describe them publicly."

John D. Denton, the social secretary of the temple, rushed up the aisle. He shook a paper toward the platform and cried:

"Mr. Comstock, Mr. Comstock, please stop. A point of order. Never have I seen such rebellion, such disorder. I call on you as a peace officer to place these people under arrest."

It looked for a moment as if there might be real trouble, and many women rose and ran to the door. When the excitement subsided a serious young German near the front asked earnestly:

"Do you think that Bernard Shaw's works are all right for me to read?"

Mr. Comstock had not read them and was not ready to pass on them offhand.

A Quick Brea

at

Better than the average m

Post T

This food has won its way
ular favor by its distinctive qual
winning flavour.

Post Toasties is made of
Corn, cooked, sweetened, rolled and
to a crisp, appetizing brown—retain
delicate relish of corn at its best.

"The Memory Linge

POSTUM CEREAL COMPANY,
Battle Creek, Michigan

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

735

890727002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Japanese Radicals Condemned to Die / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — 28 cm. *In* The New York Call. —(Nov. 12, 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THE NEW YORK CALL—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1910.

JAPANESE RADICALS CONDEMNED TO DIE

Protests Pour In Against Barbarous Treatment of Modern Scholars and Thinkers.

Recent news from Japan states that a number of Socialists and anarchists have been sentenced to death, and are to be executed, for conspiracy against the Imperial family of Japan. The following telegram has been sent to the Japanese Ambassador at Washington in the hope of intervening in their behalf before the day of execution:

Ambassador of Japan, Washington, D. C.:

In the name of humanity and international solidarity, we protest most energetically against the outrageous and unjust sentence upon our friend, Denjiro Kotoku, and his comrades. Are you trying to imitate Spain and Russia, that barbarous method against intellectuals?

EMMA GOLDMAN.
HIPPOLYTE HAVEL.
ALEXANDER BERKMAN.
DR. BEN L. REITMAN.
SADAKICHI HARTMANN.

The subjoined letter, protesting against Japan's summary method of proceeding against her radical scholars and thinkers, is being circulated among labor unions, political, literary and radical groups through the United States:

Dear Friend—In the name of humanity and international brotherhood, we earnestly beg of you to protest energetically to the Japanese ambassador in Washington against the unjust and barbarous penalty of death pronounced upon Dr. Denjiro Kotoku, his wife, and twenty-four other Socialists and anarchists.

Dr. Kotoku, his wife, and their friends were brought before a court specially appointed for the purpose, judged guilty of plotting against the imperial family, and sentenced to death. The fact that it was an unusual judicial procedure shows that the proof of the alleged crime was weak.

Denjiro Kotoku is a man who has devoted himself to intellectual pursuits and has tried to popularize "Western" ideas in Japan. His "crime" consists in spreading radical ideas and in translating the works of Karl Marx, Leo Tolstoy, Peter Kropotkin and Michael Bakunin. As a leader of the "Left" in the social revolutionary movement in Japan, he was called the "head of the Kropotkinists." We are convinced that the charge of conspiracy against the emperor is false.

Kotoku's condemnation marks the climax of the reaction against liberal and radical ideas which has taken place in Japan during the last few years. Mr. Taka-

Election Claims Cashed.
No Discount. No D...

Men's $20 Suits and Overcoats
At $14.95

Suits—Worsteds, tweeds, cheviots, fancy stripes and browns, neat dark mixtures, clear herrs and black thibets.
Overcoats—Fall and Winter weights, box and form-fitting, from 42 to 46 inches long, in oxford black and shawl-collar weave effects.

HENRY HELLER
Fashionable Tailor and Clothier
271 Hamburg Ave., cor. Spencer Ave., Brooklyn

ANOTHER SOCIALIST LEGISLATOR ELECTED

(Continued from Page 1.)

have been subjected and the constant shifting of Socialist workingmen from one locality to another on account of strikes and lockouts will account for the decrease. If such it proves to be. However, all reports coming direct from Pennsylvania Comrades have most encouraging and it may yet be proven that the news agencies are off the track, as they are notoriously unmindful of Socialist votes. Conditions in Illinois have been somewhat similar.

The miners there are strong Socialists, but it was feared that many of them would lose their votes through enforced moving. It was thought at first that Carl Stroker, of the 25th Senatorial district; Adolph Germer, of the 49th, and Grove Lawrence, of the 50th, had all been elected, but late returns showed a count against them. Stroker is now gaining on a recount, and Germer and Lawrence will both begin contests.

With the thirteen Socialist members of the state legislature in Wisconsin, there will be one in Minnesota, one in Pennsylvania, one in Massachusetts, and, perhaps three in California, though the election of the last named is not absolutely certain.

city, whose thousands of ... readers would naturally know best, was trimming as compared with huge increases in the working towns upstate, most of whose ... Hanna hardly knew his name, ... less his reputation as a writer ... student.

Nor do such trifling excuses ... the enormous Socialist gains ... many other states, where ... dates had been inconspicuous, ... even unknown, to Socialists ... selves. The reason lies elsewhere ... the capitalist papers, even if ... it will never acknowledge it.

DECREASE IN TENNESSEE

Vote for Governor in Knoxville Three in 1908.

KNOXVILLE, Tenn., Nov. 11.—The vote for Seth McCallen, Socialist candidate for governor, was 39, a decrease of 16 per cent from the election. W. A. Weatherull, for railroad commissioner, received 51, a gain of 26 per cent, and Thomas Rowland, candidate for Congress in the 3d district, received 233, a gain of 53 per cent.

GAIN IN MOUNT PLEASANT

Voters in This Town Are Beginning to Get Wise.

MOUNT PLEASANT, Pa., Nov. 11.—The vote here for Slayton in the first ward was 43, in the second ward and in the third, 24. The Democrats received 8 in the first ward, 20 in the second, and 30 in the third.

PROGRESS IN YORK.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

736

890727002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Japanese Radicals Condemned to Die / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — 28 cm. *In* The New York Call. —(Nov. 12, 1910).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Overcoats—Fall and Winter weights, 6, and semi-fox, fly front or button through, ...ford, black and ...elt, heavy effects.

HENRY HELLER

Fashionable Tailor and Clothier,

271 Hamburg Ave., cor. Greene Ave, Brooklyn

a number of Socialists and anarchists have been condemned to death, and are to be executed for conspiracy against the Imperial family of Japan.

The following telegram has been sent to the Japanese Ambassador at Washington in the hope of intervention in their behalf before the day of execution.

Ambassador of Japan, Washington, D. C.

In the name of humanity and international solidarity, we protest most energetically against the outrageous and unjust sentence upon our friend, Dr. Kotoku, and his comrades, for trying to imitate Spain and Russia by their barbarous method of intellectual

EMMA GOLDMAN
HIPPOLYTE HAVEL
ALEXANDER BERKMAN
DR. BEN L. REITMAN
SADAKICHI HARTMANN.

The subjoined letter, protesting against Japan's summary method of procedure against her radical scholars and thinkers, is being circulated among labor unions, political, literary and radical groups through the United States:

Dear Friend—In the name of humanity and international brotherhood, we earnestly beg of you to protest energetically to the Japanese ambassador in Washington against the unjust and barbarous penalty of death pronounced upon Dr. Denjiro Kotoku, his wife and twenty-four other Socialists and anarchists.

Dr. Kotoku, his wife and their friends were brought before a court specially appointed for the purpose, judged guilty of plotting against the Imperial family, and sentenced to death. The fact that it was an unusual judicial procedure shows that the proof of the alleged crime was weak.

Denjiro Kotoku is a man who has devoted himself to intellectual pursuits and has tried to popularize Western ideas in Japan. His crime consists in spreading radical ideas and in translating the works of Karl Marx, Leo Tolstoy, Peter Kropotkin and Michael Bakunin. As a leader of the "left" in the social revolutionary movement in Japan, he was called the "head of the Kropotkins." We are convinced that the charge of conspiracy against the emperor is false.

Kotoku's condemnation marks the climax of the reaction against liberal ideas which has taken place in Japan during the last few years. Mr. Takayama, the leader of the Socialist party in Japan, has recently protested to Western civilization against the persecutions of the Liberals in Japan. We, the international soldiers of freedom, are not willing to have our friends in Japan fall victims to the reactionary forces. Shall the [illegible] governments imitate the barbarous methods of Spain and Russia, and do to death their scholars and thinkers? We must act vigorously in the cause of humanity and civilization, and we believe that with our call to send an urgent protest to the Japanese ambassador

HUTCHINS HAPGOOD
LEONARD ABBOTT.
EMMA GOLDMAN.
HIPPOLYTE HAVEL.
SADAKICHI HARTMANN.
ALEXANDER BERKMAN.
DR. BEN L. REITMAN.

GARMENT STRIKE IS

ANOTHER SOCIALIST LEGISLATOR ELECTED

(Continued from Page 1.)

have been subjected and the constant shifting of Socialist workingmen from one locality to another on account of strikes and lockouts will account for the decrease. If such it proves to be. However, all reports coming direct from Pennsylvania Comrades have most encouraging and it may yet be proven that the news agencies are on the track, as they are notoriously unmindful of Socialist votes. Conditions in Illinois have been somewhat similar.

The miners there are strong Socialists, but it was feared that many of them would lose their votes through enforced moving. It was thought at first that Carl Strotter, of the 35th Senatorial district; Adolph Germer, of the 47th, and Grose Lawrence, of the 50th, had all been elected, but late returns showed a count against them. Strotter is now gaining on a recount, and Germer and Lawrence will both begin contests.

With the thirteen Socialist members of the state legislature in Wisconsin, there will be one in Minnesota, one in Pennsylvania, one in Massachusetts, and perhaps three in California, though the election of the last named is not absolutely certain.

Despite the disappointing nature of the latest returns, however, there is not yet reason to believe that the national Socialist vote will not be doubled.

Only when one recalls the very small increase in the national Socialist vote from 1904 till 1908, does one realize the tremendous significance and size of the countrywide vote just recorded. In the four years between 1900 and 1904 the gain for the entire country amounted to only 3.8 per cent. In the two years just past the increase is very likely to be somewhere between 75 and 100 per cent, and certainly not lower than 50 per cent.

In New York state nine gains continue to be recorded. Here are some returns from upstate that have not

city, whose thousands of readers would naturally be best, was crying as compared huge increases in the vote towns upstate, most of which Atlanta hardly knew his name less his reputation as a [illegible] student.

Nor do such trifling exceptions the enormous Socialist gains many other states, where the dates, had been inconsequential even unknown, to Socialists themselves. The reason lies elsewhere the capitalist papers, even if they will never acknowledge it.

DECREASE IN TENNESSEE

Vote for Governor in Knoxville Than in 1906.

KNOXVILLE, Tenn., Nov. 11. The vote for Seth McCallie, Socialist candidate for governor, was an increase of 16 per cent [run] the election. W. A. Weatherall, for road commissioner, received 121, a gain of 26 per cent, and Thomas Rowland, candidate for Congress the 3d district, received 233, a [illegible] 53 per cent.

GAIN IN MOUNT PLEASANT

Voters in That Town Are Beginning to Get Wise.

MOUNT PLEASANT, Pa., Nov. 11.—The vote here for Slayton in the first ward was 43, in the second and in the third, 24. The Debs vote received 8 in the first ward, 21 in the second, and 29 in the third.

PROGRESS IN YORK.

Socialist Vote Increases 26% Since Election of 1908.

YORK, Pa., Nov. 11.—The Daily Dispatch, of this city, announces that the Socialist vote in the city and county is 741. This is a gain of 24% over the vote for Debs in 1908.

TORRINGTON WAKES UP

Vote in Connecticut Town Quadruples in Two Years.

TORRINGTON, Conn., Nov. 11. Four hundred and seventy-three votes were cast for Robert Hunter here. In 1908 the vote was 112.

MARYLANDERS AWAKE.

In Frederick a Gain of Over 200 Per Cent Is Made.

FREDERICK, Md., Nov. 11.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

840514090
The Emma Goldman Papers
A Rejoinder / Emma Goldman. – pp. 325-328 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 10 (Dec. 1910).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

service. I must say, as a teacher, that I have been extremely dissatisfied with the vagueness of the pamphlets issued by the Ferrer Association, and am anxiously awaiting something much more definite. I believe the best move will be the publication in English of the primary books used by Ferrer in the Modern Schools of Spain; for the evils of our own system lie principally in the elementary schools, in my opinion.

Several teachers have expressed to me their agreement with the criticisms and suggestions in my lecture. I think perhaps a practical move might be for the Ferrer Groups to obtain the list of the teachers in the various cities, and send the pamphlet "The Rational Education of Children" to them by mail (though postage makes it costly). While the pamphlet is inadequate, it might stimulate thought and inquiry.

One gentleman, a Socialist, assured me that if he could obtain a definite idea of how to work, could get the proper books, etc., he would now open a school of the kind in Buffalo; he is quite positive of the demand for it. The same demand exists in Philadelphia and Chicago. Numerous inquiries are beginning to come from the far west. I expect to meet it everywhere I go. The great need is for teachers who will know what they want to do.

Aside from this interest, while I cannot now express a fixed opinion on so short experience, my impression is that our present propaganda (if there is any) is a woeful mistake. I am more than ever convinced that our work should be with the workers, not with the bourgeoisie. If these latter choose to come, very well, let them. But I should never approve of this seeking after "respectable halls," "respectable neighborhoods," "respectable people," etc., etc., into which it appears we have somehow degenerated. The chief result seems to be a lot of shallow flattery dealt to the speaker at the close of the meeting, by people who have no interest and no intent ever to take the speaker's words as serious things to be acted upon.

Comrades, we have gone upon a wrong road. Let us get back to the point that our work should be chiefly among the poor, the ignorant, the brutal, the disinherited, the men and women who do the hard and brutalizing

work of the world. If we cannot do this, if our gospel has come to be a gospel for the "respectable," then I, for one, shall renounce it. But I do not think it has; the fault is in us, not in Anarchism.

The Socialists have thus much advantage over us; they have not forgotten that their teaching is primarily a teaching for the common man. Let us remember that ours is also.*

Greetings,

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

* * *

A REJOINDER

IT is not often that I take issue with my friend Voltairine de Cleyre. But there are a few points in her report which I cannot permit to pass unchallenged.

Comrade Voltairine states that she speaks of the propaganda ("if there be any") "from short experience and impression." Yet she finds it necessary to emphasize the "seeking of respectable halls, respectable neighborhoods, etc." I have always known her to be cautious in passing opinions, and I am therefore surprised that a mere impression should warrant her in suggesting that we are seeking for "respectable halls, respectable people," etc.

The fact that the man who arranged a meeting for her in Rochester (by the way, *not* an Anarchist) has tried to sandwich her between bourgeois speakers, or that she was advertised in Buffalo as a Tolstoian Anarchist, is by no means proof that we are all following the same lines, or that "we have gone woefully wrong."

I have traveled the length and breadth of this country for many years; have been to the Coast four times within a short period, and I can assure Comrade Voltairine that no one connected with my work has sought for "respectable" patronage. Of course, if by "respectable halls" is meant clean halls, I plead guilty to the charge. I confess that I prefer such places, partly for sanitary reasons, but mainly because the workers themselves—the American workers—will not go to a dilapidated, dirty hall in an

* For lack of space, the second part of this report will appear in the next issue.

738

840514090
The Emma Goldman Papers
A Rejoinder / Emma Goldman. — pp. 325-328 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 5, no. 10 (Dec. 1910).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

obscure quarter of the city. In that respect the people Voltairine wants to reach are probably the most bourgeois in America. I have again convinced myself of it the other day in Baltimore, where the American workers would not attend my meetings because the hall was in the "nigger" district. Strange as it may seem, the people who came were, what Voltairine would call, respectables.

I agree with our Comrade that our work should be among "the poor, the ignorant, the brutal, the disinherited men and women." I for one have worked with them and among them for twenty-one years. I therefore feel better qualified than Voltairine to say what may be accomplished in their ranks. After all, my friend knows the masses mainly from theory. I know them from years of contact in and out of the factory. Just because of that knowledge I do not believe that our work should be only with them. And that for the following reasons:

The pioneers of every new thought rarely come from the ranks of the workers. Possibly because the economic whip gives the latter little opportunity to easily grasp a truth. Besides, it is an undisputed fact that those who have but their chains to lose cling tenaciously to them.

The men and women who first take up the banner of a new, liberating idea generally emanate from the so-called respectable classes. Russia, Germany, England, and even America bear me out in this. The first conspiracy against the Russian despot originated in his own palace, with the Decembrists representing the nobility of Russia. The intellectual pioneers of revolutionary and Anarchist ideas in Germany came from the "respectables." The women who are to-day enduring the hunger strike for their ideas, in England, are also not from the ranks of the workers. The same holds good in regard to almost every country and every epoch.

Far be it from me to belittle the poor, the ignorant, the disinherited. Certainly they are the greatest force, if only they could be awakened from their lethargy. But I maintain that to limit one's activities to them is not only a mistake, but also contrary to the spirit of Anarchism. Unlike other social theories, Anarchism builds not on classes, but on men and women. I may be mistaken, but I have always been of the opinion that Anar-

chism calls to battle all libertarian elements as against authority.

That to limit oneself to propaganda exclusively among the oppressed does not always bring desired results, is borne out by more than one historical proof. Our Chicago comrades propagated only among the workers; in fact, cheerfully gave their lives for the oppressed. Where were the latter during the eighteen terrible months of the judicial farce? Were not the Chicago Anarchists shamefully betrayed by the very organization which Parsons and Spies helped to build up—the Knights of Labor? And has not the spirit of that time drifted into conservative channels, as represented by the American Federation of Labor? The majority of its members, I am sure, would hesitate not a moment to relegate Voltairine or myself to the fate of our martyred comrades.

John Most worked for twenty-five years exclusively among the workers. He certainly never sought for "respectables." Indeed, the poorer and more wretched the atmosphere, the more eloquently Most spoke. Where are the results of his propaganda? Why was the man so utterly forsaken in the last years of his activities? Why cannot the *Freiheit*, in spite of all desperate efforts, be maintained?

I think the answer to these questions can easily be found in the very thing Voltairine so fervently advocates—the propaganda exclusively among the workers. Yes, that is, in my opinion, the reason why we have in the past made so little headway. The economic factor is, I am sure, very vital. Possibly that accounts for the fact that a great many radicals lose their ideals the moment they succeed economically. Voltairine surely knows as well as I that hundreds of Anarchists, Socialists, and rabid revolutionists who were ardent workers twenty years ago are now very respectable, indeed much more respectable than the very people to whom Voltairine objects. That, however, should not discourage the true propagandist from working among the disinherited, but it should teach him the vital lesson that spiritual hunger and unrest are often the most lasting incentives.

Anarchism excludes no one and gives no one a mortgage on truth and beauty. Above all, Anarchism, as I understand it, leaves the propagandist free to choose his

739

840514090
The Emma Goldman Papers
A Rejoinder / Emma Goldman. – pp. 325-328 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 10 (Dec. 1910).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

or her own manner of activity. The criterion must at all times be his or her individual judgment, experience, and mental leanings. In the Anarchist movement there is room for every one who earnestly desires to work for the overthrow of authority, physical as well as mental.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

WHAT IS WORTH WHILE?

By ADELINE CHAMPNEY.

(*Continuation.*)

When God vanishes from the skies he takes a great many things with him, some of which are not commonly recognized as pertaining to the God-idea. Not only does this departure into the limbo of past superstition remove the authority of bibles and churches and temples, and the divine authorities of priests and rulers, but it also removes all ultimate authorities whatever, and takes the sanctity from all principles of conduct. The departure of God places man face to face with the material universe, and men face to face with each other. With the abolition of the law-giver, all laws disappear. The term "laws of nature" shows how our very language is so tinctured with the teleological conception that we have difficulty in choosing exact terms for our knowledge. The so-called "laws of nature" are merely the undeviating principles in accordance with which the universe of substance in motion continues its unceasing and eternal change. Forms appear and disappear, phenomena come and go, but in all the universe is found neither beginning nor end, neither first nor last; neither good nor evil, right nor wrong, virtue nor sin, justice nor injustice. To none of these terms is there any absolute meaning whatever. All are man-made distinctions, varying with time and place, differing among races and among individuals. To the history of the human race, then, the Man Awake must go in his search for the meaning of Duty. For development proceeds ever from the simple to the complex, and the basis of sane thinking is found in the study of development. To gain an adequate

comprehension of anything one must understand its development. And nothing will so aid in clearing away superstition and traditional prejudice in matters social and ethical as a survey of human history; not merely recorded history but that great story of the prehistoric man which science resurrects for us. What does this history say to us of Duty? Just this: bereft of all theological and metaphysicial sanctities, all the human institutions which have demanded obedience from men are seen to rest ultimately on the power to impose themselves on individuals. Religion, government, all property privilege, the marriage institution—all originated in force, and are maintained by force. Back of every "duty" stands a club. Does one "owe" anything to compulsion? Can a "duty" be imposed on one, without one's own consent? Brought into this world by no act of one's own, does one inherit the obligations assumed by one's ancestors, much less those forced upon them? The sole justification of every authority is its power to enforce obedience; and therein lies the justification of every rebellion. Whatever obedience may be exacted, whatever allegiance may be voluntarily rendered, there is no obligation whatsoever. Duty is but a metaphysical cobweb. It has no foundation in fact. "But conscience? Surely I cannot deny the admonition of conscience!" Have you studied the conscience of a savage? Have you made a comparative analysis of conscience among varying peoples and at various periods of history? Have you ever observed the conscience of a very little child? The dictates of conscience are purely and simply a matter of education. Conscience itself is neither more nor less than one's satisfaction in himself. A clear conscience is the pleasureable sense of self-approval; a guilty conscience, the disquieting sense of self-censur This is the reality of conscience; the grounds for the satisfaction or dissatisfaction lie in our beliefs and principles, and are, largely, a product of our social heredity. They may be well or ill founded. One has only to review the many deeds that have been done "for conscience' sake" to perceive how utterly unreliable it is as a "moral" guide. Of the fetish,

740

900515002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Marriage and Love. In Yiddish] Harat un Freie Liba / Emma Goldman. — translated by A.B.C.D. — New York : Isidor Schwartz, [between 1911 and 1940]. — 15 p. ; 3 × 27 cm.

Obtained from the American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, MA.

עממא גאָלדמאן.

הייראט
און
פרייע ליעבע

שיבערזעצט פון
א ב ג ד

ארויסגעגעבן פון
ISIDOR SCHWARTZ
NEW YORK, N. Y.
49

741

900515002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Marriage and Love. In Yiddish] Harat un Freie Liba / Emma Goldman. – translated by A.B.C.D. – New York : Isidor Schwartz, [between 1911 and 1940].– 15 p. ; 3 × 27 cm.

Obtained from the American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, MA.

היראט און פרייע ליעבע.

היראט און ליעבע ווערען בעטראכט פון די מעהרסטע מענ־שען אלס צוויי ווערטער מיט דערזעלבינער בעריימטונג. מ׳מיינט, אז זיי קומען ארויס פון ריזעלבע מאטיוון און זיי בעפרירינען רי־זעלבע פערלאנגען. אט די מיינונג איז ניט בעגרינדעט אויף ווירק־ליבע פאקטען, נאר ראם פאלק האט זיך אזוי איינגעוועדט.

היראט און ליעבע זיינען צוויי בעזונדערע זאכען: זיי זיינען אזוי ווייט פונאנדער ווי רער נארד־פאל פון רעם זיר פאל. נאך מעהר, אייגע איז נאר ענטנענעזעצט דער אנדערער. ס׳איז קיין צווייפעל ניט, אז מאנבע חתונות זיינען געווען רער רעזולטאט פון ליעבע. אבער ניט וויל רי ליעבע האט ניט געקענט האבען קיין קיום אויסער רער היראט, נור ניבער וויל לייט קענען זיך אין נאנצען ניט בעפרייען פון אננענומענע זיטען. עס זיינען פאראן היינט א סך מענער און פרויען וואס היראט איז ביי זיי ניט מעהר ווי א קאמעריע, דאך ווארפען זיי זיך אונטער איהר אונטער צוליעב רער עפענטליבער מיינונג. יערענפאלס בעהויפט איך, אז באטש עס איז אמת, אז מאנבע חתונות זיינען בענרינדעט אויף ליעבע, און באטש עס איז אויך אמת, אז אין מאנבע פעלע ווערט די ליעבע ניט אבנעקיהלט אין פערהיראטען לעבען, איז ראס אבער ניט וויל זיי זיינען פערהיראט, נור טראטץ רעם וואס זיי זיינען פער־היראט.

פון רער אנרער זייט ווירער איז עס לחלוטען פאלש, אז פון היי־ראט קומט ארויס ליעבע. עס טרעפט אמאל אין א יובל, אז א פער־היראטע פאאר פערליעבען זיך נאך רער חתונה: אבער וועו מיר קוקען זיך צו נעהנטער, זעהען מיר ראו, אז ראס איז ניט מעהר ווי זיך צו פאסען צו ראס וואס איז אונפערמיידליך. דאס וואס מען נע־וואוינט זיך צו אייגע צו רי אנרערע איז נאך נאנץ וויט פון רער

90051 5002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Marriage and Love. In Yiddish] Harat un Freie Liba / Emma Goldman. – translated by A.B.C.D. – New York : Isidor Schwartz, [between 1911 and 1940]. – 15 p. ; 3 × 27 cm.

Obtained from the American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, MA.

שטארקיים פון געפיהל וואם הערשט אין א ליעבע און וואם אהן רעם ערגירערינען זיך מאן און פרוי ווען זיי פיהרען א פערהייראטען לעבען.

הייראט איז הויפזעכטליך אן עקאנאמישער אפמאך, א פערזיכערונגס-פערבינדונג. דער חלוק איז נור וואם דאס איז פיעל כיכ־דערנער און שטרענגער ווי א אפמאך מיט אן אינשורענס קאמפאניע. די ריוחים וואם קומען נאכהער זיינען אונבעדייטענר ווען מען פער־גלייבט זיי מיט'ן קרן וואם מען אינוועסטעט. ווען איינער נעהמט ארוים אן אינשורענס פאליסי, צאהלט ער רערפאר אין ראלשרם און זיין סענטען, און האט די פרייהיים אויפצוהערען צאהלען. אבער ווען רער פרעמיום פון א פרוי איז א מאן, צאהלט זי רערפאר מיט איהר נאמען, מיט איהר זעלבסט־רעספעקט, מיט איהר סאמע לעבען, „ביז רער טויט שיירט פונאנרער". נאך מעהר, מיט רער הייראטס־אינשורענס פערפליכטעט זי זיך צו זיין לעבענסלענגליך אפהענגיג, צו זיין א פארזיס, צו זיין נוצלאז אינריוורעל אזוי ווי נעזעל־שאפטליך. רער מאן בעצאהלט אויך טייער, אבער זיין קריין איז פיעל ווייטער, און דערפאר ווערט ער ניט אזוי בענרענצט רורך רער הייראט ווי רי פרוי. ער פיהלט זיינע קייטען מעהר אין אן עקא־נאמישען זין.

ראנטעם מאטא צו זיין שילרערונג פון ניהינום קען זעהר גוט אננעווענרט ווערען פאר רי הייראט: „איהר ווילכע קוטט רא אריין לאזט אלע האפנונגען הינטער אייך".

אז הייראט איז א רורכפאל ווען קיינער ניט לייקענען, סיירען נאר א נאר. מ'דארף נור א בליק טאן אין רער סטאטיסטיק פון נט'ן אום צו זעהן וואם פאר א כיטערער רורכפאל רי הייראט איז. דער דורכשניטליכער פלאכער מענש קען רא ניט ארגומענטירען, אז רי גרויסע צאהל גט'ן קומט רשרפון וואם ס'איז צו לייכט ארויסצקרי־נען א גט און וואם פרויען זיינען איצטער צופיעל אויסנעלאסען. וואריים ערשטענס, ענרינט זיך איינע פון יערע צוועלף חתונות מיט א גט; צווייטענס, איז זינט 1870 רי צאהל גט'ן נעשטיגען פון 28 אויף 73 פאר יערע הונרערט טויזענר בעפעלקערונג; רריטענס, איז רי אונמרייהיים אלס גרונר פאר א גט נעשטיגען 270.8 **פראצענט**: פיערטענס, איז „רעזערשאן" נעשטיגען 369.8 **פראצענט**.

מ'קען נאך צולענגען צו אט רי ערשטוינליבע ציפער א נוואלרינ רייכען מאטעריאל אין דראמע און ליטעראטור וואם מאכט נאך קלערער רעם ענין. ראבערט הערריק אין „מאגעטהער": פינערא אין „מיר־טשענעל"; יורזשען וואלטער אין „פעיר אין פול"; און א צאהל אנרערע שרייבער בעווייזען ווי טרוקען, ווי מאנאטאן, ווי גע־מיין רי הייראט איז, און ווי זי קען ניט רינען אלם פאקטאר פאר הארמאניע און פערשטענרינונג.

רער נאכרענקענדער סטורענט פון רעם נעזעלשאפטליכען לעכען זועט זיך ניט בעפרירינען מיט רער אויבערפלעכליבער ענטשולרינונג פאר אט רער ערשיינונג. ער וועט מוזען ארייננעהן אביסעל מיפער אין ראם סאמע נעשלעכטליכע לעבען אום צו ווייסען פארוואם רא פערהייראטע לעכען איז אזוי אומגליקליך.

ערואר קארפענטער זאנט, אז הינטער יערער הייראט שטעהט רי אומגעבונג, אין וועלכער רי ביירע נעשלעכטעד האבען פערבראכט זייער נאנצען לעכען: אן אומגעכונג אזוי פערשירען איינע פון רי אנרערע אז מאן און פרוי מוזען זיך בלייבען פרעמר. רעד מאן און רי פרוי זיינען פונאנדערנעשיירט רורך א הויכע וואנד פון אבערגלוי־בען,זיטע און נעוואוינהייט, און רי הייראט קען דערפאר ניט האבען רי קראפט צו ענטוויקלען פערשטענרנים און רעספעקט פון איינעם צום אנדערען, וואם אהן רעם מון יערע פערבינדונג זיין א רורכפאל.

הענריק איבסען, וועלכער האט נעהאסט אלע נעזעלשאפטליבע לינענם, איז פיליכט נעווען דער ערשטער וואם האט בענריפען אט רעם גרויסען אמת. נארא פערלאזט איהר מאן, ניט — ווי רער רומער קריטיקער וויל עם האבען — ווייל זי איז מיר פון איהרע פע־נאטוארליכקייטען ארער זי פיהלט רי נויטינקייט פון רער פרוי'ס רעכטען, נור ווייל זי האט איינגעזעהן, אז זי האט אבגעלעבט אכט יאהר מיט א פרעמדען און איהם נעבוירען קינרער. קען נאך זיין נירערינער און נעמיינער ווי א לעבענם־לענגליכע נאהנטקייט צוויישען צוויי פרעמרע? רי פרוי ראדף נארניט ניט ווייסען פון רעם מאן א חוץ וויפיעל ער פעררינט. וואם אנבעלאנגט קענען רי פרוי — וואם איז רא פארהאן צו ווייסען א חוץ רעם, אז זי זעהט אוים שען? מיר זיינען נאך ניט אויסגעוואקסען פון רעם גלויבען פון די נייסט־

900515002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Marriage and Love. In Yiddish] Harat un Freie Liba / Emma Goldman. – translated by A.B.C.D. – New York : Isidor Schwartz, [between 1911 and 1940]. – 15 p. ; 3 × 27 cm.

Obtained from the American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, MA.

ליכע, אז די פרוי האט ניט קיין נשמה, אז זי איז ניט מעהר ווי א „פריכאוויק" צום מאן, נעמאכט פון זיין ריפ כלויז פאר דער בעקוועמ־ליכקייט פון דעם דזשענטעלמאן, וועלכער איז נעווען אזוי שטארק אז ער האט זיך נעשראקען פאר זיין אייגענעם שאטען.

פילייכט איז די פרוי נידעריגער פאר'ן מאן צוליעב דעם וואס זי איז כשאפען נעוואדען פון א שוואכען מאטעריאל. יעדענפאלס קיין נשמה האט ניט די פרוי, טא וואס איז דא פארהאן צו ווייסען וועגען איהר? דערצו איז וואס ווענינער נשמה א פרוי האט, אלץ כע־סער איז זי פאר א ווייב, אלץ גדייטער איז זי זיך צו לאזען פערשלינ־גען פון איהר מאן. אט די שקלאפישע אונטערווארפונג אונטערהאנדלט דעם מאן'ס איכערלעגענהייט האט אויפגעהאלטען אונכעריהרט אזוי לאנג די אינסטיטוציע פון היידאט. איצטער ווען די פרוי קומט צום שכל, ווען זי וועדט כעוואוסט, אז אהן דעם חסד פון איהר האר איז זי אויך עפעס וואס, וועדט טאקע כיסלעכווייז אונטערגענראכען די הייליגע אינסטיטוציע פון דער היידאט, און קיין סענטימענטאליטעטען קענען דאס ניט פערהאלטען.

כמעט פון איהר קינדהייט אן זאגט מען רער דורכשניטליכער מיידעל אז די היידאט איז איהר לעצטער ציעל; איהר נאנצע ער־ציהונג מוז דערויכער זיין נעריכטעט צו אט דעם ענד־ציעל. אזוי ווי די שטומע כהמה ווערט נעפאשעט פאר דער שחיטה, אזוי וועדט זי צוגענדייט פאר דעם. דאך איז עס זאנרעדכאר, אז ס'איז איהר שר־לויכט צו וויסען א סך וועניגער איהרע פונקציעס אלס ווייב און מוטער אייריר דער נעוועהנליכער האנדווערקער וויים וועגען זיין האנדווערק. ס'איז ניט אנשטענדיג און ניט זויכער פאר א מיידעל צו וויסען עפעס וועגען די פערהעלטניסע פון פערהיידאטען לעכען. אה, ווי אונאויסנעהאלטען איז די אנשטענדיגקייט וואס כעדארף די שבועה פון דער היידאט אוס צו פערוואנדלען א זאך וואס איז אוס־זויכער אין דעם ריינסמען און הייליגסטען אפמאך. וואס קיינער וואנט ניט צו קריטיזירען. אט דאס איז נעווי די שטעלונג פון דעם דודכשניטליכען פערטיידיגער פון דער היידאט. די צוקינפטיגע ווייב און מוטער וועדט נעהאלטען אין פאלשטענריגער אונוויסענהייט וועגען דאס איינציגע וואס זי פעדמאגט אויפ'ן פעלד פון קאנקור־

רענץ — איהר נעשלעכט. אט אזוי טרעט זי אריין אין א לעכענס־לענגליכען פערהעלמנים מיט א מאן נור אוס זיך צו נעפינען אפנע־שטויסען און כעליידינט איכער יערער מאס דורך בעם נאטידליכסטען און נעזונדסטען אינסטינקט, דעם נעשלעכט. מ'קען זיכער זאנען אז א גרויסער פראצענט פון דער אומגליקליכקייט, עלענד און פיוישען ליידען פון היידאטס־לעכען קומט פון דער פערכדעכערישער אונווי־סענהייט וועגען סעקסועלע זאכען, וואס ווערט נעריהמט אלס א גדוי־סע מעלה. ס'איז נאר ניט קיין איכערדרייכונג וועז איך זאג, אז מעהר ווי איין הוין איז צוכראכען נעוואָרען צוליעב אט דעם כעדוי־ערענסווערטען פאקט

דאך אויך די פרוי איז נענוג פריי און נרויס צו לערנען דאס סעקסועלע מיסטעריום אהן דעם הכשר פון דעם שטאט אדער פון דער קירך. וועט זי שטעהן פעראורטיילט אלס ניט פאסענד צו וועדן די פרוי פון א „גוטען" מאן, וועמעס גוטסקייט עס כעשטעהט אין האכען א פוסטען קאפ און א סך נעלד. קען עס נאך זיין א שרעקליכעדע זאך ווי דער נעדאנק אז א דעדוואקסענע, נעזונדע פרוי, פול מיט לעכען און ליידענשאפט, מוז זיך אכזאנען פון דער נאטור'ס פער־לאנג, מוז אונטערדריקען איהרע שטארקסטע נעפיהלען. אונטער־נראכען איהר נעזונד און כרעכען איהר נייסט, מוז זיך צודיקהאלטען פון דער טיפקייט פון סעקסועלער ערלעכונג כיז עס קומט א „גוטער" מאן זי צוצונעהמען צו זיך פאר א ווייב? דאס איז נענוי וואס היי־ראט איז. ווי קען אזא פערכינדונג זיך ענדיגען אין עפעס אנדערש ווי איז א דודכפאל? דאס איז איין פאקטאר, כאטש ניט דער אונ־בעדייטענדסטער, וואס אונטערשיידט היידאט פון ליעכע.

מיר לעכען אין א פראקטישער צייט. די צייט וועז שעקספיר'ס ראמעא און דזשוליעט האכען צוליעב זייער ליעכע דיזיקידט מיט'ן צאדן פון זיישרע פאטערס, וועז נעטהע'ס נרעטכען האט ניט נעקוקט וואס זי איז צוליעב איהר ליעכע אדיינגעפאלען אין די בייזע מיילער פון איהרע שכנים — יענע צייט איז שוין פערכיי. אויך יוננע מענ־שען ערלויכען זיך כיי א זעלטענער נעלענהייט צו נעניסען פון ראמאנטישער ליעכע, פאסען שוין די עלטערע אויף זיי אויף און קנע־לען מיט זיי אזוי לאנג כיז זיי קומען צום שכל.

744

900515002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Marriage and Love. In Yiddish] Harat un Freie Liba / Emma Goldman. — translated by A.B.C.D. — New York : Isidor Schwartz, [between 1911 and 1940].— 15 p. ; 3 × 27 cm.

Obtained from the American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, MA.

די מאראלישע לעהרע וואס די מיידעל קריגט איז ניט אויב רער מאן האט רערוועקט איהר ליעבע, גור ניבער בעשטעהט דאס אין „ווי־פיעל?" די אייניזינע זאך וואס בעדעבטינט הייראט איז אויב רער מאן קען מאבען א לעבען, אויב ער קען אויסהאלטען א ווייב. ביס־לעבוויין דריגנט דאס דורך יערען נעדאנק פון דער מיידעל: איהרע הלומות זיינען ניט מעהר פון לבנה־נעבט און קושען, פון שמייכלען און טרערען: זי טרוימט ניבער פון קויפען מציאות אין דעפארט־מענט־סטאדס. אט די נייסטינע ארימקייט און נעוואוינהייט זיינען עלעמענטען וואס מ'קען ניט אבשיידען פון רער אינסטיטוציע פון הייראט. רער שטאט און די קירך ניבען קיין הבשר ניט אויף קיין אנדער אידעאל, מחמת ראס איז פאר זיי רער איינזיינער וועג צו בעהערשען די מענער און די פרויען.

עס זיינען אהן א צווייפעל פארען מענשען, ביי וועמען לעבע שטעהט העבער ווי דאללארס און סענטען. בעזונדערס איז ראס אמת פון יענעם קלאס וואס איז נעצוואונגען דורך די עקאנאטישע נויט־וועגרינקייט זיך זעלבסט אויסצוהאלטען. די נעוואלדינע ענדערונג איז רער שטעלונג פון רער פרוי וואס איז נעקומטען רורך יענעם מעכ־טינען עקאנאמישען פאקטאר, איז ווירקליך וואונרערבאר וועז מיר בעטראבטען ווי קורץ די צייט איז זינט זי האט בעטראטען די איג־רוסטריעלע ארענא. זעקס מיליאן פרויען, וועלבע לעבען פון זייערע ווירזשעס: זעקס מיליאן פרויען, וועלבע האבען ראס זעלבע רעבט ווי די מענער צו ווארן עקספלואטירט, בערויבט ראס רעבט צו סטרייי־קען, אפילו ראס רעבט אויסצוגעהן פון הונגער. קען מען נאך פערלאנגען מעהר? יא, זעקס מיליאן לוין־ארבייטער איז יערען צוויי־נייג פון לעבען. פון רער העבסטער קאפ־ארבייט ביז רער שווער־סטער האנדארבייט איז די נרעבערייען און ביי די אייזענבאהנען: יא, אפילו דעטעקטיוום און פאליסלייט, זיינען פרויען. נעווים, די עמאנציפאציע איז פאלשטענדיג.

דאך טראץ אלעם רעם קוקען נאנץ וועניג פון רער נרויסער צאהל פרויען לוין־ארבייטער אויף זייער ארבייט אלס אויף א בעשטענדינע אישו, אזוי ווי די מענער קוקען אויף זייער ארבייט: ווי נוצלאז רער מאן זאל ניט זיין, ראס ער זיך אבער אויסנעלערענט זיין אונ־

אבהעננינג. אה, איך וויים, אז קיינער איז ניט ריבטיג אונאבהענינ אין אונזער עקאנאמישער טרעט־מיל; דאך, רער נידערינסטער זארט מאן האט פיינט צו זיין א פאראזיט; ער וויל יערענפאלס ניט, אז מ'זאל וויסען אז ער איז א פאראזיט.

די פרוי בעטראבט איהר לאנג אלס ארבייטארין פאר א דער־וויילינג זאך. וואס זי וועט אוועקווארפען וועז רער ערשטער בעסטער וועט זיך כור אנבאטען צו איהר. ראס איז רער גרונר פאר־וואס עס איז טויזענר מאל שווערער צו ארנאניזירען פרויען איידער מענער. „צו וואס זאל איך זיך אנשליסען אן א יוניאן? איך נעה ראך באלר הייראטען אוו האבען א היים". האט מען זי ניט נעלע־רענט פון רער קינדהייט אן, אז פערהייראט זיין איז רי לעצטע פרא־פעסיאן איהרע, ביי וועלבער זי מוז בלייבען? זי נעפינט אבער באלר אויס, אז רי היים, כאטש ניט אזא נרויסע טורמע וויי רי פעק־טארי, האט אבער שטארקערע טירזען אוו ריגלעז. זי איז א טורמע וואס האט אזא גוטען, טרייען היטער, אז קיינער קען פון דארטען ניט אנטלויפען. ראס טרויערינסטע רערבי איז נאך, וואס די היים בע־פרייט זי ניט מעהר פון לוין־שקלאפערי: עס מאבט נאך שווערער איהרע אויפנאבען אוו איהר ארבייט.

לויט רי לעצטע סטאטיסטיק פון רער קאטיטע „וועגען ארבייט. לוין אוו נערבטקייט פון בעפעלקערונג" איז בלויז צעהן פראצענט פון די ארבייטערינען פון רער שטאדט ניו יארק פערהייראט. אוו אפילו אט די צעהן פראצענט מוזען ארבייטען נאך רער חתונה פאר רעם נידערינסטען לוין. וועז מ'לענט נאך צו די שווערע הויז ארבייט, טא וואס בלייבט ראן פון רער נאנצער בעשיצונג אוו רעם נאנצען נלאנץ פון רער היים נאך רער חתונה? ס'איז א פאקט, אז אפילו די מיטעל־קלאס מיירעל קען ניט ריידרן וועגען איהר היים, וויל רער מאן, ניט זי, שאפט איהר קריין. ס'איז ניט קיין נרויסער אונטערשיער אויב רער מאן איז א דעפאט אדער זעהר א נוטער. וואס איך וויל בעווייזען איז בלויז, אז הייראט ניט רער פרוי א חיים בלויז רורך רעם הסר פון איהר מאן. אזוי בעווענט זי זיך אין ז יי ן היים, א יאהר נאך א יאהר, ביז איהר קוק אויפ'ן לעבען אוו אויף מענשליבע פערהעלטניסע ווערט אזוי פלאך אוו ענג ווי איהר אומ־

745

900515002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Marriage and Love. In Yiddish] Harat un Freie Liba / Emma Goldman. – translated by A.B.C.D. – New York : Isidor Schwartz, [between 1911 and 1940]. – 15 p. ; 3 × 27 cm.

Obtained from the American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, MA.

נעבונג. קיין וואונדער ניט וואס זי וועלט א קליינליכע רכילות־טרייבערקע, וואס האלט אין איין זיך קרינען כיז זי פערטרייבט רעם מאן פון הויז. זי קען ניט נעהן, אויב זי וואלט וועלען, ווייל ס'איז ניטא קיין פלאץ וואוהין צו נעהן. דערצו איז נענוג א קורצע צייט פון פערהייראטען לעבען, פון אין נאנצען זיך אכזאנען פון אלע פע־הינקייטען, צו מאבען די רוכשניטליכע פדוי פאלשטענדיג אונפעהיג פאר די אויסערע וועלט. זי וועדט אבנעלאזט אין איהר אויסער־ליכער ערשיינונג, אונעשיקט אין איהרע בעזעהונגען, אבהענגיג אין איהרע בעשלוסען, פיינ אין איהר אורטייל, א לאסט וואס די מעהרסטע מענער הייבען אן פייגר צו האבען און צו פערהאבטען. א וואונדערליך בעגייסטערענדע אטמאספערע צו דערטראגען דאס לע־כען, ניט?

אבער דאס קינד, ווי וועט עס בעשיצט ווערען אויב ניט דורך דער הייראט? איז דען דאס ניט די ערשטע וויכטיגסטע זאך וואס דארף דא בעריקזיכטיגט ווערען? די פאלשקייט, די היפאקריטסטווע דערפון! די הייראט בעשיצט דאס קינד, דאך נעהען ארום טויזענדע קינדער אהן שטיצע און אהן א היים. הייראט בעשיצט דאס קינד, דאך הייזער פאר יתומים און רעפארם־אנשטאלטען איבערנעפאקט מיט קינדער, א נעזעלשאפט צו פערמיידען נרויזאמקייט צו קינדער שטענדיג בעשעפטיגט צו ראטעווען די קליינע אפפער פון די „ליע־כענדע" עלטערן, זיי צו ברענגען אונמער דער זיבערער און ליעבענ־דער בעשיצונג פון דער נערדי סאסייעטי. אה, ווי ליעבליך דאס איז!

הייראט טעג האבען די קראפט „צו בריינגען דאס פערד צום וואסער", אבער קען זי איהם מאבען צו טרינקען? דאס נעזעץ וועט שטעלען דעם פאטער אונטער ארעסט, און איהם אנטאן ארעסטאנמ־סקע קליידער: אבער האט דאס וועט נעשטילט דעם הונגער פון א קינד? אויב דער פאטער האט ניט קיין ארכייט, ארבער אויב ער בע־האלט זיך, קען דען די הייראט וואס אויפטאן? זי קען ארויסרופען דאס נעזעץ צו ברענגען דעם טאן פאר א משפט, איהם אוועקצוזע־צען הינטער נעשלאסענע טירען: זיין ארכייט אבער נעהט ניט דאן פאך'ן קינד נור פאר דעם שטאט. דעם קינד כלייבט נור א שוואכע שראינערונג פון דעם פאטער'ס לויידען.

וואס אנבעלאנגט רער כעשיצונג פון רער פרוי, — אט דא ליענט דער פלוך פון רער הייראט. פון כעשיצען איהר אין ראך שוין אכ־נערערט, נור די אידעע אליין איז אזוי ווילד, אזא בעשימפונג פון לעכען, אזוי נירשרינ פון דער מענשליבער ווירדע, אז מ'דארף אויך אויבינ פערואורטיילען אט די פראזויטישע אינסטיטוציע.

ס'אין ווי יענע אנרערע פאטערליכע אינסטיטוציע — קאפיטא־ליזם. עס כערויבט דעם מענשען פון זיין נעבורטס־רעכט, פערהאלט זיין וואוקס, פערניפטעט זיין קערפער, האלט איהם אין אונווויסענ־הייט, אין ארימקייט און אין אכהענגינקייט און שאפט צרקה־אנ־שטאלטען וואס פערניבטען די לעצטע שפור פון דעם מענשען'ס זעלבסט־רעספעקט.

די אינסטיטוציע פון דער הייראט מאכט פון דער פרוי א פא־ראויט, א פאלשטענריגע אבהענינע בעשעפענים. עס מאבט זי אונ־פעהיג פאר'ן קאמפף פון לעבען, פערניכטעט איהר נעזעלשאפטליכעס בעווווסטזיין, פראליזירט איהר פאנטאזיע, און דאן וועדט די אינ־סטיטוציע פון דער הייראט דער פרוי'ס ננערינע בעשיצערין.

אויב מוטערשאפט איז די העכסטע עדפילונג פון דער פרוי'ס נאטור, דאן וואס פאר אן אנרער כעשיצונג דארף זי אויסער ליעבע און פרייהייט? די הייראט פערואמריינינט און פערדאבט נור איהר ערפילונג. זאנט ניט הייראט צו דער פרוי, נור וועז דו פאלנסט מיר מענסטו ארויסכריינגען לעבען? פערואורטיילט די הייראט ניט די פרוי צו ערנידעריגונג און פאלשקייט וועז זי ווייל ניט קויפען איהר רעבט אויף מוטערשאפט רורב'ן פערקויפען זיך נופא? בע־דעבטינט די הייראט ניט מוטערשאפט אפילו וועז דאס קומט דורך האס און צוואנג? דאך זועז מוטערשאפט קומט פון פרייער וואהל, פון ליעבע, פון עקסטאז, פון ברענענדער ליידנשאפט, לענט עס ניט ארויף א קרויז פון דערנער אויף אן אונשולדיגען קאפ און קריצט עס ניט איין מיט בלוטינע בוכשטאבען די שרעקליבע אויפשריפט, ממזר? אויב אפילו די הייראט וואלט נעהאט אלע מעלות וואס מ'שרייבט איהר צו, וואלט זי דען ניט פערדינט, כלויז איהר איהר פערבראכען נע־נען מוטערשאפט, אויסנעשלאסען צו ווערן אויף אימער פון דער טלוכה פון ליעבע.

746

900515002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Marriage and Love. In Yiddish] Harat un Freie Liba / Emma Goldman. – translated by A.B.C.D. – New York : Isidor Schwartz, [between 1911 and 1940].– 15 p. ; 3 × 27 cm.

Obtained from the American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, MA.

ליעבע, דער שטארקסטער און טיפסטער עלעמענט אין מאנצען לעבען, דער אנזאנגער פון האפנונג, פון פרייד, פון עקסטאז ; ליעבע, וועלבע איז שטארקער פאר אלע נעזעצען, פאר אלע אננענומענע זיטען ; ליעבע, דער פרייעסטער, דער מעבטינסטער פארמירער פון מענשליבען שיקזאל ; ווי קען אזא'ן אל־צווינגענרע קראפט בעטראבט ווערן אלס ראס זעלבינע ווי יענע פערזעהעניש, נעבאהרען פון שטאס און קירך, היראט?

פרייע ליעבע? עפעס ווי ליעבע וואלט איבערהויפט נעקענט זיין אנדערש ווי פרייע! דער מענש קויפט קאפּ־פעהינקייט, אבער אלע מיליאנען אין דער וועלט זיינען נאך ניט אימשטאנד נעווען צו קויפען ליעבע. דער מענש אונטערוואדפט קערפערס, אבער די נאנצע מאבט פון דער וועלט איז נאך ניט אימשטאנד נעווען צו אונטערוואדפען ליעבע. דער מענש האט ערפאבערט נאנצע נאציאנען, אבער אלע זיינע ארמייען האבען ניט נעקאנט ערפאבערן ליעבע. דער מענש האט נעכונדען אין קייטען רעס נייסט, אבער ער איז אין נאנצע צען נעווען הילפלאז נענען ליעבע. הויך אויף א טראן, מיט נלאנץ און פראבט קען זיין נאלד בעפעהלען און הערשען, אבער ארים און ווייסט בלייבט דער מענש ווען זיין לעבען נעהט פערבייַ אהן ליעבע. און וואו די ליעבע קומט ווערט דאס אריסטע הייזעל פול מיט ליבטינקייט, מיט וואריפקייט, מיט לעבען און פאדב. ליעבע האט אל־זא די צויבער־קראפט צו מאבען פון א בעטלער א קענג. אבער ליעבע איז פרייַ : זי קען ניט וואוינען אין קיין אנדערער ווי א פרייער אט־מאספערע. אין פרייהייט ניט זי זיך איבער פאלשטענדיג, ניט בע־האלטענדיג נאתישט צוריק. אלע נעזעצען פון די נעזעצבינדע, אלע נעריבטסהייזער אין דער וועלט קענען ניט אויסרייסען די ליע־בע, ווען זי האט נור איינמאל נעשלאנען טיפע וואדצלען. אבער, ווען דער בארען איז טרוקען און אונפרובטבאר, ווי קען די הייראט איהם מאבען פרובטכארער? ס'איז ווי דער לעצטער פערצווייפעלטער קאמף נענען טויט פון א לעבען וואס האלט אין אויסנעהן.

די ליעבע דארף ניט קיין בעשיצונג : זי איז איהר איינענע בע־שיצונג. אזוי לאנג ווי ליעבע ברענגט ארוים לעבענס, ווען קיין קינד ניט זיין פערלאזען אדער הונגערינ. איך ווייס, אז דאס איז אטת.

איך ווייס פרויען וועלבע זיינען נאך ארען פרייַ טוטערס פון מענער ווען זיי האבען נעליעבט. זעה ווענינ קינדער פון פערהיראטע פאמיליעס נענישען אזא בעשיצונג. אזא'ן איבערנעבענהייט ווי די קינדער פון פרייער טוטערשאפט.

די בעשיצער פון דער מאבט האבען מודא פאר פרייער טוטער־שאפט, עס זאל ניט צווענקענטען פון זיי זייער רויב. ווער ווען נעהן אין מלחמות? ווער ווען בעשאפען רייבטהום? ווער ווען טאבען דעם פאליסמאן, דעם היטער פון טורמע, אויב די פרוי ווען ניט ווילען נלאט אזוי אנפלאדען קינדער? די ראסע, די ראסע! שרייט דער קענינ, דער פרעזירענט, דער קאפיטאליסט, דער נייסטליבער. די ראסע מוז אויפשהאלטען ווערען, מעג אפילו די פרוי ערנידערינט ווערן צו א בלויזער מאשין, — און די הייראטס־אינסטיטוציע איז אונזער איינציגע זיבערקייט נענען די שרעקליבע סעקסועלע ערווא־בונג פון דער פרוי. אבער אומזיסט זיינען אט די אלע בעטיהונגען אויפצוהאלטען א צושטאנד פון קנעבטשאפט. אומזיסט די בעפעה־לען פון דער קירך, די ווילדע אטאקעס פון הערשער, אומזיסט אפילו די האנד פון נעזעץ. די פרוי ווייל ניט מעהר זיין קיין שותפ'טע ארויסצובריננען א ראסע פון קרענקליבע, שוואכע, עלענדע מענשען, ווען האבען ניט די קראפט, דעם מאראלישען מוט אראפצואוועדפען פון זיך דעם יאך פון אדימקייט און שקלאפערי. אנשטאט דעם ווייל זי ווענינער און בעסערע קינדער, נעבאהרען און ערצוינען אין ליעבע און פרייע וואהל, ניט דורך בעצווינגונג ווי די הייראטס־אינסטיטוציע פאדערט. אונזערע פאלשע מאראליסטען מוזען זיך נאך אויסלער־נען דעם טיפען זין פון פעראנטוואדטליבקייט נענען א קינד וואס די ליעבע און פרייהייט האט ערווארבט אין דער ברוסט פון דער פרוי. ניבער וואלט זי זיך אויף אימער ענטזאנען פון דער עהדע פון מוטער־שאפט איידער ארויסבריננען לעבענס אין אן אטמאספערע וואס אטמעט מיט צושטערונג און טויט. און אויב זי ווערט א מוטער, איז

747

900515002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Marriage and Love. In Yiddish] Harat un Freie Liba / Emma Goldman. – translated by A.B.C.D. – New York : Isidor Schwartz, [between 1911 and 1940].– 15 p. ; 3 × 27 cm.

Obtained from the American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, MA.

דאָס אום צו געבען דעם קינד דאָס טיפסטע און בעסטע וואָס זיי פאר־מאַנט אין זיך. איהר מאַמע איז צו וואַסען מיט'ן קינד; זי ווייס, אז גור אויף דיזען וועג קען זי העלפען אויפבויען אמת'ע וויבליכקייט און מענליכקייט.

איבסען האָט געמוזט האָבען רעם חוש־הראיה פון א פרייער מר־טער, וי:ען ער האָט מיט זיין מייסטעדהאגר געמאַלען פרוי אלוויגג. זי איז נעוויש די אידעאלע מוטער, ווייל זי איז אדיכענעוואקסען די היראָט און אלע איהדע שדעקען. ווייל זי האָט געבראָכען איהרע קיי־טען און האָט בעפריים איהר נייסט און איהם נעלאָזט ארומשוועבען בין ער איז צוריקגעקומען א פערזענליכקייט. נייגעכאָרען און שטארק. צום בעדויערען איז עס שוין צו שפעט נעווען צו דאָטעווען די פדיה פון איהר לעבען, איהר אסוואלד; אבער ניט צו שפעט אייגצוזעהן, אז ליעבע און פרייהייט איז די איינציגע בערינגונג פון א שענעם לעבען. יענע וואָס, אזוי ווי פרוי אלוויגג, האָבען זיי בעצאָהלט מיט בלוט און טרערן פאר זייער נייסטיגע ערוואָכונג, פערוואַרפען די היראָט אלס א בעטרוג, אלס א פלאָבע, פוסטע לעבערליכקייט. זיי ווייסען, אז אויב ליעבע רויערט א קודצע צייט אדער צוביג, איז זי אבער דאָס איינציגע בעשאפענדע, כעזייסטערענדע, ערהייבענדע פונדאמענט פאר א נייער דאָסע א נייער וועלט.

אין אונזער איצטיגע בערינגונגען איז ליעבע א פרעמדע זאך פאר די מעהרסטע לייט. מיספערשטאנדען און אויסגעמידען, פאסט זי זעלטען וואו טיפע וואַרצלען; און וואו זי טוט עס שוין יא, ווערט זי באלד פעדוועלקט און שטארבט אב. די צערמקייט פון רער ליעבע קען ניט פערטראגען די שטרענגקייט און די שארפקייט פון רעם טעג־ליכען לעבען. איהר נשמה איז צו פיין אוס זיך צוצופאסען צו אונזער נעזעלשאפטליכען פאבריק. זי, די ליעבע, וויינט און זיפצט און ליידט מיט יענע וואָס בעדארפען זי, אבער האָבען ניט די פעהינקייט

890327015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman. — [1st. ed.] — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. — 15 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.

Obtained from the Dartmouth College Library.

ANARCHISM

WHAT IT REALLY STANDS FOR

BY

EMMA GOLDMAN

PRICE TEN CENTS

MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

210 EAST 13th STREET, NEW YORK

1911

749

890327015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman. — [1st. ed.] — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. — 15 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.
Obtained from the Dartmouth College Library.

NOW READY!

Anarchism and Other Essays

EMMA GOLDMAN'S BOOK

A SERIES of essays comprising a thorough critique of existing social institutions and conditions, and giving a comprehensive view of the author's opinions on matters educational, sexual, economic, political, and social.

CONTENTS

1. Anarchism: What It Really Stands For.
2. Minorities versus Majorities.
3. The Psychology of Political Violence.
4. Prisons: A Social Crime and Failure.
5. Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty.
6. Francisco Ferrer and The Modern School.
7. The Hypocrisy of Puritanism.
8. The Traffic in Women.
9. Woman Suffrage.
10. The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation.
11. Marriage and Love.
12. The Modern Drama: A Powerful Disseminator of Radical Thought.

A BIOGRAPHIC SKETCH of Emma Goldman's interesting career, with splendid **portrait,** is included in the book.

Orders are to be sent, with cash, to

MOTHER EARTH, 210 E. 13th St., New York, N. Y.

Price, $1.00. By Mail, $1.10

ANARCHISM

WHAT IT REALLY STANDS FOR ∴ ∴

BY

EMMA GOLDMAN

MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

210 EAST 13th STREET, NEW YORK

1911

750

890327015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 15 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.
Obtained from the Dartmouth College Library.

Val.
335
G569a

Nov. 7, 1944
Gen.

ANARCHISM

WHAT IT REALLY STANDS FOR

ANARCHY.

Ever reviled, accursed, ne'er understood,
  Thou art the grisly terror of our age.
"Wreck of all order," cry the multitude,
  "Art thou, and war and murder's endless rage."
O, let them cry. To them that ne'er have striven
  The truth that lies behind a word to find,
To them the word's right meaning was not given.
  They shall continue blind among the blind.
But thou, O word, so clear, so strong, so pure,
  Thou sayest all which I for goal have taken.
I give thee to the future! Thine secure
  When each at least unto himself shall waken.
Comes it in sunshine? In the tempest's thrill?
  I cannot tell—but it the earth shall see!
I am an Anarchist! Wherefore I will
  Not rule, and also ruled I will not be!

JOHN HENRY MACKAY.

THE history of human growth and development is at the same time the history of the terrible struggle of every new idea heralding the approach of a brighter dawn. In its tenacious hold on tradition, the Old

751

890327015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman.— [1st. ed.] — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911.— 15 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.
Obtained from the Dartmouth College Library.

has never hesitated to make use of the foulest and cruelest means to stay the advent of the New, in whatever form or period the latter may have asserted itself. Nor need we retrace our steps into the distant past to realize the enormity of opposition, difficulties, and hardships placed in the path of every progressive idea. The rack, the thumbscrew, and the knout are still with us; so are the convict's garb and the social wrath, all conspiring against the spirit that is serenely marching on.

Anarchism could not hope to escape the fate of all other ideas of innovation. Indeed, as the most revolutionary and uncompromising innovator, Anarchism must needs meet with the combined ignorance and venom of the world it aims to reconstruct.

To deal even remotely with all that is being said and done against Anarchism would necessitate the writing of a whole volume. I shall therefore meet only two of the principal objections. In so doing, I shall attempt to elucidate what Anarchism really stands for.

The strange phenomenon of the opposition to Anarchism is that it brings to light the relation between so-called intelligence and ignorance. And yet this is not so very strange when we consider the relativity of all things. The ignorant mass has in its favor that it makes no pretense of knowledge or tolerance. Acting, as it always does, by mere impulse, its reasons are like those of a child. "Why?" "Because." Yet the opposition of the uneducated to Anarchism deserves the same consideration as that of the intelligent man.

What, then, are the objections? First, Anarchism is impractical, though a beautiful ideal. Second, Anarchism stands for violence and destruction, hence it must be repudiated as vile and dangerous. Both the intelligent man and the ignorant mass judge not from a thorough knowledge of the subject, but either from hearsay or false interpretation.

A practical scheme, says Oscar Wilde, is either one already in existence, or a scheme that could be carried out under the existing conditions; but it is exactly the existing conditions that one objects to, and any scheme that could accept these conditions is wrong and foolish. The true criterion of the practical, therefore, is not whether the latter can keep intact the wrong or foolish; rather is it whether the scheme has vitality enough to leave the stagnant waters of the old, and build, as well as sustain, new life. In the light of this conception, Anarchism is indeed practical. More than any other idea, it is helping to do away with the wrong and foolish; more than any other idea, it is building and sustaining new life.

The emotions of the ignorant man are continuously kept at a pitch by the most blood-curdling stories about Anarchism. Not a thing too outrageous to be employed against this philosophy and its exponents. Therefore Anarchism represents to the unthinking what the proverbial bad man does to the child,— a black monster bent on swallowing everything; in short, destruction and violence.

Destruction and violence! How is the ordinary man to know that the most violent element in society

752

890327015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman.— [1st. ed.] — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911.— 15 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.
Obtained from the Dartmouth College Library.

is ignorance; that its power of destruction is the very thing Anarchism is combating? Nor is he aware that Anarchism, whose roots, as it were, are part of nature's forces, destroys, not healthful tissue, but parasitic growths that feed on the life's essence of society. It is merely clearing the soil from weeds and sagebrush, that it may eventually bear healthy fruit.

Someone has said that it requires less mental effort to condemn than to think. The widespread mental indolence, so prevalent in society, proves this to be only too true. Rather than to go to the bottom of any given idea, to examine into its origin and meaning, most people will either condemn it altogether, or rely on some superficial or prejudicial definition of non-essentials.

Anarchism urges man to think, to investigate, to analyze every proposition; but that the brain capacity of the average reader be not taxed too much, I also shall begin with a definition, and then elaborate on the latter.

> ANARCHISM:—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

The new social order rests, of course, on the materialistic basis of life; but while all Anarchists agree that the main evil today is an economic one, they maintain that the solution of that evil can be brought about only through the consideration of *every phase* of life,—individual, as well as the collective; the internal, as well as the external phases.

A thorough perusal of the history of human development will disclose two elements in bitter conflict with each other; elements that are only now beginning to be understood, not as foreign to each other, but as closely related and truly harmonious, if only placed in proper environment: the individual and social instincts. The individual and society have waged a relentless and bloody battle for ages, each striving for supremacy, because each was blind to the value and importance of the other. The individual and social instincts,—the one a most potent factor for individual endeavor, for growth, aspiration, self-realization; the other an equally potent factor for mutual helpfulness and social well-being.

The explanation of the storm raging within the individual, and between him and his surroundings, is not far to seek. The primitive man, unable to understand his being, much less the unity of all life, felt himself absolutely dependent on blind, hidden forces ever ready to mock and taunt him. Out of that attitude grew the religious concepts of man as a mere speck of dust dependent on superior powers on high, who can only be appeased by complete surrender. All the early sagas rest on that idea, which continues to be the *leit-motif* of the biblical tales dealing with the relation of man to God, to the State, to society. Again and again the same motif, *man is nothing, the powers are everything.* Thus Jehovah would only endure man on condition of complete surrender. Man can have all the glories of the earth, but he must not become conscious of himself. The State, society, and moral laws all sing the same re-

753

890327015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 15 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.
Obtained from the Dartmouth College Library.

frain: Man can have all the glories of the earth, but he must not become conscious of himself.

Anarchism is the only philosophy which brings to man the consciousness of himself; which maintains that God, the State, and society are non-existent, that their promises are null and void, since they can be fulfilled only through man's subordination. Anarchism is therefore the teacher of the unity of life; not merely in nature, but in man. There is no conflict between the individual and the social instincts, any more than there is between the heart and the lungs: the one the receptacle of a precious life essence, the other the repository of the element that keeps the essence pure and strong. The individual is the heart of society, conserving the essence of social life; society is the lungs which are distributing the element to keep the life essence—that is, the individual—pure and strong.

"The one thing of value in the world," says Emerson, "is the active soul; this every man contains within him. The soul active sees absolute truth and utters truth and creates." In other words, the individual instinct is the thing of value in the world. It is the true soul that sees and creates the truth alive, out of which is to come a still greater truth, the re-born social soul.

Anarchism is the great liberator of man from the phantoms that have held him captive; it is the arbiter and pacifier of the two forces for individual and social harmony. To accomplish that unity, Anarchism has declared war on the pernicious influences which have so far prevented the harmonious blending of individual and social instincts, the individual and society.

Religion, the dominion of the human mind; Property, the dominion of human needs; and Government, the dominion of human conduct, represent the stronghold of man's enslavement and all the horrors it entails. Religion! How it dominates man's mind, how it humiliates and degrades his soul. God is everything, man is nothing, says religion. But out of that nothing God has created a kingdom so despotic, so tyrannical, so cruel, so terribly exacting that naught but gloom and tears and blood have ruled the world since gods began. Anarchism rouses man to rebellion against this black monster. Break your mental fetters, says Anarchism to man, for not until you think and judge for yourself will you get rid of the dominion of darkness, the greatest obstacle to all progress.

Property, the dominion of man's needs, the denial of the right to satisfy his needs. Time was when property claimed a divine right, when it came to man with the same refrain, even as religion, "Sacrifice! Abnegate! Submit!" The spirit of Anarchism has lifted man from his prostrate position. He now stands erect, with his face toward the light. He has learned to see the insatiable, devouring, devastating nature of property, and he is preparing to strike the monster dead.

"Property is robbery," said the great French Anarchist, Proudhon. Yes, but without risk and danger to the robber. Monopolizing the accumulated efforts of man, property has robbed him of his birth-

754

890327015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 15 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.
Obtained from the Dartmouth College Library.

right, and has turned him loose a pauper and an outcast. Property has not even the time-worn excuse that man does not create enough to satisfy all needs. The A B C student of economics knows that the productivity of labor within the last few decades far exceeds normal demand a hundredfold. But what are normal demands to an abnormal institution? The only demand that property recognizes is its own gluttonous appetite for greater wealth, because wealth means power: the power to subdue, to crush, to exploit, the power to enslave, to outrage, to degrade. America is particularly boastful of her great power, her enormous national wealth. Poor America, of what avail is all her wealth, if the individuals comprising the nation are wretchedly poor? If they live in squalor, in filth, in crime, with hope and joy gone, a homeless, soilless army of human prey.

It is generally conceded that unless the returns of any business venture exceed the cost, bankruptcy is inevitable. But those engaged in the business of producing wealth have not yet learned even this simple lesson. Every year the cost of production in human life is growing larger (50,000 killed, 100,000 wounded in America last year); the returns to the masses, who help to create wealth, are ever getting smaller. Yet America continues to be blind to the inevitable bankruptcy of our business of production. Nor is this the only crime of the latter. Still more fatal is the crime of turning the producer into a mere particle of a machine, with less will and decision than his master of steel and iron. Man is being robbed not merely of the products of his labor, but of the power of free initiative, of originality, and the interest in, or desire for, the things he is making.

Real wealth consists in things of utility and beauty, in things that help to create strong, beautiful bodies and surroundings inspiring to live in. But if man is doomed to wind cotton around a spool, or dig coal, or build roads for thirty years of his life, there can be no talk of wealth. What he gives to the world is only gray and hideous things, reflecting a dull and hideous existence,—too weak to live, too cowardly to die. Strange to say, there are people who extol this deadening method of centralized production as the proudest achievement of our age. They fail utterly to realize that if we are to continue in machine subserviency, our slavery is more complete than was our bondage to the King. They do not want to know that centralization is not only the death knell of liberty, but also of health and beauty, of art and science, all these being impossible in a clock-like, mechanical atmosphere.

Anarchism cannot but repudiate such a method of production: its goal is the freest possible expression of all the latent powers of the individual. Oscar Wilde defines a perfect personality as "one who develops under perfect conditions, who is not wounded, maimed, or in danger." A perfect personality, then, is only possible in a state of society where man is free to choose the mode of work, the conditions of work, and the freedom to work. One to whom the making of a table, the building of a house, or the tilling of the soil, is what the painting is to the artist and the discovery to the scientist,—the

755

890327015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman. — [1st. ed.] — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. — 15 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.
Obtained from the Dartmouth College Library.

result of inspiration, of intense longing, and deep interest in work as a ereative force. That being the ideal of Anarehism, its economic arrangements must consist of voluntary produetive and distributive associations, gradually developing into free eommunism, as the best means of producing with the least waste of human energy. Anarchism, however, also recognizes the right of the individual, or numbers of individuals, to arrange at all times for othcr forms of work, in harmony with their tastes and desires.

Such free display of human energy being possible only under complete individual and social freedom, Anarehism directs its forees against the third and greatest foe of all social equality; namely, the State, organized authority, or statutory law,—the dominion of human eonduct.

Just as religion has fettered the human mind, and as property, or the monopoly of things, has subdued and stifled man's needs, so has the State enslaved his spirit, dictating every phase of conduct. "All government in essenee," says Emerson, "is tyranny." It matters not whether it is government by divine right or majority rule. In every instance its aim is the absolute subordination of the individual.

Referring to the Ameriean government, the greatest Ameriean Anarehist, David Thoreau, said: "Government, what is it but a tradition, though a recent one, endeavoring to transmit itself unimpaired to posterity, but eaeh instance losing its integrity; it has not the vitality and foree of a single living man. Law never made man a whit more just; and by means of their respect for it, even the well disposed are daily made agents of injustice."

Indeed, the keynote of government is injustiee. With thc arroganee and self-suffieiency of thc King who could do no wrong, govcrnments ordain, judge, condemn, and punish the most insignificant offenses, whilc maintaining themselves by the greatest of all offenses, the annihilation of individual liberty. Thus Ouida is right when she maintains that "the State only aims at instilling those qualities in its public by whieh its demands are obeyed, and its exchequer is filled. Its highest attainment is thc reduction of mankind to clockwork. In its atmosphere all those finer and more delicate liberties, which require treatment and spacious expansion, inevitably dry up and perish. The State requires a taxpaying machine in which there is no hitch, an exchequer in whieh there is never a deficit, and a public, monotonous, obedient, colorless, spiritless, moving humbly like a flock of sheep along a straight high road between two walls."

Yet even a flock of sheep would resist the chicanery of the State, if it were not for the corruptive, tyrannical, and oppressive methods it employs to serve its purposes. Therefore Bakunin repudiates the State as synonymous with the surrender of the liberty of the individual or small minorities,—the destruction of social relationship, the curtailment, or eomplete denial even, of life itself, for its own aggrandizement. The State is the altar of political freedom and, like the religious altar, it is maintained for the purpose of human saerifice.

In fact, there is hardly a modern thinker who

756

890327015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 15 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.

Obtained from the Dartmouth College Library.

does not agree that government, organized authority, or the State, is necessary *only* to maintain or protect property and monopoly. It has proven efficient in that function only.

Even George Bernard Shaw, who hopes for the miraculous from the State under Fabianism, nevertheless admits that "it is at present a huge machine for robbing and slave-driving of the poor by brute force." This being the case, it is hard to see why the clever prefacer wishes to uphold the State after poverty shall have ceased to exist.

Unfortunately there are still a number of people who continue in the fatal belief that government rests on natural laws, that it maintains social order and harmony, that it diminishes crime, and that it prevents the lazy man from fleecing his fellows. I shall therefore examine these contentions.

A natural law is that factor in man which asserts itself freely and spontaneously without any external force, in harmony with the requirements of nature. For instance, the demand for nutrition, for sex gratification, for light, air, and exercise, is a natural law. But its expression needs not the machinery of government, needs not the club, the gun, the handcuff, or the prison. To obey such laws, if we may call it obedience, requires only spontaneity and free opportunity. That governments do not maintain themselves through such harmonious factors is proven by the terrible array of violence, force, and coercion all governments use in order to live. Thus Blackstone is right when he says, "Human laws are invalid, because they are contrary to the laws of nature."

Unless it be the order of Warsaw after the slaughter of thousands of people, it is difficult to ascribe to governments any capacity for order or social harmony. Order derived through submission and maintained by terror is not much of a safe guaranty; yet that is the only "order" that governments have ever maintained. True social harmony grows naturally out of solidarity of interests. In a society where those who always work never have anything, while those who never work enjoy everything, solidarity of interests is non-existent; hence social harmony is but a myth. The only way organized authority meets this grave situation is by extending still greater privileges to those who have already monopolized the earth, and by still further enslaving the disinherited masses. Thus the entire arsenal of government—laws, police, soldiers, the courts, legislatures, prisons,—is strenuously engaged in "harmonizing" the most antagonistic elements in society.

The most absurd apology for authority and law is that they serve to diminish crime. Aside from the fact that the State is itself the greatest criminal, breaking every written and natural law, stealing in the form of taxes, killing in the form of war and capital punishment, it has come to an absolute standstill in coping with crime. It has failed utterly to destroy or even minimize the horrible scourge of its own creation.

Crime is naught but misdirected energy. So long as every institution of today, economic, political, social, and moral, conspires to misdirect human energy into wrong channels; so long as most people

890327015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 15 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.
Obtained from the Dartmouth College Library.

are out of place doing the things they hate to do, living a life they loathe to live, crime will be inevitable, and all the laws on the statutes can only increase, but never do away with, crime. What does society, as it exists today, know of the process of despair, the poverty, the horrors, the fearful struggle the human soul must pass on its way to crime and degradation. Who that knows this terrible process can fail to see the truth in these words of Peter Kropotkin:

"Those who will hold the balance between the benefits thus attributed to law and punishment and the degrading effect of the latter on humanity; those who will estimate the torrent of depravity poured abroad in human society by the informer, favored by the Judge even, and paid for in clinking cash by governments, under the pretext of aiding to unmask crime; those who will go within prison walls and there see what human beings become when deprived of liberty, when subjected to the care of brutal keepers, to coarse, cruel words, to a thousand stinging, piercing humiliations, will agree with us that the entire apparatus of prison and punishment is an abomination which ought to be brought to an end."

The deterrent influence of law on the lazy man is too absurd to merit consideration. If society were only relieved of the waste and expense of keeping a lazy class, and the equally great expense of the paraphernalia of protection this lazy class requires, the social tables would contain an abundance for all, including even the occasional lazy individual. Besides, it is well to consider that laziness results either from special privileges, or physical and mental abnormalities. Our present insane system of production fosters both, and the most astounding phenomenon is that people should want to work at all now. Anarchism aims to strip labor of its deadening, dulling aspect, of its gloom and compulsion. It aims to make work an instrument of joy, of strength, of color, of real harmony, so that the poorest sort of a man should find in work both recreation and hope.

To achieve such an arrangement of life, government, with its unjust, arbitrary, repressive measures, must be done away with. At best it has but imposed one single mode of life upon all, without regard to individual and social variations and needs. In destroying government and statutory laws, Anarchism proposes to rescue the self-respect and independence of the individual from all restraint and invasion by authority. Only in freedom can man grow to his full stature. Only in freedom will he learn to think and move, and give the very best in him. Only in freedom will he realize the true force of the social bonds which knit men together, and which are the true foundation of a normal social life.

But what about human nature? Can it be changed? And if not, will it endure under Anarchism?

Poor human nature, what horrible crimes have been committed in thy name! Every fool, from king to policeman, from the flatheaded par-

890327015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman.— [1st. ed.] — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911.— 15 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.
Obtained from the Dartmouth College Library.

son to the visionless dabbler in science, presumes to speak authoritatively of human nature. The greater the mental charlatan, the more definite his insistence on the wickedness and weaknesses of human nature. Yet, how can any one speak of it today, with every soul in a prison, with every heart fettered, wounded, and maimed?

John Burroughs has stated that experimental study of animals in captivity is absolutely useless. Their character, their habits, their appetites undergo a complete transformation when torn from their soil in field and forest. With human nature caged in a narrow space, whipped daily into submission, how can we speak of its potentialities?

Freedom, expansion, opportunity, and, above all, peace and repose, alone can teach us the real dominant factors of human nature and all its wonderful possibilities.

Anarchism, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations.

This is not a wild fancy or an aberration of the mind. It is the conclusion arrived at by hosts of intellectual men and women the world over; a conclusion resulting from the close and studious observation of the tendencies of modern society: individual liberty and economic equality, the twin forces for the birth of what is fine and true in man.

As to methods. Anarchism is not, as some may suppose, a theory of the future to be realized through divine inspiration. It is a living force in the affairs of our life, constantly creating new conditions. The methods of Anarchism therefore do not comprise an iron-clad program to be carried out under all circumstances. Methods must grow out of the economic needs of each place and clime, and of the intellectual and temperamental requirements of the individual. The serene, calm character of a Tolstoy will wish different methods for social reconstruction than the intense, overflowing personality of a Michael Bakunin or a Peter Kropotkin. Equally so it must be apparent that the economic and political needs of Russia will dictate more drastic measures than would England or America. Anarchism does not stand for military drill and uniformity; it does, however, stand for the spirit of revolt, in whatever form, against everything that hinders human growth. All Anarchists agree in that, as they also agree in their opposition to the political machinery as a means of bringing about the great social change.

"All voting," says Thoreau, "is a sort of gaming, like checkers, or backgammon, a playing with right and wrong; its obligation never exceeds that of expediency. Even voting for the right thing is doing nothing for it. A wise man will not leave

759

890327015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman. — [1st. ed.] — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. — 15 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.
Obtained from the Dartmouth College Library.

the right to the mercy of chance, nor wish it to prevail through the power of the majority." A close examination of the machinery of politics and its achievements will bear out the logic of Thoreau.

What does the history of parliamentarism show? Nothing but failure and defeat, not even a single reform to ameliorate the economic and social stress of the people. Laws have been passed and enactments made for the improvement and protection of labor. Thus it was proven only last year that Illinois, with the most rigid laws for mine protection, had the greatest mine disasters. In States where child labor laws prevail, child exploitation is at its highest, and though with us the workers enjoy full political opportunities, capitalism has reached the most brazen zenith.

Even were the workers able to have their own reprcscntatives, for which our good Socialist politicians are clamoring, what chances are there for their honesty and good faith? One has but to bear in mind the process of politics to realize that its path of good intentions is full of pitfalls: wire-pulling, intriguing, flattering, lying, cheating; in fact, chicanery of every description, whereby the political aspirant can achieve success. Added to that is a complete demoralization of character and conviction, until nothing is left that would make one hope for anything from such a human derelict. Time and time again the people were foolish enough to trust, believe, and support with their last farthing aspiring politicians, only to find themselves betrayed and cheated.

It may be claimed that men of integrity would not become corrupt in the political grinding mill. Perhaps not; but such men would be absolutely helpless to exert the slightest influence in behalf of labor, as indeed has been shown in numerous instances. The State is the economic master of its servants. Good men, if such there be, would either remain true to their political faith and lose their economic support, or they would cling to their economic master and be utterly unable to do the slightest good. The political arena leaves one no alternative, one must either be a duncc or a rogue.

The political superstition is still holding sway over the hearts and minds of the masses, but the true lovers of liberty will have no more to do with it. Instead, they believe with Stirner that man has as much liberty as he is willing to take. Anarchism therefore stands for direct action, the open defiance of, and resistance to, all laws and restrictions, economic, social, and moral. But defiance and rcsistance are illegal. Therein lies the salvation of man. Everything illegal nccessitates integrity, self-reliance, and courage. In short, it calls for free, independent spirits, for "men who are men, and who have a bone in their backs which you cannot pass your hand through."

Universal suffrage itself owes its existence to direct action. If not for the spirit of rebellion, of the defiance on the part of the American revolutionary fathers, their posterity would still wear the King's coat. If not for the direct action of a John

760

890327015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 15 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.
Obtained from the Dartmouth College Library.

Brown and his comrades, America would still trade in the flesh of the black man. True, the trade in white flesh is still going on; but that, too, will have to be abolished by direct action. Trade unionism, the economic arena of the modern gladiator, owes its existence to direct action. It is but recently that law and government have attempted to crush the trade union movement, and condemned thc exponents of man's right to organize to prison as conspirators. Had they sought to assert their cause through begging, pleading, and compromise, trade unionism would today be a negligible quantity. In Francc, in Spain, in Italy, in Russia, nay even in England (witness the growing rebellion of English labor unions) direct, revolutionary, economic action has become so strong a force in the battle for industrial liberty as to make the world realize the tremendous importance of labor's power. The General Strike, the supreme expression of the economic consciousness of the workers, was ridiculed in America but a short time ago. Today every great strike, in order to win, must realize the importance of the solidaric general protest.

Direct action, having proved effective along economic lines, is equally potent in the environment of the individual. There a hundred forces encroach upon his being, and only persistent resistance to them will finally set him free. Direct action against the authority in the shop, direct action against the authority of the law, direct action against the invasive, meddlesome authority of our moral code, is the logical, consistent method of Anarchism.

Will it not lead to a rcvolution? Indeed, it will. No real social change has ever come about without a revolution. People are either not familiar with their history, or they have not yet learned that revolution is but thought carried into action.

Anarchism, thc great lcaven of thought, is today pcrmeating cvery phase of human endcavor. Science, art, literature, the drama, the effort for economic betterment, in fact every individual and social opposition to the existing disorder of things, is illumined by the spiritual light of Anarchism. It is the philosophy of the sovereignty of the individual. It is the theory of social harmony. It is the great, surging, living truth that is reconstructing the world, and that will usher in the Dawn.

761

890327015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman.— [1st. ed.] — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911.— 15 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.
Obtained from the Dartmouth College Library.

THE ONLY ANARCHIST MONTHLY
IN AMERICA

MOTHER
EARTH

¶ A revolutionary literary magazine devoted to Anarchist thought in sociology, economics, education, and life.

¶ Articles by leading Anarchists and radical thinkers.—International Notes giving a summary of the revolutionary activities in various countries.—Reviews of modern books and the drama.

TEN CENTS A COPY
ONE DOLLAR A YEAR

EMMA GOLDMAN - - *Publisher*
ALEXANDER BERKMAN - *Editor*

210 EAST THIRTEENTH STREET
NEW YORK

Bound Volumes 1906-1911, Two Dollars per Volume

MOTHER EARTH
LIBRARY
OF
ANARCHISM

¶ The literature of Anarchism is very extensive. Numerous books and pamphlets have been written, treating of the various phases of Anarchist thought, and various publications, both here and abroad, are devoted to this philosophy of life. No well-informed man or woman can afford to ignore this vital subject. Your library is not complete unless it includes works on Anarchism.

Mother Earth Publishing Association
210 East Thirteenth Street
New York

¶ Ordera for literature should be accompanied by check or money order. For bound volumes ten cents extra for postage.

762

890327015

The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism : What It Really Stands For / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 15 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.
Obtained from the Dartmouth College Library.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

A Unique Contribution to Socio-Psychological Literature

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY REPRESENTS THREE PHASES:

I) The Revolutionary Awakening and its Toll—The *Attentat*

II) The Allegheny Penitentiary: Fourteen Years in Purgatory

III) The Resurrection and After

Price One Dollar Fifty

Send Advance Subscriptions to

MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

210 EAST THIRTEENTH STREET

NEW YORK

THE BOOK IS NEARING COMPLETION AND WILL BE ISSUED IN THE EARLY SPRING

763

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress. Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

Marriage and Love

BY

EMMA GOLDMAN

Price Ten Cents

MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
210 EAST 13th STREET, NEW YORK
1911

764

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress. Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

A Unique Contribution to

Socio-Psychological Literature

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY REPRESENTS THREE PHASES:

I) The Revolutionary Awakening and its Toll—The *Attentat*

II) The Allegheny Penitentiary: Fourteen Years in Purgatory

III) The Resurrection and After

Price One Dollar Fifty

Send Advance Subscriptions to

MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

210 EAST THIRTEENTH STREET

NEW YORK

THE BOOK IS NEARING COMPLETION AND WILL BE ISSUED IN THE EARLY SPRING

765

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

Marriage and Love

BY

EMMA GOLDMAN

Price Ten Cents

MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
210 EAST 13th STREET, NEW YORK
1911

766

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

MARRIAGE AND LOVE

THE popular notion about marriage and love is that they are synonymous, that they spring from the same motives, and cover the same human needs. Like most popular notions this also rests not on actual facts, but on superstitition.

Marriage and love have nothing in common; they are as far apart as the poles; are, in fact, antagonistic to each other. No doubt some marriages have been the result of love. Not, however, because love could assert itself only in marriage; much rather is it because few people can completely outgrow a convention. There are today large numbers of men and women to whom marriage is naught but a farce, but who submit to it for the sake of public opinion. At any rate, while it is true that some marriages are based on love, and while it is equally true that in some cases love continues in married life, I maintain that it does so regardless of marriage, and not because of it.

On the other hand, it is utterly false that love results from marriage. On rare occasions one does hear of a miraculous case of a married couple falling in love after marriage, but on close examination it

767

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

will be found that it is a mere adjustment to the inevitable. Certainly the growing-used to each other is far away from the spontaneity, the intensity, and beauty of love, without which the intimacy of marriage must prove degrading to both the woman and the man.

Marriage is primarily an economic arrangement, an insurance pact. It differs from the ordinary life insurance agreement only in that it is more binding, more exacting. Its returns are insignificantly small compared with the investments. In taking out an insurance policy one pays for it in dollars and cents, always at liberty to discontinue payments. If, however, woman's premium is a husband, she pays for it with her name, her privacy, her self-respect, her very life, "until death doth part." Moreover, the marriage insurance condemns her to life-long dependency, to parasitism, to complete uselessness, individual as well as social. Man, too, pays his toll, but as his sphere is wider, marriage does not limit him as much as woman. He feels his chains more in an economic sense.

Thus Dante's motto over Inferno applies with equal force to marriage. "Ye who enter here leave all hope behind."

That marriage is a failure none but the very stupid will deny. One has but to glance over the statistics of divorce to realize how bitter a failure marriage really is. Nor will the stereotyped Philistine argument that the laxity of divorce laws and the growing looseness of woman account for the fact that: first, every twelfth marriage ends in divorce; second, that since 1870 divorces have increased from 28 to 73

768

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

for every hundred thousand population; third, that adultery, since 1867, as ground for divorce, has increased 270.8 per cent.; fourth, that desertion increased 369.8 per cent.

Added to these startling figures is a vast amount of material, dramatic and literary, further elucidating this subject. Robert Herrick, in *Together;* Pinero, in *Mid-Channel;* Eugene Walter, in *Paid in Full,* and scores of other writers are discussing the barrenness, the monotony, the sordidness, the inadequacy of marriage as a factor for harmony and understanding.

The thoughtful social student will not content himself with the popular superficial excuse for this phenomenon. He will have to dig down deeper into the very life of the sexes to know why marriage proves so disastrous.

Edward Carpenter says that behind every marriage stands the life-long environment of the two sexes; an environment so different from each other that man and woman must remain strangers. Separated by an insurmountable wall of superstition, custom, and habit, marriage has not the potentiality of developing knowledge of, and respect for, each other, without which every union is doomed to failure.

Henrik Ibsen, the hater of all social shams, was probably the first to realize this great truth. Nora leaves her husband, not—as the stupid critic would have it—because she is tired of her responsibilities or feels the need of woman's rights, but because she has come to know that for eight years she had lived with a stranger and borne him children. Can there be anything more humiliating, more degrading than a life-

769

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress. Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

long proximity between two strangers? No need for the woman to know anything of the man, save his income. As to the knowledge of the woman—what is there to know except that she has a pleasing appearance? We have not yet outgrown the theologic myth that woman has no soul, that she is a mere appendix to man, made out of his rib just for the convenience of the gentleman who was so strong that he was afraid of his own shadow.

Perchance the poor quality of the material whence woman comes is responsible for her inferiority. At any rate, woman has no soul—what is there to know about her? Besides, the less soul a woman has the greater her asset as a wife, the more readily will she absorb herself in her husband. It is this slavish acquiescence to man's superiority that has kept the marriage institution seemingly intact for so long a period. Now that woman is coming into her own, now that she is actually growing aware of herself as a being outside of the master's grace, the sacred institution of marriage is gradually being undermined, and no amount of sentimental lamentation can stay it.

From infancy, almost, the average girl is told that marriage is her ultimate goal; therefore her training and education must be directed towards that end. Like the mute beast fattened for slaughter, she is prepared for that. Yet, strange to say, she is allowed to know much less about her function as wife and mother than the ordinary artisan of his trade. It is indecent and filthy for a respectable girl to know anything of the marital relation. Oh, for the inconsistency of respectability, that needs the marriage vow to turn

770

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman.— [1st. ed.] — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911.— 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

something which is filthy into the purest and most sacred arrangement that none dare question or criticize. Yet that is exactly the attitude of the average upholder of marriage. The prospective wife and mother is kept in complete ignorance of her only asset in the competitive field—sex. Thus she enters into life-long relations with a man only to find herself shocked, repelled, outraged beyond measure by the most natural and healthy instinct, sex. It is safe to say that a large percentage of the unhappiness, misery, distress, and physical suffering of matrimony is due to the criminal ignorance in sex matters that is being extolled as a great virtue. Nor is it at all an exaggeration when I say that more than one home has been broken up because of this deplorable fact.

If, however, woman is free and big enough to learn the mystery of sex without the sanction of State or Church, she will stand condemned as utterly unfit to become the wife of a "good" man, his goodness consisting of an empty brain and plenty of money. Can there be anything more outrageous than the idea that a healthy, grown woman, full of life and passion, must deny nature's demand, must subdue her most intense craving, undermine her health and break her spirit, must stunt her vision, abstain from the depth and glory of sex experience until a "good" man comes along to take her unto himself as a wife? That is precisely what marriage means. How can such an arrangement end except in failure? This is one, though not the least important, factor of marriage, which differentiates it from love.

771

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

Ours is a practical age. The time when Romeo and Juliet risked the wrath of their fathers for love, when Gretchen exposed herself to the gossip of her neighbors for love, is no more. If, on rare occasions, young people allow themselves the luxury of romance, they are taken in care by the elders, drilled and pounded until they become "sensible."

The moral lesson instilled in the girl is not whether the man has aroused her love, but rather is it, "How much?" The important and only God of practical American life: Can the man make a living? can he support a wife? That is the only thing that justifies marriage. Gradually this saturates every thought of the girl; her dreams are not of moonlight and kisses, of laughter and tears; she dreams of shopping tours and bargain counters. This soul poverty and sordidness are the elements inherent in the marriage institution. The State and the Church approve of no other ideal, simply because it is the one that necessitates the State and Church control of men and women.

Doubtless there are people who continue to consider love above dollars and cents. Particularly is this true of that class whom economic necessity has forced to become self-supporting. The tremendous change in woman's position, wrought by that mighty factor, is indeed phenomenal when we reflect that it is but a short time since she has entered the industrial arena. Six million women wage workers; six million women, who have the equal right with men to be exploited, to be robbed, to go on strike; aye, to starve even. Anything more, my lord? Yes, six million wage workers in every walk of life, from the highest brain work to

772

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

the mines and railroad tracks; yes, even detectives and policemen. Surely the emancipation is complete.

Yet with all that, but a very small number of the vast army of women wage workers look upon work as a permanent issue, in the same light as does man. No matter how decrepit the latter, he has been taught to be independent, self-supporting. Oh, I know that no one is really independent in our economic treadmill; still, the poorest specimen of a man hates to be a parasite; to be known as such, at any rate.

The woman considers her position as worker transitory, to be thrown aside for the first bidder. That is why it is infinitely harder to organize women than men. "Why should I join a union? I am going to get married, to have a home." Has she not been taught from infancy to look upon that as her ultimate calling? She learns soon enough that the home, though not so large a prison as the factory, has more solid doors and bars. It has a keeper so faithful that naught can escape him. The most tragic part, however, is that the home no longer frees her from wage slavery; it only increases her task.

According to the latest statistics submitted before a Committee "on labor and wages, and congestion of population," ten per cent. of the wage workers in New York City alone are married, yet they must continue to work at the most poorly paid labor in the world. Add to this horrible aspect the drudgery of housework, and what remains of the protection and glory of the home? As a matter of fact, even the middle-class girl in marriage can not speak of her home, since it is the man who creates her sphere. It is not important

773

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress. Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

whether the husband is a brute or a darling. What I wish to prove is that marriage guarantees woman a home only by the grace of her husband. There she moves about in *his* home, year after year, until her aspect of life and human affairs becomes as flat, narrow, and drab as her surroundings. Small wonder if she becomes a nag, petty, quarrelsome, gossipy, unbearable, thus driving the man from the house. She could not go, if she wanted to; there is no place to go. Besides, a short period of married life, of complete surrender of all faculties, absolutely incapacitates the average woman for the outside world. She becomes reckless in appearance, clumsy in her movements, dependent in her decisions, cowardly in her judgment, a weight and a bore, which most men grow to hate and despise. Wonderfully inspiring atmosphere for the bearing of life, is it not?

But the child, how is it to be protected, if not for marriage? After all, is not that the most important consideration? The sham, the hypocrisy of it! Marriage protecting the child, yet thousands of children destitute and homeless. Marriage protecting the child, yet orphan asylums and reformatories overcrowded, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children keeping busy in rescuing the little victims from "loving" parents, to place them under more loving care, the Gerry Society. Oh, the mockery of it!

Marriage may have the power to bring the horse to water, but has it ever made him drink? The law will place the father under arrest, and put him in convict's clothes; but has that ever stilled the hunger of the child? If the parent has no work, or if he hides

774

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. — [1st. ed.] — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. — 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress. Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

his identity, what does marriage do then? It invokes the law to bring the man to "justice," to put him safely behind closed doors; his labor, however, goes not to the child, but to the State. The child receives but a blighted memory of its father's stripes.

As to the protection of the woman,—therein lies the curse of marriage. Not that it really protects her, but the very idea is so revolting, such an outrage and insult on life, so degrading to human dignity, as to forever condemn this parasitic institution.

It is like that other paternal arrangement—capitalism. It robs man of his birthright, stunts his growth, poisons his body, keeps him in ignorance, in poverty, and dependence, and then institutes charities that thrive on the last vestige of man's self-respect.

The institution of marriage makes a parasite of woman, an absolute dependent. It incapacitates her for life's struggle, annihilates her social consciousness, paralyzes her imagination, and then imposes its gracious protection, which is in reality a snare, a travesty on human character.

If motherhood is the highest fulfillment of woman's nature, what other protection does it need, save love and freedom? Marriage but defiles, outrages, and corrupts her fulfillment. Does it not say to woman, Only when you follow me shall you bring forth life? Does it not condemn her to the block, does it not degrade and shame her if she refuses to buy her right to motherhood by selling herself? Does not marriage only sanction motherhood, even though conceived in hatred, in compulsion? Yet, if motherhood be of free choice, of love, of ecstasy, of defiant passion, does it

775

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress. Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

not place a crown of thorns upon an innocent head and carve in letters of blood the hideous epithet, Bastard? Were marriage to contain all the virtues claimed for it, its crimes against motherhood would exclude it forever from the realm of love.

Love, the strongest and deepest element in all life, the harbinger of hope, of joy, of ecstasy; love, the defier of all laws, of all conventions; love, the freest, the most powerful moulder of human destiny; how can such an all-compelling force be synonymous with that poor little State and Church-begotten weed, marriage?

Free love? As if love is anything but free! Man has bought brains, but all the millions in the world have failed to buy love. Man has subdued bodies, but all the power on earth has been unable to subdue love. Man has conquered whole nations, but all his armies could not conquer love. Man has chained and fettered the spirit, but he has been utterly helpless before love. High on a throne, with all the splendor and pomp his gold can command, man is yet poor and desolate, if love passes him by. And if it stays, the poorest hovel is radiant with warmth, with life and color. Thus love has the magic power to make of a beggar a king. Yes, love is free; it can dwell in no other atmosphere. In freedom it gives itself unreservedly, abundantly, completely. All the laws on the statutes, all the courts in the universe, cannot tear it from the soil, once love has taken root. If, however, the soil is sterile, how can marriage make it bear fruit? It is like the last desperate struggle of fleeting life against death.

776

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress.
Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

Love needs no protection; it is its own protection. So long as love begets life no child is deserted, or hungry, or famished for the want of affection. I know this to be true. I know women who became mothers in freedom by the men they loved. Few children in wedlock enjoy the care, the protection, the devotion free motherhood is capable of bestowing.

The defenders of authority dread the advent of a free motherhood, lest it will rob them of their prey. Who would fight wars? Who would create wealth? Who would make the policeman, the jailer, if woman were to refuse the indiscriminate breeding of children? The race, the race! shouts the king, the president, the capitalist, the priest. The race must be preserved, though woman be degraded to a mere machine,—and the marriage institution is our only safety valve against the pernicious sex awakening of woman. But in vain these frantic efforts to maintain a state of bondage. In vain, too, the edicts of the Church, the mad attacks of rulers, in vain even the arm of the law. Woman no longer wants to be a party to the production of a race of sickly, feeble, decrepit, wretched human beings, who have neither the strength nor moral courage to throw off the yoke of poverty and slavery. Instead she desires fewer and better children, begotten and reared in love and through free choice; not by compulsion, as marriage imposes. Our pseudo-moralists have yet to learn the deep sense of responsibility toward the child, that love in freedom has awakened in the breast of woman. Rather would she forego forever the

777

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress. Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

glory of motherhood than bring forth life in an atmosphere that breathes only destruction and death. And if she does become a mother, it is to give to the child the deepest and best her being can yield. To grow with the child is her motto; she knows that in that manner alone can she help build true manhood and womanhood.

Ibsen must have had a vision of a free mother, when, with a master stroke, he portrayed Mrs. Alving. She was the ideal mother because she had outgrown marriage and all its horrors, because she had broken her chains, and set her spirit free to soar until it returned a personality, regenerated and strong. Alas, it was too late to rescue her life's joy, her Oswald; but not too late to realize that love in freedom is the only condition of a beautiful life. Those who, like Mrs. Alving, have paid with blood and tears for their spiritual awakening, repudiate marriage as an imposition, a shallow, empty mockery. They know, whether love last but one brief span of time or for eternity, it is the only creative, inspiring, elevating basis for a new race, a new world.

In our present pygmy state love is indeed a stranger to most people. Misunderstood and shunned, it rarely takes root; or if it does, it soon withers and dies. Its delicate fiber can not endure the stress and strain of the daily grind. Its soul is too complex to adjust itself to the slimy woof of our social fabric. It weeps and moans and suffers with those who have need of it, yet lack the capacity to rise to love's summit.

778

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress. Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

Some day, some day men and women will rise, they will reach the mountain peak, they will meet big and strong and free, ready to receive, to partake, and to bask in the golden rays of love. What fancy, what imagination, what poetic genius can foresee even approximately the potentialities of such a force in the life of men and women. If the world is ever to give birth to true companionship and oneness, not marriage, but love will be the parent.

779

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress. Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

THE ONLY ANARCHIST MONTHLY
IN AMERICA

MOTHER
EARTH

¶ A revolutionary literary magazine devoted to Anarchist thought in sociology, economics, education, and life.

¶ Articles by leading Anarchists and radical thinkers.—International Notes giving a summary of the revolutionary activities in various countries.—Reviews of modern books and the drama.

TEN CENTS A COPY
ONE DOLLAR A YEAR

EMMA GOLDMAN - - *Publisher*
ALEXANDER BERKMAN - *Editor*

210 EAST THIRTEENTH STREET

NEW YORK

Bound Volumes 1906-1911, Two Dollars per Volume

780

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. – [1st. ed.] – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress. Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

MOTHER EARTH SERIES

Patriotism	Emma Goldman	5c.
What I Believe	Emma Goldman	5c.
Psychology of Political Violence	Emma Goldman	10c.
Anarchism: What It Really Stands For.	Emma Goldman	10c.
Marriage and Love	Emma Goldman	10c.
Anarchy Versus Socialism	William C. Owen	5c.
What Is Worth While?	Adeline Champney	5c.
The Right to Disbelieve	Edwin Kuh	5c.
Anarchism and American Traditions	Voltairine de Cleyre	5c.
The Dominant Idea	Voltairine de Cleyre	5c.
Anarchism and Malthus	C. L. James	5c.
The Modern School	Francisco Ferrer	5c.

781

900116011

The Emma Goldman Papers

Marriage and Love / Emma Goldman. — [1st. ed.] — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. — 18 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the United States Library of Congress. Institutional Location: Radical Pamphlet Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division.

NOW READY!

Anarchism and Other Essays

EMMA GOLDMAN'S BOOK

A SERIES of essays comprising a thorough critique of existing social institutions and conditions, and giving a comprehensive view of the author's opinions on matters educational, sexual, economic, political, and social.

CONTENTS

1. Anarchism: What It Really Stands For.
2. Minorities versus Majorities.
3. The Psychology of Political Violence.
4. Prisons: A Social Crime and Failure.
5. Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty.
6. Francisco Ferrer and The Modern School.
7. The Hypocrisy of Puritanism.
8. The Traffic in Women.
9. Woman Suffrage.
10. The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation.
11. Marriage and Love.
12. The Modern Drama: A Powerful Disseminator of Radical Thought.

A BIOGRAPHIC SKETCH of Emma Goldman's interesting career, with splendid **portrait,** is included in the book.

Orders are to be sent, with cash, to

MOTHER EARTH, 210 E. 13th St., New York, N. Y.

Price, $1.00. By Mail, $1.10

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman. – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

A Unique Contribution to Socio-Psychological Literature

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY REPRESENTS THREE PHASES:

I) The Revolutionary Awakening and its Toll—The *Attentat*

II) The Allegheny Penitentiary: Fourteen Years in Purgatory

III) The Resurrection and After

Price One Dollar Fifty

Send Advance Subscriptions to

MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

210 EAST THIRTEENTH STREET

NEW YORK

THE BOOK IS NEARING COMPLETION AND WILL BE ISSUED IN THE EARLY SPRING

THE

Psychology

OF

Political Violence

BY

EMMA GOLDMAN

Price Ten Cents

[redacted]

MO[illegible] ART[illegible] BLISHING ASSOCIATION

[illegible]AST [illegible] STREE[illegible] NEW YORK

783

8304200007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman. – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. , 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institution of Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room

NOW READY!

Anarchism and Other Essays

EMMA GOLDMAN'S BOOK

A SERIES of essays comprising a thorough critique of existing social institutions and conditions, giving a comprehensive view of the author's philosophy on matters educational, sexual, economic, political, and social

CONTENTS

1. Anarchism: What It Really Stands For.
2. Minorities versus Majorities.
3. The Psychology of Political Violence.
4. Prisons: A Social Crime and Failure.
5. Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty.
6. Francisco Ferrer and The Modern School.
7. The Hypocrisy of Puritanism.
8. The Traffic in Women.
9. Woman Suffrage.
10. The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation.
11. Marriage and Love.
12. The Modern Drama: A Powerful Dissemination of Radical Thought.

A BIOGRAPHIC SKETCH of Emma Goldman's career, with splendid portrait, is included in the book.

Orders are to be sent, with cash, to

MOTHER EARTH, 210 E. 13th St., New York, N. Y.

Price, $1.00. By Mail, $1.10

THE

Psychology

OF

Political Violence

BY

EMMA GOLDMAN

Price Ten Cents

MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

210 EAST 13th STREET, NEW YORK

1911

784

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman. – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any fonn must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

TO ANALYZE the psychology of political violence is not only extremely difficult, but also very dangerous. If such acts are treated with understanding, one is immediately accused of eulogizing them. If, on the other hand, human sympathy is expressed for the *Attentäter*,* one risks being considered a possible accomplice. Yet it is only intelligence and sympathy that can bring us closer to the source of human suffering, and teach us the ultimate way out of it.

The primitive man, ignorant of natural forces, dreaded their approach, hiding from the perils they threatened. As man learned to understand Nature's phenomena, he realized that though these may destroy life and cause great loss, they also bring relief. To the earnest student it must be apparent that the accumulated forces in our social and economic life, culminating in a political act of violence, are similar to the terrors of the atmosphere, manifested in storm and lightning.

* A revolutionist committing an act of political violence.

785

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman. — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. — 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

To thoroughly appreciate the truth of this view, one must feel intensely the indignity of our social wrongs; one's very being must throb with the pain, the sorrow, the despair millions of people are daily made to endure. Indeed, unless we have become a part of humanity, we cannot even faintly understand the just indignation that accumulates in a human soul, the burning, surging passion that makes the storm inevitable.

The ignorant mass looks upon the man who makes a violent protest against our social and economic iniquities as upon a wild beast, a cruel, heartless monster, whose joy it is to destroy life and bathe in blood; or at best, as upon an irresponsible lunatic. Yet nothing is further from the truth. As a matter of fact, those who have studied the character and personality of these men, or who have come in close contact with them, are agreed that it is their supersensitiveness to the wrong and injustice surrounding them which compels them to pay the toll of our social crimes. The most noted writers and poets, discussing the psychology of political offenders, have paid them the highest tribute. Could anyone assume that these men had advised violence, or even approved of the acts?* Certainly not. Theirs was the attitude of the social student, of the man who knows that beyond every violent act there is a vital cause.

Björnstjerne Björnson, in the second part of *Beyond Human Power,* emphasizes the fact that it is among the Anarchists that we must look for the modern martyrs who pay for their faith with their blood, and who welcome death with a smile, because

they believe, as truly as Christ did, that their martyrdom will redeem humanity.

François Coppée, the French novelist, thus expresses himself regarding the psychology of the *Attentäter:*

"The reading of the details of Vaillant's execution left me in a thoughtful mood. I imagined him expanding his chest under the ropes, marching with firm step, stiffening his will, concentrating all his energy, and, with eyes fixed upon the knife, hurling finally at society his cry of malediction. And, in spite of me, another spectacle rose suddenly before my mind. I saw a group of men and women pressing against each other in the middle of the oblong arena of the circus, under the gaze of thousands of eyes, while from all the steps of the immense amphitheater went up the terrible cry, *Ad leones!* and, below, the opening cages of the wild beasts.

I did not believe the execution would take place. In the first place, no victim had been struck with death, and it had long been the custom not to punish an abortive crime with the last degree of severity. Then, this crime, however terrible in intention, was disinterested, born of an abstract idea. The man's past, his abandoned childhood, his life of hardship, pleaded also in his favor. In the independent press generous voices were raised in his behalf, very loud and eloquent. 'A purely literary current of opinion' some have said, with no little scorn. *It is, on the contrary, an honor to the men of art and thought to have expressed once more their disgust at the scaffold."*

786

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911.— 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

Again Zola, in *Germinal* and *Paris,* describes the tenderness and kindness, the deep sympathy with human suffering, of these men who close the chapter of their lives with a violent outbreak against our system.

Last, but not least, the man who probably better than anyone else understands the psychology of the *Attentäter* is M. Hamon, the author of the brilliant work, *Une Psychologie du Militaire Professionel,* who has arrived at these suggestive conclusions:

"The positive method confirmed by the rational method enables us to establish an ideal type of Anarchist, whose mentality is the aggregate of common psychic characteristics. Every Anarchist partakes sufficiently of this ideal type to make it possible to differentiate him from other men. The typical Anarchist, then, may be defined as follows: A man perceptible by the spirit of revolt under one or more of its forms,—opposition, investigation, criticism, innovation,—endowed with a strong love of liberty, egoistic or individualistic, and possessed of great curiosity, a keen desire to know. These traits are supplemented by an ardent love of others, a highly developed moral sensitiveness, a profound sentiment of justice, and imbued with missionary zeal."

To the above characteristics, says Alvin F. Sanborn, must be added these sterling qualities: a rare love of animals, surpassing sweetness in all the ordinary relations of life, exceptional sobriety of demeanor, frugality and regularity, austerity, even, of living, and courage beyond compare.*

* *Poris and the Social Revolution.*

"There is a truism that the man in the street seems always to forget, when he is abusing the Anarchists, or whatever party happens to be his *bête noire* for the moment, as the cause of some outrage just perpetrated. This indisputable fact is that homicidal outrages have, from time immemorial, been the reply of goaded and desperate classes, and goaded and desperate individuals, to wrongs from their fellow-men, which they felt to be intolerable. Such acts are the violent recoil from violence, whether aggressive or repressive; they are the last desperate struggle of outraged and exasperated human nature for breathing space and life. And their cause lies not in any special conviction, but in the depths of that human nature itself. The whole course of history, political and social, is strewn with evidence of this fact. To go no further, take the three most notorious examples of political parties goaded into violence during the last fifty years: the Mazzinians in Italy, the Fenians in Ireland, and the Terrorists in Russia. Were these people Anarchists? No. Did they all three even hold the same political opinions? No. The Mazzinians were Republicans, the Fenians political separatists, the Russians Social Democrats or Constitutionalists. But all were driven by desperate circumstances into this terrible form of revolt. And when we turn from parties to individuals who have acted in like månner, we stand appalled by the number of human beings goaded and driven by sheer desperation into conduct obviously violently opposed to their social instincts.

Now that Anarchism has become a living force in society, such deeds have been sometimes committed

787

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911.— 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

by Anarchists, as well as by others. For no new faith, even the most essentially peaceable and humane the mind of man has yet accepted, but at its first coming has brought upon earth not peace, but a sword; not because of anything violent or anti-social in the doctrine itself; simply because of the ferment any new and creative idea excites in men's minds, whether they accept or reject it. And a conception of Anarchism, which, on one hand, threatens every vested interest, and, on the other, holds out a vision of a free and noble life to be won by a struggle against existing wrongs, is certain to rouse the fiercest opposition, and bring the whole repressive force of ancient evil into violent contact with the tumultuous outburst of a new hope.

Under miserable conditions of life, any vision of the possibility of better things makes the present misery more intolerable, and spurs those who suffer to the most energetic struggles to improve their lot, and if these struggles only immediately result in sharper misery, the outcome is sheer desperation. In our present society, for instance, an exploited wage worker, who catches a glimpse of what work and life might and ought to be, finds the toilsome routine and the squalor of his existence almost intolerable; and even when he has the resolution and courage to continue steadily working his best, and waiting until new ideas have so permeated society as to pave the way for better times, the mere fact that he has such ideas and tries to spread them, brings him into difficulties with his employers. How many thousands of Socialists, and above all Anarchists, have lost work

and even the chance of work, solely on the ground of their opinions. It is only the specially gifted craftsman, who, if he be a zealous propagandist, can hope to retain permanent employment. And what happens to a man with his brain working actively with a ferment of new ideas, with a vision before his eyes of a new hope dawning for toiling and agonizing men, with the knowledge that his suffering and that of his fellows in misery is not caused by the cruelty of fate, but by the injustice of other human beings,—what happens to such a man when he sees those dear to him starving, when he himself is starved? Some natures in such a plight, and those by no means the least social or the least sensitive, will become violent, and will even feel that their violence is social and not anti-social, that in striking when and how they can, they are striking, not for themselves, but for human nature, outraged and despoiled in their persons and in those of their fellow sufferers. And are we, who ourselves are not in this horrible predicament, to stand by and coldly condemn these piteous victims of the Furies and Fates? Are we to decry as miscreants these human beings who act with heroic self-devotion, sacrificing their lives in protest, where less social and less energetic natures would lie down and grovel in abject submission to injustice and wrong? Are we to join the ignorant and brutal outcry which stigmatizes such men as monsters of wickedness, gratuitously running amuck in a harmonious and innocently peaceful society? No! We hate murder with a hatred that may seem absurdly exaggerated to apologists for Matabele massacres, to callous acquiescers in hangings

788

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman. — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. — 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

and bombardments, but we decline in such cases of homicide, or attempted homicide, as those of which we are treating, to be guilty of the cruel injustice of flinging the whole responsibility of the deed upon the immediate perpetrator. The guilt of these homicides lies upon every man and woman who, intentionally or by cold indifference, helps to keep up social conditions that drive human beings to despair. The man who flings his whole life into the attempt, at the cost of his own life, to protest against the wrongs of his fellow-men, is a saint compared to the active and passive upholders of cruelty and injustice, even if his protest destroy other lives besides his own. Let him who is without sin in society cast the first stone at such an one."*

That every act of political violence should nowadays be attributed to Anarchists is not at all surprising. Yet it is a fact known to almost everyone familiar with the Anarchist movement that a great number of acts, for which Anarchists had to suffer, either originated with the capitalist press or were instigated, if not directly perpetrated, by the police.

For a number of years acts of violence had been committed in Spain, for which the Anarchists were held responsible, hounded like wild beasts, and thrown into prison. Later it was disclosed that the perpetrators of these acts were not Anarchists, but members of the police department. The scandal became so widespread that the conservative Spanish papers demanded the apprehension and punishment of the

*From a pamphlet issued by the Freedom Group of London.

gang-leader, Juan Rull, who was subsequently condemned to death and executed. The sensational evidence, brought to light during the trial, forced Police Inspector Momento to exonerate completely the Anarchists from any connection with the acts committed during a long period. This resulted in the dismissal of a number of police officials, among them Inspector Tressols, who, in revenge, disclosed the fact that behind the gang of police bomb-throwers were others of far higher position, who provided them with funds and protected them.

This is one of the many striking examples of how Anarchist conspiracies are manufactured.

That the American police can perjure themselves with the same ease, that they are just as merciless, just as brutal and cunning as their European colleagues, has been proved on more than one occasion. We need only recall the tragedy of the eleventh of November, 1887, known as the Haymarket Riot.

No one who is at all familiar with the case can possibly doubt that the Anarchists, judicially murdered in Chicago, died as victims of a lying, bloodthirsty press and of a cruel police conspiracy. Has not Judge Gary himself said: "Not because you have caused the Haymarket bomb, but because you are Anarchists, you are on trial."

The impartial and thorough analysis by Governor Altgeld of that blotch on the American escutcheon verified the brutal frankness of Judge Gary. It was this that induced Altgeld to pardon the three Anarchists, thereby earning the lasting esteem of every liberty-loving man and woman in the world.

789

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman. – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

When we approach the tragedy of September sixth, 1901, we are confronted by one of the most striking examples of how little social theories are responsible for an act of political violence. "Leon Czolgosz, an Anarchist, incited to commit the act by Emma Goldman." To be sure, has she not incited violence even before her birth, and will she not continue to do so beyond death? Everything is possible with the Anarchists.

Today, even, nine years after the tragedy, after it was proved a hundred times that Emma Goldman had nothing to do with the event, that no evidence whatsoever exists to indicate that Czolgosz ever called himself an Anarchist, we are confronted with the same lie, fabricated by the police and perpetuated by the press. No living soul ever heard Czolgosz make that statement, nor is there a single written word to prove that the boy ever breathed the accusation. Nothing but ignorance and insane hysteria, which have never yet been able to solve the simplest problem of cause and effect.

The President of a free Republic killed! What else can be the cause, except that the *Attentäter* must have been insane, or that he was incited to the act.

A free Republic! How a myth will maintain itself, how it will continue to deceive, to dupe, and blind even the comparatively intelligent to its monstrous absurdities. A free Republic! And yet within a little over thirty years a small band of parasites have successfully robbed the American people, and trampled upon the fundamental principles, laid down by the fathers of this country, guaranteeing to

every man, woman, and child "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." For thirty years they have been increasing their wealth and power at the expense of the vast mass of workers, thereby enlarging the army of the unemployed, the hungry, homeless, and friendless portion of humanity, who are tramping the country from east to west, from north to south, in a vain search for work. For many years the home has been left to the care of the little ones, while the parents are exhausting their life and strength for a mere pittance. For thirty years the sturdy sons of America have been sacrificed on the battlefield of industrial war, and the daughters outraged in corrupt factory surroundings. For long and weary years this process of undermining the nation's health, vigor, and pride, without much protest from the disinherited and oppressed, has been going on. Maddened by success and victory, the money powers of this "free land of ours" became more and more audacious in their heartless, cruel efforts to compete with the rotten and decayed European tyrannies for supremacy of power.

In vain did a lying press repudiate Leon Czolgosz as a foreigner. The boy was a product of our own free American soil, that lulled him to sleep with,

> My country, 'tis of thee,
> Sweet land of liberty.

Who can tell how many times this American child had gloried in the celebration of the Fourth of July, or of Decoration Day, when he faithfully honored the Nation's dead? Who knows but that he, too, was willing to "fight for his country and die for her

790

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman. — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. — 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

liberty," until it dawned upon him that those he belonged to have no country, because they have been robbed of all that they have produced; until he realized that the liberty and independence of his youthful dreams was but a farce. Poor Leon Czolgosz, your crime consisted of too sensitive a social consciousness. Unlike your idealless and brainless American brothers, your ideals soared above the belly and the bank account. No wonder you impressed the one human being among all the infuriated mob at your trial—a newspaper woman—as a visionary, totally oblivious to your surroundings. Your large, dreamy eyes must have beheld a new and glorious dawn.

Now, to a recent instance of police-manufactured Anarchist plots. In that bloodstained city, Chicago, the life of Chief of Police Shippy was attempted by a young man named Averbuch. Immediately the cry was sent to the four corners of the world that Averbuch was an Anarchist, and that the Anarchists were responsible for the act. Everyone who was at all known to entertain Anarchist ideas was closely watched, a number of people arrested, the library of an Anarchist group confiscated, and all meetings made impossible. It goes without saying that, as on various previous occasions, I must needs be held responsible for the act. Evidently the American police credit me with occult powers. I did not know Averbuch; in fact, had never before heard his name, and the only way I could have possibly "conspired" with him was in my astral body. But, then, the police are not concerned with logic or justice. What they seek is a target, to mask their absolute ignorance of the cause,

of the psychology of a political act. Was Averbuch an Anarchist? There is no positive proof of it. He had been but three months in the country, did not know the language, and, as far as I could ascertain, was quite unknown to the Anarchists of Chicago.

What led to his act? Averbuch, like most young Russian immigrants, undoubtedly believed in the mythical liberty of America. He received his first baptism by the policeman's club during the brutal dispersement of the unemployed parade. He further experienced American equality and opportunity in the vain efforts to find an economic master. In short, a three months' sojourn in the glorious land brought him face to face with the fact that the disinherited are in the same position the world over. In his native land he probably learned that necessity knows no law—there was no difference between a Russian and an American policeman.

The question to the intelligent social student is not whether the acts of Czolgosz or Averbuch were practical, any more than whether the thunderstorm is practical. The thing that will inevitably impress itself on the thinking and feeling man and woman is that the sight of brutal clubbing of innocent victims in a so-called free Republic, and the degrading, soul-destroying economic struggle, furnish the spark that kindles the dynamic force in the overwrought, outraged souls of men like Czolgosz or Averbuch. No amount of persecution, of hounding, of repression, can stay this social phenomenon.

But, it is often asked, have not acknowledged Anarchists committed acts of violence? Certainly they

791

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman. – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

have, always however ready to shoulder the responsibility. My contention is that they were impelled, not by the teachings of Anarchism, but by the tremendous pressure of conditions, making life unbearable to their sensitive natures. Obviously, Anarchism, or any other social theory, making man a conscious social unit, will act as a leaven for rebellion. This is not a mere assertion, but a fact verified by all experience. A close examination of the circumstances bearing upon this question will further clarify my position.

Let us consider some of the most important Anarchist acts within the last two decades. Strange as it may seem, one of the most significant deeds of political violence occurred here in America, in connection with the Homestead strike of 1892.

During that memorable time the Carnegie Steel Company organized a conspiracy to crush the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. Henry Clay Frick, then Chairman of the Company, was intrusted with that democratic task. He lost no time in carrying out the policy of breaking the Union, the policy which he had so successfully practiced during his reign of terror in the coke regions. Secretly, and while peace negotiations were being purposely prolonged, Frick supervised the military preparations, the fortification of the Homestead Steel Works, the erection of a high board fence, capped with barbed wire and provided with loopholes for sharpshooters. And then, in the dead of night, he attempted to smuggle his army of hired Pinkerton thugs into Homestead, which act precipitated the terrible carnage of the steel workers. Not content with the death of

eleven victims, killed in the Pinkerton skirmish, Henry Clay Frick, good Christian and free American, straightway began the hounding down of the helpless wives and orphans, by ordering them out of the wretched Company houses.

The whole country was aroused over these inhuman outrages. Hundreds of voices were raised in protest, calling on Frick to desist, not to go too far. Yes, hundreds of people protested,—as one objects to annoying flies. Only one there was who actively responded to the outrage at Homestead,—Alexander Berkman. Yes, he was an Anarchist. He gloried in that fact, because it was the only force that made the discord between his spiritual longing and the world without at all bearable. Yet not Anarchism, as such, but the brutal slaughter of the eleven steel workers was the urge for Alexander Berkman's act, his attempt on the life of Henry Clay Frick.

The record of European acts of political violence affords numerous and striking instances of the influence of environment upon sensitive human beings.

The court speech of Vaillant, who, in 1894, exploded a bomb in the Paris Chamber of Deputies, strikes the true keynote of the psychology of such acts:

"Gentlemen, in a few minutes you are to deal your blow, but in receiving your verdict I shall have at least the satisfaction of having wounded the existing society, that cursed society in which one may see a single man spending, uselessly, enough to feed thousands of families; an infamous society which permits a few individuals to monopolize all the social wealth,

792

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman. – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

while there are hundreds of thousands of unfortunates who have not even the bread that is not refused to dogs, and while entire families are committing suicide for want of the necessities of life.

Ah, gentlemen, if the governing classes could go down among the unfortunates! But no, they prefer to remain deaf to their appeals. It seems that a fatality impels them, like the royalty of the eighteenth century, toward the precipice which will engulf them; for woe be to those who remain deaf to the cries of the starving, woe to those who, believing themselves of superior essence, assume the right to exploit those beneath them! There comes a time when the people no longer reason; they rise like a hurricane, and pass away like a torrent. Then we see bleeding heads impaled on pikes.

Among the exploited, gentlemen, there are two classes of individuals: Those of one class, not realizing what they are and what they might be, take life as it comes, believe that they are born to be slaves, and content themselves with the little that is given them in exchange for their labor. But there are others, on the contrary, who think, who study, and who, looking about them, discover social iniquities. Is it their fault if they see clearly and suffer at seeing others suffer? Then they throw themselves into the struggle, and make themselves the bearers of the popular claims.

Gentlemen, I am one of these last. Wherever I have gone, I have seen unfortunates bent beneath the yoke of capital. Everywhere I have seen the same wounds causing tears of blood to flow, even in the

remoter parts of the inhabited districts of South America, where I had the right to believe that he who was weary of the pains of civilization might rest in the shade of the palm trees and there study nature. Well, there even, more than elsewhere, I have seen capital come, like a vampire, to suck the last drop of blood of the unfortunate pariahs.

Then I came back to France, where it was reserved for me to see my family suffer atrociously. This was the last drop in the cup of my sorrow. Tired of leading this life of suffering and cowardice, I carried this bomb to those who are primarily responsible for social sufferings.

I am reproached with the wounds of those who were hit by my projectiles. Permit me to point out in passing that, if the bourgeois had not massacred or caused massacres during the Revolution, it is probable that they would still be under the yoke of the nobility. On the other hand, figure up the dead and wounded of Tonquin, Madagascar, Dahomey, adding thereto the thousands, yes, millions of unfortunates who die in the factories, the mines, and wherever the grinding power of capital is felt. Add also those who die of hunger, and all this with the assent of our Deputies. Besides all this, of how little weight are the reproaches now brought against me!

It is true that one does not efface the other; but, after all, are we not acting on the defensive when we respond to the blows which we receive from above? I know very well that I shall be told that I ought to have confined myself to speech for the vindication of the people's claims. But what

793

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911.— 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

can you expect! It takes a loud voice to make the deaf hear. Too long have they answered our voices by imprisonment, the rope, rifle volleys. Make no mistake; the explosion of my bomb is not only the cry of the rebel Vaillant, but the cry of an entire class which vindicates its rights, and which will soon add acts to words. For, be sure of it, in vain will they pass laws. The ideas of the thinkers will not halt; just as, in the last century, all the governmental forces could not prevent the Diderots and the Voltaires from spreading emancipating ideas among the people, so all the existing governmental forces will not prevent the Reclus, the Darwins, the Spencers, the Ibsens, the Mirabeaus, from spreading the ideas of justice and liberty which will annihilate the prejudices that hold the mass in ignorance. And these ideas, welcomed by the unfortunate, will flower in acts of revolt as they have done in me, until the day when the disappearance of authority shall permit all men to organize freely according to their choice, when we shall each be able to enjoy the product of his labor, and when those moral maladies called prejudices shall vanish, permitting human beings to live in harmony, having no other desire than to study the sciences and love their fellows.

I conclude, gentlemen, by saying that a society in which one sees such social inequalities as we see all about us, in which we see every day suicides caused by poverty, prostitution flaring at every street corner, —a society whose principal monuments are barracks and prisons,—such a society must be transformed as soon as possible, on pain of being eliminated, and

that speedily, from the human race. Hail to him who labors, by no matter what means, for this transformation! It is this idea that has guided me in my duel with authority, but as in this duel I have only wounded my adversary, it is now its turn to strike me.

Now, gentlemen, to me it matters little what penalty you may inflict, for, looking at this assembly with the eyes of reason, I can not help smiling to see you, atoms lost in matter, and reasoning only because you possess a prolongation of the spinal marrow, assume the right to judge one of your fellows.

Ah! gentlemen, how little a thing is your assembly and your verdict in the history of humanity; and human history, in its turn, is likewise a very little thing in the whirlwind which bears it through immensity, and which is destined to disappear, or at least to be transformed, in order to begin again the same history and the same facts, a veritably perpetual play of cosmic forces renewing and transferring themselves forever."

Will anyone say that Vaillant was an ignorant, vicious man, or a lunatic? Was not his mind singularly clear, analytic? No wonder that the best intellectual forces of France spoke in his behalf, and signed the petition to President Carnot, asking him to commute Vaillant's death sentence.

Carnot would listen to no entreaty; he insisted on more than a pound of flesh, he wanted Vaillant's life, and then—the inevitable happened: President

794

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911.— 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

Carnot was killed. On the handle of the stiletto used by the *Attentäter* was engraved, significantly,

VAILLANT!

Santa Caserio was an Anarchist. He could have gotten away, saved himself; but he remained, he stood the consequences.

His reasons for the act are set forth in so simple, dignified, and childlike manner that one is reminded of the touching tribute paid Caserio by his teacher of the little village school, Ada Negri, the Italian poet, who spoke of him as a sweet, tender plant, of too fine and sensitive texture to stand the cruel strain of the world.

"Gentlemen of the Jury! I do not propose to make a defense, but only an explanation of my deed.

Since my early youth I began to learn that present society is badly organized, so badly that every day many wretched men commit suicide, leaving women and children in the most terrible distress. Workers, by thousands, seek for work and cannot find it. Poor families beg for food and shiver with cold; they suffer the greatest misery; the little ones ask their miserable mothers for food, and the mothers cannot give them, because they have nothing. The few things which the home contained have already been sold or pawned. All they can do is beg alms; often they are arrested as vagabonds.

I went away from my native place because I was frequently moved to tears at seeing little girls of eight or ten years obliged to work fifteen hours a day for the paltry pay of twenty centimes. Young

women of eighteen or twenty also work fifteen hours daily, for a mockery of remuneration. And that happens not only to my fellow countrymen, but to all the workers, who sweat the whole day long for a crust of bread, while their labor produces wealth in abundance. The workers are obliged to live under the most wretched conditions, and their food consists of a little bread, a few spoonfuls of rice, and water; so by the time they are thirty or forty years old, they are exhausted, and go to die in the hospitals. Besides, in consequence of bad food and overwork, these unhappy creatures are, by hundreds, devoured by pellagra—a disease that, in my country, attacks, as the physicians say, those who are badly fed and lead a life of toil and privation.

I have observed that there are a great many people who are hungry, and many children who suffer, whilst bread and clothes abound in the towns. I saw many and large shops full of clothing and woolen stuffs, and I also saw warehouses full of wheat and Indian corn, suitable for those who are in want. And, on the other hand, I saw thousands of people who do not work, who produce nothing and live on the labor of others; who spend every day thousands of francs for their amusement; who debauch the daughters of the workers; who own dwellings of forty or fifty rooms; twenty or thirty horses, many servants; in a word, all the pleasures of life.

I believed in God; but when I saw so great an inequality between men, I acknowledged that it was not God who created man, but man who created God. And I discovered that those who want their

795

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman. — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. — 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

property to be respected, have an interest in preaching the existence of paradise and hell, and in keeping the people in ignorance.

Not long ago, Vaillant threw a bomb in the Chamber of Deputies, to protest against the present system of society. He killed no one, only wounded some persons; yet bourgeois justice sentenced him to death. And not satisfied with the condemnation of the guilty man, they began to pursue the Anarchists, and arrest not only those who had known Vaillant, but even those who had merely been present at any Anarchist lecture.

The government did not think of their wives and children. It did not consider that the men kept in prison were not the only ones who suffered, and that their little ones cried for bread. Bourgeois justice did not trouble itself about these innocent ones, who do not yet know what society is. It is no fault of theirs that their fathers are in prison; they only want to eat.

The government went on searching private houses, opening private letters, forbidding lectures and meetings, and practicing the most infamous oppressions against us. Even now, hundreds of Anarchists are arrested for having written an article in a newspaper, or for having expressed an opinion in public.

Gentlemen of the Jury, you are representatives of bourgeois society. If you want my head, take it; but do not believe that in so doing you will stop the Anarchist propaganda. Take care, for men reap what they have sown."

During a religious procession in 1896, at Barcelona,

a bomb was thrown. Immediately three hundred men and women were arrested. Some were Anarchists, but the majority were trade unionists and Socialists. They were thrown into that terrible bastille, Montjuich, and subjected to most horrible tortures. After a number had been killed, or had gone insane, their cases were taken up by the liberal press of Europe, resulting in the release of a few survivors.

The man primarily responsible for this revival of the Inquisition was Canovas del Castillo, Prime Minister of Spain. It was he who ordered the torturing of the victims, their flesh burned, their bones crushed, their tongues cut out. Practiced in the art of brutality during his régime in Cuba, Canovas remained absolutely deaf to the appeals and protests of the awakened civilized conscience.

In 1897 Canovas del Castillo was shot to death by a young Italian, Angiolillo. The latter was an editor in his native land, and his bold utterances soon attracted the attention of the authorities. Persecution began, and Angiolillo fled from Italy to Spain, thence to France and Belgium, finally settling in England. While there he found employment as a compositor, and immediately became the friend of all his colleagues. One of the latter thus described Angiolillo: "His appearance suggested the journalist, rather than the disciple of Guttenberg. His delicate hands, moreover, betrayed the fact that he had not grown up at the 'case.' With his handsome frank face, his soft dark hair, his alert expression, he looked the very type of the vivacious Southerner. Angiolillo spoke Italian, Spanish, and French, but no English;

796

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911.— 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

the little French I knew was not sufficient to carry on a prolonged conversation. However, Angiolillo soon began to acquire the English idiom; he learned rapidly, playfully, and it was not long until he became very popular with his fellow compositors. His distinguished and yet modest manner, and his consideration towards his colleagues, won him the hearts of all the boys."

Angiolillo soon became familiar with the detailed accounts in the press. He read of the great wave of human sympathy with the helpless victims at Montjuich. On Trafalgar Square he saw with his own eyes the results of those atrocities, when the few Spaniards, who escaped Castillo's clutches, came to seek asylum in England. There, at the great meeting, these men opened their shirts and showed the horrible scars of burned flesh. Angiolillo saw, and the effect surpassed a thousand theories; the impetus was beyond words, beyond arguments, beyond himself even.

Señor Antonio Canovas del Castillo, Prime Minister of Spain, sojourned at Santa Agueda. As usual in such cases, all strangers were kept away from his exalted presence. One exception was made, however, in the case of a distinguished looking, elegantly dressed Italian—the representative, it was understood, of an important journal. The distinguished gentleman was—Angiolillo.

Señor Canovas, about to leave his house, stepped on the veranda. Suddenly Angiolillo confronted him. A shot rang out, and Canovas was a corpse.

The wife of the Prime Minister rushed upon the

scene. "Murderer! Murderer!" she cried, pointing at Angiolillo. The latter bowed. "Pardon, Madame," he said, "I respect you as a lady, but I regret that you were the wife of that man."

Calmly Angiolillo faced death. Death in its most terrible form—for the man whose soul was as a child's.

He was garrotted. His body lay, sun-kissed, till the day hid in twilight. And the people came, and pointing the finger of terror and fear, they said: "There—the criminal—the cruel murderer."

How stupid, how cruel is ignorance! It misunderstands always, condemns always.

A remarkable parallel to the case of Angiolillo is to be found in the act of Gaetano Bresci, whose *Attentat* upon King Umberto made an American city famous.

Bresci came to this country, this land of opportunity, where one has but to try to meet with golden success. Yes, he too would try to succeed. He would work hard and faithfully. Work had no terrors for him, if it would only help him to independence, manhood, self-respect.

Thus full of hope and enthusiasm he settled in Paterson, New Jersey, and there found a lucrative job at six dollars per week in one of the weaving mills of the town. Six whole dollars per week was, no doubt, a fortune for Italy, but not enough to breathe on in the new country. He loved his little home. He was a good husband and devoted father to his *bambina*, Bianca, whom he adored. He worked and worked for a number of years. He actually managed to save one hundred dollars out of his six dollars per week.

797

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman. — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. — 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

Bresci had an ideal. Foolish, I know, for a workingman to have an ideal—the Anarchist paper published in Paterson, *La Questione Sociale*.

Every week, though tired from work, he would help to set up the paper. Until late hours he would assist, and when the little pioneer had exhausted all resources and his comrades were in despair, Bresci brought cheer and hope, one hundred dollars, the entire savings of years. That would keep the paper afloat.

In his native land people were starving. The crops had been poor, and the peasants saw themselves face to face with famine. They appealed to their good King Umberto; he would help. And he did. The wives of the peasants who had gone to the palace of the King, held up in mute silence their emaciated infants. Surely that would move him. And then the soldiers fired and killed those poor fools.

Bresci, at work in the weaving mill at Paterson, read of the horrible massacre. His mental eye beheld the defenceless women and innocent infants of his native land, slaughtered right before the good King. His soul recoiled in horror. At night he heard the groans of the wounded. Some may have been his comrades, his own flesh. Why, why these foul murders?

The little meeting of the Italian Anarchist group in Paterson ended almost in a fight. Bresci had demanded his hundred dollars. His comrades begged, implored him to give them a respite. The paper would go down if they were to return him his loan. But Bresci insisted on its return.

How cruel and stupid is ignorance. Bresci got the money, but lost the good will, the confidence of his comrades. They would have nothing more to do with one whose greed was greater than his ideals.

On the twenty-ninth of July, 1900, King Umberto was shot at Monzo. The young Italian weaver of Paterson, Gaetano Bresci, had taken the life of the good King.

Paterson was placed under police surveillance, everyone known as an Anarchist hounded and persecuted, and the act of Bresci ascribed to the teachings of Anarchism. As if the teachings of Anarchism in its extremest form could equal the force of those slain women and infants, who had pilgrimed to the King for aid. As if any spoken word, ever so eloquent, could burn into a human soul with such white heat as the life blood trickling drop by drop from those dying forms. The ordinary man is rarely moved either by word or deed; and those whose social kinship is the greatest living force need no appeal to respond—even as does steel to the magnet—to the wrongs and horrors of society.

If a social theory is a strong factor inducing acts of political violence, how are we to account for the recent violent outbreaks in India, where Anarchism has hardly been born. More than any other old philosophy, Hindu teachings have exalted passive resistance, the drifting of life, the Nirvana, as the highest spiritual ideal. Yet the social unrest in India is daily growing, and has only recently resulted in an act of political violence, the killing of Sir Curzon Wyllie by the Hindu, Madar Sol Dhingra.

798

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911.— 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

If such a phenomenon can occur in a country socially and individually permeated for centuries with the spirit of passivity, can one question the tremendous, revolutionizing effect on human character exerted by great social iniquities? Can one doubt the logic, the justice of these words:

"Repression, tyranny, and indiscriminate punishment of innocent men have been the watchwords of the government of the alien domination in India ever since we began the commercial boycott of English goods. The tiger qualities of the British are much in evidence now in India. They think that by the strength of the sword they will keep down India! It is this arrogance that has brought about the bomb, and the more they tyrannize over a helpless and unarmed people, the more terrorism will grow. We may deprecate terrorism as outlandish and foreign to our culture, but it is inevitable as long as this tyranny continues, for it is not the terrorists that are to be blamed, but the tyrants who are responsible for it. It is the only resource for a helpless and unarmed people when brought to the verge of despair. It is never criminal on their part. The crime lies with the tyrant." *

Even conservative scientists are beginning to realize that heredity is not the sole factor moulding human character. Climate, food, occupation; nay, color, light, and sound must be considered in the study of human psychology.

If that be true, how much more correct is the contention that great social abuses will and must influence different minds and temperaments in a different way. And how utterly fallacious the stereotyped notion that the teachings of Anarchism, or certain exponents of these teachings, are responsible for the acts of political violence.

* *The Free Hindusthan.*

Anarchism, more than any other social theory, values human life above things. All Anarchists agree with Tolstoy in this fundamental truth: if the production of any commodity necessitates the sacrifice of human life, society should do without that commodity, but it cannot do without that life. That, however, nowise indicates that Anarchism teaches submission. How can it, when it knows that all suffering, all misery, all ills, result from the evil of submission?

Has not some American ancestor said, many years ago, that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God? And he was not an Anarchist even. I would say that resistance to tyranny is man's highest ideal. So long as tyranny exists, in whatever form, man's deepest aspiration must resist it as inevitably as man must breathe.

Compared with the wholesale violence of capital and government, political acts of violence are but a drop in the ocean. That so few resist is the strongest proof how terribe must be the conflict between their souls and unbearable social iniquities.

High strung, like a violin string, they weep and moan for life, so relentless, so cruel, so terribly inhuman. In a desperate moment the string breaks.

799

830420007

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Psychology of Political Violence / Emma Goldman. – New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911. – 18 p. ; 18 × 25 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois Library. Institutional Location: Baskette, Sherwood Anderson, Sutton Collections., Rare Book Room.

Untuned ears hear nothing but discord. But those who feel the agonized cry understand its harmony; they hear in it the fulfillment of the most compelling moment of human nature.

Such is the psychology of political violence.

THE ONLY ANARCHIST MONTHLY IN AMERICA

MOTHER EARTH

¶ A revolutionary literary magazine devoted to Anarchist thought in sociology, economics, education, and life.

¶ Articles by leading Anarchists and radical thinkers.—International Notes giving a summary of the revolutionary activities in various countries.—Reviews of modern books and the drama.

TEN CENTS A COPY
ONE DOLLAR A YEAR

EMMA GOLDMAN - - *Publisher*
ALEXANDER BERKMAN - *Editor*

210 EAST THIRTEENTH STREET
NEW YORK

Bound Volumes 1906-1911, Two Dollars per Volume

800

840514091

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 352-354 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 11 (Jan. 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The Certificates can be procured from the Treasurer, Mr. Bolton Hall, 29 Broadway, New York City.

In putting our Prospectus before the public, we appeal to all thinking men and women. We appeal especially to radicals,—to Socialists, Anarchists, Single Taxers, Free Thinkers. We believe that all agitators, all radicals of whatsoever belief, can and should combine in affording to children the opportunity to develop into free men and women, capable of facing life in all its problems and complications and of giving bountifully of their efforts to the world. At least, those who work with us can be sure that we are not like the Public Schools, flattening, shaping, and hammering children into mere screws to hold firm the capitalistic machine.

Give us your help and let us start a FERRER DAY SCHOOL in September, 1911.

THE FRANCISCO FERRER ASSOCIATION,
BAYARD BOYESEN,
Secretary.

* * *

ON THE TRAIL

AGAIN on the Trail. Whatever obstacles and hardships it may offer, it is never monotonous. Each day brings new experiences, which after all are the only spice of life.

Racing with Twentieth Century madness during the last two months in New York, in order to bring out "Anarchism and Other Essays" and to assist in the inauguration of the Ferrer Center, I kept busy every minute, leaving New York directly from the Francisco Ferrer meeting of January 5th, without even an opportunity to take leave from my dear coworkers.

Our annual tour opened in Rochester the following night. The meeting left much to be desired in point of numbers, but the audience was good and serious-minded, which was evident both from the intense interest in the lecture on Tolstoy and the eagerness for literature, of which a considerable amount was sold. The most valuable result, however, was the unusually splendid reports in the papers of January 7th. The struggle of twenty years to clear away the misconceptions regarding Anarchism has not been in vain if it has helped to gain respectful, serious treatment at the hands of some newspapers. Buffalo is still held in awe by the McKinley spook, which is specially invoked by the Catholic Church and the press whenever I come to the city. Certainly, there are few towns in the State of New York so absolutely reactionary as Buffalo, which accounts for the lack of interest in radical ideas of any sort.

The meetings were poor, but the liberality and generosity of a small group of friends helped to make the chill less penetrating. Especially do I cherish the visit with Dr. Gustav and Jean Pohl, as one of the few joys of my propaganda life. Their fine hospitality, their splendid simplicity and freedom from all cant quite made me forget the poverty of numbers at our meetings.

But the Trail is before me, and I must not halt. We go from here to:

Pittsburg, Pa., January 11—14.
Cleveland, O., January 15, English lectures afternoon and evening in Pythian Temple.
Cleveland, O., January 16, Jewish meeting.
Columbus, O., January 17 and 18, meetings at Red Lion Hall, 335½ S. High St.
Cincinnati, O., January 20, 21 and 22, at Odd Fellows Temple; January 22 two lectures, afternoon and evening.
Indianapolis, Ind., January 23, 24 and 25, to begin a free speech campaign.

The poice still think that a tour without interference would lack charm. Therefore His August Highness, the Chief of Police of Indianapolis, decided not to let me speak.

January 27th I shall be at Dayton, O., my first visit in that city. January 29th at Toledo; two meetings, afternoon and evening, at Meredith Hall. January 31st, February 1st, 2d, 3d and 5th in Detroit. Three meetings will take place at Stabbler Hall, 257 Beaubien St. February 3d (in German) and February 5th, afternoon and evening (English) at Freeman's Hall, 292 Hastings St. February 4th we will again face the wrath of the students at Ann Arbor. Our friends in Detroit, who value propaganda above personal grievances, will aid the meetings materially by the distribution of cards. The latter can be called for at the printer's, Mr. Dreier, 149 Monroe

801

840514091

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 352-354 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 11 (Jan. 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Ave. February 6th and 7th we mean to visit Jackson, February 8th and 9th Grand Rapids, both new cities on our list. February 12th—19th we will be in Chicago, holding meetings at Hodcarriers Hall, Harrison and Halsted Sts. February 12th, lectures in the afternoon and evening; also February 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th. February 17th I will speak in Jewish, February 19th two meetings in English, halls to be announced later. Our Chicago friends desirous of making my lectures known, can get cards by mail or in person from Dr. J. Greer, 52 Dearborn St.

The Trail is long, and urgently calling. There is hard and earnest work to do for those who are willing. I shall be happy to co-operate with friends everywhere.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

P. S.—Mail will reach me in all cities per General Delivery.

* * *

JUSTICE IN JAPAN

By HIPPOLYTE HAVEL.

THE fate of our Japanese comrades is still in the balance. The Supreme Court of Tokio is at present deliberating upon the case and a decision is to be expected soon. Will our friends fall victims to reaction? Will they suffer a sacrificial death?

It will not happen if we energetically continue the protests which have already assumed an international character. The government of Japan at first thought to ignore this protest movement; it had no conception to what dimensions it would grow. The appeal to international solidarity has found a mighty echo. The revolutionists of all countries instinctively felt that it was *their* cause which was being decided at Tokio, and that the condemnation of Denjiro Kotoku and comrades was a direct challenge to modern thought.

Will the government of Japan consider the international protest? It has at last been forced to break its silence and to issue an official statement, published by the leading papers of America and Europe. The government of the Mikado has evidently played what it thought a trump card by characterizing the condemned as Communist Anarchists. But it has merely succeeded in proving itself barbaric and brutal; nay, more—very stupid. We have never asserted the contrary regarding our condemned comrades; indeed, in our original appeal we clearly stated that Denjiro Kotoku was an Anarchist, known in Japan as the leader of the "Kropotkinists." Every intelligent man who is conversant with modern social thought is aware of the fact that Kropotkin is not a monarchist. We are proud to count among our comrades a writer like Kotoku, a physician like Dr. Oishi, an artist like Takeda, or a translator like Miss Sugano-Kano. The twenty-six condemned represent the intellectual element of Japan, among them being workingmen, farmers, artists, physicians, and three Budhist priests.

The whole statement of the Japanese government is quite one-sided. It has purposely omitted to mention the fact that not only Anarchists, but also over two hundred Socialists are languishing in Japanese prisons since June of last year. The French Socialist daily, *L'Humanité*, publishes a letter received by Jean Longuet from S. Katayama, the leading Socialist of Japan, in which he relates the series of terrible persecutions and oppressions to which the Japanese Socialists are being subjected. Katayama implores Longuet to lift up his voice against the brutal treatment of the Japanese Socialists, and to assist them in their terrible struggle. He begs him to give it the utmost publicity all over the world.

In the face of these facts the spokesmen of the Japanese government, Messrs. Masujiro Honda and Tsunego Baba, of the Oriental Information Bureau, declare in the *Oriental Economic Review* (Vol. I, Number 3) that "a political persecution is impossible in Japan." But other prominent Japanese quite disagree with Messrs. Honda and Baba. Count Hayashi, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, is one of seven scholars and publicists who contribute a group of strong articles to the *Taiyo* on Socialism. Count Hayashi goes so far as to assert that the policy of the Minister of Education, aimed at the suppression of Socialist publications, is narrow-minded,

802

840514094

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 386-391 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 12 (Feb. 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

by circulating his works, and let us point him out to the present and the future generations as a resplendent mirror in which to see themselves.

* * *

ON THE TRAIL

WHOEVER fashioned Pittsburg must have used hell as his model. But there is one consolation for the inhabitants of that woe-begotten place. If they survive they will have grown immune to anything hell may have in store for them.

Black and hideous as the clouds of smoke that gush forth from the thousand-mouthed American melting pot, Pittsburg is indeed a place where things are done that neither Son of God nor son of man may look upon. The entry into this modern Inferno is never a particular joy; but on the morning of our arrival everything seemed grayer and dirtier than usual, owing to the penetrating drizzling rain which lasted during our entire stay.

My faithful friend, Mrs. Nunia Seldes, had spared no efforts to advertize the meetings by the distribution of our cards. But the bad weather and the announcement of a debate between a Socialist and myself had an unsatisfactory effect upon our meetings.

The Jewish lecture, which usually attracts a large audience, was partly frustrated by petty jealousies of certain Pittsburgers who pose as Socialists. In their eagerness to rob "the devil of his prey," they invited a speaker for the same night and circulated the rumor that I would not lecture.

The most significant part of the debate, was the cowardice of the Labor Temple people who had rented their hall to the Allegheny Local only to back out at the last minute. Instead of insisting upon their right to the hall, our Socialistic friends acquiesced, as behooves true revolutionists. Fortunately, another hall was secured and was filled to the limit of its capacity on the evening of the debate.

My opponent, Mr. Ruppel, was recommended as "the best informed member of the Local," which merely goes to prove that among the blind the one-eyed is king. I fear Mr. Ruppel has read too much for his mental digestion. But he is young yet, so may the kind fairies for-

give him his sins, even if he knows not what conclusions to draw from the books he has read. In one thing, however, Mr. Ruppel is quite like his elders in the Socialist party; namely in the repetition of the hackneyed ghost stories about Anarchists and Anarchism. "Bakunin organized riots and manufactured bombs. * * * Louise Michel advocated the necessity of throwing the workers in front of the guns. * * * Kropotkin,—well, he is but a dreamer who doesn't count at all. * * * Berkman attempted the life of Frick out of fun, to strengthen plutocracy," and so forth.

In justice to a large number of Mr. Ruppel's comrades, present in the audience, it must be said that they were quite disgusted with Mr. Ruppel. Thus ended the debate with "the best informed member" of the Allegheny Local. Its redeeming feature was the chairman, also young, but very fair-minded and evidently far abler than my opponent in the debate.

I was glad to leave Pittsburg, although it is always hard for me to part with my dear friends, Nunia and George Seldes.

Cleveland is like a faithful friend: it never fails. This time the success was considerably increased through the aid of Fred Schulder, Adeline Champney, John Jacobs, and some of our Jewish comrades. Two large and splendid audiences filled the meetings, affording our champion literature-man a golden opportunity to dispose of his wares.

The crowning effect in Cleveland, though, was the Jewish meeting. Though the latter was arranged by only one comrade, and for a Monday, a large crowd received me with the usual intense Semitic warmth, which always makes the Trail less difficult.

Columbus is one more city where, within the last three years, police interference has been overcome. Four years ago I was gagged in the usual, senseless police manner: the halls were closed, no meetings could take place, and that was the end, except for a friend I had gained in Mr. Linton, a true rebel and fighter, who has repeatedly tried to get me a hearing,—always in vain.

It remained for the energetic Ben Reitman to tame the shrew with the result that for the first time, since

803

840514094

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. — pp. 386-391 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 5, no. 12 (Feb. 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Albert Parsons' death, the voice of an Anarchist was again heard in Columbus.

The important event in that city, however, was not the free speech victory, nor the large attendance, nor even the fact that forty-one female University students, beside many of their co-eds and Professors, attended. The real event was the marching of nearly a thousand miners from the Convention of the United Mine Workers to our hall, in protest against the stupidity of some of their leaders and of the authorities. The city was crowded with delegates to the Convention, among them being quite a large number of men who had met me years before, during my tour through the mining districts. They were eager to have me speak from the Convention floor.

The proposition was, however, defeated when first introduced by the conservative element. It was again brought up in the afternoon session, and carried. In the evening I received the following letter from the Secretary of the U. M. W.:

DEAR MADAM:

Pursuant to the action of our Convention you are hereby cordially invited to address the delegates of the United Mine Workers of America at 10 o'clock a. m. tomorrow, January 19th, in session at Memorial Hall.

Subsequent to this action of our Convention, notice was served on us by the custodian that before addressing the delegation it will be necessary to get permission from the County Commissioners; otherwise you would not be allowed. I would suggest that you have Mr. Reitman take this matter up with the Commissioners and avoid any complications or unpleasantness which might ensue if you undertook to deliver an address without permission of the Commissioners.

However, I assure you that as far as our Convention is concerned there would be no objection.

Very truly yours,
EDWIN PERRY,
Secretary-Treasurer, U. M. W. of A.

P. S.—Have just been advised by the Custodian that the Commissioners refuse to allow you to speak under any circumstances to-morrow morning at the Memorial Hall.

When our staunch friends were informed of the ruse to prevent my speaking, they decided unanimously to march to the hall which we had secured; but first they would go to Memorial Hall, where the Convention was holding its sessions.

And then the most ingenious thing happened. The custodians of Memorial Hall shut their doors, not only to me, but to all the delegates, which action had a more rousing effect than anything I might have said. Even those who had been opposed to me felt outraged and joined the march to our place.

I was introduced by one of the delegates, E. S. McCullough, himself a most wonderful speaker, and received by the workers with great enthusiasm. But to me the most gratifying aspect was the genuine response of the delegates to the necessity of the General Strike as the only effective weapon at labor's command.

The curse of American unionism is not the indifference of the workers, but the reactionary leadership. O for a Pelloutier, a Pouget, or an Yvetôt in America—those Samsons of the syndicalist movement: the ranks of the workers would soon be cleared from the poisonous elements.

I shall forever cherish the experience with the miners in Columbus as one of the great moments in my public life.

Indianapolis was another red letter town. Police arrogance and brutal intimidation was turned into victory for free speech and Anarchism. After one Chief, two years ago, had set the precedent, the new Tsar of the Indianapolis police department hoped to sail in smooth waters. The ukase went forth that Emma Goldman must not speak. Thereupon a free speech campaign was started by the irrepressible Ben with the aid of a few splendid spirits in Indianapolis, the main workers being Thomas F. Snyder, Katherine Snyder, and Evangeline Bessenberg, the latter doing most of the correspondence to arouse people. And they *were* aroused, in quarters least expected. Thus Mr. Meredith Nicholson, the author, William Hapgood, and a great many others came to the rescue of free speech. Rev. Weaks, of the Unitarian Church, made a strong plea, but subsequently proved that he was not ready to substantiate words by deeds.

The Dictator of Indianapolis was forced to withdraw the order, but the policeman's soul was not at rest, and Chief Hyland got after the hall keepers. "No, he does not order them not to rent their halls, but he'd rather they would not." What hall keeper would not oblige

804

840514094

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 386-391 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 5, no. 12 (Feb. 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

the Chief? At any rate, not a hall for any consideration. We had almost given up in despair, when the great miracle happened. An orthodox preacher, Rev. Nelson of the Pentecost Tabernacle, offered his church, and the first meeting was held. I cannot say that it was a pleasant experience, but that was not the fault of Mr. Nelson. Although he gave a thousand explanations as to why Emma Goldman could speak in his church, it was nevertheless very brave of him to open his pulpit to such a heathen; much braver than the liberal Christian gentlemen who feared to face adverse public comment. But as Ibsen so aptly said, "the Liberals are the worst foes of free men."

The Pentecost Tabernacle meeting had its good effect. Rev. Adams, of the Universalist Church, followed suit. The place was packed with a most interesting audience, such as Indianapolis has probably rarely gathered in one place. Mr. Adams impressed me as by far the superior of the two Reverends. Simple, bold, and very human, he showed splendid taste in leaving God to his throne. Instead, he spoke in a very eloquent manner on the pressing issues amongst men, and especially upon the very vital issue of free speech and the growing tendency of the police to establish a reign of terror, which he repudiated with all the strength of his being. His remarks, as well as the atmosphere of the occasion, were refreshing indeed.

The Trail to Indianapolis seemed hard and uphill, but it has helped us to the broad open road that holds out the promise of future conquests.

I cannot close this chapter of my Odyssey without mentioning a few minor, but by no means unimportant, experiences. A good meeting in Elyria, O., arranged by Comrade Reinbach; a small meeting in Dayton, not quite successfully managed by our well-intentioned friend, Ernest Marks; compartively small but satisfactory gatherings at Cincinnati, and two meetings in our old stand-by, Toledo. Thus closed three eventful weeks on the Trail.

Now comes Detroit, and then Chicago, with lectures February 12th-20th, at Hod Carriers' Hall. Thence to St. Louis, for the week beginning February 26th. In the

early part of March we are due in the Socialist strongholds: Madison, Wis., and Minneapolis, Minn.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

DISCUSSION AT MEETINGS

By BOLTON HALL.

IN reply to Voltairine de Cleyre's question as to whether questions and discussion after our meetings are a blessing or not, I may say that my own rather extensive experience convinces me that a meeting of fifty with the "free forum" is better worth while than a meeting of two hundred and fifty without it.

The questions are often pointless and the discussions irrelevant or silly: but the audience, or at least the best part of the audience, the part that we really aim at, sizes them up pretty well.

Questions are asked in bad faith and "discussion" used to ring in ill-balanced views; but those arouse antagonism to the speakers and to their twaddle that would otherwise be directed against us. The propagandist questioner is not often convinced, but if the speaker asks frequently, "Is that answer satisfactory?" it brings out good feeling and real questions, and those who listen to questions they would have liked to ask but for timidity or reticence are often converted.

Beecher said that "the real meeting is around the stove after the benediction," and the open forum is our best substitute. Certainly it is the most interesting part of most meetings. Many a meeting gets newspaper notice through the buffoon speaker from the audience, whom we regarded as a nuisance, which would otherwise be passed over in silence.

The papers which seize upon such speeches for misrepresentation would probably find something else to misrepresent were it not for the buffoon. Anyhow, almost anything is better than silence.

805

840514096

The Emma Goldman Papers

Our Sixth Birthday / Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. — pp. 2-4 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

OUR SIXTH BIRTHDAY

WITH this issue MOTHER EARTH begins her sixth journey through life.

Five years! What an infinitesimal drop in the ocean of eternity; yet how terribly long a time when travelled on a hard, thorny road. With a world of ignorance and prejudice to battle against, a thousand obstacles to overcome, hosts of enemies to face, and with but few friends, MOTHER EARTH has withstood, for five years, the storm and stress of the firing line, and has wavered not.

More than once was she stabbed by the enemy, and hurt by the thrusts of the well-meaning; more than once was her body bruised, her flesh torn by conflicting forces; yet never has she fallen by the wayside, nor her ardor been subdued.

Now that MOTHER EARTH begins her sixth journey, it behooves us to halt a moment and to ponder the question: Was the struggle and pain worth while? has the magazine justified the expectations that gave it life?

Not long ago a friend wrote to us: Why don't you give up? Why waste your time and energy in a lost cause? MOTHER EARTH has not reached the people you had hoped to reach, nor does the magazine satisfy even some of our own comrades, because—as they say—more reading matter than is contained in MOTHER EARTH can be had in the ordinary magazines, for ten cents.

Viewed from the dominant standpoint of success, our friend is right. In that sense MOTHER EARTH has failed. Our circulation is still far from the fifty-thousand mark; our subscribers, too, do not represent the multitudes. Nor is our financial rating such that we need feel any anxiety lest a Wall Street panic break our bank. Again, MOTHER EARTH has lost in averdupois; it began as a heavyweight of sixty-four pages, but is now reduced to the lightweight class.

But since when do Anarchists measure success by quantity? Are numbers, weight, or following the true criterion of success? Should not the latter consist, first of all, in adherence to the chosen purpose, no matter at what cost? Indeed, the only success of any value has been the failure of men and women who struggled, suf-

fered, and bled for an ideal, rather than give up, or be silenced.

MOTHER EARTH *is* such a success. Without a party to back her, with little or no support from her own ranks, and consistently refusing to be gagged by a profitable advertising department, she has bravely weathered the strain of five years, stormy enough to have broken many a strong spirit. She has created an atmosphere for herself which few Anarchist publications in America have been able to equal. She has gathered around her a coterie of men and women who are among the best in the country, and, finally, she has acted as a leaven of thought in quarters least expected by those who are ready with advice, yet unable to help.

Many an editor of our better-class dailies has found in MOTHER EARTH a source of information and inspiration, and though they would be loth to admit it, it is nevertheless true that they have used our magazine for copy on numerous occasions. That, among other things, may help to account for the decided change in the tone of the press towards Anarchism and Anarchists.

But for want of space many instances could be cited, showing how well and widely MOTHER EARTH is read by journalists and writers, and what is thought of her merits by those who value quality above quantity.

As to the original *raison d'être* of MOTHER EARTH, it was, first of all, to create a medium for the free expression of our ideas, a medium bold, defiant, and unafraid. That she has proved to the fullest, for neither friend nor foe has been able to gag her.

Secondly, MOTHER EARTH was to serve as a gathering point, as it were, for those, who, struggling to free themselves from the absurdities of the Old, had not yet reached firm footing. Suspended between heaven and hell, they have found in MOTHER EARTH the anchor of life.

Thirdly, to infuse new blood into Anarchism, which —in America—had then been running at low ebb for quite some time.

All these purposes, it may be said impartially, the magazine has served faithfully and well.

We cannot claim for MOTHER EARTH hosts of follow-

806

840514096

The Emma Goldman Papers

Our Sixth Birthday / Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. — pp. 2-4 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ers, but she has made some friends whose steadfast devotion and generosity has accomplished greater results than would have been possible with a large income. Besides, our magazine would have long ere this been self-supporting, were it not for the many other issues drawing upon its resources.

We have created an American Anarchist propaganda literature, which has consumed the largest part of the magazine's income; indeed, it is this, more than anything else, which has been such a drain on our funds.

On the whole, we feel that our fighter has more than justified its existence. True, MOTHER EARTH is far from perfect; but, after all, it is the striving for, rather than the attainment of, perfection which is the essence of all effort, of life itself.

The struggle is ever before us. With increased determination and greater enthusiasm MOTHER EARTH enters upon the sixth year, confident that her friends need no other assurance than that the magazine will continue on the great Open Road, with face ever turned toward the Dawn.

EMMA GOLDMAN,
ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

* * *

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

TWO intellectuals—American exchange Professors Münsterberg and Smith—recently fell upon each other regarding the question which of them had the better right to be invited to the annual exhibition of naked busts and shoulders at the Berlin court.

Professor Smith claimed priority because the Kaiser had conversed with him thirteen minutes longer than with his learned colleague. Smith asserted that His Majesty even deigned to grin at him once. But Professor Münsterberg angrily retorted that though it was true that the Kaiser had talked with him only a couple of minutes, the royal manner was so gracious as to entirely discount the thirteen minutes of Smith. The matter threatened to cause international complications, when it was finally settled by inviting both sycophants to the court ball.

A couple of country schoolmasters from Darkest Pomerania could not have demeaned themselves worse than these representatives of American science. Of such professional intellectuals Schopenhauer was wont to say, "They don't live for, but off, science." There is another well-known adage which fitly characterizes such worthies: Professors and prostitutes are for sale.

* * *

THE people of the United States are to be blessed by President Taft with an extra session of Congress. Is it for the purpose of "filling the empty market basket," as the phrase runs? Far from it. The special Danai gift has the sole purpose of obscuring, by superficial legal phraseology, the real causes of the empty market basket. Expropriation of the monopolistic lords of land and industry by the dear, victimized patriots is the best and only way to terminate the usury in the necessaries of life. This, it's dead sure, will never be decided by Congress.

* * *

THERE are strong indications that Washington is mobilizing troops against the revolution in Mexico, to protect the property interests of the Morgans, Gugenheims, Hearsts, et al. A beautiful prospect for the American soldier, to be maimed or killed for the sake of protecting the dividends of the multi-millionaires, and then be persuaded that he had helped to enhance the honor and glory of his country.

It is high time that anti-militarist arguments begin to be studied in America.

* * *

THE greatest triumph of the reigning morality manifestly consists in trials for breach of promise. It seems hardly possible for our merchant order of buying and selling to go much further than counting romance, affection, kisses, and embraces in dollars and cents.

All poets of love songs, dead or living, should be indicted and brought before the American courts. It would be easy to prove against them that they have aroused, a thousandfold, sweet yearnings, emotions, and tender hopes in female hearts, without giving further satisfaction. Surely these sinners should be punished.

807

840514097

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. — pp. 17-22 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 6, no. 3 (March 1911).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THE PIONEER

To love to live—I choose this as my life,
The world is full of chatter, cheap and vain,
And painted sights and foolish paven lanes where people moil at pleasure,
Getting none, returning yet again for naught and less than naught—
And o'er-plussed emptiness of heart and soul
Which makes a mock of life and turns it sour.
All this I pass; not prudishly, as one who fears to mix with men,
Nor scorning human things,
Nor in a cloister mood, seeking aloofness and some mystic spell—
But rather in a thirst for redder wine,
A crave for passions that are ne'er outworn,
A lust for one good hack at old Convention statued in the Square.
To those who love the groove, the patterned task, the vested rights,
I say, adieu.
Give me the thing to do that's not been done,
That helps my kind, and yields my spirit wide egress,
The ax upon the beech to mark my way,
A golden sunset from behind the rugged hills,
And, then, should the gods allow,
A white arm round my neck entwined
And on my lips the kiss of Her who understood and shared.

—Selected.

ON THE TRAIL

THE Trail of Life is like a beautiful woman, full of caprice and contradictions. Now it carries you to the sublime heights of expectation, now it hurls you to the very depths of despair, according to momentary whim. Yet like the heartless beauty, the Trail stands in all its radiance, ever luring one to new exploits.

Since we started on this journey the oscillations between hope and despair have repeatedly made us want to give up; but who can resist the Trail? Good or bad, success or failure—the tempteress calls, and poor mortals must follow.

DETROIT proved too weak for the large dose we had prepared for it. Six English meetings were more than the city could stand, its energies being sapped up by the Lady of Rome. Detroit is strongly Catholic; how can one expect to penetrate her tightly sealed mental channels. Yet there were a few faithful, cager for life, who attended every meeting and procured a liberal supply of intellectual ammunition. We realized only too late that four of the six evenings might have been employed to better advantage in nearby towns. We mean to make good on some other occasion.

ANN ARBOR again brought out a large array of students, less vicious than last year, but still very boisterous, especially on the evening of the lecture on Tolstoy. The sage of Yasnaya Poliana knew the emptiness of what passes for education to-day. His serenity would therefore not have been disturbed by the Ann Arbor demonstration of "learning." Not being quite so passive as our great Russian, it required much effort to keep sane in Bedlam; nor am I quite sure that I did. But, with lunatic luck, I succeeded in making the students think me the only sane person in the crowd. They toned down considerably at the end, asked a number of good questions, and—what is more—they did not break the chairs, nor raid the literature table, which was a decided improvement on our last year's experience.

The Keystone fraternity, keenly conscious of the shameful outrage on free speech in the City of Brotherly Love, invited us to break bread with them, as a sign of

808

840514097

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 17-22 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 3 (March 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

sisterly good-will. The wideawake spirit among these Pennsylvania boys has almost made me feel kindlier toward that Clay and Reyburn hunchbacked city, Philadelphia. Our last year's visit has helped to fertilize the soil. Prof. R. M. Wenley announced a course on Anarchism, of which the first lecture has already been delivered before a large audience. I am not conceited enough to assume that I induced the course, but that we have helped to arouse interest and to prepare the students for the "shock," is no doubt true.

GRAND RAPIDS furnished a new experience, doubly pleasant because of the opportunity it offered to meet once more our ex-soldier, William Buwalda. Our readers have probably been wondering what has become of our friend after his release from the tender arms of the government.

William Buwalda has exchanged the iron bands of mental deception for a free and broader outlook upon life, while his soul, dwarfed for fifteen years by the soldier's coat, has since expanded and blossomed out like a flower in the fresh and unrestricted air of mother earth. Our comrade has been left with an old mother to look after, his father having died last year. He often longs to go back to the world and to more vital activity, but with his usual simplicity he said, "What right have I, as a free man, to inflict burdens upon others that I am unwilling to carry?" Therefore he remains to take care of the old lady; yet he has not become rusticated. On the contrary, William Buwalda has used his time well, not merely for extensive reading, but for the absorption and assimilation of our ideals. The old Dutch mother, the kindly hostess moving about in her quaint Dutch surroundings, was like a study of Rembrandt. It made one feel far removed from the mad rush of American life.

Buwalda's efforts for the Grand Rapids meeting proved a great success. It was one of the few splendid affairs of this tour.

CHICAGO, with her thousand sinister memories clutching at one's soul, is anything but an Eldorado. The gloom was increased by miserable weather, truly Chicagoan—wind, rain, and mud. The press, including that yellow sheet, the *Daily Socialist,* maintained a conspiracy

of silence, and most of the preparatory work being done by one comrade, Sam Sivin, a stranger in the city, the prospects, too, looked muddy. Worst of all was the thought of having to go back to Hod Carriers' Hall, a place that would have affected the vocal chords of the trumpets of Jerico. It seemed to make the Chicago visit almost unbearable. But perseverance and lungs carried the day.

Our six English meetings brought out an average of two hundred people, which was very remarkable, considering the obstacles. Brother Reitman, with his usual mesmeric methods, disposed of a phenomenal quantity of literature. The Jewish meetings were, as usual, very large. Last, but not least, was a small but interesting meeting arranged by a group of Lithuanians, whom I addressed on the "Social Importance of the Modern School."

Credit for the hardest work is due chiefly to the indefatigable efforts of Sam Sivin and his friend Bessie; but there were also others who helped most faithfully: Edith Adams, our motherly Dr. "Becky" Yampolsky, our future Medicus Stein, and Comrade Lankis. Dr. J. H. Greer was the guardian angel. He turned his office into an E. G. headquarters, constituted himself ticket and book seller, and acted as knightly host to drive away the spooks, thus helping one to forget the sins of the Jungletown.

My greatest regret regarding Chicago is that I failed to interest our friends in the Kotoku Memorial. There was a lack of speakers; besides, Japan is far away; even Anarchists do not easily overcome distance.

URBANA, the seat of Illinois learning, is like unto the city of the German proverb, where people neither sing nor drink. It is a prohibition town; no wonder the mental lid is down tightly. Only a few students and professors turned out, but they, too, were as dry as Urbana.

The PEORIA meeting had been arranged in one day, in a hall on the outskirts of the city. We were therefore not disappointed in the size of the meeting. Yet while Urbana and Peoria gave small returns in proportion to our efforts, we are glad that we went there. We have driven in the wedge and are sure to meet with greater success next time.

809

840514097

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. — pp. 17-22 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 6, no. 3 (March 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ST. LOUIS. It seems almost like an idyl to come to the city after the desert of Sahara through which the Trail has led us for nearly two months. But, then, why should not St. Louis prove a rare spot, with Anheuser-Busch and William Marion Reedy as the great attractions. I do not know whether the city could do without Anheuser-Busch, but I am sure it would never be the same without Reedy, who is indeed a fountainhead of wisdom, rare humor, and good fellowship. To realize his importance for the intellectual life of St. Louis, one must have been here and followed his work. Thus with our "Hobo" I must say, "Reedy has put St. Louis on the map." With such a staunch sponsor and with the assistance of other friends, gained through Reedy's efforts, the work in St. Louis proved smooth sailing.

Three meetings at the Odeon Recital Hall were the very best so far, especially the meeting of March 1st, on "Victims of Morality," which brought out the largest American audience we have ever had outside of California. The literature sale represented a regular bargain counter, with Ben Reitman and several assistants strenuously busy supplying the demand.

The venture to arouse the ladies who think they are thinking was less successful. It was an unusual venture, to begin with, and as some of our comrades will no doubt say, apostatic on my part to consent. Two lectures in the most exclusive club hall of St. Louis, the Women's Wednesday Club, which resembles the Sorosis of New York:—a parasitic class of women who do not know what to do with their time. I was not at all in doubt as to the numbers that might come to such an affair. I consented to the proposition by our good friends, quaint little Alice Martin and William Marion Reedy, because of the chance it offered to tell those ladies what I thought of them.

"Tolstoy" and "Justice" were chosen as "fit" subjects for the occasion: themes that contain enough revolutionary material to make the dear auditors anything but comfortable, and with E. G. as the speaker, they certainly "got their money's worth," the price of admission being one dollar. I should not care to make a practice of speaking before the Wednesday Club audiences. Not that I fear to be contaminated. I feel, with Gorki, that

ours is a puny age, full of puny people who have not even the vitality to commit great sins. It is the mental apathy of the audience at that place which is so disagreeable, like the sight of dry old bones. I could forgive the rich Americans their money; but their dullness, never. The latter will save me at all times from "breaking" into society. Much rather should I prefer to break into jail. It is a much more interesting pastime. Yet the experience at the Wednesday Club had also its humorous side, and I wouldn't have missed it for anything.

Our dear old Comrade Harry Kelly, who left for the Coast after my Sunday lectures, gave the preparatory work the old revolutionary flavor. Ada Capes, Kapicinell, and other friends made me feel, by their devotion, as in olden days when there were fewer personal quibbles and greater zeal for our cause, so sublime and all-absorbing.

What a tremendous power one great individuality may exert is best proved by the new tone of the St. Louis press, created entirely by Mr. Reedy. Not a single paper has indulged in the old-time sensational methods. The reports have been accurate and the editorials unusually analytical. A complete revolution, one might say, judging from the following editorial in the *Times*:

> Miss Emma Goldman, who made addresses in St. Louis yesterday, succeeded in voicing her sentiments without shocking any one very much, apparently, and without necessitating any calls for the trouble wagon.
>
> It becomes apparent that Miss Goldman has a good many ideas which are sound, even though she may have others which are shocking enough; and it may be that those who disapprove most of her and her teachings are those who know least about her and what she has to teach.
>
> There are a good many articles in the Goldman creed which might be given serious thought, and nobody would be any the worse for it. When she maintains that education of the stereotyped kind is not the right kind of education, she only affirms what many highly reputable thinkers have pointed out in a gentler fashion.
>
> When she states her belief in the theory that there are no bad boys and girls, she is in line with the convictions of many a highly praised philanthropist. What is Judge Ben Lindsay's creed, except that there are no bad boys and girls?
>
> The trouble with this extraordinary woman is that she is a revolutionist, instead of an evolutionist. She is in a hurry; whereas the wisest men and women know that haste makes waste.
>
> Not one of the points made by Miss Goldman in her speeches

810

840514097

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 17-22 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 6, no. 3 (March 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

yesterday but is being put forth in gentler terms by good people everywhere. But others are encouraged when they realize what growth has been recorded in twenty years—in ten years. Miss Goldman is impatient because she cannot see great advancement since yesterday.

Perhaps it is a matter of temperament, rather than of philosophy. Perhaps Miss Goldman is unfortunate only in respect to her temperament.

If our work had accomplished nothing else, this change of sentiment would justify all the hardships and bitterness most of us have and are still passing through. The Trail may have a thousand whims and caprices, but it also has great charms. It is so alluring, one must follow it up to the very end.

I still have two Jewish meetings to address in this city; two lectures in Staunton, Ill., before the miners, to which I look forward with great interest; also a meeting at Belleville, Ill., where our martyred Chicago comrades had fought more than one battle.

While MOTHER EARTH will be in the making, we shall have visited the Socialist citadel, Milwaukee. Will it survive us? Also Madison, Wis., where our last visit aroused so much discussion, especially among the students. March 15, 16 and 17 we will be in St. Paul; March 19-22 in Minneapolis. All information can be obtained through F. Kraemer, 1023 Marshall St., N. E., Minneapolis, Minn. March 24th, Sioux City; March 26th and 27th, Omaha, Neb. After that, Des Moines and Kansas City, for ten days.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

DISCUSSION AT MEETINGS

By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

I HAVE read, in the last issue of MOTHER EARTH, Bolton Hall's opinion on the mixed blessing of discussion after meetings with interest, and—disagreement; mixed also.

I agree that a meeting of fifty with a good discussion is better than one of two hundred and fifty with none; but with a bad discussion—nine times in ten it is a bad discussion—meeting of two hundred and fifty and silence is preferable.

For I do not agree that "almost anything is better than silence"; sometimes silence is better than almost anything; particularly the silence of a "buffoon." Nor do I consider newspaper notice such a desirable thing as to be thankful for it at the cost of misrepresentation. If a meeting of fifty people enlightened by a discussion is better than one of two hundred and fifty without it, it is also better than two hundred thousand giving a cursory glance at a misrepresentation.

Also I would like to know what evidence Bolton Hall has that the best part of the audience sizes up the discussion well. It may be true, quite likely it is, but how does he know?

So far as I see, the real substitute for the after-benediction gathering is not the public discussion, but what we in Philadelphia used to dub "the adjourned meeting." That is the time when the timid and the reticent forget their timidity, and say their say. And it is really always far more interesting than the chairmanized discussion. For all that, I still think the evil of shutting off discussion is probably greater than the evil of "hot air."

One comrade has suggested that the lecture committee, expressing itself through the Chairman, reserve the right to have discussion or not; that a good lecture be left for "the gathering around the stove"; but an inadequate lecture, or a poor one, be completed or rectified through a select discussion, such speakers being called upon by the Chairman as he knows are able to make good the deficiency.

The trouble is, this gives too much discretion to the Chairman (though as every one knows who has had ex-

811

840514101

The Emma Goldman Papers

Are Kotoku Protests Justified? / Emma Goldman. – pp. 57-60 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

TO THE SUBSCRIBERS TO "THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EUGENICS"

MORE than a year has gone by since Moses Harman saw the last number of his much-loved magazine come from the press, and sank to his well-earned rest. That number was dated Jan.-Feb., 1910. In it he said:

"If the readers of Eugenics would know more of the exceptionally courageous and wonderfully persistent battle for free speech in New York and other eastern cities, that has been fought by Emma Goldman and her few steadfast friends, they should send stamps, dimes, or dollars for copies of MOTHER EARTH. The friends of truth and justice everywhere should do what they can to make Miss Goldman's next annual tour a triumphant success."

Now MOTHER EARTH is to fill out the unexpired subscriptions to Eugenics. Those whose subscriptions have expired will receive sample copies of MOTHER EARTH. I am sure that this arrangement would be satisfactory to my father, and I hope it will please his friends. He always said that he expected to continue to publish his message to the world as long as he lived, and though he hoped his magazine might continue after his death, he wanted me to feel perfectly free to make any disposition of it which might seem to me best.

It has been very hard for me to definitely give up the publication of Eugenics. My father's life and work—his publications, Lucifer and Eugenics—have been so closely interwoven with my life ever since my childhood, that it is with a mental and physical wrench that the parting is made. Yet Moses Harman was unique. His work was unique. Neither I nor anyone else could fill his place. But his work lives; he lives in the hearts, the lives of unknown numbers. Not only his children (as is promised to the "righteous") but many, many more "rise up and call him blessed."

But I did not start to write a panegyric of my father. I wanted to make a business statement. It will readily be understood that the addition of the

subscription list of Eugenics entails a very heavy extra expense on MOTHER EARTH. I trust that prompt subscriptions will balance this increased expenditure. If any subscribers are dissatisfied with this arrangement, I will endeavor to "square accounts" in some other way, if informed of the fact.

I hope to publish one or more volumes of my father's writings, but cannot say when the work will be done. In the mean time, I hope to keep in touch with his friends and mine. The "latch-string" still hangs out at his old home (1532 Fulton St., Chicago). Volumes of Lucifer, Eugenics, The Right to Be Born Well, Institutional Marriage and other works of Moses Harman may be ordered through MOTHER EARTH.

LILLIAN HARMAN.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

ARE KOTOKU PROTESTS JUSTIFIED?

New York, Feb. 3, 1911.

MY DEAR MISS GOLDMAN.

I have just received notice of the "Kotoku Protest Conference Defense Committee." It begins: "The judicial murder by the Japanese government of twelve Anarchists and Socialists"—I have seen no evidence that they are anything but what some people here would call Philospohical Anarchists and very little that they are Socialists; it is certainly unfair to them and confusing to others to lump them all as "Anarchists and Socialists." Anarchy and Socialism seem to me (as to Tucker) to be opposite poles of thought, and I think it should be remembered that twelve of them are still in jail awaiting the arbitrary disposal of the Japanese authorities. It appears to me that for Anarchists to meet as such, and protest as such,* and to dub them Anarchists with the meaning *Terrorist* that is ordinarily, though erroneously, understood by the word "An-

* Mr. Hall is in error. The protest meeting was not held by "Anarchists, as such." The call to organize the Kotoku Protest Conference was issued by Local New York, S. L. P. The participants and speakers at the protest meeting represented all shades of radicalism.—Ed.

812

840514101

The Emma Goldman Papers

Are Kotoku Protests Justified? / Emma Goldman. – pp. 57-60 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

archist," is practically to stab them in the back. The threat in this resolution is particularly ill advised.

I have no doubt whatever that the Anarchistic expressions of sympathy, with the threat of violence that is sent out under that name, would only prejudice the Japanese officials against the prisoners, and there is no question that those are reported.

I joined in these protests because I saw clearly that they would be made anyhow by the Anarchists and, if they were to refrain, probably by hardly anybody else; and as my name is known in connection with some conservative matters, I hoped that it might have a palliative effect. If it had been a question, however, of whether the withholding of my name would have tended to stifle the protest under the much misunderstood name of "Anarchist," I should certainly have withheld it—not from any lack of sympathy, but because it seems to me a means ill-adapted to the end that we wish to attain, or at least proposed, namely—to save those persons who under pretext of conspiracy are being punished for the expression of their opinions.

For the same reason I think that the appeal of the Protest Conference will injure those who remain alive, more than any money we can raise will help them.

Yours very truly,
BOLTON HALL.

February 11, 1911.

MY DEAR MR. HALL.

As your letter could not go in the March issue of MOTHER EARTH, and also because I was very busy, I delayed answering yours of the 3rd instant.

To say that I was surprised at the contents of your letter is to express it mildly. I had hoped from you, of all people, that, after knowing me for something like ten years and a great many others who hold the same ideas as I, you would have developed out of the notion that the Anarchists are divided into philosophics and terrorists. But I see that you are still in the thralldom of the superstition so common among a great many people.

Now, as a matter of fact, there is not an Anarchist in

the whole world who propagates violence, except that all agree—even such ultra respectables as Mr. Tucker—that we have the right to resist oppression.

The term "Philosophie Anarchist," as Fred Schulder justly said, is merely a cloak for a great many who hate to be considered fools, and yet haven't the courage to admit that they are opposed to present society. It is not used in any other country except America, and was adopted largely for the very reason that Schulder refers to. It is quite true that there are Anarchists, Individualists and Communists, but these terms only differentiate the particular economic arrangements of society under Anarchism. But to class them into philosophie and terrorist Anarchists is, to my mind, very absurd. Surely you cannot accept that classification merely because of the popular notion of it. Would you, because the popular notion were that Single Tax meant taking away the land from the people, accept this meanin? As a free man, you must be interested in what you stand for. Of course you would try to dissuade the public from its misconception. But you would not give yourself another name merely to satisfy public opinion. Would you? I think that the term "Anarchist" is quite broad enough to cover whatever concept we may have of a society based on individual freedom and collective opportunity. If the public does not understand it, it is my business to educate it, but it cannot be my business to give myself another name merely because the public is ignorant.

Now, as to why the Anarchists have combined in an active protest against the terrible murder in Japan. The Japanese who were recently killed proclaimed themselves as Anarchists without any extra qualification to it. As a matter of fact they were known as "Kropotkinists," because they have translated Kropotkin's works. They were and still are bitterly attacked by the Marxian Socialists, just as we are attacked by them in this country. It certainly would have been downright betrayal to the Japanese victims if their only comrades, the Anarchists, had not taken an active part in their behalf. The very fact that they stood quite isolated in Japan is more reason why we here and in Europe should have expressed as loudly as possible our sympathy with them; at least it

813

840514101
The Emma Goldman Papers
Are Kotoku Protests Justified? / Emma Goldman. — pp. 57-60 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1911).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

must have been something inspiring to know that their comrades all over the world were with them.

I should, of course, be very sorry to hurt those who are still alive and in the hands of the Japanese authorities; but I am quite confident that they would not want me to keep silent simply because I could buy their release by denying them. I am quite sure that were I in their place I should utterly repudiate the sympathy and assistance of any set of so-called "liberals," if they gave it to me on the condition that they would deny my Anarchism.

You may lend your name to the protest if you wish, or not—that, of course, is for you to decide. But I cannot believe that you will be like many others who claim to be liberals or radicals; namely, that you would withdraw your name because the people there are Anarchists, or because the Anarchists here have joined their brothers in a protest. If liberalism means anything at all, it means faith in the ideal of liberty, especially in the right of the individual to entertain an ideal of liberty, no matter how little understood by the public at large. At any rate it seems to me that whatever we have accomplished in the past in the way of liberty has been thanks to the staunch and faithful adherence of the pioneers of an idea to their principles.

You know that as well as I, Mr. Hall, and I hope that you will not expect us to betray our principles, or our comrades, because of some petty gain we might accomplish from the conservative element.

This may seem a little harsh to you. I am sure I do not mean to be, especially with you; but, to tell the truth, I am tired of the compromise that seems to be the fundamental effort of every man and woman in this country. I repudiate any such means of gaining recognition for myself, or of buying redress for those whom I call my comrades. I assure you if the people in Japan would have denied their ideas I should have been very grieved, but I would not have claimed them, because then it would have meant going directly against their desires; but so long as they are brave enough to stand up for the truth, why should I, or my comrades here, be expected to join in the popular howl against them?

Yours very truly, EMMA GOLDMAN.

February 13, 1911.

MY DEAR MISS GOLDMAN.

I thought that I had made my letter clear, but yours makes it clearer—that I had not. I have added a few words in the further, though probably futile, effort to make it plain to the careless reader.

You can do whatever you like as to publishing my letter, as revised, and your answer, modified as it will be to accord with the changes in mine.

I have also made some notes on yours. My objection was and is to *methods;* your letter seems to assume that it is to *principles* (on which there is no disagreement between us).

Language seems to me to be merely one method of communication and the best language that which best conveys our thought and feeling.

If I could find another name that would avoid the misunderstanding of the words "Single Tax" I *would* certainly substitute that. In England our movement is called "Taxation of Land Values," or "Ground Rent Taxation."

But as we already have taxation of land values here, though only a little of it, the change would create a new difficulty while removing a part of the old one.

Still we often debate changing.

Yours cordially,
BOLTON HALL.

* * *

I ASK you to think with me that the worst that can happen to us is to endure tamely the evils that we see; that no trouble or turmoil is so bad as that; that the necessary destruction which reconstruction bears with it must be taken calmly; that everywhere—in State, in church, in the household—we must be resolute to endure no tyranny, accept no lie, quail before no fear, although they may come before us disguised as piety, duty or affection, as useful opportunity and good nature, as prudence or kindness.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

814

890308013

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Against a one-sided class-propaganda. In German] Gegen einseitige Klassen-Propaganda / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* Der Sozialist [Berlin]. – (March 1, 1911).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Zentrales Staatsarchiv (DDR), Merseburg, Germany.

Der Sozialist.

Nr. 5. Berlin, den 1. März 1911.

Gegen einseitige Klassen-Propaganda

wendet sich *Emma Goldman* in ihrer Zeitschrift »Mother Earth« in treffenden Worten, die auch unsern Lesern bekannt werden sollen. Sie schreibt:

GANZ gewiß ist es richtig, daß unsere Aufgabe ist, unter den Armen, den Unwissenden, den Rohen, den enterbten Männern und Frauen zu wirken. Ich für mein Teil habe mit ihnen und unter ihnen seit einundzwanzig Jahren gewirkt. Ich kenne die sogenannten Massen aus unmittelbarer Berührung mit ihnen in und außerhalb der Werkstatt. Und gerade aus dieser Kenntnis heraus glaube ich nicht, daß wir unsere Wirksamkeit ausschließlich auf diese Kreise zu beschränken haben. Und zwar aus folgenden Gründen:

Die Pioniere jeglichen neuen Gedankens kommen selten aus den Reihen der Arbeiter. Wahrscheinlich, weil die Peitsche ihrer wirtschaftlichen Not ihnen selten Gelegenheit gibt, eine Wahrheit leicht zu fassen. Außerdem ist es eine unbestrittene Tatsache, daß die, die nichts zu verlieren haben als ihre Ketten, sich mit große Hartnäckigkeit an sie klammern.

Die Männer und Frauen, die sich zuerst einer neuen, befreienden Idee anschließen, gehen im allgemeinen aus den sogenannten oberen Gesellschaftsklassen hervor. Rußland, Deutschland, England und selbst Amerika bestätigen diese Behauptung. Die erste Verschwörung gegen den russischen Despoten, der Bund der Dekabristen, die den russischen Adel repräsentierten, entstand in einem eigenen Palaste. Die geistigen Vorkämpfer der revolutionären und anarchistischen Ideen in Deutschland kamen aus den »oberen« Klassen. Die Frauen, die heutzutage in England den Hungerstreik für ihre Ideen auf sich nehmen, stammen ebenfalls nicht aus den Reihen der Arbeiter. Das Entsprechende gilt für fast jedes Land und jede Epoche.

Es liegt mir ganz fern, die Armen, die Unwissenden und Enterbten herabzusetzen. Ohne Frage sind sie die gewaltigste Macht, wenn sie nur aus ihrer Trägheit erweckt werden könnten. Aber ich behaupte, wenn man seine Tätigkeit auf sie beschränken will, so ist das nicht nur ein Fehler, sondern ein Widerspruch gegen den Geist des Anarchismus. Im Gegensatz zu andern sozialen Theorien stützt sich der Anarchismus nicht auf Klassen, sondern auf Menschen. Vielleicht bin ich im Irrtum, aber meine Meinung ist von jeher gewesen, daß der Anarchismus alle freiheitlichen Kräfte zum Kampf gegen die Autorität aufruft.

Daß die Beschränkung auf eine Propaganda lediglich unter den Unterdrückten nicht immer die gewünschten Ergebnisse zeitigt, das wird durch mehr als eine geschichtliche Tatsache bewiesen. Unsere Kameraden in Chicago agitierten nur unter den Arbeitern; sie gaben für Wahrheit freudig ihr Leben für die Unterdrückten. Wo waren die während der furchtbaren achtzehn Monate der Justizkomödie? Sind nicht die Anarchisten von Chicago gerade von der Organisation, die Parsons und Spieß mitgegründet hatten, den Rittern der Arbeit schändlich verraten worden? Und ist nicht der Geist jener Zeit in die Kanäle des Konservatismus geflossen, wie ihn die amerikanische Föderation der Arbeit vertritt?

Johann Most wirkte fünfundzwanzig Jahre lang ausschließlich unter den Arbeitern. Er war ganz gewiß nie auf der Suche nach den »Gebildeten«. In der Tat, je ärmer und erbärmlicher die Zuhörerschaft war, um so prachtvoller war Mosts Beredsamkeit. Wo sind die Ergebnisse seiner Propaganda? Warum war der Mann in den letzten Jahren seiner Tätigkeit so maßlos vereinsamt? Warum kann die »Freiheit« trotz allen verzweifelten Anstrengungen nicht am Leben gehalten werden?

Ich meine, die Antwort ist nicht schwer. Der Grund liegt gerade in der Beschränkung auf eine ausschließlich proletarische Propaganda. Jawohl, das ist nach meiner Ueberzeugung die Ursache, warum wir in der Vergangenheit so wenig vorwärts gekommen sind. Der wirtschaftliche Faktor kommt ohne Frage sehr in Betracht. Er bewirkt es sicherlich, daß viele Radikale in dem Augenblick, wo es ihnen besser geht, ihre Ideale verlieren. Hunderte von Anarchisten, Sozialisten und wütenden Revolutionären, die vor 20 Jahren glühende Kämpfer waren, sind jetzt echte und rechte Philister geworden, viel schlimmere als viele unter den Angehörigen der »oberen« Klassen, an die wir uns wenden sollen. Das sollte jedoch den echten Propagandisten nicht entmutigen, unter den Enterbten zu wirken, nur sollte es ihnen die entscheidende Lehre beibringen, daß geistiger Hunger und geistige Ruhelosigkeit oft die dauerhaftesten Vorwärtsbeweger sind.

Der Anarchismus schließt keinen aus und gibt keinem Brief und Siegel oder Privileg auf Wahrheit und Schönheit. Vor allem ist zu sagen, daß der Anarchismus, wie ich ihn verstehe, es jedem freistellt, für welche Art der Tätigkeit er sich entscheiden will. Die Entscheidung kann jederzeit nur von dem individuellen Urteil, der Erfahrung und den geistigen Neigungen des Einzelnen getroffen werden. In der anarchistischen Bewegung ist für jeden Platz, der ernsthaft am Sturz der autoritären Gewalt, der physischen wie der geistigen, zu arbeiten begehrt

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

815

890221002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Gracious! We're All Immoral, in Emma's Opinion / Emma Goldman.– p. 22 ; 43 cm. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch. –(March 2, 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

kicked down the hill to the Missouri Pacific station. Phelps made his campaign on the platform that the railroads were discriminating against noncompetitive points and soon after he reached the Legislature he introduced a bill to prohibit the railroads from charging a greater rate between noncompetitive points than between competitive points.

Promised Action in 60 Days.

In his campaign Phelps told an audience at Jasper, a small town in his district, that he would have this bill passed by both houses within 60 days after the session opened.

"If I don't," Phelps told his audience, I will consent to be kicked from the top step of the Capitol down to the railroad station and out of Jefferson City. I will even agree to hire a darky to do the kicking."

Phelps' bill was passed by both houses in 54 days.

"Senators told me they did not think I would look well after I reached the bottom of the hill," Phelps said today, "and decided to pass it without opposition. It was a personal favor to me and I am saved the humiliation of a quick exit from the Capitol."

GRACIOUS! WE'RE ALL IMMORAL, IN EMMA'S OPINION

Women Blush a Bit at Goldman Free Love Lecture, but Manage to Stay Through.

Emma Goldman, in her lecture before a large audience of men and women in Recital Hall at the Odeon, Wednesday night, told her hearers what love is.

Here is her definition:

"Love is the strongest and deepest element in life, the harbinger of hope, of joy, of ecstasy, the defier of all laws, of all conventions, the freest and most powerful molder of human destiny, with power to transform the beggar into a king and the king into a beggar."

Some of Miss Goldman's expressions of her opinion of matrimony and so-called morality were calculated to startle a mixed audience. She took pains to explain this particular lecture, "Victims of Morality," has never been printed, because it would not be permitted to go through the mails.

Miss Goldman told her hearers that matriage and love may have nothing in common. Matrimony, she said, is not needed to sanctify love, and it is love alone that can sanctify matrimony. Absolute morality, she said, does not exist, and there are as many moralities as there are privileged interests.

She compared men and women who are forced to remain single to the monks and nuns of old. She said those who have never loved have never lived, and that lack of money on which to marry should be no bar to love.

Some of the women in the audience were visibly embarrassed while the high priestess of anarchy was voicing her well-known free-love theories, but they all stayed.

Miss Goldman will speak Thursday night at the Wednesday Club on Galsworthy's prison drama, "Justice."

Busy Bee Bargain Day Tomorrow. Assorted Caramels and Nougats, 20c lb.

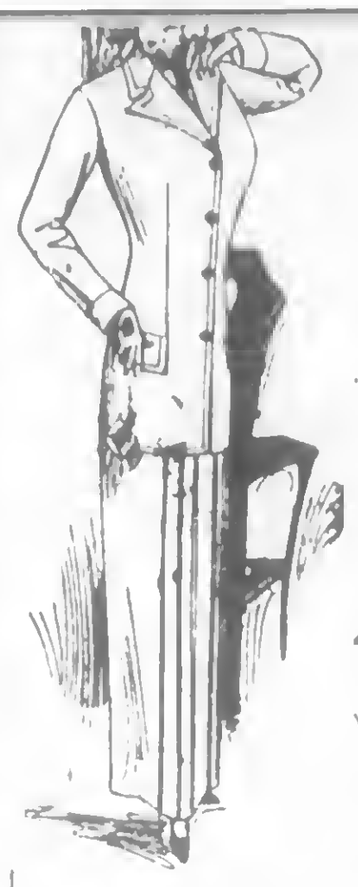
WANTS TO STOP PAYING ALIMONY

Wife Reconciled Will Not Consent Unless She Gets a House.

Carnot S. Williamson filed a motion in Judge Fisher's court Thursday to compel his wife, Mrs. Ida L. Williamson, to dismiss her maintenance suit against him. He wishes also to be released from paying $100 a month alimony.

Williamson's petition says that he and his wife are reconciled and living together at 5159 Fairmount avenue. He says he is supporting her and providing for all her needs, and that he had paid to her $50 alimony, in accordance with a court's order, $30 of which he had to borrow.

He represented to the court that Mrs. Williamson is entirely satisfied, but upon the advice of her lawyer, George S.



Miss 9t. $18 Values Tomorrow, $8.95

These are positively the best Dresses ever offered at the price, they are made from exceptional quality taffetas in plain checked or striped patterns, also messalines, Peau de Cygne, broadcloth, etc.; also an assortment of fine lingeries, every Dress stylishly made and just the thing for spring wear; there are all shades and all sizes; you can't afford to miss this opportunity; at only $5.95

Suits—Regular $22.50 Values, $18.00

Just as a starter for the new season we are going to offer an assortment of beautiful new Spring Suits in several smart styles and in fabric materials such as plain or hard line serges, new Scotch novelties and mannish mixtures; every new spring shade is represented, the Coats are in the newest spring lengths and lined with Peau de Cygne; it will mean an actual saving to you of $7.50 by selecting your Suit now; $22.50 value $15.00

Another Lot of Those Skirts at $2.90, and This Will Positively Be the Last at This Price.

Made up in the best spring styles in all-wool Panamas, plain or basket serges, new mannish mixtures; each Skirt beautifully tailored; 6, 7 and 8-gored effects; we have just a limited quantity of these to offer at this price; you can find any color you desire, and while the lot lasts tomorrow the price will be $2.90

Suspenders

Friday we will sell the well-known Police and Firemen's Suspenders at the unheard of price (Main Floor, Aisle 14) 15c

50c Ladies Petticoats

Made of splendid washable seersucker gingham; we have them in neat blue and white stripes; all lengths; made extra full, with good tailored flounce; special (Second Floor) only 34c

$1.00 Allover Lace

Allover Lace and Embroidery Remnants in lengths from ½ to ¾ yard. These sold from 98c to $2.49 per yard. Friday's sale price (Main Floor, Aisle 5), each 25c

29c Corset Covering

18-in. Embroidered Flouncing and Corset Covering, deep floral and eyelet patterns on Swiss, nainsook and cambric centers, short lengths and slightly soiled; special for Friday's selling, per yard 15c

$1.69 Cotton Marquisette

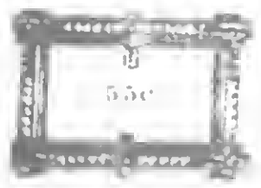
Fine quality of cotton Marquisette, in white, cream, black and pink, full 42-in. wide, the most desirable spring and summer fabric for waists and dresses, regular $1.69 values, per yard 59c

$3 and $3.50 L

Ladies' Sample Shoes, Oxfords and Pumps from the Hamilton-Brown Shoe Co., in patent colt, gunmetal, vici kid and Russia tan, in a great variety of styles; both lace and button. It will be economy to purchase two and three pairs at this price; remember the values are $3 and $3.50; on sale (Main Floor, Shoe Dept.)

$1 Children's Shoes—Children's patent colt and vici kid Shoes, lace and button; black, red or white tops; regular $1.00 values, at ..

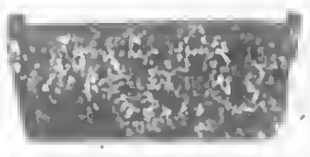
Poultry Wire: 200 feet, 4 feet high, per roll 98c



$3.00 Adjustable Pin Curtain Stretcher, nickel pins; 6x12 size. Monday 98c

Clothes Poles, metal ends 9c

Wash Boards, good sizes 12c



Again we will place on sale 5 dozen of our large size Clothes Baskets 75c value 39c

Special, 8:30 to 10:30 a. m.—15 bars Laundry Soap, no phone orders 25c

Parlor Brooms; positively a 35c 4-sew Parlor Broom 21c



$30 Value $9.9

Friday we will continue to sell these high grade Axminster our regular $20, $25 and $30 lines; come in all the latest ental and medallions; these Rugs are slightly mismatched teed first class; only one Rug to a customer; special, while (No mail orders filled at this price.)

Seamless Brussels Rugs; all wool face; come in bright, cheerful patterns; worth and sold for $15.00 and up special, Friday $6.98

$25.00 Wilton Velvet Rugs; 9x12 ft.; rich floral, Oriental and medallion designs, also two-tone red and green; special, Friday $12.50

$35.00 Axminster, Parl 9x12 feet; rich floral, and medallion de signs, guaranteed perfect, special .... $

$40.00 Smith's Seamless Rugs, 9x12 feet, late patterns Oriental, m also two tone red and greens, special Friday $

More Lace Curtain Opportunities

Beautiful Cable Nets, Nottinghams and madras, in a large variety of designs, in both centers and borders; full 60 inches by 3½ yards; in colors of Arabian, ivory, ecru and white; Friday, per pair $1.98

Extra bargains in Rops Portieres of velvet chenille, for single doors; long and short 98c

Mission designs in Rops and Banded Portieres, for single or double doorways; red and green or combination; wonderful bargains $1.49

Large assortment of Framed Pictures; less window) ..... 10c Up

Solid Metal Photo Frames, while they last 10c

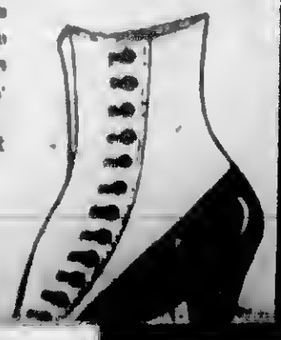
85c Linoleum, 4 Yards Wide 39c

This Linoleum is extra heavy quality and is special for Friday only, per yard

Fruit of the Loom, 6½c Frida

$2.50 and $3 Ladies' Shoes

One of the largest factories of the East closed out to us about the largest quantity of Ladies' Shoes and Oxfords purchased by any concern; never since our existence have we offered values at such prices; nice, clean, perfect stock, strictly up to date styles; not a Shoe in the lot worth less than $2.50; in patent tip, patent leather, vici



5c Val. and Torchon Laces, Friday at half price (Basement) ..

25c Corset Covering and Embroidery Flouncing, up to 18 inches wide (Basement), yard .. 15c

8½c Unbleached Sheeting, good, round thread; yard .. 5c

5c Sateen Remnants, all colors; Friday (Basement), yd. 5c

25c Silk Remnants; a good assortment of Silk Remnants; yard 15c

3 O'Clock Spe

(No Phone or Mail orders filled.)

816

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890529007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Anarchism and Socialism Defined / Emma Goldman.– p. 18 ; 44 cm. *In* The Herald of Revolt [London]. –Vol. 1, no. 5 (April 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

authority. In Germany there is much more State Socialism than here. What you must demand is not less Socialism but more, so Grayson is your choice."

So that Grayson, State Socialism, and Imperial Militarism go hand-in-hand. Hyndmania, therefore, is only an expression of British jingoism. Yet this "Grand Old Man" poses as "the friend of India." He cares as much for India as he does for the Balkan war and the British proletariat. Nor is this mere rhetoric, mere abstract logic. Have we not witnessed Blatchford becoming the third person in this delightful trinity, tragically crying for "a man—a Lord Kitchener—a military despot." We respectfully commend this fact to the attention of persons who claim that Social Democrats and their "Socialist" allies of the Blatchford type "are acting in accordance with the principles laid down by Marx." We suggest that Social Democrats who are so engrossed as to ignore the class struggle, as to ignore the progressive aggrandisement of the working class, as to ignore the identity of interests of workers and capitalists, as to ignore the antagonistic interests of workers and capitalists, as to ignore the class war, as to believe in the mutual interests of all classes, as to believe in political action, as to believe in Socialism by Act of Parliament, are what, as students of Marx, they must be described as—absolutely nothing.

In Germany the Socialists are organised in a political party, and there are individual members in the Reichstag. But Germany is a strong Social Democratic party, but because the workers are sweated and are overworked, because they are subject to military tyranny. And Germany, in spite of Bebel notwithstanding, cannot by any stretch of the imagination be the menace of Europe.

In France Socialists organise as Socialists, Anarchists as Anarchists, Industrial unionists as Industrialists, Parliamentarians as Parliamentarians, Militarism is the workers' gospel as against the Prussian idea. Conscription exists here as in Germany. But France is not a menace to Europe. Why? Because the French workers are not law bound, and the German are.

The Social Democratic movement is a political movement in Germany, and it has striven to secure political power. It has done nothing to benefit the condition of the workers. Its ultimate object is the perpetuation of capitalist society. As to this we have the declaration contained in the article of many years ago, published in *Justice* for December 24th, 1910, page 4. Here we are told that the Social Democratic voter has to kill off Liberal and Labour parties one at a time, and the Liberal first. "It is the interests of the Tories that for some time to come we shall have to look after," says the editorial scribe. "At present our interests are the interests of the Socialist movement." Yet in Battersea, Social Democrats split the Tory vote at Battersea, and returned Jones with a bigger majority than ever. Only eleven years ago the Social Democrats voted for Burns although they were not Socialists. Their class five years previously. Social Democracy, therefore, seems to be a slow tune. When the workers understand it the farce will cease, and the funeral march of Capitalism will be played at a jog-trot.

Anarchism and Socialism Defined.

BY EMMA GOLDMAN.

"While it is true that I am an Anarchist, I am also a Socialist," said our comrade Emma Goldman recently to a representative of the Belleville *News Democrat*. "All Anarchists," she continued, "are Socialists, but not all Socialists are Anarchists. Anarchism is the higher form of Socialism. All Socialists who think and grow will be forced to the Anarchist conclusion. Anarchism is the inevitable goal of Socialism. We Anarchists believe in the socialisation of wealth, land, and the means of production. . . . We believe in the revolution. The founders of Socialism believed in it. Karl Marx believed in it. All thinking Socialists of to-day believe in it.".

Continuing, Emma Goldman said that "all true Socialism stands for the abolition of Government, whether it be in Monarchies or Republics, as well as for the abolition of the marriage ceremony, and a complete revolution of the present family relation and life."

She also pointed out that "in the true Socialist *regime* there is no place for the church, nor yet for any form of religious dogma based on the Jewish Bible, the New Testament, or other ancient book."

"Parliamentarians," she added, "are not Socialists at all, but politicians. Their only purpose in the world is to get the old politicians out, in order that they might work themselves into their places. In their mad effort to get office, they deny their birthright for a mess of pottage, and sacrifice their true principles and real convictions on the political altar of politics."

An Incident and an Inspiration.

The Homestead strike of July, 1892, was caused by the direct reductions of the Amalgamated Steel and Ironworkers, whose wages were literally owned by Carnegie and controlled by Frick, his chief superintendent. The barracks the workers lived in, the stores they purchased food, tools, and clothing at, were Carnegie's. When the strike came Frick engaged a number of Pinkerton's men, at two dollars a day, smuggled them into Homestead, and gave them orders to shoot to kill. On the 6th of July these armed hirelings charged upon a crowd of men and women, killing several and wounding many more. The strikers bravely rallied, and succeeded in driving them, however. Frick then called upon the Governor [illegible] to protect his property. [illegible] complied with [illegible] the latter was being sent down [illegible] the Pinkertons. This represented [illegible] for their services [illegible] Frick [illegible] strikers on [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

840514099

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. — pp. 50-55 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 6, no. 2 (April 1, 1911).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ON THE TRAIL

LEST our friends fear that I am in danger of becoming respectable, I wish to inform them that I am still under the protective wing of the police.

STAUNTON, Ill., has proved that police interference may occasionally be deferred, but that it has ceased—never.

At the station in Staunton I was met in a manner befitting a queen, a detachment of police on hand to pay me homage. A few comrades were also there to bring the tidings that the meetings had been suppressed, but that another hall was hastely secured where I might try to speak.

Onward we marched like Tennyson's six hundred, police in front of us, back of us, and on the side of us. The hall was quickly filled, but as the guardians of disorder were bent on stopping the meeting, they arrested Comrade Kobcinell who had come with me from St. Louis, our champion literature man having preceded me to Milwaukee. The crime of Kobcinell consisted in selling books without a license,—a wretched police pretext to create a disturbance; but these stupids made their calculation without taking into account Anarchist determination. Of course, our comrade had to be escorted to the police station, but on learning his fate ($200 bond), I raced back to the hall where the audience had been waiting patiently. The police made all kinds of threats, but I spoke on that most reviled of all ideas, Anarchism. I then called for volunteers to go on the bond, and the response came without much ado.

After the usual red tape Kobcinell was released to appear for trial later on. We then held a German gathering in a private house, attended by quite a crowd, regardless of a two-mile tramp through Staunton mud. A collection was taken to cover the loss of the meeting, to which everyone present contributed.

Comrade Kobcinell was dragged back and forth from St. Louis to Staunton, and finally condemned to pay $17.50 fine, although $5 is the legal fine for the offense. Considering that the purchaser of the prohibited article was a detective, our friends will realize that the punishment was not in excess of the crime. Besides, what

is the law if not a most contemptible trap for innocent victims, to feed hungry parasites? If not for the disappointment of Comrade Kurnik, who worked faithfully for the success of the meetings, and the great number of miners who had come from afar, I should have enjoyed the experience. Not that I need proof for the devotion of the police. I know only too well that there will always be a chance to exchange the hotel for the station house; therefore there is no danger of being spoiled.

Too bad Diogenes lived in the long ago; else he might have discovered a man in BELLVILLE, Ill. Unfortunately, the man happens to be the mayor of the town—a most unique specimen in American political life. Though, perhaps, not so brilliant as Brand Whitlock, Mayor Kern is none the less unusually well-informed and progressive. His library would make the mouth water of every literary gourmant. But above all, this strange man is remarkably courageous and liberal. I wonder why such people will continue in the political swamp? It must be that the American, like the Schwab, cuts his wisdom teeth at a late age. The truth is, most Americans are sadly deficient in the political wisdom teeth.

MILWAUKEE! Hurrah! The millennium has come. Red flags waving; bands playing the inspiring strains of the Marseillaise; men, women, and children in festive attire; no policeman, no patrol-wagon, no prison, nothing but clas-conscious Comrade Seidel-Berger to look after their flock.

Behüt' dich Gott,
Es wär' so schön gewesen;
Behüt' dich Gott,
Es hatt' nicht sollen sein.

Seriously, has anything been changed with the ascendency of the Socialist régime? Yes, Mayor Seidel has declared that the only way the 25,000 unemployed in Milwaukee can be helped now, is to cut the salaries of all the city employees. Really, now? *All* city employees, including also Mayor Seidel, Congressman Berger and the rest of the official staff? Nixie. No such class-consciousness for theirs. By city employees

818

840514099

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. — pp. 50-55 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 6, no. 2 (April 1, 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

only the two-dollar-a-day wretches are meant. Surely the Seidels and Genossen are not expected to share their hard-earned thousands with slum proletarians. The latter must starve until economic determinism will determine the entire machinery of government into the hands of Socialist politicians.

Poor stupid voter! If you will believe in heaven before election, don't complain if you get hell afterwards.

However, so long as Milwaukee is being purified, nothing else matters. Listen, ye abused wives! Flock to Milwaukee, the beautiful paradise. Here your wayward husbands will be brought back to you from any part of the State or country; here they will be forced to love and feed you, and—if they balk, to jail with them, and don't you forget it.

And you, mothers, desirous to protect your daughters from temptation, the Municipal Dance Hall is waiting for them, with Grannie Berger to watch over them. As to the Hoboes of the land, Milwaukee is their salvation. Ninety days for vagrancy. Come all ye that are heavily laden and poor in spirit. The Kingdom of Heaven is here, in Milwaukee. Amen.

Our meetings were not very large, but who would expect much in the land of the proletarian's heart's desire. Our Comrades Kopczynski and German must have mustered up the inhabitants of hell, the only place where people still interest themselves in revolutionary ideas; for the rest, all is castor oil with honey.

MADISON, Wis. Last year our visit caused quite a rumpus, a would-be newspaper, the *Democrat*, suddenly having discovered no end of "Anarchist explosives" among the professors. And all because the most progressive of them all, Prof. Ross, dared to announce my lecture from his rostrum. The idea of an American professor owning his soul is too awful.

Whether it was in consequence of the attack of last year, or the fact that the legislature was to be coaxed into an appropriation for the university, the professorial gentlemen "behaved" this time. Our ad was refused by the college paper. After all, professors too must eat, and the State being the employer of these good men, they must submit.

The students were not deterred; they came in much larger numbers than last year. Altogether at least a thousand students attended our three lectures. I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that if ever solidarity between the workers and the American *intelligenzia* is established, Madison will furnish the largest share.

DULUTH, Minn., was new territory, but it proved worth the effort. Two good meetings and a large quantity of literature will, no doubt, help to prepare the path for future activities.

ST. PAUL, Minn., was an unlucky number on our itinerary, everything going wrong in that city. Meeting dates mixed, the hall refused at the last moment, and a sudden spell of cold to accentuate the frost of the situation. But the North Pole itself could not paralyze Benjamin's ardor. One meeting was arranged, and survived.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., proved the usual standpatter, only more so, owing to the zeal of our Comrades Kraemer, Axelson, and Ruth Olsen. They canvassed the city so carefully that naught but success was possible. We had six meetings, the last for the students of the University of Minnesota, and every lecture was well attended. Out of our week's work resulted the Social Alliance Club, which is to carry on regular propaganda work in Minneapolis. Nearly a hundred friends joined, some money was collected, and a series of lectures arranged which will be held at McElcroy's Hall, Nicollet and 7th Streets. MOTHER EARTH and other Anarchist literature will be on sale at these meetings.

That there is need for such a club in Minneapolis can be seen from the fact that a number of Socialists, tired of the party discipline and despotism, lost no time in joining our group. The Socialist party is fast drawing its lines closer against individual effort, so that anyone daring to breathe freely is made to go.

One of their ablest men, the editor of *The New Time*, a little Socialist sheet, was severely censured for bringing the announcement of our meetings, and when the same man, Caspar Richman, dared to suggest that the monsters who had flogged and tortured the victims

819

840514099

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 50-55 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 2 (April 1, 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

of the Red Wing Reform School should be chased into eternity, the brave party held up the entire number and declared war on the editor.

One need not have a prophetic eye to see that the discontent brewing in the party ranks will one of these days cause quite an explosion.

Groups of young artists, living a careless Bohemian life, with ideals for breakfast, paints and brushes for luncheon, and sunsets for supper, are the usual thing in Europe. But to find such a circle in America, living their ideals and caring naught for dollars and cents, is indeed a great event.

The spirit of this extraordinary little band in the Studio of Minneapolis is an American girl, though of foreign parentage, Ruth Olsen. At her age the average American girl dreams only of a good match and nice clothes. Not so our young artist. Breezy and free as the western plains, she is yet deeply absorbed in the most serious problems of life. She is on familiar terms with the best literature of the world and passionately devoted to art.

With her are two other girls and several young men, the insurgents of the Minneapolis Art School, which they have left in protest against its lack of freedom. As Ruth justly says, all great art is Anarchism, the freedom of expression. These young rebels have their own studio where they paint, dream, plan, and live on sandwiches and spaghetti in the most exquisite spirit of mutual helpfulness and solidarity. With more of this idealism, the youth of America, too, may some day, even like the heroes of Russia, give life a different meaning than what it has with us to-day.

OMAHA, Neb., has never been a stormer. But our small group of friends have remained staunch. Among them, Fred Tomson was more than usually helpful in arranging three meetings in the theatre of which he is the lessee.

The treat of Omaha is dear Mother Fageberg with her five daughters—so full of harmony and good comradship as only true freedom can inspire. The Fagebergs are old radicals who were counted among the many that mourned the death of our martyrs of '87. But unlike so many others, Mother Fageberg has remained true and free. How wonderful old age can be if surounded by harmony, Mother Fageberg is demonstrating. At seventy her spirit is as strong and undaunted as if she were a young rebel. With it goes so much sweetness and humanity that captivates everyone's heart.

LINCOLN, Neb., Bryan's town. Judging by the mess this erstwhile American savior has made of himself, Lincoln has nothing to boast of. To us the city was virgin soil, but with usual insistence her maidenly shyness was soon overcome. Our two meetings attracted all sorts and conditions of men and women, mainly students, however.

The miracle of miracles happened there. The law students, usually among the most conservative, invited me to speak before them, and showed genuine interest in the question of law, crime, punishment, etc. I am not optimistic enough to believe that any of the men will give up the carcer of lawyer. It's too good a business, this juggling with legal phrases. But that law students will stand for Anarchistic ideas, is a significant sign of the times.

Altogether, the Trail is discovering to us a great many vistas, all ready to be explored.

After Kansas we go to Denver, 14th—19th of April; Salt Lake City, 22nd—26th.

Beginning May 1st for 10 days at Los Angeles, then San Diego; Fresno, between 11th—15th of May. After that San Francisco.

On then, ever onward.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

ANARCHIST—A believer in Anarchism; one opposed to all forms of coercive government and invasive authority; an advocate of Anarchy, or absence of government, as the ideal of political liberty and social harmony.

820

840803000

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Mexican Revolution / Emma Goldman.— p. 4 ; 22 cm. *In* The Agitator [Home, Wa.]. —Vol. 1, no. 11 (April 15, 1911).

Obtained from from the private collection of Dr. Pietro Ferrua, Portland, Oregon.

11:3334821

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION.

The following letters speak for themselves, and should make special appeal to all workers and opponents of slavery:

Office of the Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party, 519½ East Fourth Street.

Los Angeles, Cal., U. S. A., March 13, 1911.

Emma Goldman, 210 E. 13th St., New York City, N. Y.:

Dear Friend and Fellow-Fighter in the Cause of Human Liberty—I write urging you to exercise on behalf of my countrymen in Mexico the influence you wield over a large section of the American public. Need I spend my breath in telling you that we are fighting the world-wide battle of human emancipation; that our cause is your cause; that we are struggling for what every intelligent man and woman knows as being absolutely indispensible for human happiness and development? I think I need not.

It is well known—has been proved beyond all peradventure of doubt—that, at the behest of the money power, hundreds of thousands of my countrymen have been driven from the lands on and by which they and their forefathers had lived since our history began. Thus they have been forced into such hells as the rubber plantations of the Valle Nacional and the hemp plantations of Yucatan, or driven into exile across the American border, where they struggle desperately for a starvation wage. Somehow or other men and women must live; or, at least, try to live.

What will become of these millions of men, women and children if the money power has its way? What will be the result if it succeeds

not; indeed I know you cannot be.

Yours for human emancipation,

R. FLORES MAGON.

---

210 East Thirteenth Street, New York City.
March 19, 1911.

Dear Friend—Enclosed is copy of letter received from Ricardo Flores Magon, president of the "Junta" of the Mexican Liberty Party. It speaks for itself and makes, to me at least, irresistible appeal.

The leading facts connected with the Mexican revolution are well known, thanks largely to the measures taken recently by the government of the United States, at the behest of Wall Street. Through countless articles and such well-authenticated books as Turner's "Barbarous Mexico," it has been proved beyond all doubt that slavery of an inconceivably brutal type is rampant in Mexico, and is supported mainly by American dollars. Thus this country has become once more a partner in that very chattel slavery which, less than two generations ago, it shed blood and treasure freely to overthrow, once and forever.

The American public would not tolerate for one moment that partnership if it understood the situation clearly; but it is being duped and misled daily by a press owned body and soul by the money power. Our struggle is against this terribly powerful combination, and, Herculean though the task may be, the education of the public is one imperative duty of the hour. Accordingly I urge you, above all things, to devote all the time and money you can spare to the education of the public on this Mexican

Editor The Agitator:

A copy of The Agitator reached me se
ago, and I was glad to note that you ar
things. I like your "Passing Show" and
general contents of the paper, and I sincer
that you will be able to reach a vast audi
your work so well deserves. Herein is encl
subscription for one year, and with best w
remain, yours fraternally, J.

Chicago.

Editor The Agitator:

My Dear Fox—The real news value
Agitator was most forcibly brought to
tention while reading the "biggest pa
the west" last Sunday.

To make sure that The Agitator wou
before the editors of the "Times," I
marked copy by one of their reporter
sult: a verbatim reprint of the Madero ex
article.

When I called the attention of this r
to the fact that The Agitator received no
for an item of news worth reprinting in
spicuous a part of the "Times," he s

"You can hardly expect a great d
give credit for a scoop to a weekly pap
an Anarchist publication at that. So we
the heading as a dispatch from Los An

You are giving us a real newspape
and more grease to your elbow.

S. T

Seattle, April 6th.

RECEIPTS

Wassilevsky, Silverburg, Colish, each $2; Co

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

821

840803000

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Mexican Revolution / Emma Goldman.— p. 4 ; 22 cm. *In* The Agitator [Home, Wa.]. —Vol. 1, no. 11 (April 15, 1911).

Obtained from from the private collection of Dr. Pietro Ferrua, Portland, Oregon.

What will become of these millions of men, women and children if the money power has its way? What will be the result if it succeeds in trampling them beneath the heel of militarism? And what will be the effect on the character and standing of the American nation if it suffers itself to be the obedient tool of the money power, and stands before the world the avowed defender of chattel slavery of the most atrocious type? Surely, to ask these questions is to answer them.

The American public does not understand; it cannot see the picture in its awful reality, for it is misled by the wilful misrepresentations of those who, having gigantic money interests at stake, are sparing no effort to delude it.

So long as the money power thought the struggle in Mexico was merely to displace one dictator with another it looked on indifferently; for such struggles have been frequent in the history of Latin peoples, and they alter nothing. But today it understands quite clearly that its own selfish interests are in the balance; that we are fighting for the restoration of millions and millions of acres of land, given away to foreign syndicates by the fraudulent connivance of Diaz' unspeakable government, and entirely without the consent of the rightful owners. It knows that the very thing anarchism is combating. Nor is he aware that anarchism destroys, not healthful tissue, but parasitic growths that feed on life's essence of society; that it is merely clearing the soil of weeds that it may eventually bear fruit.

Anarchism urges men to think, to investigate, to analyze every proposition, but that the brain capacity of the average man be not taxed too severely, the people; that we are determined that the poor shall come once more into what justly their own. Therefore today the money powers in America, backed by the money pow-

hour. Accordingly I urge you, above all things, to devote all the time and money you can spare to the education of the public on this Mexican question, doing so without delay, for time is precious.

Write to your friends; send letters and articles to the papers; use your own brains and think out for yourself the various ways in which you can be of service. And DO IT NOW.

MONEY MUST BE CONTRIBUTED, and for this we must look to an awakened public conscience. You will awaken that conscience best by yourself making sacrifices for this, which is our common cause.

Send all money and communications to "Regeneracion" (organ of the Mexican Liberal Party), 519½ E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Cal. You may rest assured that every cent will be expended honestly and judiciously, for these people thoroughly understand the situation and have proved their sincerity by years of exile, imprisonment and heroic labor.

FROM THE MAIL BAG.

Editor The Agitator:

Dear Comrade—At our last meeting we decided to assist The Agitator by sending you two dollars each quarter. I enclose herewith our first instalment of $2.00. With best wishes.

Fraternally,

M. GOODMAN,

Sec. Branch 160 Workmen's Circle.

Paterson, N. J.

Editor The Agitator:

Fellow Worker—Your letter to hand. In regard to The Agitator, there ain't any of our members left here to hold a meeting. They are all across the line with guns, thinking that the best way. Fellow worker Wm. Stanley has a commission as ca[p]tain in command. Enclosed

RECEIPTS

Wassilevsky, Silverburg, Colish, each $2; Cool Lazzar, Corona, Rosselmann, I. W. W. 437, Bro Soger, Skulick, Brothers, Kinley, Wishnar, Cane $1 Block, Parker, 50 cents Wood, 40 cents, Atzen Gentry, I. W. W. 68, I. W. W. 173, I.W. W. 31 25 cents Sounders, $1.

SOME VERY WORTHY PERIODICALS.

"SOLIDARITY."
A weekly revolutionary, working class paper.
Published by
P. O. Box 622, I. W. W.
NEWCASTLE, PA.

"MOTHER EAR"
Monthly Magazine D to Social Science and ature. 10c a copy. $1
EMMA GOLDMAN, Pu 210 E. 13th. S New York.

"FREEDOM"
A Monthly Journal of Anarchist Communism.
36c per year.
127 Ossulton Street, London, N. W., England

"INDUSTRIAL WORKER"
A Weekly A For Revolution dustrial Union
Published by I. W. 236 Main st. Spoka $1 a year. Foreign

For Sale—At Home—a two story frame house o rooms, bathroom, pantry and cellar, with two land, partially cleared. Well situated, commanc excellent view of bay and mountains. Full par may be had of THE AGITATOR.

For Sale—near Home! seventeen acres unclear front timber land, will divide. Apply to THE AGI

HENDERSON BAY ROUTE—Steamer Tyconda Commercial Dock, Tacoma, for all points on H son Bay, including Home, week days at 2:30 returning next morning. Sunday, at 8 a. m., ing same day.

NORTH BAY ROUTE—Steamer Tyee leaves mercial Dock, Tacoma, for all points on every Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 10 a. turning next morning.

LORENZ BROS., Own

Agents for THE AGITATOR.
Seattle: Jarrett's stand, 601 3rd Ave.; Eastm book store, 1522 First Ave.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

822

840803000

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Mexican Revolution / Emma Goldman.— p. 4 ; 22 cm. *In* The Agitator [Home, Wa.]. —Vol. 1, no. 11 (April 15, 1911).

Obtained from from the private collection of Dr. Pietro Ferrua, Portland, Oregon.

dictator with another it looked on indifferently; for such struggles have been frequent in the history of Latin peoples, and they alter nothing. But today it understands quite clearly that its own selfish interests are in the balance; that we are fighting for the restoration of millions and millions of acres of land, given away to foreign syndicates by the fraudulent connivance of Diaz' unspeakable government, and entirely without the consent of the rightful owners, the people; that we are determined that the poor shall come once more into what is justly their own. Therefore today the money powers in America, backed by the money powers of the world, are calling the American nation to arms.

Anarchism urges man to think, to investigate, to analyze every proposition, but that the brain capacity of the average man be not taxed too much it has condensed its conclusions into a few general principles. Anarchism is merely the result of the close study of the evolution of human society. It is the diagnosis of the political, economic and social ills that afflict humanity. It is the prognosis of the remedy. It is the therapeutic treatment. Anarchism is the philosophy of liberty. Anarchism is the philosophy of the future.

In such a crisis will you be silent? I think

may rest assured that every cent will be expended honestly and judiciously, for these people thoroughly understand the situation and have proved their sincerity by years of exile, imprisonment and heroic labor.

FROM THE MAIL BAG.

Editor The Agitator:

Dear Comrade—At our last meeting we decided to assist The Agitator by sending you two dollars each quarter. I enclose herewith our first instalment of $2.00. With best wishes.

Fraternally,

M. GOODMAN,

Sec. Branch 160 Workmen's Circle.

Paterson, N. J.

Editor The Agitator:

Fellow Worker—Your letter to hand. In regard to The Agitator, there ain't any of our members left here to hold a meeting. They are all across the line with guns, thinking that the best way. Fellow worker Wm. Stanley has a commission as captain in command. Enclosed find $1.00 for a year's subscription.

Yours for freedom,

THOMAS RYAN,

Hydesville, Calif.

"FREEDOM"

A Monthly Journal of Anarchist Communism.

36c per year.

127 Ossulton Street, London, N. W., England

INDUSTRIAL WORKER"

A Weekly A For Revolution dustrial Union Published by I. W. 236 Main st. Spoka $1 a year, Foreign

For Sale—In Home—a two story frame house o rooms, bathroom, pantry and cellar, with two l land, partially cleared. Well situated, commans excellent view of bay and mountains. Full par may be had of THE AGITATOR.

For Sale—near Home: seventeen acres uncleared front timber land; will divide. Apply to THE AG

HENDERSON BAY ROUTE—Steamer Tycondo Commercial Dock, Tacoma, for all points on H son Bay, including Home, week days at 2:30 returning next morning. Sunday, at 8 a. m., ing same day.

NORTH BAY ROUTE—Steamer Tyee leaves mercial Dock, Tacoma, for all points on No every Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 10 a. turning next morning.

LORENZ BROS., Own

Agents for THE AGITATOR.

Seattle: Lovell's Hand, 604 2nd Ave.; Searle book store, 1512 First Ave.

Lynn, Mass.: S. Cutler, 233 Union Street.

New York City: B. Vanderveer, 212 Henry St. Near the Grand Street

Winnipeg, Manitoba: [illegible] Ltd., 705 M

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

823

860506002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman in Hearty Sympathy / Emma Goldman. – 35 cm. *In* Regeneracion [Los Angeles]. – (April 22, 1911).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Library, California State University, Northridge.

are being distributed at all meetings held by Emma Goldman on her present western tour. The letter sent her runs as follows:

Dear Friend and Fellow-Fighter in the Cause of Human Liberty:—I write urging you to exercise on behalf of my countrymen in Mexico the influence you wield over a large section of the American public. Need I spend my breath in telling you that we are fighting the world-wide battle of human emancipation; that our cause is your cause; that we are struggling for what every intelligent man and woman knows as being absolutely indispensable for human happiness and development? I think I need not.

It is well known has been proved beyond all peradventure of doubt that, at the behest of the money power, hundreds of thousands of my countrymen have been driven from the lands on and by which they and their forefathers had lived since our history began. Thus they have been forced into such Hells as the tobacco plantations of the Valle Nacional and the hemp (plantations of Yucatan, or driven into exile across the American border, where they struggle desperately for a starvation wage. Somehow or other men and women must live—or, at least, try to live.

What will become of these millions of men and children if the money power has its way? What will be the result if it succeeds in trampling them beneath the heel of militarism? And what will be the effect on the character and standing of the American nation if it suffers itself to be the obedient tool of the money power, and stands before the world the avowed defender of chattel slavery of the most atrocious type? Surely, to ask those questions is to answer them.

The American public does not understand—it cannot see the picture in its awful reality, for it is misled by the wilful misrepresentations of those who, having gigantic money interests at stake, are sparing no effort to do [illegible] it.

So far as the money power thought the struggle in Mexico was merely to displace one dictator with another it looked on indifferently; for such struggles have been frequent in the history of Latin peoples, and they alter nothing. But today it understands quite clearly that its own selfish interests are in the balance; that we are fighting for the restoration of millions and millions of acres of land, given away to foreign syndicates by the fraudulent connivance of Diaz' unspeakable

Emma Goldman in hearty sympathy

We wage a campaign of education, not only through "Regeneracion" but by unremitting correspondence, especially with recognized leaders of radical thought. Recently we published the letters that have passed between Samuel Gompers and Ricardo Flores Magon, and that sent to Eugene V. Debs. This week we reproduce one written last month to Emma Goldman, and the whole-souled reply it immediately evoked. Copies of the correspondence, published in leaflet form,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

824

860506002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman in Hearty Sympathy / Emma Goldman.– 35 cm. *In* Regeneracion [Los Angeles]. –(April 22, 1911).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Library, California State University, Northridge.

WILLIAM C. OWEN

government, and entirely without the consent of the rightful owners, the people; that we are determined that the poor shall come once more into what is justly their own. Therefore today the money powers in America, backed by the money powers of the world, are calling the American nation to arms.

In such a crisis will you be silent? I think not, indeed I know you can not be.

Yours for human emancipation,

R. FLORES MAGON

In reply we received the following being a copy of a mimeographed letter Emma Goldman is mailing to all her correspondents. Jack London and other noted writers on the social question are pursuing a similar course. The letter follows:

Dear Friend: Enclosed is copy of letter received from Ricardo Flores Magon, president of the "Junta" of the Mexican Liberal Party. It speaks for itself and makes, to me at least, irresistible appeal.

The leading facts connected with the Mexican revolution are well known, thanks largely to the measures taken recently by the government of the United States, at the behest of Wall Street. Through countless articles and such well authenticated books as Turner's "Barbarous Mexico," it has been proved beyond all doubt that slavery of an unconceivably brutal type is rampant in Mexico, and is supported mainly by American dollars. Thus this country has become once more a partner in that very chattel slavery which, less than two generations ago, it shed blood and treasure freely to overthrow, once and forever.

forever.

The American public would not tolerate for one moment that partnership if it understood the situation clearly; but it is being duped and misled daily by a press owned body and soul by the money power. Our struggle is against this terribly powerful combination, and, Herculean though the task may be, the education of the public is the one imperative duty of the hour. Accordingly I urge you, above all things, to devote all the time and money you can spare to the education of the public on this Mexican question; doing so without delay, for time is precious.

Write to your friends; send letters and articles to the papers; use your own brains and think out for yourself the various ways in which you can be of service. And DO IT NOW.

MONEY MUST BE CONTRIBUTED and for this we must look to our awakened public conscience. You will awaken that conscience best by yourself making sacrifices for this, which is our common cause.

Send all money and communications to "Regeneracion," (organ of the Mexican Liberal Party), 519½ E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Cal. You may rest assured that every cent will be expended honestly and judiciously for these people thoroughly understand the situation and have proved their sincerity by years of exile, imprisonment and heroic labor.

This is not the special cause of Socialists, Anarchists, Single Taxers, Trades Unionists, or other individual wings of the great army of discontent. It is a straight case of millions of our fellow creatures having been driven from the lands on which they and their forefathers had lived for generations, in order that absentee syndicates may reap colossal fortunes by indescribable revolting slavery. I believe it to be the most brutal instance on record of absolutely heartless appropriation by that money power which worships the dollar alone, and is deaf, dumb and blind to the claims of human [illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

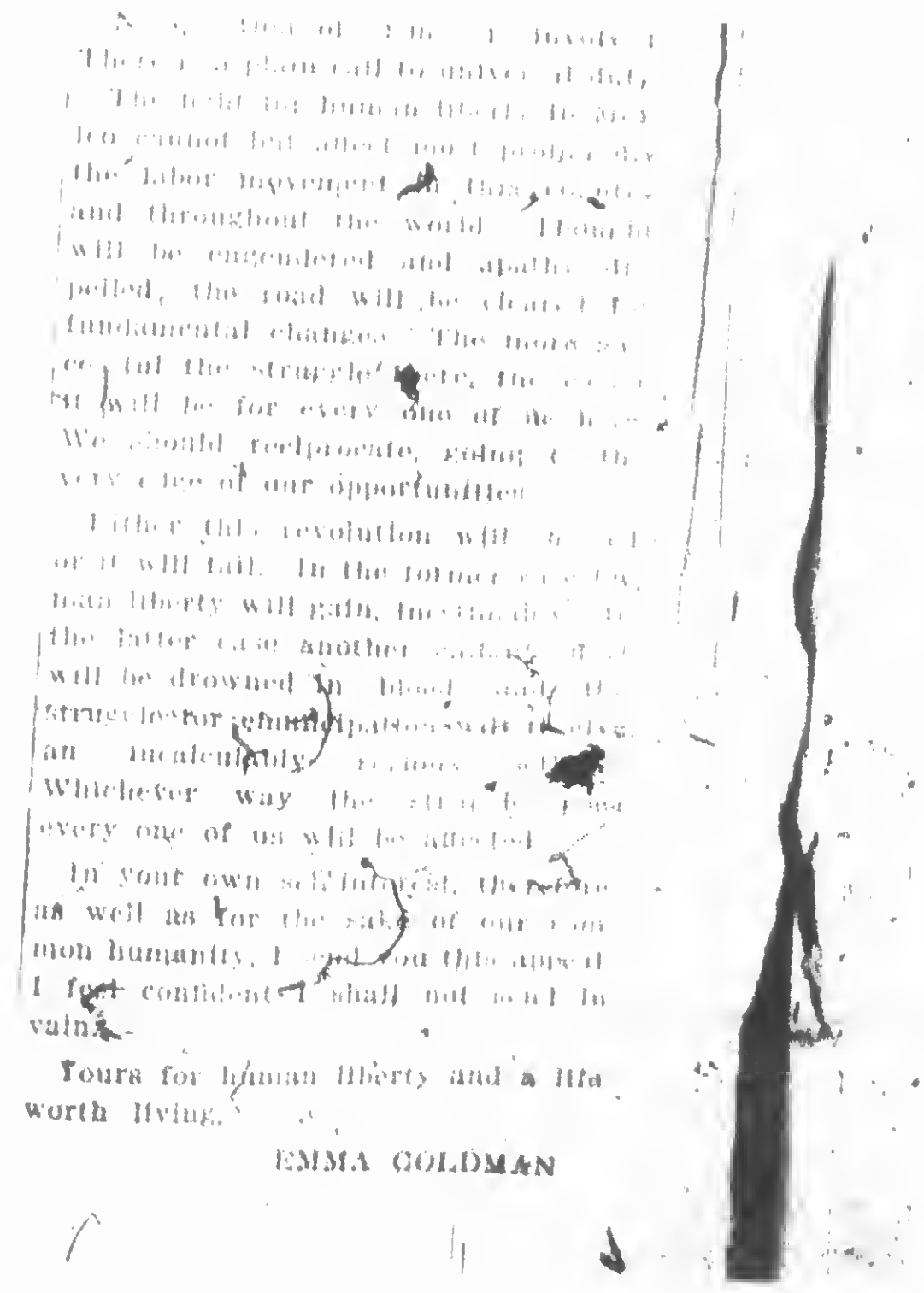
825

860506002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman in Hearty Sympathy / Emma Goldman.– 35 cm. *In* Regeneracion [Los Angeles]. –(April 22, 1911).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Library, California State University, Northridge.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

826

840514104

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. — p. 84 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 6, no. 3 (May, 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

kindly requested to turn them over, with money collected, to the treasurer of the Defence Committee.

A. B.

* * *

ON THE TRAIL

The present tour of Comrade Emma Goldman has been more than ordinarily strenuous, full of obstacles and trouble. For various reasons she could not prepare her monthly Odyssey for this issue of the magazine. Just before going to press we received the following telegram from our Comrade:

San Diego, Cal., May 9th, 1911.

The trail has been unusually difficult this month. Will therefore only convey the wonderful spirit in Los Angeles which is preparing to meet the dastardly conspiracy of capitalism. Verily the prophecy of August Spies that "Our silence will speak louder than the voices strangled to-day" is coming true. The voices speak loud and powerful in protest against the renewed attempt to throttle labor. To-day neither money nor power will succeed in repeating the crime of Eighteen Eighty-seven. The workers represent a mighty wall of splendid human solidarity. The Eternal Spirit of Revolution is at work everywhere, shaping the future as never before. Of the heroism now manifested in Mexico, of our own little hardships, I will write next month.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

THREE YEARS

Report of the Manager

By BEN L. REITMAN.

IT is now three years since I joined "Our Lady of Sorrow" in her work. When I first attempted to arrange a meeting for Emma Goldman in Chicago, I did not know what the Anarchist propaganda was like. I only knew that whomever the police hounded, persecuted, and attempted to suppress, was my friend. But after three years in the movement I sign with Kipling, "Oh God, what things are there, we have not done."

There are so many things of interest to our readers, that it is difficult to know where to begin. Whatever else Emma Goldman's life may be, it is never dull or monotonous, and any one who labors with her will have a choice variety of experiences.

The last three years found me at about five hundred of Emma Goldman's meetings, and there were no two alike. It is the exception and not the rule, that meetings are arranged in advance for us. I usually get to a town 48 to 60 hours in advance of the lecture. Many of our successful meetings have been arranged in 24 hours, but all of them are attended by much worry and excitement.

Emma Goldman is one of the few lecturers in the radical movement who can draw a fair-sized crowd, with a small notice in the daily paper, and a hand bill "Emma Goldman lectures to-night."

We have had all kinds of meeting places, some of her lectures were held in leading theatres, such as the El Paso Opera House, the Spokane Theatre, and the Illinois Theatre. It may be news to many to know that it is possible to book Emma Goldman at some of the leading theatres on a percentage basis, but it was only occasionally that we had the theatre; we usually spoke in one of the 57 varieties of lodge-halls. The Eagles Hall, the Owls Hall, the Elks, Odd Fellows, Masons, and most of the fraternal bodies with the exception of the Knights of Columbus, a Catholic organization, have sheltered us. We have frequently had the armory and the G. A. R. halls, now and then the voice of Anarchy has been heard in the church, and E. G. has had several audiences in Court Houses, sometimes as a prisoner and at other times as a lecturer. We have had barns, vacant lots, back rooms of saloons, and houses of the comrades for meeting places.

It is interesting to note that we have seldom had labor halls—there are not a half dozen of them in America that can be rented for Anarchist meetings, and yet many of the comrades complain that we are getting away from the working element.

Recently in St. Paul we rented the Federation of Labor hall. The secretary of that organization is a liberal man, but when the various unions which hold their

827

890331004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Comes to Preach "Anarchism" to I.W.W.'S / Emma Goldman.– p. 11 ; 28 cm. *In* The Fresno Morning Republican. –(May 14, 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ENCH COMEDY, WITH MISS AUDA DUE, LL OPEN AT EMPIRE TOMORROW NIGHT



a Due, the new leading lady of the Ed Redmond Company, who will make her debut at the Empire tomorrow night.

dia Due, the new leading lady of the company that will play with the Raymond company, will make [illegible] at the Empire tomorrow night in the strong [illegible] at the Empire theater. [illegible] the past house [illegible] is coming to Fresno with a reputation [illegible] engagement [illegible] with a stock company [illegible] Fresno with much success.

Her debut here will be in a leading [illegible] g role of "Let's Get a Divorce," a [illegible] an enjoyable [illegible] medy. James [illegible] triumph in "The [illegible] Candles," which [illegible] Miss Due will [illegible]

y leading lady will [illegible] pport by Ed Redmond [illegible] vorites. "Let's Get a Divorce" [illegible] the best comedies of the [illegible]

REEDLEY Y. M. C. A. ELECTS DIRECTORS

REEDLEY, May 13—At the meeting of the Young Men's Christian Association last night, the following were named as the directors of the local organization: Frank Frane, Carson Hied, Ernest Eymann, E. W. Crosby, A. H. Kellogg, A. E. McClanahan and C. F. Mueller. The board will meet in the near future and name a president, vice president, treasurer and secretary, who shall be the officers of the association for the ensuing year.

The annual picnic will be held in Reedley on next Tuesday afternoon and evening. The program, consisting of various athletic features, will begin at 2:30 in the afternoon. In the evening a campfire will be held, and a supper, consisting of beans and bread will be served. After the meal a literary program will be rendered, representatives of the Fowler, Kingsburg, Selma, Sanger and Reedley associations participating in the exercises.

Next Tuesday evening at the Methodist Episcopal church Rev. Oren R. Waite, D. D., conference superintendent of Sunday schools of the Southern California conference of the M. E. church, will deliver an address in keeping with his work and conduct a round table. Mr. Waite lives in Los Angeles and has as his field of labor all the territory from San Diego on the south to Madera on the north.

Deputy Sheriff Bottorff is confined to his home with an attack of ptomaine poisoning. The officer was seized with severe cramps last night while at the jail. He hurried home and summoned a physician. At a late hour Bottorff was resting easy and pronounced out of danger.

EMMA GOLDMAN COMES TO PREACH "ANARCHISM" TO I. W. W.'S

Female Agitator Full of Sympathy for Mexican Insurrectos.

Takes Contradictory Stand on Dynamiting Cases; Supports McNamara.

Emma Goldman arrived in Fresno yesterday afternoon to give a couple of lectures under the auspices of the I. W. W.'s. Miss Goldman was accompanied by her manager, Ben Reitman, who carries the big stick in business matters. Miss Goldman received several visitors at the Fulton hotel during the afternoon, but reserved the evening for her private labors. These consisted largely of keeping up with her correspondence, about which she seemed greatly concerned.

"I am glad to be in Fresno just now," she said. "The I. W. W. boys have made a good fight here, and have demonstrated the effectiveness of fall, stuffing as a method of waging such fights." Miss Goldman appeared somewhat worn by travel, although she hurried about and walked to the postoffice for her mail.

Her short almost slight figure was clothed in a plain traveling dress, and had her hair plainly combed back, showing her strong Balto-Slavic features with heavy brows, and large mouth and jaws. It was a face masculine rather than coarse, of the stern type of the battled against heavy odds.

She spoke part of th time in the technical language of semi-scientific books on sociology, and then in a lecture room; manner spoke of the "Mexican insurrectos and their American brothers," as she had met them at Tia Juana. "All the people of Mexico are against the dictator, they will win, and a free republic will be established. They are not well enough educated for anything more yet," she said.

Miss Goldman denied any design on her part to arrive in Los Angeles at the same time as the McNamara brothers. "We arrived there on the same afternoon, but it was just a coincident," she said. "I did not try to communicate with them. I never saw such concentrated solidarity on the part of the union men of the country to stand behind an accused member. I have heard many say they were for the accused men, right or wrong."

Miss Goldman talked with apparent pleasure of her girlhood, saying she was born in Russia, though of German parentage. At 3 she went with her parents to Germany, where she received a high school education. "I've knocked about this country a good bit," she said, "and I've learned what many a working man has learned—that the boasted freedom is a myth." There was a certain affability in her manner, when she warmed up to the subjects of human rights and wrongs. On the other hand, she said she could excuse a man for blowing up his fellow workers, while destroying a bitter opponent's property.

Miss Goldman will talk on "Anarchism at I. W. W. hall at 3 o'clock this afternoon. At 8 o'clock she will give her views on "Marriage and Love."

BICYCLE and MOTOCYCLE SUPPLIES

The goods you ought to have at the prices you ought to pay

We are headquarters for everything in the line of bicycle and motocycle accessories.

Diamond Bicycle Tires Guaranteed $1.70 Each, put on

Don't be skeptical in buying these tires because the price is low, as they are of standard construction.

Prest-O-Lite Tank for motorcycles	$8.00—regular	$10.00
Motocycle Lamps	$4.45—regular	$7.00
Ammeters	$1.50—regular	$2.00
Automobile Jacks	$1.50—regular	$2.50
10 lb. Can Carbide	75c—regular	$1.25
Nay Best Metal Polish	50c—regular	75c
Motocycle Oil, per gallon		60c
Skat, 10c can, 2 cans for		15c
Dry Batteries, each		25c

SEE OUR WINDOW.

DONAHOO-EMMONS & CO.
HARDWARE AND SPORTING GOODS,
1118 TO 1124 I STREET.

KEARNEY BOULEVARD HEIGHTS

$750 FREE $750

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

828

890331002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Talks at the I.W.W. Hall / Emma Goldman. – p. 10 ; 28 cm. *In* The Fresno Morning Republican. – (May 15, 1911).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

MANY FRESNANS LEAVING FOR THE EAST AND EUROPE SOON

Large Exodus to Follow Opening of the Tourist Season Tomorrow.

Visitors Bound Out for Europe Expect to See the Coronation.

The "back East" tourist season, to open tomorrow, will usher in a long period of travel for many Fresno people. The continuance of the season for five months, will make it possible for many persons to go to visit relatives and friends in "the native state, take in the sights of Washington and New York, spend a few months in Canada, on the cool St. Lawrence, and even go to Europe.

If those who have not read Mark Twain wish to take time to kneel at the tomb of Eloise and Abelard, they will have time, for the old 90-day rail limit is swept away. The open season for tourists will extend to October 1st.

The United States is still popular, however, for where a dozen may go to Europe, a hundred will go to Eastern states. Some are going to spend a few months telling Bill Jones in Missouri or Illinois, how they have found the West. Others are going to motor about among Eastern cities, and many will visit the old homestead, to take a tender look at it and wish they could remove it to sunny California. The advance sale of round trip tickets and reservations of berths has been heavier this year than ever before in the history of the West. Many more will go on the first or second day than on other days in this month. June, however, is usually the banner month, having a greater total number of departures than any other.

Among Fresnans bound for Europe leaving this week will be Frank H. Short and Mrs. Short, Mrs. Frank Rohnis, Mrs. Dr. J. D. Davidson, B. F. Shepherd and Mrs. Shepherd and daughter, George H. Smith and Mrs. Smith, T. W. Patterson, C. A. Paulden, Fred Northrup and Mrs. Northrup of Selma, Mrs. J. S. Jones and P. A. Borg. Most of the visitors to Europe expect to be present at the coronation of King George V in London.

OTHER WAYFARERS.

W. J. Dinkey will go to Chicago, taking his automobile with him. From there he will motor to New York with his wife. Later they will return by a northern route to Portland. George M. [illegible]

EMMA GOLDMAN TALKS AT THE I. W. W. HALL

Anarchist Leader Opposes Religion, Capitalism and Government.

"Anarchism and What It Stands For," was the subject of an address delivered by Emma Goldman, the American anarchist leader at the I. W. W. hall yesterday afternoon.

In opening her remarks, Miss Goldman made answer to two accusations that have been made against anarchism, one that it is right in the theory but is not practical, and the other that it resorts to violence to accomplish its ends. She denied that anarchists favored violence to put an end to governments but declared that the governments of today and capitalists have done violence and have killed hundreds of thousands in order to succeed.

Anarchism, she said, was opposed to religion, capitalism and government. She declared that religion was a cloak under which wealth protected itself and was permitted to do wrong. She declared that the capitalists rob and kill to acquire their ends and that they are assisted by government.

She declared that the way to abolish government was not to take the office holders out but to get rid of the office. She further declared that when religion, capitalism and government seek to tear down and destroy, anarchism seeks to build up and preserve human lives.

"Our dynamite for blowing up governments, is our literature and our books," asserted Miss Goldman. "We propose to seek, by means of education, to show the working classes where they are wrong and how they may right these wrongs."

In the course of her remarks on religion, she said anarchists were opposed to the religion of today because it is upon this religion that the present government are founded and until this religion is destroyed, she asserted the governments cannot be destroyed.

Miss Goldman was very vehement toward existing conditions and even went so far as to predict a revolution similar to that now going on in Mexico, in the United States. She urged a general strike of workingmen throughout the country to break the power of capital.

In the evening Miss Goldman delivered an address on "Love and Marriage," discussing matrimony from the point of view of an anarchist. She leaves today for Oakland and San Francisco, where she will remain for about ten days, when she expects to return to Fresno.

BELIEVE $400 MADE BY SCHOOL PLAYFEST

DELUGE OF ADDRESSES OPENS ANTI-SALOON CONVENTION

Local Committees to Carry on Fight Will Be Appointed Today.

Meetings Close Tonight With Talk on Liquor Traffic.

The Anti-Saloon League convention of the central counties of the San Joaquin valley, began here today with a series of meetings in charge of the churches of the city. The only reason why the league superintendents did not offer to deliver an address at all the churches, said one of the superintendents last night, was because there did not have enough men to go around. In the morning, Rev. D. M. Gardner, the league's superintendent, spoke at the First Baptist church; Rev. A. C. Barnes, district superintendent, spoke at the First Presbyterian church; Rev. T. H. Lawson, district superintendent of the Northwest district, at the North Side Christian church; Rev. I. B. Bristol of the Central district, spoke at the United Presbyterian church. An afternoon meeting at which all spoke, was held at the Star theater. About 300 persons were present.

The evening services were conducted at the First Christian church by Rev. Lawson; at St. Paul's by Rev. Bristol; at Calvary Presbyterian by D. M. Gardner, at Belmont Avenue Presbyterian by I. B. Bristol.

COME FROM MERCED.

Two automobile loads of men came from Merced last night to be present at the convention today. Part of them are business men. They are here to gain ideas for keeping up a fight on saloons. A few delegates from other towns have arrived, and more are coming today. The territory covered by the central district embraces Madera, Merced, Fresno, Kings and Tulare counties. Excursion rates are in effect on the railways.

The date for beginning the anti-saloon fight in this district will be decided upon this afternoon. One man from the West Side yesterday wanted the campaign to begin at once. It is almost certain not to begin before June 3, and there is a possibility that the summer months may be allowed to pass by first. There are many delegates who will advocate putting off the fight until September. The state officials are willing to accede to this, if it is the will of the local delegates.

This morning [illegible] superintendent will meet to [illegible]

CRY OF FIRE RAISED IN PICTURE THEATER

Audience Rushes for Exits; Smoke From Gas Works Causes Scare.

Patrons of a [illegible] in the Ryan building on the corner of F and Tulare streets were thrown into a panic last night [illegible] o'clock when a cry of fire was raised. A man in the audience saw smoke pouring into the main portion of the theater from the [illegible] thinking the place was afire, gave the alarm. The audience arose in a wild dash for the exits and [illegible] excitedly pulled the street box at the corner of F and Tulare streets.

When the engines arrived, it was found that the smoke was in the theater had come from the gas works near by. The [illegible] of the theater had been left open and the smoke came in through that entrance. There was no sign of fire in the playhouse.

Although members of the audience made a wild scramble to get out of the theater, no one was injured and after calm had once more been restored, the show was resumed.

MRS. H. A. M'DOWELL PASSES AWAY AT 68

Mrs. Mary C. McDowell, 68 years old, died at her home, 128 Howard street yesterday morning. She is survived by a son, Hugh A. McDowell. Her husband, Hugh A. McDowell, died several years ago. Mrs. McDowell was born in Missouri.

The funeral services will be held from the house at 2:30 o'clock tomorrow afternoon. Burial will be in Mountain View cemetery.

GOLD MEDALS TO BE GIVEN TO ATHLETES

Gold, silver and bronze medals, worth in the aggregate $50, will be given to the winners of the indoor gymnasium tests to be conducted at the Y. M. C. A. Wednesday and Thursday nights. The classes are divided into old members, new members, junior As, Juniors Bs and intermediates. A set of medals is given each. The gold medals go to the best old member gymnast who has not won a gold medal previously, and to the best new member gymnast. The events are high jump, standing broad jump, potato race, rope climb and parallel bar dip. The scoring of the highest number of points in all events will decide the winners.

HARRISON GRAY OTIS

GREEN FRUIT SHIPPERS TO DISCUSS SCHEDULE

New Midnight Train to Be Added to Service for Coming Season.

A special conference of deciduous fruit shippers has been called by the Southern Pacific Company to meet at the Chamber of Commerce at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning. The object of the meeting is to discuss the best means of putting into effect the new regulations for handling fruit for the coming season. Certain adjustments are necessary every year. The meeting today will take up the new schedule of green fruit rates, and the running schedule of fruit trains and cars.

A new midnight fruit train is to be put on by the railway company this year, that will add not a little to the accommodations of the service. By loading at night, and starting the train toward its destination by midnight, a saving in storage will result for the shipper, and the fruit will arrive upon the market in better condition. It will also simplify the administration of the railway officials, and will keep the tracks cleared of isolated cars.

F. M. Worthington, division superintendent at Bakersfield, J. D. Brennan, division superintendent at Stockton, J. E. Hixson, general agent of Fresno, yard masters, freight agents and other officials are to be present at the conference. Letters and telephone messages have been sent to the shippers urging them to attend.

A similar meeting is to be held at Turlock today.

TO HOLD FUNERAL OF MISS TROUGHT HERE

Ethel Pearl Trought, 18 years old, died at Sacramento Friday night after a long illness. The funeral will be held from Stephens and Bean's chapel at 2 o'clock this afternoon. She was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Trought, formerly of Carlisle, now of Santa Cruz. She is survived also by a sister, Mrs. J. L. French of Carlisle.

Burial will be held in Mountain View cemetery.

Bedroom Furnishi

Every One Knows We Spend Third of Our Lives in Be

So, besides the pleasure you from good bedroom furniture, you expect to accomplish much in li less you rest well. There are no ishings in any part of the house which you get so much comfort. bedroom furniture comes in a many beautiful styles, of whic have a great assortment. Our are right, and you can furnish rooms on easy terms, a little and the rest in easy payments.

Wormser Furniture

Fresno's Foremost Furniture

Lowest Prices Easy Terms Public

Room For Ten More Board

AT THE NEW CITY STA

Fireproof— Sanitary Hygienic
W. L. AUBERY

1820 Merced Street Phon

Do You Want a Hon

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890722010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in Kansas / Emma Goldman.– p. 3 ; 28 cm.
In The Industrial Worker [Spokane]. –(May 18, 1911).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

MAN
AVES

LARGE FAMILIES. ES A CRIME, SAYS ORINSON

Rec ouncil t [illegible] Chicago, says Dr. Wil Moon Marre, A Y and president [illegible] Medical Sociology, who giving of the proper in [illegible] how to keep

He expects to draft a [illegible] legal [illegible] d. [illegible]ays often brings [illegible] household. The first [illegible] second and third less [illegible] poorly nourished, [illegible] have started out with all the comforts of life, [illegible] the lowest depths of [illegible] of too many children [illegible] erty but ignorance, idle[illegible] and death. Dr. Robinson [illegible] the disciples of [illegible] will stop having chil[illegible] raising the race will die [illegible] a senseless fear and [illegible] human race.

[illegible]ce," Dr. Robinson says, [illegible] street. The parents are [illegible] wish to have at least [illegible] Those who have seen the [illegible] who have remained [illegible] of for that when the [illegible] ns of prevention of large [illegible] common property, the [illegible]o. There will be fewer [illegible] will be brought into the [illegible] ful expectations."

TO ORGANIZE.

[illegible] Standard Oil Com[illegible] tanks for oil five miles [illegible] Cal. There are 350 men [illegible]s are $2.50 and a few re[illegible]men can get on here any [illegible] are wanted as there is a [illegible]nize a local.

RUBY, Member of 66.

[illegible]g to the other fellow [illegible] I. W. W. will make on [illegible] the Eight-Hour Day? [illegible]e and thus prepare the [illegible]

here for twelve days—the gang got a raise of one shilling per day. The cockroach felt, no

yours, etc.

A. D. McKINNON.
P. O. Te Arnha, N. Z.

IGNORANCE IN FRESNO

FRESNO LOCAL ACTIVE—DOING GOOD WORK AMONG THE SLAVES.

Fresno, the home of the dictatnr, has had a patriotic spasms in the last month, which left their evil effects in the minds of the young. First, there was the G. A. R. encampment. When the old blood-living veterans marched in grand parade, exhibiting to the poor school children the chains of servitude with which they were honored, after having murdered hundreds of wage slaves with whom they had no quarrel, the parade being led by dictator Shaw and two companies of the state militia. Ye Gods! What an example for the young! A few days later we had the Raisin Day Carnival. This is the day when all good citizens are supposed to eat and talk nothing but raisins. But alas! The poor slaves who sweat and toil 14 hours daily packing this delicious fruit, did not have the price to purchase a feed of raisins, but had to be satisfied with the regular coffee and—. The slaves had a good time just the same, as the masters allowed them to try their speed "Box making" and "raisin picking" contests were the principal events. Oh! how willingly the slaves bared their brawny arms and went to work. I wonder if it is an honor to be champion box maker of the San Joaquin Empire. This great day came to a close, the slaves singing in beautiful discord, "My Country, 'tis of Thee." All were dressed in the garb of their class—fools' cap and bells. This is the atmosphere in which local No. 66 has been trying to preach the doctrine of discontent. We are holding street meetings every night in all languages. We are making good headway among the Mexicans, Italians and the floating element of the so-called white race; but the Fresno scissorbill! Let him sleep! Disturb him not! It will take a century to get the alfalfa out of his hair. Is it worth while when all we need is fighters? Last week we held two protest meetings and sent the proceeds to the strikers in Prince Rupert, B. C., and the Buccafori defense fund. The work is now opening up in the valley. The wages will be small. The grub on the average rotten.

How many of you rebels will get here and try to make things better? Let us all get on the job and make conditions better or put the boss out of business. Don't holler about the yellow peril, as the Japanese worker receives $2.00 per day; the free born American citizen $1.25. Why the difference? Let me tell you—Europeans out of a job

"S. G."

The Japanese are organized; they are past masters in the art of bringing John Farmer to his knees. My advice is, learn the tactics used by the Japanese. Do thou and do likewise.

Not being about to demonstrate our fighting abilities on May 1st, we held a mass meeting on Sunday, which was well attended. F. W. Wood, Hubbard and T. H. Little were the principal speakers. Both of them were in fine shape. If the doors of the Los Angeles county jail did not fly open, it was not their fault, but yours. What was you doing Sunday night? Local 66 is going to keep on protesting. If other locals will do the same the M. and M. will be forced to turn all the labor agitators from out of their dirty bastiles. If our voices fail to liberate them, let us try more drastic methods! "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." While we are all busy agitating for the overthrow of capitalism, let us remember that we have only one year to agitate and educate for the universal eight-hour day. If this should come to the notice of any member of local 66 or any member who is coming this way, remember that Local 66 has headquarters and office room at 917 I. St., Fresno. Get into communication with the secretary, as it is necessary for the welfare of the organization. Let us know where to reach you.

Let us organize the valley this summer.

JACK WHYTE, Sec'y.
Box 209, Fresno, Cal.

WHO'S A SCAB.

It has often been stated that the European laborers come over to this country and scab on our patriotic American slaves. It is said that they do this by working for such a low wage, etc., etc.

BUT has it ever occurred to these American scissorbills that THEY ARE THE SCABS? But such is actually the case.

It is said that the foreign worker works CHEAP. But it is an actual fact that the American Workingman is the cheapest slave on earth, and that he produces more profits for the boss than any of these despised "furriners." It is also a fact that this cheap American slave actually works SO CHEAP that he scabs this European out of a job, and after the European is scabbed out of a job by the American he must come to America to make a living.

Here are the facts in the case. It costs the European capitalist 5½ cents in wages to produce a dollar's worth of goods, while in America it only costs the capitalist 17 cents to produce a dollar's worth of goods. Get wise you patriotic yankee jackass and get shorter hours and more pay, and quit scabbing the Europeans out of a job.

"S. G."

Clann, Ferry and Bordett, who were as cruelly murdered as were any of the martyrs of 1886. They were sentenced by a Mann, but not a man. This Mann claims to be a union man and was a member of two crafts of the A. F. of L. A member of a LABOR UNION? Spare our anguish and don't insult the name of labor which means misery.

EMMA GOLDMAN IN KANSAS

Extract from speech by Emma Goldman in Kansas City, Mo.:

"Crime is naught except misdirected energy.

"People can vote and vote until the world comes to an end, but their condition won't be any better. A revolution which will overthrow all government is the only means whereby man can be freed and have complete control of himself.

"Voting will accomplish nothing," Miss Goldman said. "The people of the United States have been voting for more than one hundred years and all they have done is to tie the knot of slavery a little tighter around their necks.

"What freedom has the workingman? He works on a salary which hardly is enough to support himself and his wife and children and when he passes the great divide in his life and starts down the other side his employer, a capitalist who has millions and wants more millions before he dies—fires him and gets a younger man to fill his place. That's slavery.

Revolution the Only Remedy.

"A revolution is the only remedy. The laws—hundreds are placed on the statute books every year by the state legislature only make conditions worse. Primitive man had more freedom that the people have today and they didn't have laws.

"The Mexicans have rebelled against the tyranny of Diaz. For years they have voted and voted, but by voting they only made their slavery more complete. There is no power in voting.

"The greatest mistake the United States could make is to step in and help President Diaz and the Mexican government put down the slaves there who are trying for freedom.—Kansas City Times.

and to unite in the places where they are associated with each other; in the mines, mills, factories, etc. FOR ON NO FIELD DO THE WORKERS STAND OUT DISTINCTLY AS A CLASS OTHER THAN THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD.

All social question have an economic base, and therefore in order to remedy the social and economic evil of today, the workers must get right down to the FOUNDATION and work to unite labor on the industrial field. Labor united INDUSTRIALLY in a CLASS UNION will be invincible and capitalism and the profit system will fall.

"S. G."

THE ARMY AND NAVY A MORAL PEST-HOUSE.

It has been said that the Army and Navy was composed of men who are morally "defective," and the fact that venereal diseases were so alarmingly prevalent among the enlisted men has been the subject of many a discussion. And there no grounds for grave fears, too, for it cannot be denied that a large body of men who have acquired dangerous and communicable diseases, constitute a menace to society.

But what has resulted from all this talk? NOTHING. Absolutely nothing, because in order to cope with this alarming situation in a CORRECT manner, it would be necessary to go to the root of the evils and abolish the army and navy, and if that were done the stolen wealth of the capitalist would not be protected.

The Revolutionists are the only class who know how to stem the awful tide of DEGENERATION, which threatens to swallow up the young men of today, and one of our methods is to abolish the army and navy.

It is not the individual young man's fault if after he joins the army or navy he can not keep control of himself, because the environment of military life, and the fact that the man is separated from association with the opposite sex for long periods, can not have a home and wife on the $17 a month which he receives, all serve to break a man down, mentally, morally and physically. Abolish the Army and Navy.

"S. G."

NEW LOCALS ORGANIZED.

Stockton Industrial Union No. 73, Stockton, Cal. April 10, 1911. G. W. Reese, Secretary, 125 E. Main street.

Mount Vernon Industrial Union No. 74, Mount Vernon, Wash., April 15, 1911. S. C. G. Anberg, Secretary.

Garment Workers Industrial Union No. 191, Rochester, N. Y., April 24, 1911. Thomas Volpe, Secretary, 29 Portland avenue.

Public Service Workers Industrial Union No. 384, Brooklyn, N. Y., April 24, 1911. R. Rotolo, Secretary, 127 Troutman street.

Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 10, Rock Island, Ill., April 26, 1911; H. I. Shepard, Secretary, 2408 Sixth avenue.

he is getting big wages.

men lined up at the fr[illegible] that a policeman has to l[illegible] men in line so as not to [illegible] the sidewalk. Building contractors are working night and day at present as the wages are low and [illegible] of idle men are on hand to [illegible] for any old wages.

All [illegible] who are satisfied with the [illegible] wages, who are not getting [illegible] more of the same stuff. If you are NOT satisfied and want to see your wages and conditions IMPROVED, [illegible] join the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD. AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL. SOLIDARITY.

Workers [illegible] Organize and [illegible] Join the One Big Union and [illegible] Emancipate yourself from [illegible] wage slavery. Change the [illegible] from your stomach, where it belongs.

Yours for the Big Union.

F. GUNTHER.

FROM DULUTH.

Legal workers work[illegible] and men [illegible] camps at $26 a month last summer and fall at $30 and $35 a month. Hours [illegible] from $8 to $26. How do you like it, JACKS? Don't need a union to get the wages; boss will do it. Hope our unfortunate stay with the boss until he raises your wages to $15 a month.

A LUMBERJACK, Local 68, I. W. W.

FROM COLUMBUS, OHIO.

Columbus is dead as a doornail as far as work is concerned. Hundreds of men are tramping the streets. The "work" men as well and also the rotten city person. Drunks are not arrested any more as there is no accommodation for them. Eight hour strikers are making quite a hit with all except a few pure and simplers and the plutes. We would like to hear from all who are interested in industrial unionism around Columbus. Object, to form a union. Will such workers address me at 211 Cleveland avenue, Columbus, Ohio.

MARTIN PHELAN.

BIG MEETING IN TACOMA.

On May 27th all the craft unions of Tacoma, the Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party, and the Industrial Workers of the World will meet together to protest against the despotic methods of the master class of America for the crimes committed against labor in the past few weeks. Speakers representing the different organizations mentioned will take the platform in defense of the rights of the workers. Fellow Worker Thompson will likely speak for the I. W. W. This meeting will likely be the largest gathering of wage workers ever gathered together in the history of Tacoma. All workers are invited to attend. The meeting will be reported in the "Industrial Worker" by a special correspondent.

CHAS. DOWNEY.
Sec. No. 380, I. W. W., Tacoma, Wash.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

860506009

The Emma Goldman Papers

No Factional Issue / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* Regeneracion [Los Angeles]. — (June 16, 1911).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Library, California State University, Northridge.

med by this handful of poverty-icken, ostracised and apparently st helpless men. There is nothing t can compare with it in the his-y of the American labor movement, l Russia alone can furnish a fitting rallel. But in Russia the intellec-al class has been far more numerous an it is in Mexico; there has been ich more available material on ich to draw; the climatic condi-us stimulate energy whereas those tropical and semi-tropical Mexico tend to inertia. Yet the entire xican nation has been aroused to realization of vital economic truths very existence of which the great ss of its northern brothers still cidly ignores. A tremendous feat education; accomplished, as always, a cost of self-sacrifice and suffer-altogether beyond the range of nputation. One forgets how many rs the Magons and their most faith-co-workers have spent in prison, one remembers always that it has n as heroes and not as criminals. s, indeed, the Mexican Liberal Party vement has been and is a most quali-l success. Above all others we can nk of it has produced results.

* * *

The Mexican government, still walk-in the tracks marked out by Diaz, ce more has shown its fear and ha-d of these men by demanding their rest. If it could get them across the rder unquestionably it would shoot m down like dogs, calmly wiping t of existence men who would do dit to any race. The demand ould not be allowed to pass unchal-ged; for such gallant fighters we ould put up an equally gallant fight, ough not so much for them as for e principles they hold far more pre-us than their own lives and liberty. e should put up a fight that will go the bottom of this matter, showing the piratical interests that are pull-g the strings and illuminating the tire situation for the instruction of e world. There is a hideous cess-ol of financial rascality to be un-vered, and the opportunity should

Mexican Liberal Party Junta. All arrangements for a thoroughly enjoyable time have been made, and all profits will go to the Mexican Revolution. Admission 15 cents.

It is now that your co-operation is most needed.

NO FACTIONAL ISSUE

This is not the special cause of Socialists, Anarchists, Single Taxers, Trades Unionists, or other individual wings of the great army of discontent. It is a straight case of millions of our fellow creatures having been driven from the lands on which they and their forefathers had lived for generations, in order that absentee syndicates may reap colossal fortunes by indescribably revolting slavery. I believe it to be the most brutal instance on record of absolutely heartless expropriation by that money power which worships the dollar alone, and is deaf, dumb and blind to the claims of human life.

The fight for human liberty in Mexico cannot but affect most profoundly the labor movement in this country and throughout the world. Thought will be engendered and apathy dispelled; the road will be cleared for fundamental changes. The more successful the struggle there, the easier it will be for every one of us here. We should reciprocate, going to the very edge of our opportunities.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

The Mexican revolution is now of world-wide interest. Our sphere of action has increased enormously and with it our expense. We are not beggars but we invite more than your merely sympathetic aid. Our cause is yours.

Don't bicker over trifles or think you know it all. Solidarity is the keynote, and the world's workers are being knit together as they never were before.

had actually occurred, the politicians —through whom special privilege and monopoly always act—having obtained for the moment the upper hand, what course would you have followed? Would you suddenly have changed your mind? Would you suddenly have declared that, after all, this was not an economic but a political question, properly belonging to the politicians; and that, as for economic wrongs, time and the politicians must be trusted to correct them? This is what many, very many, others have done; but not the Magons or the other prominent members of the Mexican Liberal Party.

* * *

How the Magons, Rivera and others have faced the situation has been suggested; and it is precisely because they have so faced it that their movement has become the formidable power it actually is. If you doubt it consult the chapter entitled "American Persecution of Enemies of Diaz" in Turner's "Barbarous Mexico," noting particularly the long list of indicted Liberal refugees given on page 294. It is always the formidable rebel who is attacked.

* * *

The story of the Magons, in particular, is a tremendous story; one that can well hold its own with any that have come to us from Russia. It is now twenty-two years since Ricardo was first thrown into jail in Mexico City for participating in a demonstration against Diaz; it is ten years since "Regeneracion" was first suppressed and Ricardo and Enrique, as editors, incarcerated in the Mexican military prison. No less than six other papers did they start, editing them repeatedly from jail and smuggling the copy out in loaves of bread and by other kindred devices. Nothing could daunt them, and they had even the audacity to sign their names to every article—a step then unheard of in Mexican journalism. Already they had begun the formation of a party, and the public had to be familiarized with their names and be set an example of boldness, at all and every co-

840514106
The Emma Goldman Papers
On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 151-157 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 6, no. 5 (July, 1911).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

widows nor orphans. But some of them left poor old fathers and mothers.

As to the families of the imprisoned Comrades, there are many wives working very hard for their living. Mrs. Komatsu is keeping fowls. Mrs. Takeda is living with her sister (who is a singer), keeping house for the sister. Mrs. Okomoto is working as a factory hand. Mrs. Takagi is being expelled from the Budhist-Temple (Mr. Takagi having been a priest). These are all waiting the return of their husbands, who are imprisoned for life. The case of Mrs. Okabayashi is very tragical. She has been compelled to divorce her husband, much against her will, because her parents forced it. The old father of Mr. Okabayashi is bringing up his grandson, forsaken by the mother.

Many old mothers are weeping for their imprisoned sons, and most of them are struggling hard for a poor sustenance.

There are many other miserable cases which we cannot describe here.

We are very much relieved by your present for helping those widows, mothers, fathers and children. Please send us very soon the money in your hands.

By the way, we sign our two names here because it is all the same to us whether you send the money to one or the other.

Yours fraternally,

TOSHIHIKO SAKAI,
DR. TOKIJIRO KATO.

Address:

Sakai, 6, Minami-Teramachi, Yotsuya, Tokyo.
Kato, 6 Chome, Kobikicho, Kyobashi, Tokyo.

FREE COMMUNISM—Voluntary economic co-operation of all towards the needs of each. A social arrangement based on the principle: To each according to his needs; from each according to his ability.

ON THE TRAIL

AFTER Los Angeles and San Francisco, PORTLAND seemed rather mild in spirit. Yet it is not lack of interest in the vital issues that have turned fair California into a battle ground. It is merely that Oregon climatically and by nature is of more even "temperament."

Portland is not an important industrial center, and though she too has the poor always with her, in appearance at least she looks poised and comfortable. Our meetings were good, regardless of the hot wave that struck the city on our arrival. Perhaps the good Lord wanted to demonstrate just what degree of temperature is awaiting my sinful soul in the hereafter. At any rate, it was real hot, and our hall hotter still. But with all that the attendance did not decrease; on the contrary, the last of the six lectures and the debate with a "brother" Socialist filled the halls to the very limit.

It is really cruelty to animals to debate with some of the western Socialists. They are so hopelessly mediocre, they make the gods weep. But the "fellow-comrade" organizer of the Portland section, a Mr. Ellis, deserves a medal for ignorance and arrogance.

Our dear, faithful comrades—the two ideal Holyworth brothers and Raymond and Agnes Fair—have on this occasion again proven their untiring zeal and devotion in preparing the meetings. For their sake I should have wished the meetings larger. As for myself, I am so fond of dear little Portland and the friends it contains, I rarely feel the lack of great success there. With such staunch champions and friends as C. E. S. Wood, Kathryn Beck, and our own boys, the visit to Portland is always worth while.

SEATTLE has proven that miracles still do happen. The meetings there had been arranged by C. V. Cook in his astral body. Good Cassius himself is in Vancouver. All he could do is to make a special trip to Seattle to secure the hall, order printing, and hang up signs. The rest had to be done by auto-suggestion, since none of our comrades could or would give the work the necessary attention.

832

840514106
The Emma Goldman Papers
On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 151-157 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 5 (July, 1911).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

A few did help Jennie Lavroff and Sam Hammersmark to distribute some cards, and Edith De Long Jarmuth lined up the adherents of her 18th Century salon. But the day before the first meeting something like 6,000 cards were still awaiting their doom. Poor Benjamin worked like a beaver, but we went to the meeting with trepidation.

Now comes the miracle. The place was jammed, both afternoon and evening; in fact, every evening to the last. What did it? Cassius Cook's magic manipulation with Jesus Christ. Oh, Cassius is a wise guy. He rented a church and placarded the holy building with red letters, "E. G. will speak," etc. The good Christians who passed the church (and there must have been about 50,000 during the two weeks the signs were up) may have mistaken poor E. G. for a revivalist. They came in large numbers and, what is more, they stayed even though they were not asked to repent. That we had to give up this miraculous opportunity when we might have held forth for several weeks, can only be ascribed to the jealousy of God, who could not endure the trick played upon him by Lucifer. Think of it, E. G. in the house of the Lord before an ever-growing mass of his own children. Anyway, blessed be the ingenuity of Cassius Cook! It was hard to leave Seattle, not only because of our tremendous success, but because of the number of friends, and mainly because of Seattle itself. To me it is the most beautiful city in the West, the most chosen mistress of nature.

SPOKANE was dull and hot. Last year the I. W. W. boys gave Spokane color and importance. Now that most of them have gone to Mexico, the city is dead and uninteresting. Our friend Dickinson did his best, no doubt. But with the revolutionary element lacking, the terrific heat, and the poor ventilation of the hall, it was but inevitable that our meetings should be small.

Those who decry the evils of the city should go through the small towns of America. They would soon realize that the city, with all its misery, represents life, motion, change, and interest, as against the lethargy, stagnation and self-sufficiency of the average American town. America as a whole is still very much in a provincial stage, but the mind of her sons of the soil, and even the average townsman, is so dull that it surpasses every conception. But with the newspaper, the church, and prohibition as its source of wisdom, one can readily understand why the average American town is still such a Sahara.

However, the desert wanderer is only too often famished. Such a one is our Comrade Otto Weik. For over a year he has been living in the great town of Colville, Wash. But for him that place might never have been on the map. His wonderful zeal and perseverance have not only made it possible to arrange a meeting, but the grind of so many months, the ceaseless agitation he has carried on ever since he came to Colville, has established a footing for Anarchism in that town which is truly remarkable. Otto Weik is a shoemaker, but many a college professor could profit by his knowledge. An ardent reader, he invests half of his earnings in books, not for his own aggrandizement alone, but for every one of the village who wants to read. Indeed his shop is the main college and library of Colville; in fact, of the State of Washington. I am sure he has more vital books than the University of Washington.

Thus the efforts of this brave, undaunted worker has helped to dispell a number of spooks in the town and, what is more, he has infused a revolutionary spirit in some of the Socialists there, which is indeed a remarkable feat.

I shall always remember my visit to Colville, the simple hospitality of our Comrade Nellie Langdell, and the devotion of our fine Comrade Otto Weik, not to speak of the others, all so interested and helpful. Last but not least is the owner of the "Debs House," a Socialist and great devotee of his Master Debs, who showed great courage in extending his hospitality to me. I understand he was severely censured by some of his comrades. He certainly deserves credit.

Since the great panorama at BOISE CITY, Idaho, it has been my desire to go there. This trip, neither the distance of 400 miles nor the fact that we had no connection in Boise City, deterred us from carrying out our plans. What are 400 miles to such old hoboes as Ben Reitman and E. G. As to arranging meetings in strange towns, leave that to Benjamin. When I arrived twenty-four hours after my "manager" had reached Boise, I found

833

840514106

The Emma Goldman Papers

On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 151-157 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 6, no. 5 (July, 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

everything tip top. Even the difficulty of no admission on Sundays had been overcome. Boise people certainly know how to evade the laws. You simply give every one a piece of literature—an equivalent to admission, see. We had two very good meetings, and left a considerable quantity of pamphlets outside of those given away at the door.

The day after we visited the erstwhile famous Idaho Penitentiary. Famous through Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, now infamous because of Harry Orchard who is, I understand, a model prisoner and very religious. Why not, religion is characteristic of most cringing, servile, treacherous natures. Besides, it pays Harry to be both model and religious. It will win him his freedom in the not too distant future.

Surely there must be something in the inevitability of fate. Harry Orchard, the tool of Pinkertons, the modern Judas of his class, the cowardly yellow dog helping to prepare the trap for his comrades and himself caught in it, as a self-confessed desperado of something like eighteen murders, and the State—much more despicable and criminal than even Harry Orchard. From its viewpoint and that of all statists, Harry Orchard should long ago have faced his maker, as behooves a devoted Christian. Yet not only has the State spared Harry Orchard's life, it would have pardoned him long ago, if it had dared. The irony, the cold-blooded, murderous tendency, the criminal inconsistency of the State.

I thought of this and of the significant similarity in the new blood mania of the State, in Los Angeles. I thought also of the new Judas, or should we say alleged Harry Orchard, and I felt as if some loathsome thing were close to me. I could not breathe the same air with Harry Orchard. For of all the human monstrosities the informer is the most horrible.

A few months ago we visited the Leavenworth prison, the most modern penal institution. It is so modern, so very thorough and exact, that it would meet with the ideal of the most fastidious State Socialist. Not a bit of waste anywhere. The dining hall that seats about 2,500 victims is all of marble. The kitchen and cookery immaculately clean, equipped with all modern labor-saving machinery. The dozen or more shops are by far superior

to the average factory. In short, the Leavenworth prison is the very epitome of centralized effort, scientific discovery, clock-like regularity; Socialism in actual operation, but for the guards and keepers. And yet, and yet, what horror! what soul-destroying horror! I could not help contrasting Leavenworth with the Idaho Penitentiary. Terrible as all prisons necessarily must be, the one in Boise City is actually a relief compared with that huge monster of modernity. The Boise penitentiary was built in '64, and is therefore a rickety thing with miserably small cells and hardly any provision for sanitation. But with all that it has a spark of humanity. The prison wall even does not look so cold and terrible as that in Leavenworth. The ground is covered with flowers, some of the cells even have flower pots and vines, the power of life from plant taking away part of the gray monotony of the hideous place. Except for those who are punished and whom visitors cannot see, the prisoners are out in the open or work with the doors wide open, thus the eyes of the poor victims can at least behold nature's bounty. The most touchingly human sight were prisoners playing with the Warden's children. Surely the sweet presence of a child, the fragrance of flowers, and the absence of guns and clubs must need have a better effect on the human soul. Then the cold and chilly institutionalism which is so complicated and centralized, that it necessitates a perfect herd of supervisors and keepers, parasites who thrive on the backs of humanity. Let no one think I plead for prisons. Indeed society, even as it is to-day, would be safer with every prison-door open. I merely plead for the human side which must die under institutionalism, but which may, though in a slight degree, assert itself under simplified conditions.

DENVER once more on our return trip. Three meetings and a debate. We might have spared ourselves the former. The latter was worth while, not so much because of the number attending the debate, but because for the first time it was my good fortune to meet a Socialist opponent whose character and viewpoint far exceeds party lines. Dr. Ward is the man who started the Modern School in Denver. A lovable and broad-minded man. I am therefore glad of the opportunity to have met him in debate. But as usual with the Socialists who have grown

834

840514106
The Emma Goldman Papers
On the Trail / Emma Goldman. – pp. 151-157 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 6, no. 5 (July, 1911).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

away from the narrow bigotted lines of their party, Dr. Ward, too, is an Anarchist by nature and intellect, though still a Socialist by habit. The alarm expressed by the servants of the Socialist political bosses, like Mr. Ghent, secretary of Congressman Berger, that there is already too much hobnobbing with Anarchists among Socialists, is not without ground. It is that which will split the Socialist party in twain in the near future. We Anarchists take no credit for that, because we know that despotism creates rebellion. The success of the Denver debate is due to Dr. Ward himself and Julie May Courtney. Both worked very hard and faithfully. Besides that, dear Julie May made it possible for me to enjoy the most restful and comfortable week I have ever had in Denver. With rare tact and understanding she turned over her little apartment to me, which was a treat and joy to a tired traveler.

The ship is swift, the day is done, the Trail is at an end. It was the hardest and most difficult Trail, yet most interesting, full of a thousand intensely valuable experiences. In six months we visited 18 States and 50 cities, exploring a great deal of new territory. During that time we held 150 meetings and debates, and as we traveled about 10,000 miles, we had but few free evenings.

The most remarkable event of this tour was—but few police interferences. An attempt was made by the authorities of Columbus and Indianapolis, but was frustrated by an energetic campaign for free speech. In Staunton, Ill., the meetings were stopped. But I spoke nevertheless.

As usual, Ben Reitman outdid himself in the sale of literature, disposing of about 1,200 copies of "Anarchism and other Essays," and of quite a number of "Conquest of Bread," "Memoirs," "Mutual Aid," "Property," by Proudhon, and Elzbacher's "Anarchism." Besides that, about 6,000 pamphlets were left in the various cities. Lest anyone doubt the usefulness of our meetings, the circulation of such quantities of reading matter must speak for itself. But oral propaganda, too, can not be overlooked. The pity is we have so few who can give their time and ability to this line of agitation.

I hope I am not vain when I say I was never so happy as on this trip, that I could speak. It gave me opportunity to raise my voice in behalf of not only a great and sublime future, but of things so important right now.

I could speak in behalf of the awakened revolutionary consciousness in Japan; in behalf of the great human indignity of Mexico. My appearance was not in vain, the workers everywhere contributing to the needs of their brothers in the East, as well as for their comrades across the border line. I was also able to register my protest against the conspiracy of money against labor. And lastly, new ground, new friends, and new experiences were among the important results of this great tour. But if I could do all that, it is not so much because I am the propagandist, but because I had Ben Reitman to do the drudge work, to prepare the meetings, to look after every detail, to be the real moving, tireless, perseverant spirit that would shrink before no difficulty, nor shirk the hardest responsibilities. In justice to truth I must give credit where it belongs, though it seems personal.

The comrades, too, were helpful and kind, which proved an inspiration in trying moments. Nor must I forget Mickie who, while making his way to the Coast, was untiring and devoted in his assistance at meetings.

The ship is swift, the day is done, but the Trail goes on forever.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE FRANCISCO FERRER ASSOCIATION

By H. KELLY.

THE spirit of the martyred Ferrer was abroad on the night of June 30th at the first Anniversary Dinner given by the Francisco Ferrer Association, on which occasion 163 friends gathered to do him honor and further the cause for which he died. Starting a year ago with twenty-two members and an uncertain future, the Association has drawn to itself seemingly irreconcilable elements, triumphed over innumerable obstacles, and shown a healthy growth. Like all such attempts, it has been laughed at by those who profess sympathy with similar ideas, and subjected to misrepresentation and ridicule by those opposed. That it has overcome these obstacles as far as it has, shows a deep and sincere interest in its aims and principles by a large number of thinking people.

835

870502701

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The masses. In German] Die Masse / Emma Goldman.— pp. 113-114 ; 33 cm. *In* Der Sozialist [Bern]. —Vol. 3, no. 15 (Aug. 1, 1911).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

DER SOZIALIST

ORGAN DES SOZIALISTISCHEN BUNDES

3. JAHRGANG | BERN, DEN 1. AUGUST 1911 | NUMMER 15

Die Masse

WENN ICH DIE Richtung, in der unsre Zeiten sich bewegen, mit einem Wort zusammenfassen soll, so sage ich: Quantität. Die Menge, der Geist der Masse herrscht allenthalben vor und zerstört die Qualität. All unser Leben — Produktion Politik und Erziehung — beruht auf der Quantität, auf der großen Zahl. Der Handwerker, der einst auf die Genauigkeit und Qualität seiner Arbeit stolz war, ist durch gedankenlose und an der Sache nicht interessierte Automaten ersetzt worden; die riesige Mengen von Gegenständen herstellen, die für sie selbst keinen Wert haben und der übrigen Menschheit oft genug von Schaden sind. So hat die Quantität, anstatt die Behaglichkeit und den Frieden des Lebens zu erhöhen, nur die Lasten der Menschen vermehrt.

In der Politik zählt nichts als die Quantität. Prinzipien, Ideale, Gerechtigkeit und Festigkeit sind völlig von der Menge hinweggespült worden. In dem Kampf um Herrschaft übertrumpfen die verschiedenen politischen Parteien einander mit ihren Tricks, Betrügereien, Schlauheiten und schäbigen Machinationen; sie dürfen getrost darauf rechnen, daß die Partei, die Erfolg hat, von der Mehrheit als Sieger bejubelt wird. Das ist der einzige Gott: der Erfolg. Auf welche Kosten, mit welch schrecklichen Schädigung des Charakters kommt nicht in Betracht.

Oft wird in unsrer Zeit von allen Politikern, die Sozialisten einbegriffen, das Sprüchlein wiederholt, wir lebten im Zeitalter des Individualismus oder der Macht der Minorität. Diese Ansicht können nur solche hegen, die nicht unter die Oberfläche dringen. Haben nicht, sagt man, die wenigen allen Reichtum der Welt im Besitz? Sind sie nicht die Herren, die unbeschränkten Könige der Situation? Ihr Erfolg ist nicht dem Individualismus, sondern der Trägheit, der Erbärmlichkeit, der völligen Unterwerfung der Masse zu danken. Diese begehrt nichts anderes als beherrscht, geführt und gezwungen zu werden. Der Individualismus aber hatte zu keiner Zeit in der ganzen Menschengeschichte weniger Aussicht sich zu verwirklichen, weniger Gelegenheit sich in normaler, gesunder Weise zu behaupten.

Der individuelle Erzieher, der einem ernsten Ziele nachstrebt, der Künstler oder Schriftsteller mit originellen Ideen der unabhängige Gelehrte oder Forscher, die unnachgiebigen Pioniere der sozialen Umgestaltung, alle werden sie täglich von Männern zur Seite gedrängt, deren Bildung und Schöpferkraft an Altersschwäche kranken.

... Man braucht nur unsre Parke und öffentlichen Plätze anzusehen, um sich von der Häßlichkeit und Gewöhnlichkeit der Kunstfabrikate zu überzeugen. Die Denkmäler, die unsere Stadte verunzieren, falsch in der Konzeption und barbarisch in der Ausführung, haben nicht mehr Aehnlichkeit mit wirklicher Kunst als der Götze eines Hottentottenstammes mit einem Michel Angelo. Wahrlich, nur ein Mehrheitsgeschmack kann solch eine Verhöhnung der Kunst dulden. Aber das ist die einzige Art Kunst, die jetzt Erfolg hat. Der wahre Künstler, der sich herkömmlichen Anschauungen nicht beugt, der seine Originalität bekundet und dem Leben treu sein will, führt ein unbekanntes und geplagtes Dasein. Sein Werk kann eines Tages der bewunderte Götze der Menge werden, aber erst, wenn er sein Herzblut hingegeben hat; erst, wenn der Pfadfinder nicht mehr lebt und ein Haufe idealloser und unschöpferischer Gesellen das Erbe des Meisters zu Tode gehetzt hat.

Die unverzeihlichste Sünde in der Gesellschaft ist Unabhängigkeit des Denkens. Daß das in einem Lande, dessen Wahrzeichen die Demokratie ist, so schrecklich klar zu Tage/tritt, ist für die überwältigende Macht der Mehrheit sehr bezeichnend.

Wendell Phillips sagte vor fünfzig Jahren: »In unserm Lande der völligen demokratischen Gleichheit ist die öffentliche Meinung nicht nur allmächtig, sie ist allgegenwärtig. Vor ihrer Tyrannei gibt es keine Zufluchtsstätte, vor ihrem Bereich gibt es kein Versteck, und das Resultat ist, daß wenn einer die alte Laterne des Diogenes nimmt und unter die Menge geht, um einen Menschen zu suchen, er nicht einen einzigen Amerikaner findet, der nicht für seinen Ehrgeiz, seine soziale Existenz oder sein Geschäft von der guten Meinung und den Beschlüssen seiner Umgebung etwas zu gewinnen oder zu verlieren hat, und wenn solcher Gewinn oder Verlust nur in seiner Einbildung leben sollte. Und die notwendige Folge ist, daß wir, anstatt eine Masse von Individuen zu sein, von denen jedes furchtlos seine eigene Ueberzeugung durchführt, daß wir als Nation in Vergleich mit andern Nationen eine Masse von Feiglingen sind. Mehr als jedes andere Volk haben wir gegenseitig vor einander Angst.« Es ist klar, daß wir uns von dem Zustand, den Wendell Phillips vor Augen gehabt hat, nicht eben weit entfernt haben ...

Immer, in jeder Periode, waren die wenigen die Bannerträger einer großen Idee, die Vorkämpfer der Befreiung. Nicht so die Masse, deren Bleigewicht sie nicht zur Bewegung kommen läßt. Diese Wahrheit ist am deutlichsten in Rußland sichtbar zu machen. Tausende von Menschenleben sind schon von diesem blutigen Regiment vernichtet worden, aber der Menschenfresser auf dem Throne ist noch nicht satt. Wie ist so etwas möglich, wenn Ideen, Kultur, Litteratur, wenn das tiefste und feinste Leben der Seele unter dem eisernen Joch stöhnt? Die Mehrheit, diese kompakte, unbewegliche, dumpfe Masse, der russische Bauer glaubt nach einem Jahrhundert des Kampfes des Opfers, des unsäglichen Elends immer noch, der Strick, mit dem »der Mann mit den weißen Händen« [der Intellektuelle] gehängt worden sei, bringe Glück.

In dem amerikanischen Freiheitskampf war die Masse genau ebenso ein unbeweglicher Block. Noch bis zum heutigen Tage werden die Ideen von Jefferson, von Patrick Henry, von Thomas Paine von ihren Nachkommen verleugnet und verraten. Die wahren Schirmer

836

870502701

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The masses. In German] Die Masse / Emma Goldman.– pp. 113-114 ; 33 cm. *In* Der Sozialist [Bern]. –Vol. 3, no. 15 (Aug. 1, 1911).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

der Schwarzen sind eine Handvoll Kämpfer in Boston gewesen, Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Thoreau, Margaret Fuller und Theodor Parker, deren große Tapferkeit und Hartnäckigkeit in dem düsteren Riesen John Brown ihren Gipfel fanden. Ihr unermüdlicher Eifer, ihre Beredsamkeit und Zähigkeit untergruben die starke Macht der Herren im Süden. Lincoln und seine Getreuen folgten erst, als die Abschaffung der Sklaverei eine praktische Notwendigkeit geworden war, die als solche von allen anerkannt wurde.

Vor etwa fünfzig Jahren erschien gleich einem Meteor am sozialen Horizont der Welt eine Idee, die so weitreichend, so revolutionär, so allumfassend war, daß sie allerwärts das Entsetzen in die Herzen der Tyrannen tragen mußte. Auf der anderen Seite war diese Idee für die Millionen eine Fackel der Freude, des Jubels, der Hoffnung. Die Pioniere kannten die Schwierigkeiten auf ihrem Weg, sie kannten den Widerstand, die Verfolgung, die Hindernisse, die sich ihnen entgegenstellen mußten, aber stolz und furchtlos schritten sie auf ihrem Weg weiter, immer weiter. Jetzt ist diese Idee ein populäres Schlagwort geworden. Fast jeder ist heutzutage ein Sozialist: der Reiche und ebenso der Arme, den er ausbeutet; die Vertreter von Gesetz und Autorität und ebenso die Unseligen, die vor ihre Schranken kommen; der Freidenker und ebenso der Verewiger religiösen Trugs; die Modedame und ebenso die heruntergekommene Dirne. Warum nicht? Jetzt, wo das, was vor fünfzig Jahren die Wahrheit war, zur Lüge geworden ist, jetzt, wo es all seine phantastische Jugend eingebüßt hat und seiner Kraft, seiner Stärke, seines revolutionären Ideals beraubt worden ist, — warum nicht? Jetzt, da er nicht länger eine zauberisch schöne Vision ist, sondern ein »praktischer, durchführbarer Plan«, der vom Willen der Mehrheit abhängt, warum nicht? Mit der nämlichen politischen Schlauheit und Kaltblütigkeit wird die Masse tagtäglich gekitzelt und vollgestopft. Ihr Lob wird in allen Tonarten gesungen: die arme, die beschimpfte, die betrogene, die riesenhafte Mehrheit, — wenn sie nur uns folgen wollte!

Wer hat diese Litanei nicht schon gehört? Wer kennt nicht diesen stehenden Refrain aller Politiker? Daß die Masse blutet, daß sie beraubt und ausgebeutet wird, weiß ich so gut wie unsere Stimmfänger. Aber ich behaupte, daß nicht die Handvoll Schmarotzer, sondern die Masse selbst für diesen furchtbaren Stand der Dinge verantwortlich ist. Sie hängt an ihren Herren; sie liebt die Peitsche; sie ist der erste, der Kreuzigel ruft, sowie sich eine Stimme der Empörung gegen die geheiligte Autorität des Kapitalismus oder einer anderen Institution erhebt. Wie lange könnten jedoch Autorität und Privateigentum Bestand haben, wenn nicht die Masse wäre, die sich willig zu Soldaten, Polizisten, Kerkermeistern und Henkern hergibt! Die Demagogen des Sozialismus wissen das so gut wie ich, aber sie bleiben bei ihren Märchen von den Tugenden der Mehrheit, weil sie gar nichts anderes im Sinne haben als die Herrschaft zu erlangen. Und wie könnten sie Herrschaft üben ohne die Menge? Jawohl, Macht, Autorität, Zwang und Abhängigkeit ruht auf der Masse, aber nie die Freiheit, nie die freie Entfaltung des Individuums, nie die Geburt einer freien Gesellschaft.

Nicht weil ich mit den Unterdrückten, den Enterbten der Erde nicht mitfühlte; nicht weil ich die Schmach, das Entsetzen, die Würdelosigkeit des Lebens, das das Volk führt, nicht kennte, verwerfe ich die Mehrheit als schöpferische Kraft und Quelle des Guten. O nein, nein! Sondern weil ich so gut weiß, daß das Volk als kompakte Masse niemals für Recht oder Gleichheit eingetreten ist. Es hat die Menschenstimme unterdrückt, den Menschengeist unterjocht, den Menschenleib gefesselt. Als Masse ist sein Ziel immer gewesen, das Leben gleichförmig, grau und eintönig wie die Wüste zu machen. Als Masse wird es immer der Vernichter der Individualität, der freien Initiative, der Ursprünglichkeit sein. Darum glaube ich mit Emerson, daß »die Massen roh, lähmend und verderblich in ihren Forderungen und ihrem Einfluß sind, und daß man ihnen nicht schmeicheln, sondern sie bilden soll. Ich wünsche ihnen nicht das mindeste zuzugestehen, sondern sie zu teilen und zu zertrümmern und Individuen aus ihnen herauszuziehen. Massen! Das Unheil sind die Massen. Ich will überhaupt keine Masse haben, sondern nur ehrbare Männer und liebliche, süße, reife Frauen.«

Mit andern Worten: die lebendige Wahrheit der sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Wohlfahrt wird nur Wirklichkeit werden durch den Eifer, die Tapferkeit, die unnachgibige Festigkeit intelligenter Minoritäten, aber nicht durch die Masse.

Emma Goldman

Aus Proudhons Tagebüchern

III.

10. *Mai 1853.* — *Wiederaufrichtung der Bourgeoisie.* — Diese Bewegung ist unausbleiblich. Louis-Philipp hat sie zum Ausdruck gebracht, die Provisorische Regierung mit ihrer Regierrei hat sie hervorgerufen; die »Ehrbaren und Maßvollen« haben sie begünstigt und haben durch sie gesiegt; die Gesetzgebung hat ihre Rache besorgt; und Louis Napoleon ist die Fortsetzung. —

— Gestern am 11. Mai erinnerte Herr Chevalier*) in den Débats bei Gelegenheit eines Buches von Baudrillart über Bodiuns usw. daran, daß la Boëtie in seinem Buche von der Freiwilligen Knechtschaft *die Anarchie* vertreten hätte. Er fügte hinzu, das Leben des Bodinus gäbe der Hoffnung Raum, daß ich schließlich auch noch ruhig umkehren würde.

Es ist recht erstaunlich, daß man in dem Augenblick, wo die französische Regierung darauf ausgeht, sich auf den bürgerlichen Grundlagen Englands und der Vereinigten Staaten zu konstituieren und die Zentralgewalt unterzuordnen, die Gelegenheit für geeignet hält, mein Prinzip zu verdammen! Wie wenn dieses synthetische Prinzip nicht klar genug aufzeigte, daß wenn die *kapitalistische* Bewegung am Ende ist und die Demokratie den Sieg erlangt, es immer weniger Polizei, Soldaten, Priester, Richter und Beamte geben wird. Aber Herr Chevalier ist nicht im Stande zu begreifen, daß, wenn jedermann in der Regierung ist, die Regierung nichts ist.

— Was die neue Ordnung der Dinge charakterisiert, ist, wie ich gesagt habe, die Tendenz, das Verhältnis der Interessen in der Gesellschaft nach einem Prinzip umzugestalten, das es möglich macht, eine genaue Bilanz aufzustellen . . .

Diese Tendenz setzt es durch, daß sich alles gruppiert, feudalisiert, sodaß die Kleinindustrie mehr und mehr verdrängt, der Kleinhandel ruiniert und an den Bettelstab gebracht, unsicher und zum Bankrott verdammt wird. Vor der Februarrevolution beruhte alles Geschäftsleben auf dem Prinzip des *Verkaufs*. Jeder arbeitete um zu verkaufen; die Geschäfte richteten sich nach diesem einzigen Prinzip; der *Zins* regierte alles; alle machten alljährlich Inventur und erwarteten, daß alle einen tatsächlichen Gewinn hätten, der sich in barem Gelde ausdrückte. — Ein Ding, dessen Unmöglichkeit erwiesen ist.

Heutzutage wird die Zirkulation besser verstanden, ist der Austausch wieder in seine Rechte eingesetzt; der Zins ist aufgegeben und die *Dividende* an seine Stelle getreten: das leitet zu einem neuen System über.

Das Proletariat muß seine Herren bezahlen! darauf läuft es hinaus.

Wird dieser neue Stand der Dinge nun von langer Dauer sein?

Antwort: Zunächst ist kein logischer Widerspruch mehr da, keine mathematische Unmöglichkeit, keine Buchungsfehler. — Von der Seite ist nichts zu fürchten. — Aber das Monopol ist unverkennbar, es springt in die Augen; es schlägt jeder Moral ins Gesicht; es widerspricht der Gerech-

*) Der bekannte Nationalökonom Michel Chevalier; siehe Proudhons Brief an ihn vom 14. April 1848; »Sozialist« Jahrgang 1 Seite 147.

837

840514108

The Emma Goldman Papers

Special Offer / Emma Goldman. – p. 193 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 7 (Sept. 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

In the boat, the sturdy Irishman had not much of a task in overpowering the half-drowned man. He flung him on his back, on the bottom of the boat, knelt on his hips, and thrust the arms under the body. His partner sat on the unfortunate's feet, and rowed slowly to the shore.

Bound so, with human ropes, the conquered man only occasionally moved his shoulders, and fruitlessly fought with his knees when the Irishman kneeling on his hips slackened up. His strength was giving away. There was less and less fight in him, till finally he was only beating his head helplessly on the bottom of the boat.

Not a word had escaped his lips during the whole fight; he did not even respond to the Irishman's occasional oath; he seemed to be mute.

Seeing himself the victor, the Irishman slowly let go the arms of the conquered man, who breathed heavily, streams of water pouring from his mouth. Feeling his hands released, he opened his eyes, and seeing the Irishman wiping the sweat off his face, he leaned to the left side and shot his right arm straight into the air, where it remained, rigid.

The Irishman in a shock of surprise, clinched his fists and bent his shoulders to another attack. But the shoulders remained in the attacking position; his face grew petrified with surprise and understanding; his eyes were riveted to the upright hand in the air; then they turned to those of the unfortunate, who painfully lifted his eyelids again and imploringly looked into the Irishman's eyes. Then all four eyes glanced at the hand, and met again. The Irishman sunk his head.

The Hand stuck in the air. There was not a single finger left on it.

MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature

Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Proprietor, 55 West 28th Street, New York, N. Y.
Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. VI **SEPTEMBER, 1911** **No. 7**

NOTICE

Though we are very reluctant to drop anyone from our lists, MOTHER EARTH cannot carry unpaid subscribers, since, even at best, it is published at a loss. Therefore we strongly urge our readers to send their subscriptions in AT ONCE.

Every renewal received during September and October will earn for the sender a free copy of "The Soul of Man Under Socialism," by Oscar Wilde.

SPECIAL OFFER

Thanks to the generous offer of Companion M. H. Woolman, we succeeded in enlarging our subscription list. But the magazine is still far from the self-sustaining point. In the hope of reaching that goal, we have decided to make this offer:

Anyone sending us three new yearly subscriptions before the expiration of the current M. E. year (closing with the February issue, 1912) will be entitled to a free copy of one of the following books, sent postpaid: (a) "Conquest of Bread," by Peter Kropotkin; (b) an autograph copy of "Anarchism and Other Essays," by Emma Goldman; (c) any dollar book carried by us.

We hope our friends will lose no time in availing themselves of this opportunity.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

838

900615029

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Labor's Seeress Predicts a Commune If M'Namaras Die / Emma Goldman.– 30 cm. *In* The Globe and Commerce. –[(Oct.?, 1911?)].

Obtained from the private collection of Heiner Becker. Institutional Location: the International Institute of Social History.

THE GLOBE AND COMMERCE

LABOR'S SEERESS PREDICTS A COMMUNE IF M'NAMARAS DIE

Deaths Quickly Avenged Should Forces of Capitalism Succeed in Executing the Two Brothers, Says Emma Goldman.

ANARCHIST, BUT HAS NO PEER AS AUTHORITY

Working World Has Grown Vastly More Radical, She Finds, and Conviction Spells Another Haymarket, or Worse



Another "Haymarket," born of a workingmen's emeute, will convulse America if the McNamara brothers are found guilty of being dynamitards and their lives forfeited to the law, according to the keenest student of labor evolution in the world.

"Should the forces of capitalism which seem determined to execute these two brothers succeed," says this authority, "their deaths will be quickly avenged."

It detracts not a whit from the value of this opinion to disclose that its author is Emma Goldman, frankly and aggressively an anarchist. Herein, however, lies the reason why the utmost weight attaches to her deliberately formed dictum. She is not welcome in labor circles. Her name is anathema. She is the pariah whenever chance association links the two causes. Despite that, this keen-minded woman knows more about the American labor movement than any disciple in it.

In her own thorough way, preaching her ideal of "Anarchism, the Moving Spirit of the Labor Movement," which is the title to one of her lectures, she has in the twenty years of her stormy petrel experience gained a knowledge of the movement and the value of the personal equations as they are found in its leaders which make her paramount.

NOTHING OF VIRAGO.

Anybody expecting to find a fire-eating virago breathing death and vengeance to rulers and the destruction to all established social orders will never recognize this type in Emma Goldman. Now passing her forty-second year, of moderate blonde type, with the clear, healthy complexion of a girl of fifteen, strong features and wearing glasses, rather short and just a little stout, she looks very much like a school teacher.

Soft-spoken and carefully weighing each question, she gives a deliberate answer, and once she tells you her views she is prepared to stand by them and take the consequences, even if it means the jail.

Just returned from a lecture tour of the middle and far west, including several weeks in and around Los Angeles, where the McNamaras will be

prophesies shows that he can also be a fool, but I feel safe in saying that we will have a mighty social upheaval if the MacNamaras are executed. The country had a fair specimen of the aroused working class in the trials of Moyer and Haywood, which trials I believe were conducted in a far fairer spirit than is conceivable in the MacNamara case."

EVERY IRISHMAN'S CAUSE.

"There is another important factor," she continued. "The MacNamaras are Irish, and the Irish of the United States keenly resent the way they have been treated. Now everybody knows that the Irish by nature are fighters, and few realize how solidly they are backing the MacNamaras in this fight. I believe that this fact cannot be too strongly emphasized. If anything happens to the MacNamaras there will be individual Irishmen who will see that they are avenged.

"The majority of the people of Los Angeles are satisfied that the Times building was destroyed by a gas explosion, as gas had been escaping in asphyxiating quantities for days. Dynamite experts brought in by the police have declared that nothing like the results of the explosion could have been caused by dynamite. They said everything went to prove that it was something like gas, which detonates much more slowly."

CHICAGO CELEBRATES 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF BIG FIRE

TO INDICT ALLEGED GIRL BORGIA T

Annie Crawford Is Fo cused of Causing H Death by Poison.

NEW ORLEANS, O
of Miss Annie Craw
poisoning her sister
form to-day when
jury returns an ind
No formal charg
Miss Crawford ca
father, her mothe
all of whom died
stances during t
the facts surro
be adduced on
The case wi
one of the d
District Cour
will probab
November.
of the dist
sicians who
heels in the
fused to sp
ily, those l
Gertrude C
Mrs. Willia
his wife, als
Miss Craw
fusing to s
half of each
Each afterno
visit from M
It will be

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

839

900615029

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Labor's Seeress Predicts a Commune If M'Namaras Die / Emma Goldman.— 30 cm. *In* The Globe and Commerce. —[(Oct.?, 1911?)].

Obtained from the private collection of Heiner Becker. Institutional Location: the International Institute of Social History.

the middle and far west, including several weeks in and around Los Angeles, where the McNamaras will be placed on trial next Wednesday, Emma Goldman was found to-day in her apartment of three or four rooms five flights up (rear) in the big tenement house at 210 East Thirteenth street, where she has resided for years.

Her tiny suite is both a home and the headquarters of the international propaganda she conducts. There she edits and arranges for the publication of her monthly magazine, Mother Earth, one of the most radical monthlies in the world and which has subscribers in practically every country.

She talks about the labor movement just as she does the drama, art, or problems of maternity, and makes in each instance a thorough analysis. She has made a special study of the McNamara case and has a lecture on it which she calls "The McNamara Case and Burns—Government by Spies."

DOUBTS CONVICTION.

"I do not believe," she said to-day, "that it will be possible to get a jury in California to convict John J. McNamara, the secretary of the Bridge and Structural Ironworkers' Union, and his brother, who were kidnapped from Indiana and are charged with conspiracy and the dynamiting of the Los Angeles Times Building, in which several lives were lost.

"I very much doubt if even the radicals here in the east have more than a faint conception of how thoroughly aroused labor is in the middle and far west on this McNamara case. It is wonderful. You know I am not over popular with the majority of the labor union people, and am opposed to the socialists perhaps more than any others, but I found all grades of unionists united in this fight.

"Gompers has gone further in this fight than any of us supposed he was capable of going. He has gone from one end of California to the other denouncing the kidnapping of the MacNamaras.

"If Burns has a strong case against them, as he has led many to believe, he made a great mistake when he kidnapped these men in violation of all law and rushed them incommunicendo across the country. He had a far better chance to convict them in Indiana, as no man in California is so cordially disliked as Gen. Harrison Grey Otis, the owner of the building they are accused of dynamiting. A very small number of merchants and manufacturers are supporting him for class reasons. He was for years the tool of the Southern Pacific and has opposed the people on every issue.

ADMIRES GAMENESS.

"Personally, I must say that I admire him while hating what he stands for. He is such a superb fighter. In this day of spineless men and general submission to all kinds of abuses it does me good to see a man with a backbone and full of fight even if he is on the other side.

"The country has made wonderful progress on radical lines in twenty years. I am as much of an anarchist as ever, yet I recently spoke in Ann Arbor, Mich., and received a magnificent reception from the students and professors, although but two years ago the same students did all they could to break up my meetings.

"I have just ended a tour including fourteen university towns and cities with a like result. It is not that Emma Goldman is one particle less radical, but that the country has made intellectual progress.

"If they should execute the MacNamaras the capitalists will have a rude awakening. They will find the temper of the people very different from that of the days of the Chicago anarchists. Then the trades unions were absolutely indifferent and their own leaders smothered what resentment was displayed.

"It has been said that anybody who

ANNIVERSARY OF BIG FIRE

CHICAGO, Oct. 9.—Chicago to-day celebrated the fortieth anniversary of the great fire of 1871 which destroyed $200,000,000 worth of property and caused the death of 300 persons. In Grant Park the beginning of the fire is to be staged in realistic manner. A replica of Mrs. O'Leary's historical barn is to be fired as a feature of the evening's parade. A cow has been secured to play the part of the famous animal which, according to the generally accepted belief, started the big blaze by kicking over a lamp.

In this connection Michael Ahern, the only living police reporter who "covered" the story, says:

"The fire was not started by a cow kicking over a lamp while Mrs. O'Leary was milking the animal There was a social gathering in the neighborhood that night. Two women of the party went to the O'Leary shed to get some milk for punch. One held a lighted lamp while the other milked the cow. They thought they heard some one coming, and in their haste to escape the lamp was dropped, setting fire to the place."

GLOBE STORY INDUCED HIM TO JOIN CHURCH

Fifteen years without ever having entered a church was the record of this New Yorker. And it was a record that gave the owner much pride. Then about the time of the conviction of Henry Clay Beatty for the murder of his wife, the man read in The Globe an interview with Dr. Christian F. Reisner, pastor of the Grace Methodist Episcopal Church, 131 West 10lth street, on the case. In the interview Dr. Reisner had stated that whether or not Beatty was guilty of the crime he was charged with, if he was capable of treating his wife and baby as he did, he was capable of murder.

The man who scoffed at churches said to himself that he wanted a look at the man who expressed such an opinion. He went to the Grace M. E. Church and heard Dr. Reisner preach. That night he joined the church, telling the pastor the circumstances that had led to his changing his views.

Jewish Colony Planned.

Chicago, Oct. 9.—The Hebrew Farmers Colonization Society has decided to take 450 thrifty Jewish families from Chicago and locate them in the famous Wheatland district in Wyoming. Each will be advanced $1,000 in cash. It is understood that Julius Rosenwald is at the head of the project.

The farmers will be given ten or fifteen years in which to pay back the money, without interest.

Mrs. "Jack" Geraghty Ill.

NEWPORT, Oct. 9.—Mr. and Mrs. John S. Geraghty, the latter formerly Miss Julia S. French, have postponed their trip to New York which was to have been begun to-day, as Mrs. Geraghty is confined to her bed with a cold, caught by wearing low-neck gowns at the theatre.

Going Back to Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, Oct. 9.—Dr. Jesse D. Burks, who resigned as director of the Bureau of Municipal Research several months ago to become a member of a commission to investigate the school system of New York, has consented to return to his old post here.

half of each
Each afterno
visit from M
It will be
arraignm
Crawford
office and
the sum of
life.
The
chiefly
able do
doubt th
or could
family
Annie
herself b
presence
Crawfor
"trouble
not con
hypothe
that F
took h
ped by
mitte

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

840

840514110

The Emma Goldman Papers

October Twenty-Ninth, 1901 / Emma Goldman. — pp. 232-235 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 6, no. 8 (Oct. 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

about the existence of free press and speech. There is no such a thing in America. Every day, men and women are arrested and sent to prison for exercising their right of free expression. Would to goodness the workers could realize this fact! They might then, set to work in earnest to re-establish the long-lost article, free press and free speech. They have an excellent opportunity to begin right now. In aiding Jay Fox to score a victory over the provincial busy-bodies, at the Home Colony, they will at the same time serve a great human purpose. All contributions are to be sent to Nathan Levine Home, Lake Bay, Washington.

* * *

A LITTLE girl and boy, brother and sister, have been expelled from the school at Perth Amboy, New Jersey. Being of English parents, they refused to salute the American flag. What really should have been done, was to expel the teachers who artificially create respect for the emblem of war and bloodshed, thus proving themselves utterly unfit to have anything to do with children. It is due entirely to the stupidity of such people, that the minds of the young are being poisoned with the national germs, so fertile to all the evils in society.

* * *

OCTOBER TWENTY-NINTH, 1901

IT was in St. Louis, the 6th of September, 1901. I was just entering a street car, after a day's hard work soliciting orders for a firm. Suddenly my ears caught the sound, "Extra, extra, the President shot!" I was too fatigued and miserable to heed the cry; besides, one is so used to newspaper "extras," one rarely stops to investigate.

At dinner in a friend's house I learned that President McKinley had been shot by a man by the name of Nieman. One of our company remarked jokingly, "I should not be surprised if they will connect you with the act." The man spoke more prophetically than he realized.

The following morning I started on my day's task, which promised to be particularly hard, as I had to employ my skill to induce a business house to close a large order. It took all morning to settle the matter

and left me even more dejected than the previous day. I dragged myself to the nearest restaurant and, while waiting to be served, I looked at the papers. There it was, in large black headlines, "President McKinley shot by an Anarchist, Leon Czolgosz—the man confessed to having been incited by Emma Goldman—the house of the publisher of the Anarchist paper *Free Society* raided—8 Anarchists arrested to be held until Emma Goldman is found—detectives sent to all parts of the country to arrest the dangerous woman."

The whole thing seemed so absolutely preposterous that it took me some time to realize its significance; but after an hour's reflection, while I sat in the restaurant with people discussing E. G. around me, I decided to make for Chicago that very evening. It was not easy to get away, without arousing suspicion. My St. Louis friends had arranged a small dinner party for me on that same date, the 7th. To leave abruptly would have caused an inquiry as to my whereabouts, which under the circumstances had to be avoided. I therefore went through with the affair, and then made the night train for Chicago.

Ten years have passed since that terrible time,—terrible, because it disclosed, as in a flash, the savagery, the blind fury, the yellow human soul. Not only the knavish soul of the newspaper clique, nor yet the brutal soul of the police; nor even the mob soul, so appalling in its massiveness. But more than all else, it was the soul of the so-called radicals, manifesting itself in such contemptible cowardice and moral weakness, that impressed me with never-to-be-forgotten vividness. They, more than the yellow Hearsts, more than the prostitute press, more than the mad public, proved the loudest defamers of the boy who had dared to strike the blow.

But for them Leon Czolgosz would not have been dragged to the block, like a sheep to slaughter. But for them, his last moment would not have been agonized by the consciousness of being deserted, betrayed, forsaken by his own brothers, even like Christ.

"All men are equal before the law," is one of our slogans. What a farce, what hypocrisy! The case of Leon Czolgosz has stamped this American boast as a lie. Indeed, there is no parallel in the annals of this

841

840514110

The Emma Goldman Papers

October Twenty-Ninth, 1901 / Emma Goldman. – pp. 232-235 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 8 (Oct. 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

country, where a human being has received less equality, less justice, less fair play, less humanity, than did this truest American child, Leon Czolgosz. From the very moment when he was nearly beaten to death on the Exposition grounds by a fury-drunk mob and the police, until he was dragged to the "trial," this modern Christ was forced to go through a thousand Golgothas. Not a kind word, not a human touch, during all those awful days between September 6th and October 29th, when in the name of a "merciful God" and a "just law" he was done to death.

True, the law was observed,—Leon Czolgosz was assigned two lawyers to "defend" his case. This farce must have made the angels weep. As if even a child did not know that the victim would be denied the simplest human rights. And the lawyers! What a disgrace to the human species, how despicably, how cringingly they acted! A defence, indeed! Ferocious beasts might have shown more humanity. What pigmies these worthy disciples of Justice represent compared with the man who defended Francisco Ferrer!

Spain is an autocracy ruled by the military and clerical rod. In 1909 anti-military uprising ran high, creating the same excitement, the same fury, the same savage craving for victims as with us in September, 1901. More,—there was the blood-thirsty monster of 1,800 years, the Catholic Church, ready to devour its prey. Ferrer's lawyer had everything to lose and nothing to gain. Yet, how daring, how sympathetic was that man!

William Archer in his "Life of Ferrer," tells how the man disliked taking the case, because of his antagonism to his client. But Ferrer had chosen him,—one more example of the superior sense of justice even of an autocracy to our free country. The former grants the privilege to choose your defender, the latter imposes legal aid, which by its very dependency upon the court must be partial and unfair. He came, unprejudiced, big and fine, with the sublime mission of pleading for a human life as the sole consideration. With earnestness and devotion this man pleaded for his client as if for his own life, carrying everyone with him in the soul-stirring appeal.

True, Francisco Ferrer was innocent of the charge

for which he was tried; Czolgosz was not. But, as far as the court and his accusers were concerned, Ferrer was as guilty as his American comrade. Then, too, he was before a military court, subject to absolute methods of procedure. Not so the court that tried Leon Czolgosz. It pretends fair play, impartiality, justice, democracy. Yet it remained for this court to sit in judgment over a man morally and physically bound, blindfolded and gagged, a pitifully helpless human prey, turned over to the block. Were America glorious with a thousand noble deeds, her brutal inhumanity to the boy in Buffalo would forever condemn her as the most savage and cruel nation of the world.

* * *

Ten years have passed since the hideous hour of October 29th, but the spirit of Leon Czolgosz is not dead. How could it be, with its roots in the depths of the ever-growing conflict between the disinherited millions and the possessors of the earth?

"I did it for the good of the people," were the last words of the solitary youth in the death-chair of Auburn prison. But the people knew him not, the people passed him by in blind hatred. Yet with all that, he was flesh of their flesh and blood of their blood. He suffered for them, endured humiliation for them, gave his life for them. His tragedy consisted in his great and intense love for the people, but unlike many of his brother slaves he could neither submit nor bow his neck. Thus he had to die.

It is said that I inspired the act. I repudiate the charge. Not because I would not take my stand with this victim of our time, but because I know that he whose hatred of injustice and tyranny burns at white heat is beyond external influences. And Leon Czolgosz must have hated tyranny, else he could never have died such an heroic death. No, he could not have remained so serene, so wonderfully oblivious to all the trivialities of his surroundings.

It is this death, solitary and sublime, that will always stand out as the great symbol in my recollection of that sombre figure of October 29th, 1901.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

842

900615046

The Emma Goldman Papers

Dear Friend / Emma Goldman. — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1911 Oct. 2, leaflet. — 1 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Heiner Becker. Institutional Location: the International Institute of Social History.

MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
80 West Twenty-Eighth Street
New York

Oct 2 —
~~September~~ —, 1911.

DEAR FRIEND:

We are at last able to inform you that the "Autobiography of an Anarchist," by Alexander Berkman, is nearing completion.

We do not think it an exaggeration when we state that the book promises to be one of the most valuable and original contributions to the psycho-revolutionary literature of the world.

Its literary merits you will be able to judge for yourself later on. For the present we merely indicate some features of the book, to convey an idea of its character.

PART FIRST.

Early Influences.
Anarchist Circles of New York.
The Homestead Strike.
The Decision.
Looking Backward.
The Iron City.
The Seat of War.
The Act.
The Third Degree.
The County Jail.
Murderers' Row
Anxious Days.
The Trial.

PART SECOND.

The Inferno.
Desperate Thoughts.
The Call of Life.
Prison Routine: Workshops, Inquisition, Refined Cruelty.
Craft.
Physical, Mental, and Moral Effects.
Convict Psychology.
The Stress of Sex.
Homosexuality.
The World Without.
The Lure of Liberty.
The Underground Tunnel.
The Solitary.

PART THIRD.

From Purgatory to Hell.
The Resurrection.
The After.

Before we can turn the MSS. over to our printer, we are anxious to ascertain what assistance we may expect from our friends, either in advance subscriptions (which we now offer at $1.25, instead of the regular price of $1.50) or in contributions. We shall credit the donors with copies equivalent to the amount contributed toward the funds needed for the publication of the work.

We shall greatly appreciate an early reply.

Sincerely,

Mother Earth

840514112

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Crime of the 11th of November / Emma Goldman. — pp. 263-266 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 6, no. 9 (Nov. 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

a fight, and a crowd collects. If I get struck with a club, or someone hits me on the head with the butt of a revolver, I know that, according to Tim Sullivan's law, it must be a police officer, and that I am under the protection of law and order.

* * *

JOSEPH PULITZER, proprietor of the New York *World* died. The newspapers reek with canting eulogy and hollow admiration of the man. All voices join in the vociferous chorus of insipid commonplace and corruption. The burden of the professional plaint is Pulitzer's wonderful success, his marvellous intelligence and exceptional ability, lofty aims, uprightness, fearlessness, and so forth.

A few words to illumine the disgusting salaams.

Pulitzer began his career as a "determined radical,' the sworn enemy of the predatory rich. The accumulation of fabulous fortunes was to be curtailed, and reasonable limits set to individual income and possession; there was great danger of unchecked wealth corrupting public affairs. Within a short time, however, Pulitzer himself became a multi-millionaire of vitiating influence.

There was a time when Pulitzer was proud of his acquaintance with Michael Bakunin. But his "marvellous intelligence" quickly taught him that the path of the rebel against social injustice is thorny with poverty and persecution. His "lofty aims" resolved themselves into efforts of affording the people the luxury of gas kitchens at alleged "cheap" rates.

As journalistic sensation-monger he exerted his "astounding abilities" to pander to the lowest tastes of the "common people," indefatigably catering to popular superstition, prejudices, and fads. He trained his hired writers to "hit off" the events of the time, life with its struggles, as sensational copy, flat and stale, but "interesting" reading. His lofty purpose was to serve spicy sauce instead of meat, pungent chewing gum for bread, vapid soup for wine.

Were a future historian to suffer the misfortune of having to draw upon the pages of the *World* for his data of contemporary life, he would be forced to conclude that filthy politics, rape, kidnapping, murder, and divorce were the sole interests of our time.

To a greater degree than any other man Pulitzer fostered the degradation of the reporter even below the niveau of the detective. For social movement, for ideas and ideals above the daily curiosity of the good citizen and taxpayer, his newspaper had nothing but sneers. His eulogized "fearlessness" consisted in the shameless effrontery of feeding the public sweetened filth and mire labelled pure, wholesome nourishment.

* * *

SATURDAY, November 18th, MOTHER EARTH will celebrate its annual Fall Gathering (Terrace Lyceum, 206 East Broadway). Our friends will welcome the occasion to combine the festive spirit with comradely exchange of views and impressions.

The affairs of MOTHER EARTH have come to be the *rendezvous* of libertarian elements. Let each one help in still more emphasizing this year the unique character of our gatherings.

* * *

THE CRIME OF THE 11TH OF NOVEMBER

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

"Right forever on the scaffold,
Wrong forever on the throne."
—LOWELL.

LEST we forget: On the 11th of November, 1887, the representatives of government, the interpreters of the law of Chicago, committed a crime that belongs among the most damnable in history.

Eight men, active in the labor movement, eager to organize, to educate and to enlighten the workers, were held responsible for the throwing of a bomb, although the real perpetrator had never been discovered, and remains unknown to this very day. A corrupt police force, a bloodthirsty judge and a misguided jury, incited by a lying press, conspired in this dastardly act.

Four of these victims—Albert Parsons, August Spies, George Engel and Adolf Fischer—were strangled to death on Labor's black Friday, the 11th of November, 1887. Louis Lingg secured a dynamite

844

840514112

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Crime of the 11th of November / Emma Goldman. — pp. 263-266 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 6, no. 9 (Nov. 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

cartridge, which he exploded in his mouth, thus robbing the hangman of his prey.

Samuel Fielden, Michael Schwab and Oscar Neebe were sent to the Joliet Penitentiary. They were pardoned by Governor Altgeld in 1893. His reasons for doing so prove conclusively that the trial of our comrades was a deliberate outrage, a violation of every principle of truth and justice.

It would be well if the jurors who will sit in the McNamara trial could and would read the now famous document of Altgeld. It might help them to see that plutocratic influence, the bribing and terrorizing of witnesses, the perjury of contemptible spies to "fix" the evidence, make it well nigh impossible to get at the facts, and still more impossible to render a fair verdict.

* * * * * * * *

Louis Lingg closed his address before his virtual executioners in court with the following significant words:

"I protest against the conviction, against the decision of the court. I do not recognize your law, jumbled together as it is by the nonentities of by-gone centuries; and I do not recognize the decision of the court. My own counsel have conclusively proven, from the decisions of equally high courts, that a new trial should be granted us. The State's attorney quotes three times as many decisions, from perhaps still higher courts, to prove the opposite; and I am convinced that if in another trial, these decisions should be supported by twenty-five volumes, they will adduce one hundred in support of the contrary, if they shall be Anarchists who are being tried. And not even under such a law, a law that a schoolboy must despise, not even under such methods have they been able to 'legally' convict us. They have suborned perjury to boot."

Our comrades in Chicago knew what to expect in a court whose course was directed by the privileged classes. They knew that the high dignitaries of plutocracy and power clamored for the conviction and death of the Anarchists; and that the police as well

as the court were determined to meet the demand for a fair trial with deaf ears and with brutal fists.

In choking our comrades to death, the authorities hoped to nip in the bud the spirit of resistance among the workers, and to eradicate Anarchy. But they erred miserably. Ideas can never be killed.

When the Russian revolutionist, Soloviov, mounted the scaffold, he said: "I die to-day, but our cause will never die." The oppressors of mankind, much against their will, are being forced to recognize this truth as an irrefutable fact.

The memory of the heroic death of Parsons, Spies, Lingg, Engel and Fischer stirs anew our admiration and love for them; filling us with a yearning for a fate equally sublime as theirs. Our souls rise in deep indignation against their executioners; but hideous as their murder was, it yet gives birth to all that is good, strong and beautiful in our beings. Their memory inspires us to raise the torch of rebellion, to spread its glowing light from horizon to horizon, that the people may be gripped to their very depths, and cry out against the wanton crime.

That martyrs of liberty grow in their graves, that they become more dangerous in the stillness of their deaths than as living champions, that they remain immortal, must be a terrible truth to the enemies of freedom. Yet the vital lesson they will never learn.

While the memory of despots and tyrants, of statesmen and warriors is maintained only through artificial and arbitrary means, that of the pioneers and advance guards of humanity, perpetuates itself from generation to generation, serving as an impetus to lofty ideas and efforts, pointing the way to great and daring deeds. The thought of them has inspired the best and bravest of mankind and has urged them on to hold high the banner for which their comrades had given their lives. Not so the cursed memories of the Neros, the Napoleons, the Bismarcks, the Shermans, the Stolypins and their kind. It is productive only of hatred and strife, brutality and greed.

Our great dead, buried at Waldheim, in the Communard grave at Pere Lachaise and at the black wall of Montjuich, are the greatest educators of mankind.

845

840514112

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Crime of the 11th of November / Emma Goldman. — pp. 263-266 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 6, no. 9 (Nov. 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

They need no system; their sublime example helps to awaken enthusiasm, fortitude and zeal.

Our great dead, from the scaffold and the block, the rifle shots and the electric chair, who sent their last greetings to Liberty, are not dead; they live with us always, unto all eternity. Thus the people learn to know the men and women who have perished for the emancipation and liberation of all. Not a single one of the great legion has lost his life in vain. Their thoughts and deeds supply the leaven by means of which will rise a new and beautiful world.

* * *

WENDELL PHILLIPS, THE AGITATOR

By MAX BAGINSKI.

ON the twenty-ninth of November, it will be one hundred years since Wendell Phillips was born. He died the second of December eighteen hundred and eighty-four; and although that is but a short time ago, yet he is already nearly forgotten. Officially the American republic does not honor his memory; for he was neither a statesman in the service of Mammon, nor a general with a famous and a bloody record.

Wendell Phillips was a powerful agitator who sought no other success than the enlightenment and emancipation of the people. Agitation to him was a means by which to counteract the poison of despotism that for its own aggrandizement keeps the masses in ignorance and inertia. Such agitation is still tabooed. The only kind of agitation that meets with the approval of the leaders of the nation is that which keeps alive and active the superstition of the ballot, to the end that they may realize on the spoils of victory.

Barely twenty years of age, Wendell Phillips was on an easy road to a successful career. Endowed with brilliant abilities and having splendid connections, he opened a law office; but the spirit of the time willed it otherwise:

"In the early thirties," says Phillips' biographer, Lorenzo Sears, "a movement was under way which

was so unpopular that its promoters might as well have been paroled convicts."

Young Phillips threw his whole soul into this unpopular movement of the Abolitionists. He gave up his profession, "because he could not conscientiously follow it under a constitution which recognized property in human beings, and sanctioned their return to bondage after their escape from it."

It was very dangerous then to be an Abolitionist. William Lloyd Garrison was made the victim of a well-dressed mob and dragged through the streets of Boston. Publishers of Abolitionist papers were threatened and their offices demolished. In 1837 Elijah Parrish Lovejoy fell a victim in Alton, Illinois, to the revolver shots of the defenders of slavery. The printing plant of his paper, the *Observer,* had been destroyed four times in succession. His assailants were mostly well-to-do citizens, who saw in slavery a sacred and unimpeachable institution. Whoever dared to attack it, was a criminal and an atheist who sinned against the Lord himself. This anti-Abolitionist fury was fostered not a little by the government. President Andrew Jackson issued a proclamation against the "incendiary agitation" of the opponents of slavery. Congress, too, lent its aid to break down the "constitutional rights of petition, the freedom of the press and speech."

As wage slavery is to-day, so was black slavery then considered a God-annointed institution. The language, misrepresentations and calumnies used against the Abolitionists are almost identical with those hurled at the Anarchists in the present day.

Thanks to his intensity, enthusiasm and brillant oratory, Phillips was the most dangerous opponent, and therefore incurred the bitterest hatred of the slave holders. Time and again his meetings were broken up. Fanueil Hall, the scene of many storms, was eventually closed to the friends of the black man. Instead it was turned over to the defenders of slavery. The police willingly closed both eyes in the presence of these wild and savage scenes enacted by the rich mob, by politicians and ministers of the gospel; so that

846

840514114

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / Emma Goldman. — pp. 290-292 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 6, no. 10 (Dec. 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

THE desert of American thought and feeling has never been exposed in all its withered aspects and barren coldness as in the McNamara case.

Not that this cruel monster has not slain its victims before. In 1887 it choked to death five men on the gallows of Chicago. In 1892 it buried alive a real martyr of the people in the hell of the Pennsylvania penitentiary. In 1901 it killed a solitary soul risen from the dim distance of the social conflict, in the electric chair of Auburn prison.

But in all these cases the victims who ventured into the desert of American thought and feeling were Anarchists, dangerous elements to our self-centered interests, pariahs by law and the social ban.

Not so the McNamaras. They aimed not at the reconstruction of society and the overthrow of all its vicious institutions. They themselves would repudiate any connection with the Anarchists, because they believe in law, believe in citizenship, believe in their God.

Why, then, this mad cry against these men? Why this horrible, vicious outbreak against them?

Because America is the desert of thought and feeling. Because it never takes the trouble to know, and lacks the humanity to understand. Because to all motives of human action it continues blind among the blind. Lawmaker and judge, politician and reformer, trade unionist and Socialist, all puddle in the muddy waters of political life, bent on shallow, tinsel success. Never do they look beneath the surface, nor do they want to know that there is anything beneath the surface. The immediate is the thing, and for that they lie and cheat, compromise and barter, all for the shallow, tinsel, immediate success.

When something occurs, tremendous in its sweep, when it digs up the soil, root and all, our puddlers stand aghast, all unanimous in the cry, "We did not know! We have been deceived! To the cross with the criminal!"

O, for the craveness of ignorance! O, for the hypocrisy of cowardice, ever ready to shake its skirts, ever rushing to condemn, ever willing to convict, ever anxious to do the henchman's job!

But yesterday J. J. and J. B. McNamara were the

heroes of the mass; but yesterday their path was strewn with roses by a thousand eager hands; but yesterday their brows were crowned with laurel and their names hailed with palm leaves. To-day they are dragged in the mud, reviled and degraded, beaten and bruised by the very people who heard them gladly. O, for the craveness of ignorance, the sham of cowardice!

The McNamaras are not Anarchists, nor would they care for the sympathy of the Anarchists. Nor is it for their sake that the one voice in this wilderness of American life, that of MOTHER EARTH, cries out against the slimy, creepy, cowardly renunciation of these two victims of a bitter, relentless, and inexorable social war.

MOTHER EARTH cries out against the cheap and vulgar excuse: "We were deceived, we thought the men innocent, we did not know." Deceived in what? That there is a war? That there are two forces pitted against each other in a savage combat? Innocent of what? That the McNamaras did not stake their lives in behalf of their class, or that they had any choice between love and hate?

If the excuse of ignorance and deception is really true, then the trade unionists and reformers, the moralists and political Socialists are fools, and utterly unfit to be the teachers and leaders of the people. He who is ignorant of the condition of our present system, thereby becomes responsible for its existence.

But it is not ignorance, nor is it deception, nor yet the question of whether the McNamaras were innocent or guilty, that has dictated the course of the howling mob, in and out of office. It is cowardice—yellow, cringing fear of public opinion, the loss of a job, or the decrease in a few votes—that prompted the dastardly repudiation of the McNamaras. If nothing else, that alone would cleanse those two of all guilt, and throw the entire blame on those who continue blind because they *will* not see.

No, the McNamaras are not Anarchists, nor do they understand Anarchism. But Anarchism understands them. It understands the terrible struggle of the disinherited, the soul of the worker exploited, harrassed, humiliated, whipped into line, until finally driven to strike back with the only weapon his tormentors have left at hand.

847

840514114

The Emma Goldman Papers

Observations and Comments / Emma Goldman. — pp. 290-292 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 6, no. 10 (Dec. 1911).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Anarchism knows that if guilt there be, it must be hurled, not at the McNamaras, but at all and every apologist of the system of organized crime and violence; at those who keep up the brazen lie that this system can be reformed, or that anything can be changed in its régime by sentimental compromise or political wire pulling.

Knowing and understanding the power which drove the McNamaras, MOTHER EARTH must go on record against the blood-drunk defenders of law, against the howling chorus, in and out of labor ranks, against the "well-meaning" reformers who attempt to harmonize the insatiable beast, Capital, and its prey, Labor; against the contemptible political leeches who have made campaign material out of the McNamaras, and are now loudest in demanding the severest penalty.

Whatever the consequences, MOTHER EARTH would rather take the stand with the McNamaras than with the cowardly pack. It does so because it is neither ignorant nor cowardly, because it faces facts, terrible as they are, because it hopes that out of the realization of it all will emerge the redeemer, Liberty,—from the strife and pain, from blood and tears, the solidarity and harmony of the human race.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

APROPOS of the legalized wholesale slaughter when it serves the interests of capitalist and governmental robbery, or of religious hatred, the following item in the *Catholic World* is characteristic:

> The Turks, whether old or young, deserve—as their whole history has proved and the recent campaign in Albania has exemplified—complete and immediate expulsion from Europe and the destruction of all dominion over Christian races.

The *Catholic World* is convinced that the murderous persecution of other religions and races is the exclusive monopoly of Christianity.

* * *

LABOR leaders in this country are so busy repudiating the McNamaras and whitewashing themselves that they have neither time nor desire to take an interest in other important labor struggles.

For instance, the Aberdeen free speech fight is surely

of sufficient consequence to arouse the so-called labor representatives. The police of that city have terrorized the workers by breaking up protest meetings, raiding the headquarters of the I. W. W., confiscating the books and treasure of that organization, and railroading men to prison by uniformed thugs.

As usual, the real perpetrators of this wanton suppression of the freedom of speech, press, and assembly are the legalized thieves,—the money power of that section of the country. The excerpt below from a letter that reached our office from Aberdeen illuminates the situation:

> The fight is not between the city officials of Aberdeen and the I. W. W., but is in reality between the Lumber Trust and the Loggers. The lumber bosses in the Aberdeen country have been slashing wages in a frightful manner. This has resulted in a great wave of discontent sweeping over the workers. The I. W. W. attempted to direct this spirit of discontent along effective lines. The bosses objected, hence the fight. The bosses are thorough and have a perfect organization. They are making an attempt to wipe out all forms of labor organization, political, industrial or trade union type. They demand what they call industrial freedom. We call it absolute slavery. If we lose this fight, we may as well close all our halls in the west and forget that we ever tried to make a fight for economic freedom. . . . To win this fight we need publicity, funds, and men. We can supply the men. We feel sure that if you can, you will aid us in gathering funds and giving this struggle publicity. This fight is to be carried on along direct action lines: the bosses are determined that there shall not be even a pretense of law and order. Funds will be needed to feed the men while en route to Aberdeen, and as we will need at least 1,000 men, you can see the necessity for money.

We urge our readers to come to the immediate rescue in this great fight. Contributions are to be sent to Ed Gilbert, 110 South [illegible]t., Tacoma, Wash.

* *

THE campaign of [illegible]ution against the Home Colony and the *Agitator* still continues. The demurrer asked for in behalf of Jay Fox has been refused by the court, and the farce of a trial will therefore take place. Thereby the authorities hope to kill the *Agitator* and to discourage the men and women of the Colony who have made such a brave fight for freedom. That the authorities may not succeed in this infamous scheme, all liberal-minded people should at once come to the aid of our comrades of the *Agitator,* Lakebay Post Office, Home, Wash.

848

840514116

The Emma Goldman Papers

The New Year / Emma Goldman. – pp. 322-323 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 6, no. 11 (Jan. 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Peer beneath the pigment of a vitiated crust;
Delve into the depth of Truth, the foe of Gangrene, Rust;
There, in silent reason, let the Light guide your belief,
And Justice will make known to you your thought has been a Thief!

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

THE NEW YEAR

THE business Christians have just celebrated Christmas. To increase their profits and heighten the glory of God, they have exploited the Savior to good purpose. Splendid success of redemption! Christ gave his blood to enable the churches and department stores to do better business. If, on the right hand of the Heavenly Father, he does not swear and curse over this success to shock the very angels, his heart is a lamb's indeed.

Fortunately, we are atheists, not Christians, and in no wise responsible for the bitter disappointment of the Savior.

However, the hopes of MOTHER EARTH for the new year depend neither on religious nor political calculations. They rest on the awakened consciousness of the people, upon whom depends the great and glorious future,—a new social structure built on freedom and well-being for all.

For five years MOTHER EARTH has continued on its path to arouse the sleepy, strengthen the weak, and to enthuse the courageous, that they may form the advance guard for the coming great struggle. Its task was by no means easy; the hardships were much greater than the success. We had hoped for the assistance of all comrades, since it is well-nigh impossible to maintain a fearless and non-compromising publication in an atmosphere of mental cupidity and speculation. But they have not rallied to the support of MOTHER EARTH,—at least not to the extent one might have expected. Possibly our magazine does not meet with their entire approval; or, still more likely, the comrades fail to understand the difficult position of a paper like MOTHER EARTH, with neither a party machine nor an advertising department to back it. At any rate, the main sustenance of the magazine has come from my lectures. But for that

MOTHER EARTH would have long ago ceased to be. Needless to say, Anarchism would not die should the magazine discontinue. Yet Anarchism never needed an exponent so much as it does now. The Anarchist propaganda has passed the stage of ridicule and willful misunderstanding. People are beginning to realize its deep significance and wide import. MOTHER EARTH, as the only Anarchist magazine in America, should utilize to the utmost the social change of attitude, in order to disseminate wider knowledge and information of Anarchist principles. That is its purpose; therein consists its mission.

With this in view, we again appeal to all comrades and friends to rally round the little fighter that has so bravely withstood the stress and storm of five years. We ask, first of all, that our friends renew their subscriptions. Surely that is the least they can do. A copy of "The Soul of Man Under Socialism" will be given with every renewal. Those who are willing to do more should aid us in getting new subscribers. Any friend securing for the magazine three new subscriptions will be presented with a free copy of "Anarchism and Other Essays" or "Conquest of Bread." Comrades desirous to spread our ideas on a larger scale should send for our 5c. propaganda pamphlets, to be had at $3.00 per 100.

Comrades and friends, let us join hands for the new year in the great work before us. The time has never been more ripe. The present is fast nearing its doom. Out of the chaos the future emerges in harmony and beauty.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

P. S.—At the end of this month we begin our yearly tramp through the enemy's camp. We expect to open up with a new series of lectures in Pittsburgh, Pa. Comrades and groups wishing dates will please communicate with me at once. Address: 55 W. 28th street, New York.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

ANARCHY—Absence of government; disbelief in, and disregard of, invasion and authority based on coercion and force; a condition of society regulated by voluntary agreement instead of government.

849

840514118

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman. – pp. 24-27 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 1 (March 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THE POWER OF THE IDEAL

> The man I touch, there awakens in his blood a burning fever, that shall lick his blood as fire. The fever that I will give him shall be cured when his life is cured.—Olive Schreiner, in "A Dream of Wild Bees."

TWENTY years ago the Power of the Ideal touched my soul, and there awakened a burning fever. I thought then that the cure is the most desirable thing in all the world, the thing one must strive for, the thing so close at hand.

Since then I have learned that the inexorable, implacable Power of the Ideal concerns itself not with the cure; that it is itself the cure, that shall lick your blood like fire. This, too, I have come to know, that he who will be cured must forswear the Ideal. Never again shall the fierce, inspiring light lure him to its lofty heights; never again shall he know the longing for the thing that awakened him to life. Such is the fate of him who has forsworn the Ideal.

Twenty years play but a small part in the eternity of time; yet in the face of disheartening, discouraging, and paralizing events, twenty years themselves are an eternity. But once the fever is awakened, time and space become obliterated, blood and tears are wiped out, all pain and sorrow put to naught, by the compelling Power of the Ideal.

For a brief period it seemed almost as if American labor had been touched by the magic hand, as if its soul had been born to life with the burning fever to lick its blood as fire. But it was a false alarm, a mere symptom mistaken for the real thing. The danger is now safely locked away behind the iron bars of St. Quentin prison, and American labor has fallen back into its usual state of mental inertia and spiritual apathy. They saw in the McNamaras merely the cure; but to the force that consumed the two brothers as with the burning fever, the American workers remained blind and indifferent.

Thus the truism has again proven itself that they who aim but for the cure are doomed to die. It matters not of what nature the cure: it is never aught but a drug,

never aught but an apology for the dying fires of the ideal, too weak to kindle into life the burning fever that shall lick one's blood as fire.

Nowhere is this truism borne out with greater force than among those who pass as Socialists to-day. Time was when they were awake with a burning fever, when the illuminating light on the mountain top drew them on with impelling force. But that time is no more. Instead, the Socialists are now content with the cure,—the most dangerous of all cures, the politic cure, which has drugged their ideal to sleep, and completely extinguished the fever within them.

In Cleveland and Lorain, in Elyria and Columbus, in Dayton and Indianapolis, in St. Louis and Chicago, the political quacks are busy concocting the pills that are to bring the cure. Woe be to him or her who refuses the proscribed dose! They are anathema, and must be stoned to death. Like the Catholic Church, the Socialist machine has become the relentless, blind foe of the Ideal.

In Cleveland the machine dictates who of its members may be permitted to face the heathen Anarchist in public debate. In Lorain and Elyria, in Columbus, Indianapolis, and St. Louis, the same machine proclaims the ban on those who will not be cured by the political quacks. But the place that has proved most conclusively that the Socialists in their mad clamor for the cure have lost their ideal, is Dayton, O.

Perhaps our readers had better judge for themselves, that they may fully realize what the political zealots are doing in the name of the burning fever that once licked the soul of Socialism as a fire. In Dayton, O., the following resolution and statement were adopted antagonizing the scheduled debate for Sunday between Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, and Frank Midney:

> Resolved, That Local Dayton disapproves of any of its members debating with Miss Emma Goldman at this time, and hereby forbids such action on the part of any member.
>
> Resolved, That we authorize and instruct our recording secretary to secure a competent person or persons to attend the Goldman debate, if it should be held, in order to accurately report the same to the local; but that outside the person or persons so chosen by the recording secretary, Local Dayton requests the Socialists to remain away from the proposed debate

Following is in part the statement prepared for the press:

850

840514118

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman. – pp. 24-27 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 1 (March 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The Socialist Party has reached the stage of its constructive work. Our ultimate object is to take over the collectively used means of life and conduct them democratically for all the workers, and so for all the human race. And our method is just as fully determined as our ultimate object. We propose to accomplish our work by patiently and persistently building a political organization of and by the workers, which organization shall at last secure the entire power of government. We work entirely in the open. We are opposed to intrigue and individual action. We seek the intelligent and collective action of all the workers.

We are therefore opposed to Anarchy in all of its forms. But we are especially opposed to the Anarchists who are in power, the Anarchists of corrupt government and corrupt business. These are the opposition to our cause, and we seek to meet them in the open and defeat them.

We would have taken no notice of Miss Goldman's visit to this city if the public had not been imposed upon. The Socialists of Dayton are not debating with Miss Goldman at this time. We ask all Socialists of this city (organized and unorganized) to remain away from the proposed debate if it is held. The Socialists will not be represented should the debate occur.

All members of Local Dayton *are expressly forbidden to take any public part in the proposed event.*

We warn the puhlic in advance that if any "Socialist" demonstration or opposition is reported to have occurred at the debate, if held, it will be a demonstration of Anarchists masquerading as Socialists. The answer of the Socialists will be to remain away from the proposed occasion. If the general public is interested in knowing the authorized word of the Socialists of Dayton with reference to the alleged dynamiters, they are cordially invited to attend a free meeting at the Auditorium Theatre, Sunday night, where that subject will be discussed.

The sinner has since been excommunicated from the Socialist party, for a period of two years. Luckily this new church lacks the power to erect its scaffolds, or Mr. Midney would meet with the fate of the heretics of the past. It is to be hoped, for his sake, that he may see the terrible danger of this growing inquisition which would, if it could, become the modern Torquemada, yet more cruel, because lacking even the vision of the Spanish predecessor. Such is the penalty for those who mistake the cure for the ideal. A cure indeed, from its own life-dream, its own inspiring purpose, its own idealism, even. A cringing, creeping, nauseating thing, is this cure.

It seems dark just now on the horizon of American life; yet there is a glimmering light in the distance, calling and comforting to him who can but see it. Lawrence, Mass., is that light,—and the burning fever its

newly awakened, impelling force. Thus the Ideal is never to be eradicated.

My meetings, though small, have made up the lack of numbers by interest and enthusiasm for the light that streams from Lawrence. Everywhere this light is giving birth to new hopes, to a new chord in the great human struggle. Never once have I appealed in vain in behalf of Lawrence, the battle ground where the great fight is being waged so heroically. If, then, my work had accomplished nothing else, the help for Lawrence would surely justify the pain the tour entails.

"And the burning fever I shall give him shall not be cured until life is cured." But life creates life; it therefore recreates the fever that shall lick the blood as fire. Such is the inexorable, implacable Power of the Ideal.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

P. S. So far the following sums were collected for the benefit of the Lawrence strike.

Fieldman—E. G. debate, Carnegie Hall, N. Y.	$532.00
Fieldman—E. G. debate, Republic Theatre.	143.00
Open-air meeting, Union Square, N. Y.	100.00
Cleveland, O., Ruthenberg—E. G. debate	32.00
Cleveland, O., E. G. Jewish meeting	35.00
Lorain, O., E. G. meeting (Socialist Administration)	3.00
Columbus, O., E. G. meeting	5.48
Dayton, O., Midney—E. G. debate	21.00
Indianapolis, Ind., E. G. meeting	19.72
St. Louis, Mo., E. G. meeting	62.62

The New York amount turned over to Bill Haywood and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

All other moneys sent to Joseph Bedard, Lawrence, Mass. The Chicago amount will be accounted for in next issue. E. G.

* * *

ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

851

840514120

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman. — pp. 49-54 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 2 (April 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Men beaten up in cells, their screams being heard by the other prisoners.

Police refuse to allow copies of San Francisco *Bulletin* or San Diego *Herald*, containing news items on fight, to be sold on streets, and arresting all who attempt sale of same.

Sworn affidavits as to bitter prejudice on part of members of grand jury, who indicted prisoners on felony charge, are held by judge in no way to invalidate indictment. Yet jury was not charged to try men by name, but as members of the I. W. W. The felony charges are based on the action of prisoners who destroyed jail property, as protest against being denied food and water, being compelled by thirst to drink out of the toilet.

Between two and three hundred men, women and children have been arrested, being members of the I. W. W., Socialist Party, and trades unions.

The trades unions on the coast are realizing that this fight is their fight and every effort will be made to march to San Diego the 50,000 unemployed men who will soon be paraded in San Francisco. Officials of the A. F. of L. of Los Angeles state that when this army reaches Los Angeles in its line of march, that city will swell the ranks by 10,000.

Money is needed to conduct the defense of the many who are to be railroaded to the penitentiary on a charge of criminal conspiracy—conspiracy to violate a law aimed at free speech and organized labor. These men, women and children are fighting your fight—a fight that must be fought if the labor and revolutionary movement of the Pacific Coast is to retain any of the so-called inherent rights previously existent. It is quite possible that the war in San Diego will resolve itself into a struggle of national import, and you are strongly urged to do your part in giving the oligarchy's association the greatest fight in its experience.

Trusting that the above will inspire you to put yourselves immediately on record as supporters of the working class in this battle, both by way of appropriate and effective publicity and by financial assistance to the extent of your ability, we are

Collectively yours,

CALIFORNIA FREE SPEECH LEAGUE,
PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT,
335 Union Building, San Diego, Cal.

At the present moment a number of presidential candidates are claiming the public ear. They don't tire assuring us of their tremendous interest in the welfare of the nation. But none of them—nor our loud-mouthed press—has a single word of protest against the outrages upon the elemental rights of the people being perpetrated throughout the country by plutocratic conspirators, aided by irresponsible law maniacs. It is high time—and we want to impress this most forcibly upon the labor

organizations of the country, as well as upon the enemy—that this hounding of the workers be stopped, and stopped quickly, with a firm and resolute hand. For this purpose we call upon the workingmen of the country at once to proceed to organize militant self-defence bodies, to assert, aggressively and determinedly, their rights to life and liberty.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

Unemployed of America! Proletarians, Attention!

March on San Diego. Join the army of ten thousand marching from San Francisco; join the March of the Hungry. Go to San Diego; demand your right of Free Speech; demand bread; demand freedom. You are not wanted where you are, and San Diego needs you. Fall in line. BE MEN.

California Free Speech League.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

THE POWER OF THE IDEAL

> "For the man I touch there is a path traced out in the sand by a finger which no man sees. That he must follow. Some times it leads almost to the top, and then turns down suddenly into the valley. He must follow it, though none else sees the tracing."
>
> —OLIVE SCHREINER, in
> "A Dream of Wild Bees."

AND who is more ready with advice than those that do not see the tracing? If the struggle is hard, they say, why not give up? why go on? How are they to know that he who is touched by the Ideal, must follow the tracing in the sand, though it never lead but down to the valley? They do not know, hence do not understand.

Since last I wrote, our path never lead but to the valley. More than once it seemed as though we could not continue. But such is the power of the Ideal, that one must go on in spite of himself. At the moment of black despair, of heartrending disappointment, there always appears the mountain top, so temptingly near; and though none else sees the tracing, he whom the ideal has touched must go on.

852

840514120

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman. — pp. 49-54 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 2 (April 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

CHICAGO, always hideous and depressing, has been made endurable by the faithful few MOTHER EARTH has gathered on its tireless journey. But even they could not infuse life into the monotony of Chicago. And but for the debates, there would be nothing of interest to record. However, the debates helped to disclose the great gap in the world of American intellectual life. They also showed, more than Anarchists ever could, the emptiness and bombast of American Socialism.

A friend of mine nicknamed Chicago "I second the motion," because it has no originality and always apes New York. I do not think I am particularly addicted to local patriotism, yet I am convinced that such limitations as demonstrated by one of my opponents, Dr. Denslow Lewis, and such vulgarity as displayed by the "Prophet of Chicago Socialism," Arthur Morrow Lewis, are entirely Chicagoan, since no one in New York could be guilty of either to such an extent.

Dr. Lewis is a well-known physician, a man who for years has been somewhat of a pioneer in urging sex instruction in schools. One would therefore suppose him to be well posted and broad-minded. But he is woefully lacking in both. His defence of the institution of marriage, as the conserver of the best interests in society, consisted of an eulogy of the new tendency of the State in demanding marriage certificates of health. That, the Doctor urged, would protect woman, and insure greater harmony in the marriage relation. The human mind is indeed a strange compound, if an educated, enlightened man will see in the ever growing invasiveness of the State a cure for our social cancers.

The debate with the Socialist Prophet was, to say the least, funny. It took this man two years to decide whether E. G. was worthy of his "Eminence." I do not know what decided in my favor, except that Mr. Lewis may have recognized that E. G. is a good business investment. At any rate, after much bargaining, the "prize fight" was agreed upon. And though my Socialist opponent proved himself more amateurish than a little street urchin, I am grateful to him for the opportunity he has given his flock to see how barren the man is, when he is called upon to defend his cherished position. Verily, among the blind the one-eyed is the seer; otherwise his adherents would long ere this have seen the shallowness of the man.

I have debated with a great many Socialists, but for bombast and arrogance, Lewis beats them all. These were some of his intellectual gems, "Direct action is unscientific, because the I. W. W. are bums, tramps, and hoboes, easily bought and sold; therefore it is insanity to expect anything vital from them." "Insanity, madness, idiocy, and stupidity" are Mr. Lewis's favorite stock phrases, applied to every one who will not agree with him. Needless to say, the Anarchists—according to Mr. Lewis—are nothing but a pack of lunatics; as to Kropotkin, he is just foolish. However, that is not all. "Direct action means doing things with your bare hands. The direct actionist will raise a car with his bare hands, instead of taking a lever." Of course, the lever is political action. "Because I work within the law," said Mr. Lewis, "I can speak in the finest halls in Chicago. But look at E. G., she is a direct actionist, she must speak in dirty halls. What, then, does she accomplish?"

There was much more of such wisdom, but these quotations will suffice to acquaint our readers with the quality of the man's mind and character. Yet he has been for years the leader and teacher of some people; imagine, if you can, what these people must be. In the way of preparing his congregation, Lewis had the bad taste to announce a lecture on "The Failure of the Anarchist Philosophy," just four days before the debate. But even that stood him to little purpose. His insinuations, his cruel, unjust attacks on the I. W. W. boys, who now fill the jails in San Diego and who fought such a heroic battle in Lawrence, who starve and suffer, while Lewis travels about in his automobile, were more than even his sheep could stand. The debate itself was, of course, a farce. I had to use all of my time to defend the "bums, hoboes, and tramps," not so much because they needed a defence, but because all my sensibilities were outraged by a supposed Socialist using such "arguments" regarding a world-wide economic awakening. Then, too, it has always been an Anarchist tradition to sponsor the victims of political demagogues—the workers, used, betrayed, humiliated, and reviled by their leaders.

The Jewish meetings proved most interesting. Apart

853

840514120
The Emma Goldman Papers
The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman. — pp. 49-54 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 7, no. 2 (April 1912).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

of being the largest, they were also the most worth while, because of their quality. Certainly no other race will furnish from five hundred to a thousand people interested in such subjects as "Art and Revolution" or "Chantecleer," nor will one easily find so much understanding and fine apprcciation among other people. The credit for the success of the Jewish meetings is due entirely to Comrade Wm. Natansohn, his sisters, and our faithful little Dr. Miriam Yampolsky.

Our visit to GRAND RAPIDS, while causing a considerable loss, was made good through the reunion with our splendid Comrade Wm. Buwalda. He and Comrade Bergman certainly left nothing undone to make the meetings successful. But between the Catholic Church to poison the minds of the masses, and the numerous factories to emaciate their bodies, it is difficult to get a large audience. Our ex-soldier boy is as fine as ever. He is a shining example for the power of character that will survive all odds. And one must have a very strong character, to come out unmarred by fifteen years in the U. S. army.

DETROIT, with its memories of *Der Arme Teufel,* its recollections of roses, wine, and song, can never quite lose its charm, dismal as the present atmosphere is. The faithful Mohican of the old guard, Emma Clausen, acquitted herself admirably as an "advance agent." With Comrade Ben Gordon she worked for weeks to make my coming known, and their efforts resulted in splendid audiences. On the other hand, our friends Mr. McKenney and Dr. Carr, provided the social phase of our visit, which made it both pleasant and restful.

ANN ARBOR has undergone a marvelous transformation since our first experience there. The same students who two years ago nearly caused a riot, were as gentle as lambs, most attentive and respectful, which is a triumph indeed. To a large extent this may be due to Prof. R. M. Wenley, who had delivered a series of lectures on Anarchism, thus dispelling the fog in the student's mind. But on the other hand, it was our first visit and the wild display of the students which no doubt induced the good Professor to deliver his course. Whichever the case, the change has taken place.

MILWAUKEE, the ruins of the erstwhile citadel of So-

cialism, bears witness to the paralyzing effect of the political hashish. Heine said that to waken the Germans one would have to tickle them with a lamp post between the ribs. Since Socialist politics has entered Milwaukee, nothing short of a torpedo will awaken them. I admire the courage of Comrade Leo Copczynski, if he can retain his devotion and zeal in such a sluggish, deadening atmosphere.

MADISON is still on the map, but the students do not make it a particular credit to the rest of the world. There are exceptions, of course. The average student, however, could learn much from some of our Jewish shop girls and boys. The latter are by far more alert, interested and intelligent, than these pampered American fellows, to whom college life is but a means to more successfully meet the world of greed and power.

MINNEAPOLIS is always a joy, and our friends ever true blue. Alas, the unique little Bohemian studio, which so charmed us last year, is no more. It was raided by the eunuchs of American morals, because the artists had made the unpardonable mistake of imagining that art in America can go about without pants and skirts. Think of such a crime! The "offensive nudes" are now in the safe care of the police, and our group of artists scattered to the winds. Ruth is still here. She it was who arranged the meetings, this being her first experience; and she did fine. With her, Esther Rabinowitch, Ada Wolfe, Axelson, and a few more friends worked hard for the lectures, while our old companions Grethen, Caspar, Richmand, and one or two others, furnished the fellowship part of the visit, which made it both pleasant and useful.

OMAHA, while never overburdening us with worldly success, always retains a warm place in our hearts. No small part of that is due to the sweet and gentle spirit of dear Mother Fageberg. She and her girls are a most remarkable family; their devotion to each other, and their kindness to all who come to them, make one feel far removed from this petty, ugly world of ours.

Our ever young and vigorous Mother Fageberg is certainly an inspiration. I felt it more this time than before, when I listened to her reminiscences of her meeting Bakunin in her native land, Sweden, after his escape

854

840514120
The Emma Goldman Papers
The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman. – pp. 49-54 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 2 (April 1912).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

from Russia. The young Swedish girl carried away by the master mind and deep stirring powers of the Father of Anarchism. After fifty years of barren American life, Mother Fageberg is as she must have been then, in Bakunin's presence, idealistic and full of enthusiasm, now carried away by one who, like herself, received her first inspiration through the wisdom of a great teacher. How powerful is the Ideal, sweeping across space and time, knitting people together into one great, sweet comradeship.

Omaha added to our list of friends young Clarence Keelins, so unlike his generation. If only sordid life will not break him, he is sure to prove a valuable addition to our ranks. Also, our friend Sarah Vermehren, who faced the floods rather than miss the meetings. And, of course, our old faithful worker, Agursky.

After the impetus given to all of us by the Lawrence strike (for which, among other sums already acknowledged, $130.00 were contributed in Chicago), comes the battle for free speech in San Diego, which should enlist the cooperation and sympathy of every liberty lover. We have already started a fund, and will continue to hold that brave fight up before the public.

And though none else sees the tracing, he who has been touched by the Ideal must follow it to the very end.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

We mean to spend two weeks in Colorado, taking in Pueblo, Colorado Springs, Cripple Creek, and Boulder; thence to the seat of war, San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. We can be reached, until April 25th, Gen. Delivery, Denver. After that, until May 12th, Gen. Delivery, Los Angeles.

* * *

ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

BRIEUX'S THREE PLAYS

By M. BAGINSKI.

BERNARD SHAW contributed a long and clever preface to *Three Plays,* by Brieux, the most daring dramatist of our time. We use "daring" advisedly, because in spite of all our "enlightenment" and "modernity" it requires a good deal of courage openly and frankly to deal with the problems involved in these dramas; problems which, though they have long since revealed to the initiated the shame and incompetence of society, are still tabooed by the institutions that dominate public opinion, by universities and schools. These problems are of the greatest significance to life, to individual as well as to social welfare. They touch the intimate relationship of the family—of men, women, and children. And yet a blindfolded morality and persistent hypocrisy strive their utmost to keep these problems in the swamp of ignorance and silence.

In *Three Plays* Bricux boldly tears the veil off these forbidden subjects. He treads the path of Balzac, Ibsen, Zola, Maupassant, Tolstoy, Strindberg; but often he differs from them, in so far as the characters in his plays are entirely predetermined by their social conditions and environment; they flutter helplessly, like flies entangled in the spider's web. At every step the reader gets the overpowering impression of the necessity of revolutionizing social, economic, and sexual conditions of life, in order that the individual may breathe more freely. At every step the characters in the plays of Brieux run painfully up against the thick walls of social and moral prejudices that bar their way and hem them in, helplessly, on every side.

In the first play, *Maternity,* Brieux attacks the advocates of large families, of unlimited procreation. Who thunders loudest against "race suicide"? The capitalists and the generals. With good reason: they require armies of pariahs to fill their factories, they need the youth of the nations for the slaughter-fields of war. The hundreds of thousands of unemployed serve to depress wages, and thus increase the dividends of the wealthy patriots who, on their part, take very good care to limit their own families. In their case, many children would tend to

855

821221002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Sex Problem Talks Fill Hall to Doors, Says Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman.— p. 12 ; 25 cm. *In* The Daily News [Denver]. —(April 17, 1912).

Obtained from the Denver Public Library, Denver, CO. Institutional Location: Western History Department.

CITY HISE 6

ate Den- o High- hool.

ROAD

of Theatre ship on

d in the night to & Inter- tly pur- ompany, a racks from t line near Park addi- ion to the e view of the tracks

by Alder- stated that ay with it connection moffat road that both be married the trans- night that tion is to of freight ermountain which are terests.

City.

turn to the ade. Two he company ect either all right to on to made the streets

Alderman opening of very conve- ng the Mc- Mahoney handed him roduce it.

Mrs Effie the passage ening con- ion hashing protest the they desire their ants to her let- cents would many poor compelled in han pay the

ranting to he Refining ranchise for name of all West Thir- fifteen street or alley be- ween street Sixteenth e discussion ture of nine

NTROL.

It is—The is to be a Democratic ill most here com district ar at large on. Indica- ry to block

SEX PROBLEM TALKS FILL HALL TO DOORS, SAYS EMMA GOLDMAN

Noted "Anarchist" Discusses Modern Day Questions in "Sale and Sane" Interview; Says She Has Preached Ideas Now Being Exploited in Magazines.

BY ALICE ROSE.

"It is really quite interesting to note," said Emma Goldman yesterday afternoon, "that when I come to Denver my lectures upon the great, sweeping, broad subjects of economics are very poorly attended, but when I lecture upon sex subjects the hall is packed. At my last visit I counted fifteen automobiles in front of the dingy, cheap little hall in which I talked."

"And do you regard this as a sign of awakening thought or of minds looking for something they think will be not—also?" I asked. Miss Goldman smiled rather strangely and replied:

"Whatever the motive was that brought these people to that lecture, they appeared extremely interested and expressed a deep interest in the remarks.

"Indeed, I attribute it to the slow but sure awakening. You cannot imagine the changes that have come in the last ten years. Positively, when I talked upon sex subjects ten years ago I was ill for days afterwards. The experience of looking into those leering faces, of talking to people who grasped only what they thought to be a discussion of the lewd, of the immoral, was too much for me. I was only preaching the very things that are being discussed today in literature and in universities.



Alice Rose.

"Yes, indeed, in college," continued Miss Goldman. "My very dear friend, Dr. Ulrich, a woman of great learning and advanced views, is now instructor of eugenics in the University of Minnesota. Do you regard that as a step in advance?"

All in Literature.

The most insistent thought that keeps coming into one's mind when talking to Emma Goldman, called in terror, by the unthinking, a red-handed anarchist, recognized by the dispassionate as one of the greatest intellectual forces of the day, is that these views which she has been preaching for the past twenty years are being served to us with great flourish of mental pyrotechnics in our recent "advanced" literature.

This thought, that when Emma Goldman makes a statement it is regarded as shockingly anarchistic, but when Ellen Keyes or Karin Michaelis express the same view it is regarded as the message of the "emancipated," was so overpowering yesterday afternoon that I asked Miss Goldman what she thought about it.

"The pioneer in any movement is bound to be branded by conventionality," said Miss Goldman, "and the acceptance of ideas which were regarded as anarchistic, as food for discussion in clubs today shows the slow but sure awakening of the feminine mind, at least."

Return to Chastestos.

"Do you, in view of all the things you have endured for the sake of your ideas and beliefs, regard your struggle as worth while? Do you consider the struggle against the dark wall of decent ignorance for the illuminating of the few worth while?"

Miss Goldman smiled. "Do you remember the lines in Chanticleer, where the Cock discovers that he does not cause the sun to rise?" she inquired. He was content to announce the coming of the dawn.

"Mary Wollstonecraft," continued Miss Goldman, "preached what I am preaching years ago. She was the real pioneer, and whenever I have encountered difficulties I look back at this brave woman who lived in convention-bound England at a time when it was far more difficult to gain self-expression than it is even now."

Miss Goldman indeed does not regard suffrage in Colorado as advancing the general status of women particularly, for she holds that here and in other suffrage states the women are afraid to advance on account of their political positions. The ballot, she says, has not developed them mentally.

"Women in states where suffrage does not exist are more fearless in self-expression than in those states where they have the franchise. Those women fighting in England, while they may cease to develop after the battle is won, are making great strides, for they are sacrificing everything for their ideas and their ideals."

Strike of the Sex.

"What do you consider the greatest question, the greatest upheaval of the present day? Is it not the woman movement?" I inquired.

"It is indeed," replied Emma Goldman. "We may call present conditions the strike of the sex.

"The important thing for women to consider, however, is that the economic emancipation of the race is absolutely interwoven with sex enslavement. Economic conditions must be solved along with the woman question. Woman has too long been a commodity instead of a creative force; today, however, she is solving her questions herself and the individual emancipation is the forerunner, of course, of a more universal emancipation."

The recent newspaper articles all over the country in regard to Karin Michaelis' startling assertion that a woman has the right to motherhood when she desires brought to mind the fact that Emma Goldman, "anarchist," accused of immoral teaching, has long accepted this new newspaper admitted contention.

"Why, I think the same as I have always thought," said Emma Goldman. "Karin Michaelis is bringing out no new idea. I assert that until women may bear children when they please the future race will be just that much retarded."

Question of Motherhood.

"Motherhood should be a desired event in a woman's life. She should have the right to bring into the world offspring by a man she loves. She should not be forced to bear children against her will because she wears a gold band on her left hand. All of which merely reverts to the subject of eugenics, a science which may be taught in other universities than Minnesota and which will lead to the betterment of the coming generation."

The teaching of sex hygiene in the schools and the open discussion by the Mothers' congress of Denver Miss Goldman regards as encouraging signs.

"If only these in authority knew how to direct the awakening of sex in adolescence into the right channels we would have art and music and literature, the beautiful expressions of this force, instead of the ugly motifs which ignorance breeds in our convention-bound system," she said.

Tonight at East Turner hall Emma Goldman gives her lecture, "Sex, the Great Element of Creative Work." Concerning this she maintains with scientists it is as tremendous a power that its development into vice through ignorance is a crime of society.

A quiet, bomb-throwingless, bloodless conversation was this interview with Emma Goldman, a woman who has read beyond the belief of the busy workers' ideas, a thinker who has, through her insistence upon telling the truth, expressed her ideas regardless of conventions.

So far as the Nemesis policeman who has pursued the plain-spoken Emma Goldman, he may be found in other scenes where women fearlessly express their ideas, only, of course, he does not always wear a uniform and carry a club.

EMMA GOLDMAN, Famous Expounder of Anarchistic Doctrine, in Denver to Deliver Lectures



FAMOUS FOU WI

James W perado, M

1,000 Pl

Slain Ma Western

VICTO James A notorious man," kn as one of found dead mountain of the For One Frank peeling an walk alon upon Worf bullet hol frozen and several da viewed the perade wa The last was in Cri then gone any inquir of Warfor bruised, a blows fro

Not the as to wh sheriff's to work may lead taken fro caliber, w ability, m hand in t Workm ago. Whe in search from Mi as a depu In Nove killed Ch two unkn constable Warford is agree was disch ward Bail his gun.

Warfor alleged

SLAUGHTER! YES, CASS ALSO RAN!

EVANS-BAILEY ROLLER WINS PRIMARY

The time

Will you secure pleasurable mil "just tires"?

"Goodrich Se GOOD WIL

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

856

890505006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Pulpitless Preacher Creates Scene at Goldman Meeting / Emma Goldman.— p. 16 ; 43 cm. *In* The Denver Post. —(April 17, 1912).

Obtained from Butler Library, Columbia University.

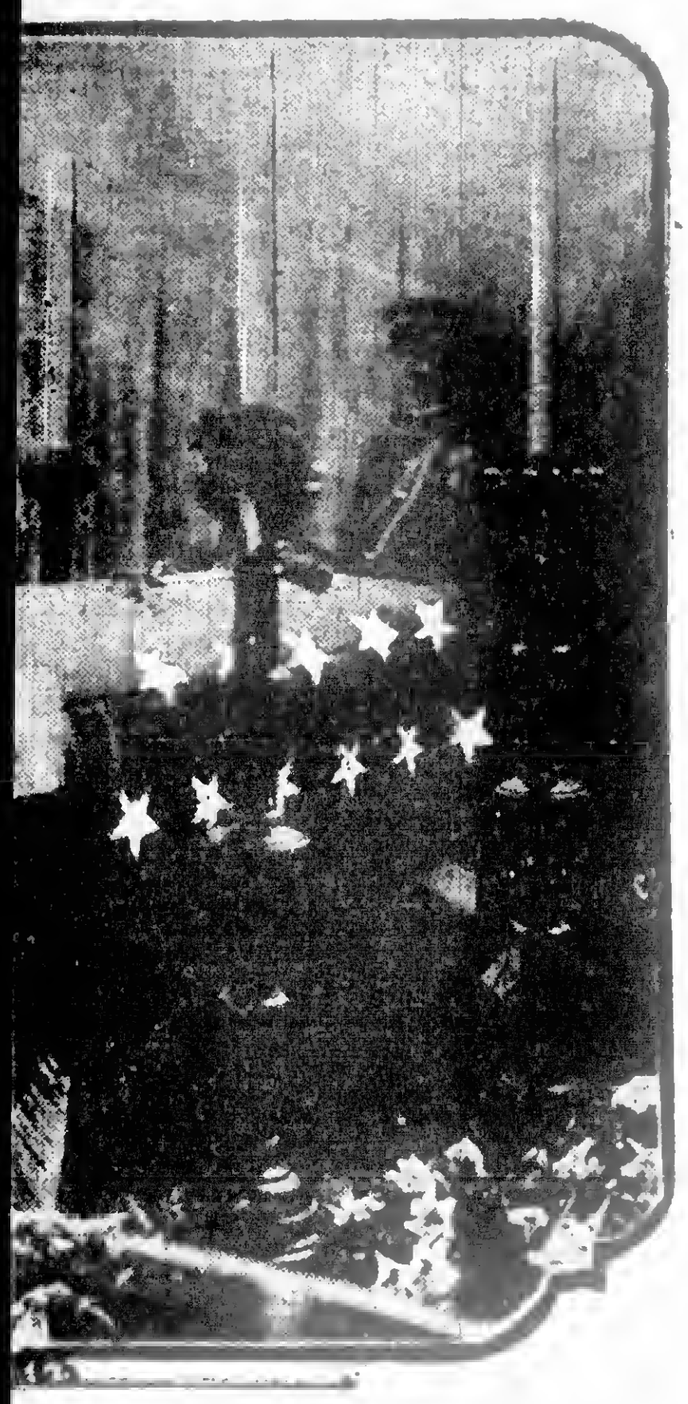
. the world is at last going to give it a trial.—Elbert Hubba

NVER POST

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17, 1912. TWENTIETH YEAR.



GRANT LIES HIMSELF BUILT



apel at Governor's Island—the structure he had built.

AN TO BROWN

archy Will on Ros- cler.

elhoom of the an will deliver ntecler. Miss e of the most merica today, ter from her way to arrive one who has ned to her ar- or withholds ons intellectu-

Palace will be o hold to the ve caught the and since soc- in the speaker will be one of thered together

CARPATHIA SENDS DISTRESS MESSAGE ASKING FOR HELP

Wireless Reported From Cape Cod Causes Fresh Alarm.

Well Fleet, Mass., April 17.—"Carpathia has asked for help."

This message was received here this afternoon through the lighthouse station at North Truro, on Cape Cod. The vessel gave her position as 50 miles east of Cape Cod at noon.

The operator says he is positive that the Carpathia has all the passengers of the Titanic that were rescued, numbering approximately 800. Those on board saw a number of bodies floating about in the debris which strewed the ocean's surface. The wireless operator also stated that

PULPITLESS PREACHER CREATES SCENE AT GOLDMAN MEETING

Anarchist Lecturer Says Pinkham Is Delirious and Needs Nurse; High Society Cheers Radical Theoress.

(By FRANCES WAYNE.)

Merely to prove that an anarchist can't get along without authority and law any more than he can go without clothes and evade being pinched, the Rev. Henry W. Pinkham—always the village cut-up—rough housed the meeting in which Emma Goldman expounded on "Socialism Caught in a Political Trap," to high society and a few of the "rest of us" at East Turner hall last night.

It is in the memory of even the pin-feathered gentry when it was the pleasure and the bounded duty of everything and everybody, from the "cop on the beat" to the hall cat, to mar the tranquility of Miss Goldman's argument. And as for nice people swapping two bits for a seat at her lecture—the thing was unheard of.

But times have changed. The "theories" which Emma Goldman has preached and shouted above the clamor and riot of clanking bottles and the hiss of the frilletine have become the accepted belief of thousands of law-abiding people who have discovered, if such a national shame as the Lawrence strike is to be avoided, men and women must become so humane and so law-abiding that they will need no law, and no authority. Hence Miss Goldman is slowly being absorbed by respectability. She is become de rigeur and other things, as far as ennuied society is concerned.

Society, grown tired of imitating a stuffed, glass-eyed aviary, is searching for thrills. Miss Goldman has 'em in carload lots. As a consequence, much of the smart set went to East Turner hall last night, climbed through the beer fumes to the adultorium and took front seats.

Mrs. Richard Sykes, crisp as a pretzel in tailored togs, with neck bow of shimmering tulle and Lichtenstein hat, accompanied Mrs. Horton Pope, wearing furs and a creation in blue. Mrs. William Ward, always strenuous in the service of the uplift, found out from Emma G. how the maximum result may be attained by the minimum effort and applauded as did the low browed gentleman from Hungnry, who sat adjacent.

Miss Goldmnn had declared that socialism had flown wide of its mark by going into politics and becoming the tool of politicians. She maintained that its dreaming adherents had been caught in a trap laid by wide awake schemers, and if there was to be any hope for the people, that hope lay in anarchism.

Whereupon, in the time of questions, uprose the Rev. Mr. Pinkham and asked why it was that "the barker" had imposed a limit on human speech by announcing that "there would be a few short questions allowed."

"Now no one who is not insane can become an anarchist," declared the pulpitless parson. "And to prove that anarchism is a mere vapory theory, I will venture to prove that authority and rules and laws will be called into force before I finish my remarks."

Whereupon the Reverend Pinky wound up his mouth and seemed to forget where he had left it.

Betimes society grew hectic and enthused. One well-known, scholarly lady listening to a person from Servia declare that he "had gotten two in the hall"—meaning tickets dispensed for an anarchist lecture at a Socialist meeting—shouted at the offender, "Be quiet or you'll get it in the neck!" Which levity and elemental courage brought a genuine laugh from her fellow auditors.

A gentleman perched nigh unto this part rose and asked if he could get his quarter back, since he had come to the hall to hear Miss Goldman and did not care to listen to the chuggings of the vocalizing person.

The voice of Pinkham went on. Miss Goldman, resembling Mrs. Fiske nt Rebecca West, made notes. Anon questions were hot through the Pinkham drone, which elicited the attention of the star, who made more memoranda. By this time Pinkham had become an island entirely surrounded by irate membera of the audience, who declared they wouldn't be short changed and wanted to hear Miss Goldman.

Miss Goldman rose slowly, waved her small hands, and vowed that the human phonograph needed a nurse.

"The man who has taken up most of the evening talking doesn't understand the first principles of anarchism or socialism," exclaimed Miss Goldman. "He says no one but insane people are anarchists. Being n trained nurse by profession, I can tell when a man has a temperature. Also the gentleman, being delirious, is not competent to tell when others are insane. Indeed, though, it is characteristic of the insane to call other people crazy.

"Anarchism means liberty," went on the speaker, "and freedom of the individual, as long as it does not take away the liberty and freedom of another or invade his rights, as this man has done. Why, he isn't even a socialist, he is an elementalist, and under other circumstances would come in here and beat his way to attention by using clubs. Anarchism does not believe in invasion, but it does hold the right to resist a man who attempts invasion. This poor, fevered person is not only an elemaotalist, but a governmentalist and he needs a nurse, and that quickly."

Pinkham subdued—his point proved to his own satisfaction—sat in his chair and smiled blandly backk at the commanding woman on the stage, whose wit is as a keen-edged sword, whose logic flows like clear water.

Society having taken up Miss Goldman, as society finds it profitable to do, Miss Goldman is going to do something for society. Tomorrow night in the hall-[illegible] of the Brown Palace at 8:30 o'clock the great anarchist, who, with William Jennings Bryan, has come into her own on her "theories" which have turned into essential facts, will deliver her lecture on "Chantecler." The lecture will be free and when the speaker has done with the drama poem we shall know the glory of poetry and the blessing of labor. Come early and avoid the rush of the exclusives.

TELEPHONE YOUR WANTS TO THE POST. Largest Circulation.

E. H. MARSH THRO FROM TRAMWAY BY A CONDUC

Had Transfer, Was on Line, but Boarded at Wrong Place.

ANOTHER DAMAGE

He Contemplates Inst Action Against Tram Company.

It behooves the man who wo safely for one nickel on a tram In Denver these days to be su not near-sighted nor suffering other impairment of vision.

E. H. Marsh, manager of the hotel, and incidentally a near-sigh boarded an inbound Stout street morning and asked for a transfe Fourth avenue line. He rode to and there took a Fourth avenue

When the conductor examined h fer he told the hotel man it was because he did not get on at and Stout. Marsh said he knew of any such requirement since duetor on the other car had given transfer without comment of and so far as he had ever been he was at liberty to transfer any chose.

The conductor said that it was business of any conductor to give tions to passengers, but that it w the passengers to read the print mation on the back of each trans

IMPOSSIBLE TO READ RULES

Marsh stated that his near-sig would have made it impossible fo read the finely-printed orders ha tempted to. But his physical aroused no sympathy, and the refused to accept the transfer, that the hotel man pay another the mistake into which his faulty had led him.

Marsh refused to pay, and the forcibly ejected him. He now plates instituting an action aga tramway company for damages.

S. Abrams, a merchant tailo city, and a veteran of the war w tween the people and the tramw pany in Seattle, where he formerl had an altercation with a condu garding a transfer on a Den which recalled the incidents of t city contest.

"Out in Seattle, six months a had just such a contest as is now," said he, "and the people The tramway company gave it rules about transfers as the ones here—you must get on a certain a certain place at a certain tim transfer was no good. If you block out of the way it was pay nickel.

"The mayor and the city offici all on the people's side. The ci passed an ordinance to the ef transfers were good on any and and cancelling that restriction boarding a car at a certain corn company took the case to the court.

PEOPLE WON IN STRUGGLE

"But the people didn't give mayor, the sheriff and all the stood by them. When a conduc tused a passenger's transfer and to throw him off the car, a P was usually on the job with a run the tramway man in if he d out the rough stuff. And it company drew in its horns and people of Seattle can ride the

857

890505003

The Emma Goldman Papers

Suffrage Dealt Blow by Women of Titanic / Emma Goldman. – p. 8 ; 41 cm. *In* The Denver Post. – (April 21, 1912).

Obtained from Butler Library, Columbia University.



9



10



11



MRS. HONORA MACPHERSON. Citizens' Candidate for County Superintendent of Schools.—Photo by De Lux.

FIREMAN OVERCOME BY STIFLING SMOKE

Michaelson Store Damaged to Extent of $10,000 by Blaze in Basement.

A [illegible] which started in the basement of Michaelson brothers' store, 1758 to Larimer street, at 10 o'clock last night, damaged the stock to the extent of $10,000. The headquarters of the S. & H. Trading Stamp company on the second floor of the building suffered smoke loss of $2,000. Both companies carried but partial insurance on their stocks.

Bradley Harris, pipeman of No. 1 engine company, was overcome by smoke while at work in the basement, and was just able to drag himself to the opening in the rear of the building, where he was taken out by his fellow workers. He was revived and returned to work. Several other firemen were made ill by the smoke which belched forth in great volumes from the basement.

Max and Michael Michaelson, owners of the store, told Chief Owens that they had just closed the door for the night when they first saw the smoke. They stated that there was no combustible matter in the basement and that it had been cleaned out Friday. They had no theory except a defective wire.

Charles Carroll, the 10 year-old son of E. D. Carroll, a clerk at the Arapahoe county court house, and living at 3520 [illegible] street, was severely hurt at the fire. He stumbled over a fire hose and fell, striking his head. The police surgeons think his skull was fractured.

SUFFRAGE DEALT BLOW BY WOMEN OF TITANIC

Emma Goldman Inquires to Know If Equality Is Demanded Only at Ballot Box--Human Nature Came Into Own in Men.

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

Barring all sensational and conflicting reports of the Titanic horrors there are two features which seem to have been overlooked altogether. One is, the part woman has played in the terrible disaster, which to say the least, is in keeping with centuries of her training as a mere female.

With all the claims the present-day woman makes for her equality with man, her great intellectual and emancipatory achievements, she continues to be as weak and dependent, as ready to accept man's tribute in time of safety and his sacrifice in time of danger, as if she were still in her baby age.

"The men stood aside to let the ladies go first." What about the ladies? What about their love superior to that of the men? What about their greater goodness? Their demand to equal rights and privileges? Is this to be found only at the polls, or on the statutes? I fear me very much that the ladies who have so readily accepted the dictations of the men, who stood by when the men were beaten back from the life-boats, have demonstrated their utter unfitness and inferiority, not merely to the title of man's equal, but to her traditionary fame of goodness, love and self sacrifice.

It is to be hoped that some there were among the steerage victims at least, who preferred death with those they loved to life at the expense of the loved ones.

The second feature is this: To die for those we love is no small matter in a world where each is for himself and the devil take the hindmost. But to die for those far removed from us by a cold and cruel social and material gulf—for those who by their very position must needs be our enemies—for those who, a few moments before the disaster probably never gave a thought to the toilers and pariahs of the ship - is so wonderful a feat of human nature as to silence forever the ridiculous argument against the possibilities of human nature. The average philistine forever prates of how human nature must be coerced and beaten; how it must be kept in check and disciplined. How little he knows of the grandeur of human nature has never before been so magnificently demonstrated as by the crew of the Titanic, the sailors, stokers, workers, and drones belonging to the disinherited of the earth!

With neither club or statute to compel them, I wonder what induced these men to go to their death with greater fortitude than do soldiers on the battlefield? Why, it is human nature, stripped of all social artifice, of the deadening and dulling chase for material gains. Human nature, come into its own! into its deep social kinship which so far has only expressed itself in great stress but which points to still greater possibilities for the future, when man shall no longer his brother maim!

made by the interests in control of the road to obtain funds to build the Salt Lake extension. This will consume the greater part of the summer, if, indeed the Ene is begun this year, so that there is no immediate prospect of the culmination of Mr. Moffat's hopes, unless one of the trunk lines should deem the road a necessity to reach into Western territory.

DENVER MAN HONORED BY AMERICAN MAGICIANS

Eugene Greenleaf, a Denver boy, known in the amusement world as "Laurant, the Magician," was the recipient of an unusual honor at the annual meeting of the Society of American Magicians when he was presented publicly with a gold medal for his mystifying tricks.

"Laurant" was educated in local schools, is a member of the Denver Elks and is a brother-in-law of George T. Wells of the Denver National bank.

THREE-DAY CARNIVAL TO BE GIVEN BY WAITERS

One of the most novel entertainments offered the Denver public for some time past will shortly be presented in the form of a three day carnival to be given by the Denver Waiters' association at its clubrooms, 1645 Curtis street, April 24, 25, and 26. Max Wittels, president of the association, has written a one-act playlet entitled "The Nightmare."

Develop Your Bust In 15 Days

A Full Firm Bust is Worth More to a Woman Than Beauty

I don't care how thin you are, how old you are, how fallen and flaccid are the lines of your figure or how flat your chest is, I can give you a full, firm, youthful bust quickly, that will be the envy of your fellow women and will give you the allurements of a perfect womanhood that will be irresistible.



Develop bust New Way

They say there is nothing new under the sun, but I have perfected a treatment that I want to share with my sisters. What it did for me it **can and will do for you**, and I now offer it to you.

Others offer to build up your figure with drugs, greasy skin foods, creams, dieting, massage and expensive instruments and devices. **I have done away with all these injurious methods** and have given a legion of women a luxuriant natural development by a treatment never before offered the public. No massaging, nothing to take, nothing to wear.

I was skinny, scrawny, flat and unattractive to men. Now I claim to be the highest priced artist's model in the United States, and what I did for myself I can do for you.

I don't care what your age may be, I ask only that you be at least sixteen and not an invalid, and I will undertake to develop your bust in two weeks. All I ask is five or ten minutes of your time every day.

Write to Me Today for My Treatment

It will only cost you a penny for a post card and I will mail you this wonderful information in a plain cover so that no one will know your secret.

Don't let a false pride and a silly sense of shame keep you from enjoying to the full the charms you should have to be a perfect specimen of womanhood. Let me help you. Your communication shall be held in absolute confidence and [illegible] day.

ELOISE RAE

1326 Michigan Avenue, Suite 214, Chicago, Illinois.

858

880927002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Chantecler Most Talked of Play of Age, as Viewed by F.W.W. and Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. — p. 5 ; 43 cm. *In* The Denver Post. —(April 23, 1912).

Obtained from Butler Library, Columbia University.

CHANTECLER, MOST TALKED OF PLAY OF AGE, AS VIEWED BY F. W. W. AND EMMA GOLDMAN

Fair Production Which Mystifies Society--Some Wonder What Its About--More Interested in Themselves Than Symbolism.

WITH the great stride the modern drama has made as an interpreter of social ideas and the portrayal of the human struggle against external and internal obstacles, it is difficult to say what the future may bring in the way of great dramatic acheivements, but so far there is hardly anything to compare in deep, philosophic wisdom and poetic beauty with "Chantecler."

Rostand is by no means the innovator of the feathery or animal world as a medium to symbolize human frailties and defects. All the old poets, including the great Goethe, have availed themselves of that method, in his wonderful fable, "Reineke Fox." But "Chantecler" is superior because it reflects all of life and every phase of our being.

Chantecler is the intense idealist, whose mission is light and truth. His soul is aglow with deep human sympathies and his great purpose in life is to dispel the night. He keeps aloof from mediocrity; indeed, has little knowledge of his immediate surroundings. Like all great visionaries, Chantecler is human, "all too human." Hence, subject to agonizing soul depressions and doubts in himself. Always, however, he regains confidence and strength when he is close to the soil; when he feels the precious sap of the earth surging through his being. At that time he knows the mysterious power that gives him strength to proclaim the truth, to bring on the golden glory of the day.

The hen pheasant is the eternal female. Bewitchingly beautiful, but self-centered and vain. True to her destiny, she must possess the man and is jealous of everything that stands between her and him she loves. She, therefore, employs every device to kill Chantecler's faith in himself, because, as she tells him, "You can be all in all to me, but nothing to the dawn."

The blackbird is the modern man or woman who has become blase, empty, mentally and spiritually. He is a cynic and scoffer of the earnest phases of all, absolutely without principle or sincerity himself, he detects only the small and petty intentions in everybody else.

Patou, true and stanch, is the symbol of honest conviction and simplicity of soul. He loathes the blackbird because he sees in him the embodiment of a shallow, superficial modernity, a modernity which is barren of poetic vision, which aims only at material success and tinseled display without regard for poise, harmony or peace.

The peacock is the overbearing, conceited, intellectual charlatan, the spokesman of our present-day culture; the idle prater of "art for art's sake." As such he sets the style and pace for the idle pursuit of an idle class.

The guinea hen is none other than our most illustrious society lady. Sterile of mind and empty of soul, she flits from one social function to another, taking up every fad, clinging to the coattails of every newcomer, if only he represents station and prestige. She is the slave of fashion, the imitator of ideas, the silly hunter after effect. In short, the parasite upon the labor and efforts of others.

The night birds are the ignorant, stupid maintainers of the old. They hate the light because it exposes their mediocrity and stagnation. They hate Chantecler because, as the old owl remarks, "Simple torture it is to hear a brazen throat forever reminding you of what you know to be only too true." That is, indeed, a crime mediocrity never forgives, hence the conspiracy to kill Chantecler.

The woodpecker is our very learned college professor. Dignified and important, he forever proclaims the prodigested food of his college training as the only source of all wisdom.

The toads represent the cringing slimy hangerson, the flunkies and lick-spittles who toady and lie to everyone for their own petty personal gain.

Chantecler, then, is a scathing arraignment of the emptiness of our so-called rich and cultured. The meanness of our conventional lies, the petty jealousies of the human breed in relation to each other. At the same time Chantecler accentuates the lack of understanding and appreciation of the ideal and the idealists prevalent in society. The mob spirit, whether on top or at the bottom, employs the basest and most contemptible methods to drag the idealist down; stooping to the vilest means even to kill him for the unpardonable sin of [illegible]

In the atmosphere Chantecler continues to hope and to work for his sublime mission of bringing the golden day until even he meets his Waterloo in the [illegible] pheasant hen. It is through her that he grows weak and disclosed his secret. Through her that he goes to the silly 5 o'clock function of the guinea [illegible] her that he consents to the brutal prize fight. Through the [illegible] fate he learned to know life and the frailties of his fellow creatures; and through life that he learned the greatest of all truth, "that it is the struggle [illegible] than the attainment of the ideal, which must forever inspire the singer [illegible] Indeed it is life which has taught Chantecler that if he [illegible] rose he must wake mankind to greet the sun.

[illegible] that Sarah Bernhardt went on her knees before Rostand to [illegible] her to interpret Chantecler, but he would not yield. [illegible] great as the Divine Sarah is, she is yet a woman, therefore [illegible] essential to do justice to the eminently [illegible] The performance at the Broadway, with Maude Adams [illegible] Rostand's abhorrence of a woman in the principal [illegible] Miss Adams is more delicate than the great Sarah might have [illegible] circular fold because she is by far more feminine of physique and [illegible] more tender, artistic temperament than her great French colleague. Miss Adams has simply undertaken a task beyond her powers, and therefore [illegible] the greatest of all plays and herself a grave injury.

Miss Adams fails utterly to even convey the illusion that her frail yielding [illegible] could make the sun [illegible] to greet the sun [illegible] contention that man and woman must forever remain strangers to each other because of the gulf which separates them psychologically, arises it is that so far woman has failed to grasp the male psychology [illegible] the latter's success in whatever task he has set himself to [illegible] his assurance, aggressiveness, his absolute self-possession and [illegible] are the things that have incited man along to the very end. Rostand's "Chantecler" has all these traits to a very marked degree, else he never could remain the master regardless of everything and everybody. Defying the rabble [illegible] every conventional standard, leaving everything behind him, Chantecler cries out to "crack a doodle-doo" and remains true to his absolute determination that [illegible] nothing to stand in the way.

Maude Adams' Chantecler is the ideal male of the boarding school girl; good looking, chivalrous and attentive, the real typical husband the average girl [illegible]

The Cock's Mission Is to Shed Light and Truth--Hen Pheasant Is Eternal Female, Selfcentered and Vain.

"We live in the age of the overworked and the undereducated; the age in which the people are so industrious that they become stupid."

MUCH has been written about Rostand's "Chantecler," and much more in this country, about Maude Adams' interpretation of the prima donna cock. Reams of valuable white paper have been destroyed in the effort to prove that she is finely fitted for the ideal creation—or that she is not.

Excellent critics have grown a trifle hysterical in insisting she gets at the very genesis of the poem; or, on the other hand, that a woman personating the domineering chantecler is a gross absurdity.

And yet after all the pother, what does it matter? It is Maude Adams, a member, and "better to take pleasure in a rose than to put its root under a microscope."

Last night the poem and the women were both presented for our Western consideration.

The theater was crowded. Society, in its best raiment, was in evidence. This is a circumstance never quite fair to the presenting artist, for on Monday night at the Broadway the audience is always much more interested in itself than in the play, not giving the latter the required attention.

Observation—of one another—is more important than imagination, and while



MAUDE ADAMS IN "CHANTECLER."

an audience forgets to dream it fails to enjoy fairies and fancies, which, after all, are the real things of life.

I imagine that such of us who were present last evening would have been hotel had it not been for the grotesque features of the presentation, the eternal and unusual picture of the exaggerated farm yard.

The subtleties of the poem were not discovered; the earnest effort, if not desired result of the gentle actress, were scarcely appreciated.

859

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880927002

The Emma Goldman Papers

Chantecler Most Talked of Play of Age, as Viewed by F.W.W. and Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. — p. 5 ; 43 cm. *In* The Denver Post. —(April 23, 1912).

Obtained from Butler Library, Columbia University.

forever reminding you of what you know to be only too true. That is, indeed, a crime mediocrity never forgives, hence the conspiracy to kill Chantecler.

The woodpecker is our very learned college professor. Dignified and important, he forever proclaims the predigested food of his college training as the only source of all wisdom.

The toads represent the cringing, slimy hangerson, the flunkies and lick-spittles who toady and lie to everyone for their own petty personal gain.

Chantecler, then, is a scathing arraignment of the emptiness of our so-called wise and cultured. The meanness of our conventional lies, the petty jealousies of the human breed in relation to each other. At the same time Chantecler characterizes the lack of understanding and appreciation of the ideal and the idealists prevalent in society. The mob spirit, whether on top or at the bottom, stooping to the cruelest and most contemptible methods to drag the idealist down; to revile and persecute him—aye, even to kill him- for the unpardonable sin of possessing the ideal.

In such an atmosphere Chantecler continues to hope and to work for his sublime mission of bringing the golden day until even he meets his Waterloo in his passion for the pheasant hen. It is through her that he grows weak and discloses his secret. Through her that he goes to the silly 5 o'clock function of the guinea hen. Through her that he consents to the brutal prize fight. Through his passion for her he learned to know life and the frailties of his fellow creatures; and through life that he learned the greatest of all truth, "that it is the struggle for, rather than the attainment of the ideal, which must forever inspire the sincere, honest idealist." Indeed, it is life which has taught Chantecler that if he cannot make the sun rise he must wake mankind to greet the sun.

It has been reported that Sarah Bernhardt went on her knees before Rostand, begging him to permit her to interpret Chantecler, but he would not yield. Evidently he felt that great as the Divine Sarah is, she is yet a woman. Therefore lacking in the elements absolutely essential to do justice to the eminently male character of Chantecler. The performance at the Broadway, with Maude Adams as the cock, amply justifies Rostand's abhorrence of a woman in the principal part. Truth is, Miss Adams is more deficient than the great Sarah might have been in that particular role, because she is by far more feminine of physique and voice and much more tender in artistic temperament than her great French colleague. Miss Adams has simply undertaken a task beyond her powers, and therefore is doing this greatest of all plays and herself a grave injury.

Maude Adams fails utterly to even convey the illusion that her frail yielding, sweet cock, could make the sun rise, or even wake mankind to greet the sun.

Whether there be truth in the contention that man and woman must forever remain strangers to each other because of the gulf which separates them psychologically, certain it is that so far woman has failed to grasp the male psychology yet the latter is the secret of his success in whatever task he has set himself to accomplish. It is his arrogance, aggressiveness, his absolute self-possession and doggedness of purpose that have helped him along to the very end. Rostand's "Chantecler" has all these traits to a very marked degree, else he never could remain the master, regardless of everything and everybody. Defying the rabble breaking every conventional standard, leaving everything behind him, Chantecler cries out his "cock-a-doodle-doo" and remains true to his absolute determination that permits nothing to stand in the way.

Maude Adams' Chantecler is the ideal male of the boarding school girl; good sympathetic, chivalrous and attentive, the real typical husband the average girl looks for. But never is he the stormer, the iconoclast, the rebel, the creative genius. This is particularly brought out in the third act after the fighting scene Chantecler, disillusioned, weakened from loss of blood, surrounded by only his faithful friend Patou and his newly born love, the pheasant hen, tries in vain to regain his voice, but instead of the masculine struggle against all odds, against his own weakened self, Maude Adams makes of him a defeated weak, whining female, and thereby destroys the deep, philosophic meaning as well as the poetic purity of his character.

All this may be very pleasant to the sentimental ladies; may be very lovely and entertaining, but it is not Rostand's Chantecler. It is not he who is powerful of lusty clarion of voice, masculine of character. It is a pity Maude Adams does not play the pheasant hen. In that she would be true to herself and her art. She would be as attractive as she is in "What Every Woman Knows" and as charming as in "Peter Pan." But as Chantecler she is woefully lacking both in her grasp of the deep wisdom contained in the play as well as its dramatic and poetic beauty.

Another very deplorable feature from the artistic viewpoint is Miss Adams' prologue. Her appearance before the curtain destroys immediately the entire illusion of herself as Chantecler and detracts considerably from the symbolism of the feather world, with its sorrows and joys usually considered peculiar only to man.

Of the rest of the cast there is very little to be said, with the exception of Mr. George Henry Trader as Patou. His rendering of that difficult part is the only thing worth while in the entire performance, not merely because of his faithful portrayal of the true, staunch friend of man, but because of the artistic continuity which he maintained during the entire performance. Indeed, he is the only one who makes one forget completely that the actor is a human being and not the animal whom he portrays.

Whatever may be the future of "Chantecler" as a work of art and a masterpiece of philosophic depth, it will not continue to live as a stage production with Maude Adams as the cock, because the two are so completely out of keeping that to the intelligent spectator it becomes positively painful to endure Miss Adams' contortions in trying to imitate the clarion call to the sun.

EMMA GOLDMAN.



MAUDE ADAMS IN "CHANTECLER."

MISS GOLDMAN'S DOINGS THIS WEEK.

Emma Goldman will deliver two lectures at Normal hall, 1545 Glenarm street, one tonight, "Women's Inhumanity to Men," and tomorrow night, "The Failure of Christianity." This evening at 5 o'clock, Miss Goldman opens a dramatic class at the Socialist club for a course of dramatic lessons which will continue daily for the rest of the week.

CHAMBER BEGINS 3-DAY CAMPAIGN FOR MEMBERS

[illegible] today the chamber of commerce [illegible] out eighteen teams [illegible] eight members each, to increase the membership of the chamber to [illegible] the object being to increase membership and will [illegible] Algeroine conducted [illegible]

[illegible] team which brings in [illegible] and as a result several well [illegible] Denver business men who are not members of the chamber and with whom membership committee has been [illegible] will either have to join or leave town [illegible] Friday night.

The captains of the various teams are as follows: S. E. Crawford, H. S. Bigtin, W. H. Cranmer, Dr. J. H. East, W. H. Fleshenger, John F. Plummer, A. J. Orr, Douglas A. Boller, Dr. H. G. Garnett, Ralph J. Paddock, William H. White, W. G. Russell, Dr. W. S. Begart, John A. Burnett, C. C. Carpenter and J. H. Hine.

THIEVES LOOT HOUSES; STEAL 500 POUNDS PIPE

Thieves broke into two empty houses, 1016 and 1017 Champa street, belonging to J. F. Torrey, and stole 500 pounds of pipe, Thursday and Saturday nights. They were frightened away from one of the houses Saturday night by a neighbor.

The Proof.

The silver dollar and the one cent got into a heated argument over religion.

"I am more holy than you are," proudly remarked the dollar to the cent.

"How do you make that out?" inquired the cent.

"Well," replied the dollar, "you will always find on my face the inscription, 'In God We Trust.'"

"That may be," admitted the cent, "but I go to church more often than you do."

"What proof have you for that statement?" asked the dollar.

"Just look in the collection baskets on Sundays and you will find out," answered the cent.—New York Sun.

860

an audience forgets to dream it fails to enjoy fairies and fancies, which, after are the real things of life.

I imagine that such of us who were present last evening would have been bit bored had it not been for the grotesque features of the presentation, the eternal and unusual picture of the exaggerated farm yard.

The subtleties of the poem were not discovered; the earnest effort, if not desired result of the gentle actress, were scarcely appreciated.

It was a house of mammon and fashion, not a gathering of dreamers who only find their way by moonlight and "whose punishment is that they see dawn before the rest of the world."

In fact, I met a representative citizen in the foyer after the second act immaculate in attire, but with the rugged honesty of our Rocky mountain inquired, "Say, what the hell is this all about?" So you see—

A primrose by the river's brim
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more.

He had evidently not seen the story of "Chantecler" which a wise manager had considerately handed out to the people, and which is so tersely illuminating that I beg to reproduce it herewith for the benefit of those who are unfamiliar with the poem or the stage presentation:

THE STORY OF "CHANTECLER."

ACT I.

Chantecler is renowned far and wide because of his morning song. All the fowls know that there is something strange about it which makes it different from the songs of other cocks, but what that something is he will never tell. He guards the secret faithfully in his heart. And it is so important to him, he is so absorbed in his work, that he never notices the dangers which are gathering about him.

His old friend Patou, the Dog, whose duty it is to see that no harm comes to the people of the farmyard, warns Chantecler that there is danger about. Chantecler sees nothing amiss. Patou insists that two dangerous influences are at work to undermine the decent and honest life of the farmyard. One is the Peacock with his Affectation, the other is the Blackbird with his Mockery. The Blackbird is a cynic and a pessimist, who sees only the bad and the trivial. Nothing is too important for him to make light of. Chantecler, like all idealists, sees only the good. He cannot believe his adventures capable of doing him harm. He disregards Patou's warning.

Suddenly into the narrow, humdrum life of the farmyard comes the Golden Pheasant. She is no domestic fowl, but as she calls herself, a rebel, a Bohemian. Yet she has a heart and is capable of great feeling and self-sacrifice.

The day ends. Night falls and discloses Chantecler's enemies—the Owls, and a number of false friends in the farmyard itself. The Turkey, the Blackbird, the Ducks and even some of the Hens side with the Owls, but their reasons for decrying [illegible] are selfish and contemptible. The Owls take Chantecler because his crowing announced the day and deprives them of their power to destroy and kill.

ACT II.

The Owls meet at night on a hilltop to plot the great Cock's doom. "He is a thief," they cry. "He steals the night, our food. He sings while yet the night is fresh and full. Kill him!" But "how" is only asked by day, and in the day the Owls are blind. The cruel Scops unfolds a plan to which the Owls agree. By the Peacock, who hates Chantecler, they plot to bring a crowd of foreign fancy cocks to the Guinea Hen's 5 o'clock, among them will come a genuine champion Fighting Cock "with spurs bound to his heels for gouging out his adversaries' eyes." Chantecler, as a matter of course, will challenge the Fighting Cock, whose presence is an insult, and the end is sure. While in imaginative joy they gloat over his broken wings, eyeless sockets, the Night Birds hear the voice of their foe. His distant "Cocorico" frightens them away. No one is left but the Blackbird and the Pheasant, who have heard the plot. She thinks Chantecler should be warned, but the Blackbird laughs at her fears. She meets Chantecler before the dawn has broken and persuades him to reveal his secret. He tells her that it is he who brings the day. That it is his mission and high call to wake the Sun each day with his song, and he believes that if he should fail to do this the Sun might fail to rise and the whole valley, if not the whole world might never again see the light of day. * * * * I dare believe that I.
The Cock, am Nature's summons to dawn
I dare to fear that if my voice were silent
The East would sleep and Night would still reign on

He brings the dawn before her eyes, then in a reaction of doubt he confesses that he does not understand how one so weak as he should be able to accomplish so great a work. She reassures him and tells him that he has indeed caused the Sun to rise!

ACT III.

The Guinea Hen is giving her 5 o'clock tea. The foreign fancy Cocks are brought in by the Peacock to humiliate Chantecler. Among them is the Fighting Cock. A quarrel ensues. But before entering the fight in which he believes he will be killed, Chantecler cries out his secret and declares his faith in the face of the believing mob:

It is my Song that sets the Sun in Heaven!
It is my Song that brings you back the Light!

There is a great shout of derision. The signal is given. A circle is formed. For a moment Chantecler seems defenseless. The fickleness of the mob cries out for his death. Suddenly that cry is changed to one of fear at the sight of the common enemy, the Hawk. All the terrified

880927004

The Emma Goldman Papers

Nation Seethes in Social Unrest—Goldman / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1,11 ; 42 cm. *In* The Denver Post. –(April 26, 1912).

Obtained from Butler Library, Columbia University.



THE HOUN'DAWG: "THEY'LL ALL JINE IN' WHEN TH' PROCESSION GOES BY!"

NATION SEETHES IN SOCIAL UNREST--GOLDMA

COAL

You will need coal up to the first of June for the chilly evenings and mornings. Remember, we must keep our mines open in summer to furnish you cheap coal in winter. Please give us your orders and tell your neighbors and friends to do the same. The price for a full ton of the best coal is $3.95, delivered immediately. Telephone Main 6550 and ask for the coal man.

'Anarchist Queen' Points Out Causes of Great Discontent That Are Undermining Every Citadel of Human Endeavor.

This is the first of a series of articles written by Emma Goldman for The Denver Post on "The Social Unrest." The second will appear Sunday and the third next Tuesday.

(By EMMA GOLDMAN.)

While the people of Paris were starving and needed bread, Marie Antoinette asked them why they did not eat cake. Was it ignorance or willfulness which induced the queen of France to ask such a childish question? No doubt it was both, because the two are so closely related to each other they must forever stand and fall together. At any rate, the fair Marie paid for her ignorance with her head.

A little over a hundred years have passed since that momentous epoch, nor has the human race stood still during these many years, but, strange to say, we still have numerous Marie Antoinettes, who continue as blind to the conditions surrounding them as she did to those of France before the great revolution. That is the more surprising because never before in the history of the world have social wrongs been called to the bar of criticism and condemnation as they are at the present time.

No doubt the intellectual efforts of the encyclopedists and the rebellious activities of the French peasantry have preceded the final cataclysm, but compared with the leaven that is everywhere giving rise to discontent and unrest, the period before the French revolution is but as naught. Lest the present Marie Antoinettes pay the same price for their willfulness and ignorance it is necessary that we face our growing social unrest; that we know its cause, and whither it is drifting.

Time was when the so-called educated and cultured class was lulled to sleep with the idea that discontent is due to trouble-makers, agitators, and foreigners; when the American citizen still had the right to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness, if only he knew how to make use of these great privileges. But that time is gone.

Today we know that discontent is not the whim of agitators, nor yet the characteristics of ignorant foreigners; that it is conditioned in American life; that it is spreading in every stratum of our society, embracing every phase of our life. It is this ever-growing discontent which has destroyed once for all our complacent self-satisfied, narrow outlook on life. It is the same discontent which is seeking an outlet and expression in every line of human endeavor.

Education in a Terrible Ferment.

Take education, for instance. Twenty years ago the educator who repudiated coercion and discipline as methods of bringing educational results, was denounced as a brain-cracked Utopian, a dreamer and impractical being. Today education is in a terrible ferment, rejecting the old methods as absolutely inadequate; in bringing desired results to the child and society. Today we are realizing that stuffing, coercing, imposing things from without, only kill latent qualities and dull the responsivities of the child.

The grave is still intact, of course. The gentlemen at the head of educational institutions still continue to adhere to discipline, but no one who can think at all can remain blind to the growing insurgency, to the hidden and open rebellion, seething among educators. Thus Bayard Boyesen, a brilliant educator at Columbia college, and the son of a college professor, makes it very clear that modern education rests above all "upon the idea that the child has as much right to its self as has the adult, and that the personality of the child, during the sensitive and hazardous years of early youth, must be kept free from the intrusive hands of those who

(Continued on Page 11—Col. 1)

BABY'S TWO-STOR FALL BREAKS HEA CHILD STILL LIV

Infant Pushes Out Screen Plunges From Third-Flo Window.

DOCTOR WILL OPER

Only Chance to Save Life in Trepanning Fracture Skull.

With his skull fractured in three by a fall from a third-story windo year-old son of Mr. and Mrs. Slelar is in St. Anthony's hospital scant chance of recovery. Dr. J. A is planning an exceedingly delicate ation in an effort to save the child Trepanning will be resorted to. T font has a fracture at the base brain, another at the temple and a at the occipital bone. He is co part of the time.

Mrs. Slelar is prostrated with gr refuses to leave the child's bedside alelans fear she will collapse unle patient improves before night.

The Slelars live in the third s an apartment house at Fourteen nue and Delaware street. Yes afternoon the baby was playing open window. It was supposed t screen was fastened securely. child pushed it open and fell to th ment.

The mother was busy in anothe and did not know that the chi fallen until she came into the ro called to him. Mrs. Slelar heard on the street below and, looking window, she saw that somethi happened, but did not think of he

She hurried down to the pavem found that it was her own child. few minutes several men were f hold Mrs Slelar to prevent he harming herself. The woman that her child was killed and that she had nothing to live fo baby were taken from her.

The Slelars have been in Denv a short time.

RSON AND STRAUSS E VICTIMS OF TITANIC

Chicago Millionaire and Woman for Killing Husband Were Under Assumed Names.

uss, the protector of Gertrude Gibson Patter- recently for the murder of her husband, drowned aboard the Titanic, is the belief of friends. There is a possibility that Mrs. Patrished.

e days that n drowned.

ver friends. her of Emil ompanied to a'd. "There lost, his life looked for s under an

Chicago this morning said that L. Eisendrath, a business partner of Strauss, claimed to have a letter from Carlsbad saying that he was alive and well. The rumor of Strauss' death is, however, generally circulated in Chicago.

Gertrude Patterson may have gone down on the Titanic, but also under an assumed name. In a recent letter to Denver friends she wrote that she shortly intended to return to America and Denver, where she expected to make her home again.

COSTS $8.50 TO MARRY; DIVORCES AVERAGE $35

Topeka, Kan., April 26.—It costs an average of $8.50 to get married and $35 to obtain a divorce in Kansas. This is announced by persons who have gathered statistics relative to the divorce evil and marriage laws of the state.

WIFE GETS BURIAL LOT WITH DIVORCE PA

Neenah, Wis., April 26.—When Mrs. Charles Rusch were divorced circuit court here yesterday, Mrs was given a cemetery lot valued as her share of the property. Th had been married fifty-five ye have ten children. Mrs. Rusch the divorce on grounds of cruelty.

861

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880927004

The Emma Goldman Papers

Nation Seethes in Social Unrest—Goldman / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1,11 ; 42 cm. *In* The Denver Post. –(April 26, 1912).

Obtained from Butler Library, Columbia University.

THE GROWING SOCIAL UNREST IN CREATIVE WORK

(Continued From Page One.)

would mold and fashion it according to preconceived models, who would thwart this quality and divert that, in order to fit the child into the ideals of the teacher. Modern education takes the center of gravity, which has lain hitherto in the teacher, and puts it firmly in the child itself, for it is its aim not to lead, but to follow the activities of the child, using its natural interests as points upon which it can be allowed to fasten knowledge, and aid the child always to draw out and to develop its native qualities."

As a result of such heresy, Mr. Boyesen, like many of his colleagues in American colleges, had to resign. But the spirit of unrest is awake in these circles, its course being the reconstruction of the relation between teacher and child as well as the relation between the child and society.

The Spirit of Unrest which is undermining the citadel of learning is equally strong in literary, dramatic and artistic endeavor. We no longer want a novel to represent the heroine in a fluffy gown, and the hero on his knees before his beloved; nor do we care for the drama as a mere idle amusement. We look to both as the mirror of the struggle for greater human expansion. In other words, literature and the drama today are the most fiery exponents of the accumulated forces in men and women trying to find themselves and their true contact with their fellow beings.

Great Novels Show Growing Unrest.

Just as Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter" was the outcry against the bigotry of his time, so is the modern novel, "The Jungle," by Upton Sinclair; the "Octopus," by Frank Norris; "Martin Eden," by Jack London; "The Turn of the Balance," by Brand Whitlock; "The House of Bondage," by Reginald Wright Kauffman; "The Market of Souls," by Miss Goodnow; the burning sparks of the growing social unrest and the deep felt indignation against the things that make the horrors portrayed by these authors possible. Equally so they reflect the growing kinship and sympathy between the author and his material.

When the mayor of Toledo places the principal character of his work before us he also places the collective crimes of society that made this man "Archie" possible, and whether we want to or not, he compels us to face the fact that in killing Archie, society has also signed its own death warrant.

The same holds true of "The House of Bondage," which brings us face to face with the terrible fact that it isn't the individual procurer who is responsible for the white slave, but the collective procurers who fatten upon the body and soul of the white slave as well as all other slaves.

The drama has long ere this been the portrayer of social unrest, though it is only now beginning to be so with us in America. Alas, our Ibsens and Bernard Shaws are still in the embryo, yet the drama, like education and literature, is bringing home the social unrest in a manner that must arouse even the mentally inert. "The Easiest Way," "Passers By," "Kindling," "A Man's World," "The Servant in the House," and "The Terrible Meek"—what are they but signs of a tremendous change that is taking place in our entire estimate of human life and human worth? What are they but the living proof that men and women everywhere are breaking away from the old cramping, stifling mental and spiritual confines; that they are aiming toward a larger scope, a wider horizon of individual expression and social harmony.

No less marked is the disintegration of the old art ideal. The discontent among true artists with the old art standard. One such rebel and iconoclast is Robert Henri, America's greatest art teacher and foremost creative genius. His battle cry doesn't express itself in powder and guns. It is a demand for freedom, for the recognition of the creative quality in man, which, as he tells us, can never assert itself at the command of the millionaire or the whim of the society matron; neither can it find expression in our cut-and-dried institutionalized art schools. True creative genius, which Mr. Henri believes is inherent in most of us, can be brought out only by the growth of individuality and the fearless assertion of personality, or to be more explicit, in harmony and freedom.

OFFICER OUTRUNS AND CATCHES THIEF

Man Grabbed Greek's $20 Bill and Came Near Being Mobbed.

Patrolman Chimes, who owns to the accomplishment of being able to speak five languages, also established a reputation as a sprinter when he overtook, after a chase of several blocks, a youth giving his name as Herbert Smith, who

DENVER TO HAVE BUNION COLLEGE

Capital $150,000: 200 Pairs of Feet to Be Manicured Free Each Day.

Articles of incorporation for the Colorado Chiropractic college were filed in the office of the secretary of state today. The following practitioners are the incorporators, Abner J. Coob, H. E. Peters, J. H. Jones, A. Savignac and E. Schoite. The company is capitalized at $150,000. Plans have been drawn for a college to

DEMOCRATS OBJECT TO SUNDAY BANQUET

Governor and Other Leaders Propose Monday Breakfast Instead.

At a secret meeting in the office of Governor Shafroth at the capitol today it was decided to take measures to call off the Democratic banquet scheduled in Colorado Springs Sunday night.

Governor Shafroth's proposition that a breakfast be held Monday morning instead of the banquet Sunday night received favorable consideration from those who attended the conference.

Those present at the conference were the governor, Secretary Malone, Acting Chief Justice George W. Musser of the supreme court, Presiding Judge Tully Scott of the court of appeals, former Senator T. M. Patterson, Leo Vincent, W. H. Bryant and C. W. Franklin.

The governor and other Democratic state officials have received numerous protests against the holding of a banquet Sunday night. They see that such a proceeding will give their political enemies ammunition with which to bombard the party and are willing and ready to change the plan.

MONT TONG, MINE MANAGER, IS DEAD

Georgetown, Colo., April 26.—Mont Tong, 48, general manager of the St. Paul Mining, Tunnel and Transportation company, died at his home here yesterday afternoon. Tong was born in Iron county, Missouri, and came to this district 25 years ago. For many years he was manager of the Colorado Central-Ahunde group of mines. He was one of the best posted mining men in Colorado. He made and lost several fortunes in mining leases. He is survived by a widow and 10-year-old son.

W. L. DO SHOES

$3 $3.50 $4 & $5

For MEN, WOMEN and BOYS

THE STANDARD OF QUALITY FOR OVER 30 YEARS

WEAR W. L. DOUGLAS SHOES

You can save money because they are more economical and satisfactory in style, fit and wear than any other makes. W. L. Douglas name and price stamped on the bottom guarantees full value and protects the wearer against high prices and inferior shoes. Insist upon having the genuine W. L. Douglas shoes. Take no substitute.

If your dealer cannot supply W. L. Douglas shoes, write W. L. Douglas, Brockton, Mass., for catalog. Shoes sent everywhere delivery charges prepaid.

CALL AT W. L. DO

935 Sixteenth Street, Corner Curtis

NEW TR

The COLORADO MI

Grand Junction, Salt Lake City, O

EFFECTIVE A

No. 5 will leave Denver 9:00 a. m. p. m ; Salt Lake City 2:35

Corresponding Daylight Tr

Observation Pullman Sleepers

Via Salt Lake City. Sp

Ask us for low round trip rates to dates

W. B. Throckmorton,

862

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880927005

The Emma Goldman Papers

Woman Center of Social Storm Which Is Sweeping Us Along / Emma Goldman. – p. 6 ; 43 cm. *In* The Denver Post. –(April 28, 1912).

Obtained from Butler Library, Columbia University.

WOMAN CENTER OF SOCIAL STORM WHICH IS SWEEPING US ALONG

—EMMA GOLDMAN

She Must Find Her True Relation to Rest of Human Family--'Bound by Hideous Chains of Duty, Obligation, Virtue.'

This is the second of the series of articles on "The Social Unrest" written for The Denver Post by Emma Goldman. The third and concluding article will be printed Tuesday.

(By EMMA GOLDMAN.)

"While I was at home with father he used to tell me all his opinions and I held the same opinions. If I had others, I concealed them because he would not have approved. He used to call me his doll child and play with me as I played with my dolls. Then I came to live in your house. You settled everything according to your taste and I got the same taste as you—or I pretended to. When I look back on it now I seem to have been living like a beggar, from hand to mouth. I lived by performing tricks for you, Torvald, but you would have it so. You and father have done me a great wrong."

In these lines of Ibsen lies the key to the growing unrest, indeed to the formidable insurrection of woman against the things which have held her in bondage. And, considering that it is but a little over sixty years ago since she first awoke from the heavy sleep of ages, the revolution woman has wrought in her life is truly phenomenal. But her spirit can find no rest. She lives in the midst of the social storm which is sweeping us all along, and which necessitates the revaluation of all values; therefore, her revaluation of her place as a social being.

Now that she may enter every profession, that she may take up every trade, that every avenue of learning is open to her, that she may even do the foolish things of man, write she has now come to know that the real struggle has only just begun. The real struggle is against the moral bulwarks of society, which crush all women with the same iron hand.

Still Continues to Fetter Woman.

The force which permits man to develop along normal lines—to live in harmony with the calling of his nature—still continues to fetter woman spiritually and maim her physically. Duty, obligation and virtue condemn her to carnal and vulgar intimacies without love in marriage, to the silent martyrdom of a life without the sweet fragrant intimacies of love outside of marriage, or they drive her to the last stage of human indignity to the block of shame. Equally so, it is the same hideous imposition of duty, obligation and virtue which either make woman a party to the unscrupulous increase of children, or which deny her deepest function, true motherhood.

Sixty years ago woman began to "Pick at a single knot, but as she proceeded she found, bit by bit, that the whole thing has raveled out because it was all hand-sewn." And how can machine-sewn standards apply to the language, the aspirations of the newly discovered personality, woman. Hence the unrest, the far reaching, growing unrest among all classes of women.

"The Science of a Sex" some wise people say. The strike which will break up the home, loosen family ties, and, horror of all horrors, undermine the race. What these good people fail to see is this, that if the home could not keep pace with woman, neither could she stand still with the home. Thus too, they do not realize that, though the race continues blind to the needs of woman, she is learning the needs of the race. Out of this knowledge has grown the conflict, the pain, and travail in the life of woman. Not that modern woman is less eager for love or the child for because she craves both with greater intensity than ever before, that she has turned her back on the past, a past which granted her love and motherhood only at the complete surrender of her mental, spiritual, and physical being. Just as the latent qualities in the child and the creative qualities in the artist have never been truly brought out by coercion and authority, so could woman's soul not respond to a mere formula, to stand rods or commands. It could only do so in freedom, in a fearless and honest expression of her personality. The same process is taking place in woman's relation to the race.

She Must Find Her True Mission.

For ages she has blindly ministered to the needs of the race without any thought of the needs of the child. Because of the blindness crimes and evils among men continue, because of individual expression and social harmony have never yet existed in the world, but it is also because of woman's unwillingness to perpetuate wrong and injustice, that she must trust and herself in order that society may find her. She must first discover her true mission, her real purpose in life, that she may be able to give to society, to the race as she has never given before. But, above all, woman must find her relation to the rest of the human family. Only then will her nature her deep, full-grown maturity, yield in abundance.

Out of the great conflict between the old and the new, between the

EDWARD NEWNAN PIONEER IS DEAD

Edward B. Newnan, one of Denve.'s earliest pio eers, died at his home, 1760 Pennsylvania street, Sat :day o paraly sis. Mr. Newnan came to Colorado from Maryland in 1860, making the trip in a prairie schooner across Kansas and Co'o. rado. He settled, first, near Central City, where he engaged in mining. A year or two later he moved to Longmon , where he conducted an implement s ore. While there he studied law, but his health



E. B. NEWMAN.
Pioneer mining man, dead at the age of 74.

gave way and he sought a vocation which would necessitate many l t ebor. He th upon blacksmithing as the best of them.

In 1885 Mr. Newnan came to D nver and has resided here, with his family, since that time. Mr Newnan was a very enthusiastic athlete, even at the age of 55, and he with his wife, son and daughter could b see often, riding their bicycles to the suburbs in the early morning hours.

Mr. Newnan was 8 years of age. He is survived by his widow and three children.

16 SPECIAL TRAIN OF SHRINERS DENVER THIS W

Masons on Way to Los A Convention to Stop f Day.

That the Shriners of the Easte do not want to go to their ann vention in Los Angeles, May 6 to out seeing and visiting Denver denced by their sixteen speci which will pass through Den week.

The Al Kofun temple of Cleveland consisting of over 200 Shriners families, will arrive in Denver o chal train via the Rock Island, morning, and will spend the e sightseeing. They will leave for Springs about midnight on ano chal train over the Denver & Rio and after spending Tuesday s sights around that city, will to Salt Lake and Los Angeles.

The Imperial Potentates speci Rock Island from Minneapolis W Wednesday morning at about This train will be preceded by t trains, one from Des Moines an port, Iowa, and the El Kahir Cedar Rapids. The Imperial P and their escorts will spend half Denver, leaving for the West on special trains over the Denve Rio Grande. On these trains be approximately 500 people.

Other trains carrying Shriners rive in Denver as late as Friday carry from 125 to 200 people eac their trains will carry dining car from the starting point to Los and in addition will carry lib which will be equipped with a. lefores.

Ladies, Does $1.98 Sound G Any Shoe or Oxford In Economy Basement—Opens

We look for a tremendous bu week. You know nothing beats true values. Set styles in our s dows. Fontius Shoe Co

MORE LIVES S CONSTANT ACHES AND

"TRY-NEW-LIFE"

Gets the Credit It Deserves.

It is a wonderful little invention, and deserves all the credit it gets from the papers and the people. It is only those who suffer that can properly appreciate the merits of "TRY NEW LIFE." Thousands have visited the Hamilton-Beach Store, 1524 California street, for free trial treatment, and the day is near when no household will be considered complete without "TRY NEW LIFE."



"Try-New-Life"

May be bought outright or rented or purchased on easy terms.

So as to place this wonderful little machine within the reach

863

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880927005

The Emma Goldman Papers

Woman Center of Social Storm Which Is Sweeping Us Along / Emma Goldman. – p. 6 ; 43 cm. *In* The Denver Post. –(April 28, 1912).

Obtained from Butler Library, Columbia University.

—EMMA GOLDMAN

She Must Find Her True Relation to Rest of Human Family--'Bound by Hideous Chains of Duty, Obligation, Virtue.'

This is the second of the series of articles on "The Social Unrest" written for The Denver Post by Emma Goldman. The third and concluding article will be printed Tuesday.

(By EMMA GOLDMAN.)

"While I was at home with father he used to tell me all his opinions and I held the same opinions. If I had others, I concealed them because he would not have approved. He used to call me his doll child and play with me as I played with my dolls. Then I came to live in your house. You settled everything according to your taste and I got the same taste as you—or I pretended to. When I look back on it now I seem to have been living like a beggar, from hand to mouth. I lived by performing tricks for you, Torvald, but you would have it so. You and father have done me a great wrong."

In these lines of Ibsen lies the key to the growing unrest, indeed to the formidable insurrection of woman against the things which have held her in bondage. And, considering that it is but a little over sixty years ago since she first awoke from the heavy sleep of ages, the revolution woman has wrought in her life is truly phenomenal. But her spirit can find no rest. She lives in the midst of the social storm which is sweeping us all along, and which necessitates the revaluation of all values; therefore, her revaluation of her place as a social being.

Now that she may enter every profession, that she may take up every trade, that every avenue of learning is open to her, that she may even do the foolish things of man—vote—she has now come to know that the real struggle has only just begun. The real struggle is against the moral bulwarks of society, which crush all women with the same iron hand.

Still Continues to Fetter Woman.

The thing which permits man to develop along normal lines—to live in harmony with the calling of his nature—and continues to fetter woman spiritually and maim her physically. Duty, obligation and virtue condemn her to brutal and vulgar intimacies without love in marriage, to the silent martyrdom of a life without the sweet fragrant intimacies of love outside of marriage, or they drive her to the last stage of human indignity, to the block of shame. Logally so, it is the same hideous imposition of duty, obligation and virtue which either make woman a party to the unscrupulous increase of children, or which deny her deepest function, free motherhood.

Sixty years ago woman began to "pick at a single knot, but as she proceeded she found, bit by bit, that the whole thing has raveled out because it is machine-sewn." And how can machine-sewn standards apply to the longings, the aspirations of the newly discovered personality, woman. Hence the unrest, the far reaching, growing unrest among all classes of women.

The Strike of a Sex! some wise people say. The strike which will break up the home, loosen family ties, and, horror of all horrors, undermine the race! What these good people fail to see is this, that if the home could not keep pace with woman, neither could she stand still with the home. Thus too, they do not realize that, though the race sometimes blind to the needs of woman, she is learning the needs of the race. Out of this knowledge has grown the conflict, the pain, and travail in the life of woman. Not that modern woman is less eager for love or the child for because she craves both with greater intensity than ever before, that she has turned her back on the past, a past which granted her love and motherhood only at the complete surrender of her mental, spiritual, and physical being. Just as the latent qualities in the child and the creative qualities in the artist have never been truly brought out by coercion and authority, so could woman's soul not respond to a mere formula, to standards or commands. It could only do so in freedom, in a fearless and defined expression of her personality. The same process is taking place in woman's relation to the race.

She Must Find Her True Mission.

For ages she has blindly ministered to the needs of the race without any thought of the needs of the child. Because of this blindness crimes and evils among men continue; because of individual expression and social harmony have never yet existed in the world. But it is also because of woman's unwillingness to perpetuate wrongs and injustices, that she must first find herself in order that society may find her. She must first discover her true mission, her real purpose in life, that she may be able to give to society, to the race, as she has never given before. But, above all, woman must find her relation to the rest of the human family. Only then will her nature, her deep, full grown maturity, yield in abundance.

Out of the great conflict between the old and the new, between the past and the future, truer, more fundamental values will emerge, just as the universal strike for social and economic readjustment will evolve a new conception of individual worth and social well being. While breaking away from traditions in every other line of life and creating a tremendous change in all our relations, we will never truly find our proper bearing until we have given the unrest in the life of woman its proper meaning and importance. Social life is more complex than ever in the history of the world. It must, therefore, take into consideration every phase which goes to make up the whole.

Even as the unrest in education, literature, the drama and in art, so woman's struggle is paving the way for a greater and larger freedom of expression for all humanity.

Edward B. Newman, one of Denver's earliest pioneers, died at his home, 1350 Pennsylvania street, Saturday of paralysis. Mr. Newman came to Colorado from Maryland in 1860, making the trip in a prairie schooner across Kansas and Colorado. He settled, first, near Central City, where he engaged in mining. A year or two later he moved to Longmont, where he conducted an implement store. While there he studied law, but his health



E. B. NEWMAN.

Pioneer mining man, dead at the age of 74.

gave way and he sought a climate which would necessitate outdoor labor. He fell upon blacksmithing as the best of them.

In 1885 Mr. Newman came to Denver and has resided here, with his family, since that time. Mr. Newman was a very enthusiastic athlete, even at the age of 75, and he with his wife, son and daughter could be seen often, riding their bicycles to the suburbs in the early morning hours.

Mr. Newman was 78 years of age. He is survived by his widow and three children.

DENVER THIS

Masons on Way to Le Convention to St Day.

That the Shriners of the R do not want to go to their vention in Los Angeles, May out seeing and visiting th danced by their sixteen s which will pass through week.

The Al Koran temple of Cl consisting of over 900 Shrin families, will arrive in Denv cial train via the Rock Isl morning, and will spend th sightseeing. They will leave Springs about midnight on cial train over the Denver & and after spending Tuesda sights around that city, to Salt Lake and Los Ange

The Imperial Potentates s Rock Island from Minneapo Wednesday morning at ab This train will be preceded trains, one from Des Moine port, Iowa, and the El Ka Cedar Rapids. The Imperi and their escorts will spend Denver, leaving for Los We special trains over the D Rio Grande. On these tra be approximately 500 people

Other trains carrying Shr rive in Denver as late as F carry from 125 to 200 people their trains will carry dining from the starting point to and in addition will carry which will be equipped wit lolices

Ladies, Hoes $1.98 Some Any Shoe or Oxford Economy Basement—Op

We look for a tremendou week. You know nothing t true values. See styles in dow. Fontius Shoe Co.

MORE LIVES

CONSTANT ACHES AN

"TRY-NEW-LIFE"

Gets the Credit It Deserves.

It is a wonderful little invention, and deserves all the credit it gets from the papers and the people. It is only those who suffer that can properly appreciate the merits of "TRY-NEW-LIFE." Thousands have visited the Hamilton-Beach Store, 1524 California street, for free trial treatment, and the day is near when no household will be considered complete without "TRY-NEW-LIFE."



"Try-New-Life"

May be bought outright or rented or purchased on easy terms

So as to place this wonderful little machine within the reach of all the Hamilton-Beach Sales Co. not only sells for cash, but on time payments or will rent the machine to all who have been prevailed upon to buy at the exorbitant prices which by its failure to do things the reputation of "TRY-NEW-LIFE" as well—the Hamilton Beach Sales Co. will make an allowance for the old machine to part payment for a genuine

"Try-New-Life"

BOARD OF WORKS

has made several evasive answers, but the legal w

864

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880927006

The Emma Goldman Papers

Greed of Capital Basis of Social Unrest Today / Emma Goldman. – p. 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The Denver Post. – (April 30, 1912).

Obtained from Butler Library, Columbia University.

GREED OF CAPITAL BASIS OF SOCIAL UNREST TODAY

—EMMA GOLDMAN

Whole Machinery of Government, Including Courts, Under Thumb of Money and Political Leaders.

The following is the third and last of the series of articles on "The Social Unrest," written by Emma Goldman, for The Denver Post:

(By EMMA GOLDMAN.)

The tendency to grow away from authority, from coercion, from paternalism, and the intense longing for material and mental independence, is making itself felt with greater force in every class of society, but nowhere is it taking such definite form as in the economic life of the people. After all, the educational, literary, and the artistic gropings and aspirations spring from the very source of life, the material arrangement in society. In other words, the tremendous economic unrest is giving all else meaning and color.

The people, robbed of their birthright, driven from home and hearth, and alienated from the soil, are realizing more and more the crimes and outrages perpetrated upon them. They are realizing that the latter are not due to supernatural, mysterious powers, but to the brazenness of capitalism and its insatiable appetite for the accumulation of unheard-of fortunes. On the other hand, the workers cannot but see that the rights and liberties guaranteed them by their forbears have become a farce, a cruel jest.

Nothing to Hope From Powers That Be.

Slowly but surely it is beginning to dawn on them that they have nothing whatsoever to hope for from the powers that be. The events of the last twenty-five years, and more forcibly during the last decade, have proved that in every conflict between capital and labor, the courts, the judiciary, the city administration, in short, the entire machinery of government is so completely under the thumb of money and political interests that it is invariably compelled to ride over human lives and human interests involved in the labor conflict. In every instance the brutality and violence used against the masses in their struggle for life, the cruel beating and maiming of defenseless women and children, amply justify the conclusion of the intelligent workers that America is fast becoming Russianized, for surely nowhere else outside of Russia have the people been subjected to such indignities and degradations as they have been in various parts of the United States. While the recent crimes committed by soldiers and police in Lawrence, Mass., in Passaic and Paterson, N. J., where women and children were clubbed into unconsciousness, or the downright savagery displayed in the free speech fight in Spokane and Aberdeen, Wash., as well as in San Diego at the present time, would put to shame even the czar's domain.

It is difficult to conceive of anything more terrible and more outrageous than the action of the police and some of the so-called law abiding citizens who are playing the part of the American Cossacks in San Diego, Cal., not merely that people are stopped from their constitutional rights to speak freely, but they are assaulted during the light of the day; rushed out of town, beaten into insensibility, and then left in their bruised and maimed condition on the desert of California. Not enough of that, every available jail in the city proper and adjoining counties are overcrowded with men and women whose belief in the right of free speech will not permit them to submit to the tyranny imposed upon them. Already an old man, an innocent spectator, has been killed by the terrific force of water turned upon the people from the city hose, and a little innocent baby washed out of its carriage and rolled along the pavement for several blocks, made equally a victim of the ferociousness and inhumanity of the police.

Workers Realize Latent Powers.

The inevitable result is that the workers no longer look to constitutional authority, that they are beginning to realize their own latent powers, and that is precisely what they are doing more and more, not only in America, but all over the civilized world where labor has outgrown its infant state. It is not the house of commons, nor yet the members of parliament, who have revolutionized labor in England; who have demolished the strong walls of conservative trade unionism. It has been left to the general strike to accomplish that wonderful feat. Equally so it is not the power of the law which is compelling the mine owners of Great Britain to admit that their unfortunate slaves are entitled to some consideration. It is the coal strike involving a million workingmen that has sent the price of cotton flying, has disturbed the sleep of the king, and has sent terror into the hearts of the money kings, not only of England, but of the rest of the world. Indeed, the miners' strike, which, as one of the English newspapers justly stated, is the greatest calamity which has befallen England since the invasion of the Spanish armada; that has disclosed, as in a flash, the inherent power of the workers, the power which holds the rest of the world at bay, and that, if it will but assert itself, can demolish old dynasties and inaugurate a new social readjustment.

Equally so the general strike in Germany, France, Norway, Sweden and other countries has eliminated all national and boundary lines, and has created a fellowship and kinship which only common interests can give birth to. In the face of this gigantic force, of this new brotherhood, of what avail is the hatred, propagated by politicians among the workers against each other? How insignificant is the idea taught that the Germans must forever hate the French, or the English the Irish? Or that the people must continue in the cut throat competition which is the basis of our present relations in society.

[illegible] the events preceding the McNamara trial and then that self-sacrifice for the sake of others has annihilated the line of demarcation between the interests of the disinherited and the possessors of the earth. Never again will smooth geologic nature come to suggest that the economic unrest is but of a temporary character, and that if only the poor were not so unreasonable things might end in general good will. No power on earth can deny the latter, cruel, relentless class war now sweeping across the plains. A war more terrible than ever waged between nations, a war which has but yesterday shown its ghastliness in the strife in the industries of Lawrence, Mass., a war which consumes thousands of innocent lives and leaves behind a trail of destruction and terror. This was forcibly brought out in the congressional investigation in Washington, large though this has been, that the children of the Lawrence strikers who helped to weave the finest cloths were found to be barren of undergarments, and when it was equally disclosed that many of these children for weeks and months had gone to bed without a supper and into the factory without breakfast.

Some Force Is at Work in Mexico

YOUNG GIRL BATTLE BILLY GREEN TO B FRAUDS IN ELEC



MISS ZELDAH SHERMAN,
Prominent in Battle Against Illegal Registration in the

[illegible] Down in the Fourth ward a group of [illegible] girls, suffragettes and others barely past voting age, feminine in all things except a desire to [illegible] Fourth ward of its debasement [illegible] "Billy" Greens of gang politics is [illegible] dreaded by judges of registration and prospective election officials. Their [illegible] bosses are respected.

For in the battle for clean politics [illegible] are advancing on the stoke-hold [illegible] from its keepers, who corrupt it for [illegible] division [illegible] Zeldah Sherman [illegible] forma street, committeewoman for the Citizens' party in the Fourth, [illegible] fighting heart of a man.

Registration days of last week [illegible] Miss Sherman who told down the law to judges who were not administering the [illegible] prescribed code to a [illegible]. It was Miss Sherman who took to the district attorney's office evidence that not [illegible] of the officials were [illegible] to the precincts to which they were appointed. It was Miss Sherman who told [illegible] Green that it was [illegible] to force their [illegible] to give a [illegible] vote.

When Green and [illegible] precinct [illegible] registration [illegible] night to witness the [illegible] automobile load of women [illegible] the other word it was Miss Sherman who went back [illegible] the colored [illegible] district to force the negro [illegible] to register [illegible] the negro bosses a chance [illegible] from a position to [illegible] Miss Sherman took no such [illegible] action. Most of the time until 9 o'clock at night without escort she went from precinct to precinct, her eyes and ears open to omissions and errors of the officials, intentional and negligent.

And her wits serve her well. One of the registration officials gave as residence a room in the Vendome hotel, said to be occupied by his brother as a poker

865

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880927006

The Emma Goldman Papers

Greed of Capital Basis of Social Unrest Today / Emma Goldman. – p. 9 ; 43 cm. *In* The Denver Post. –(April 30, 1912).

Obtained from Butler Library, Columbia University.

Nothing to Hope From Powers That Be.

Slowly but surely it is beginning to dawn on them that they have nothing whatsoever to hope for from the powers that be. The events of the last twenty-five years, and more forcibly during the last decade, have proved that in every conflict between capital and labor, the courts, the judiciary, the city administration, in short, the entire machinery of government is so completely under the thumb of money and political interests that it is invariably compelled to ride over human lives and human intvrests involved in the labor conflict. In every instance the brutality and violence used against the masses in their struggle for life, the cruel beating and maiming of defenseless women and children, amply justify the conclusion of the intelligent workers that America is fast becoming Russianized, for surely nowhere else outside of Russia have the people been subjected to such indignities and degradations as they have been in various parts of the United States. While the recent crimes committed by soldiers and police in Lawrence, Mass., in Passaic and Paterson, N. J., where women and children were clubbed into unconsciousness, or the downright savagery displayed in the free speech fight in Spokane and Aberdeen, Wash., as well as in San Diego at the present time, would put to shame even the czar's domain.

It is difficult to conceive of anything more terrible and more outrageous than the action of the police and some of the so-called law-abiding citizens who are playing the part of the American Cossacks in San Diego, Cal., not merely that people are stopped from their constitutional rights to speak freely, but they are kidnaped during the light of the day, rushed out of town, beaten into insensibility, and then left in their bruised and maimed condition on the desert of California. Not enough of that, every available jail in the city proper and adjoining counties are overcrowded with men and women whose belief in the right of free speech will not permit them to submit to the tyranny imposed upon them. Already an old man, an innocent spectator, has been killed by the terrific force of water turned upon the people from the city hose, and a little innocent baby washed out of its carriage aand rolled along the pavement for several blocks, made equally a victim of the ferociousness and inhumanity of the police.

Workers Realize Latent Powers.

The inevitable result is that the workers no longer look to constitutional authority; that they are beginning to realize their own latent powers, and that is precisely what they are doing more and more, not only in America, but all over the civilized world where labor has outgrown its infant state. It is not the house of commons, nor yet the members of parliament, who have revolutionized labor in England; who have demolished the strong walls of conservative trade unionism. It has been left to the general strike to accomplish that wonderful feat. Equally so, it is not the power of the law which is compelling the mine owners of Great Britain to admit that their unfortunate slaves are entitled to some consideration. It is the coal strike involving a million workingmen that has sent the prime minister flying, has disturbed the sleep of the king, and has sent terror into the hearts of the money kings, not only of England, but of the rest of the world. Indeed, the miners' strike, which, as one of the English newspapers justly stated, is the greatest calamity which has befallen England since the invasion of the Spanish armada; that has disclosed, as in a flash, the inherent power of the workers—the power which holds the rest of the world at bay, and that, if it will but assert itself can demolish old dynasties and inaugurate a new social readjustment.

Equally so the general strike in Germany, France, Norway, Sweden and other countries has eliminated all national and boundary lines, and has created a fellowship and kinship which only common interests can give birth to. In the face of this gigantic force, of this new brotherhood, of what avail is the hatred, propagated by politicians among the workers against each other? How insignificant is the idea taught that the Germans must forever hate the French, or the English the Irish? Or that the people must continue in the cut-throat occupation waged as the basis of our present relations in society.

With us in America the events preceding the McNamara trial and their final sacrifice for the sake of others has annihilated the lie of the antagonism between the interests of the disinherited and the possessors of the earth. Never again will smooth gentlemen venture to suggest that the economic unrest is but of a temporary character, and that if only the poor were not so unreasonable things might end in general good will. No power on earth can deny the latter, cruel, relentless class war now sweeping across the plains. A war more terrible than ever waged between nations—a war which has but yesterday shown its ghastliness in the textile industries of Lawrence, Mass., a war which consumes thousands of innocent lives and leaves behind a trail of destruction and terror. This was forcibly brought out in the congressional investigation in Washington. Terse though this has been, that the children of the Lawrence strikers who helped to weave the finest cloths were found to be barren of undergarments; and when it was equally disclosed that many of these children for weeks and months had gone to bed without a supper and into the factory without breakfast.

Same Force Is at Work in Mexico.

The same force which is making all this inhumanity and all these horrors possible here is also at work in Mexico, where the Yaqui Indians and the peons are engaged in a wonderful heroic fight for land and liberty. To be sure, these poor, illiterate and uncivilized beings have no right to struggle for freedom. Alas for the stupidity of the average human who fails to understand that the right to freedom and economic well-being does not come from text-books or university degrees; that they are burned into the very soul of man. It is this which gives the peons and the Yaqui Indians their fortitude, their courage and their marvelous power of endurance in the face of all the odds and privations which have been their lot now for nearly two years. It is also this which will enable them to fight to the finish and the if need be in the attempt to free their land from the terrible clutches of Wall street and kindred interests.

Syndicalism, industrialism, the general strike, and direct action have an exotic sound to the untrained American ear, but to those who have long seen the approaching storm they mask a new epoch in the growing social unrest. Indeed, syndicalism is the new arena of the modern gladiator, labor, the new battlefield, the logical, consistent outcome of labor's new-born consciousness. The latter, finding its supreme expression in the direct action of the masses and their unity through the general strike.

Syndicalism then, even as education, literature, the drama, art and the growing discontent in woman's life, is the advance beyond the political machine through the class war waged by the direct action of the workers. And this not merely for immediate ameliorations, but for the reconstruction of society from the mad, criminal chase for wealth on one side and the degrading nerve-racking drudgery on the other. It is the culminating expression of the accumulated, seething unrest and discontent which is making for a larger, fuller and more humane social arrangement.

The Marie Antoinettes and Louis XVI, of modern times may continue in their willful ignorant query of "Why the people do not eat cake?" But unless they pay for their stupidity as did their class during the French revolution, they may rest assured that the people once aroused strikes quickly and deeply.



MISS ZELDAH SHERMAN,
Prominent in Battle Against Illegal Registration in the F

Down in the Fourth ward a couple of a girl, suffragette and militant, barely past voting age, feminine in all things except a desire to purge the soiled of all home ward of its debasement by the "Billy" Greens of gang politics is more dreaded by judges of registration and prospective election officials that the bosses are respected.

For in her battle for clean politics Miss ... advocating to unshackle the ward from its keepers, who corrupt it for individual profit, Zeldah Sherman, 265 Fairfield street, committeewoman for the Citizens' party in the Fourth, has the fighting heart of a man.

Registration day or last week it was Miss Sherman who laid down the law to judges who were not administering the prescribed oath to voters. It was Miss Sherman who took to the district attorney's office evidence that at least two of the officials were illegally sitting in the precincts to which they were appointed. It was Miss Sherman who told Billy Green that it may be Green county, but the rest of the state is "below the Mason and Dixon line."

When Green ordered Joe Brother, Democratic registration clerk, out of the room, Miss Sherman was there to see that no unchallenged bird or woman of the opposite party voted. It was Miss Sherman who went back into the redistricted district to give the detectives-boss a chance to order Joe from a position of espionage. Green took no such kingly action. Most of the time Zeldah was at night, without escort, she went from precinct to precinct, her eyes and ears open to omissions and errors of the officials, intentional and negligent.

And her wit came to serve her well. One of the registration officials gave as residence a room in the Vetobone hotel, said to be occupied by his brother as a poker room, under police and aldermanic protection. Miss Sherman unearthed proof that his legal home was in another precinct, far removed. That she might substantiate the charge this militant worker for clean politics in an unclean ward planted a witness on one end of an ex-

ELYRIA BOY SCOUTS BUILD DRILL ROOM WITH OWN HANDS

Lads Not Pleased With Their Old Quarters Over a Saloon.

A drill hall on which most of the construction work was done by the boys of the Elyria troop of Boy Scouts. The building is of brick, 16½x42 feet and represents three months of constant labor on the part of the boys.

The only place that the boys have had for their meetings and drills since they were organized some time ago has been a second-story room over a saloon. They objected strenuously to having such a place for their hall so last January, with the encouragement of their scoutmaster, F. Hukins, they determined to build a hall of their own.

Subscriptions from the men and women who were interested in their work paid for the lots and the funds for the building materials were earned by the boys

NEW PARCELS POST BILL PROVIDES FOR A ZONE SYSTEM

FATHER ORDERED TO HOLD HOME IN TRUST FOR FAMILY

866

840514122

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman. – pp. 87-92 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 3 (May 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

I understand the whole affair was a frame-up. They wanted to destroy the effects of any demonstration under Socialistic auspices. The Industrial Workers of the World—many of them—do not understand that Socialism is international—not anti-national. The red flag is the international emblem of Socialism, but it in no way excludes or antagonizes the Star-Spangled Banner, for which every American Socialist who has any brains will stand, even though it is now under control of the capitalistic class.

The Socialists are the best patriots we have. They are not like the Republicans and Democrats, who claim to have a mortgage on the flag.

Socialists got black eyes and bloody noses in defending the flag in Union Square, and, if necessary, they would risk infinitely more in defending it.

Should the interests of Wall Street dictate war with Mexico to defend the "honor of the flag," then it is to be hoped that the Socialist Congressman and the editors of the *Call* will not fail in their manifest duty, and at once issue a call for a volunteer regiment of Socialists.

The *Call*, however, even beats the Honorable Victor in the disgusting rôle of informer. It has editorially denounced the tearing down of the national rag and cowardly insinuates the existence of a frame-up to disturb the meeting. The *Call* wrote in this regard:

> We do not know for whom those who tried to disrupt the Socialist May Day parade were working. One thing only is certain—it was not for the working class. Whoever employed them, whoever urged them on, whoever paid them for the dirty business they started, does not much matter. One thing only is evident—the provocative agent takes protean forms.

Evident is only that it would be too great a tax upon the mentality and honesty of the *Call* to appreciate the spontaneous popular outburst of indignation and resentment at the sight of the symbol of robbery and murder spreading its folds over the First of May demonstration. And it is further evident to every intelligent man that the editors of the *Call* and the Socialist politicians have trampled into the dirt the best feelings of the men and women assembled on the First of May for the very purpose of protesting against the crimes and outrages daily and hourly perpetrated under cover of the flag which the *Call* and Co. are so eager to protect. In their petty political scheming the Socialists have driven their patriotic hypocrisy to the point of denouncing as police agents workingmen whose revolutionary spirit has survived the systematic undermining of the Socialist politicians.

The American proletariat will not so easily forget this Socialist treachery and the indignity put upon labor by these patriotic lickspittles.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

THE POWER OF THE IDEAL

> And he leaned forward and laid his hand upon the sleeper, smiling; and this only she heard: "This shall be thy reward—that the Ideal shall be real to thee."—OLIVE SCHREINER, in "A Dream of Wild Bees."

IN THESE wonderful words is compressed the deep mystery of the Ideal, which from time immemorial has compelled the idealist onward, in the face of all obstacles, in spite of all difficulties and misunderstandings.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., did not look very encouraging. Owing to the wonderful efficiency of our Post Office department, Comrade Browne—who had kindly offered to arrange the meetings—was waiting for my letter, while I was waiting for his. Thus three valuable weeks were lost. Fortunately, our Comrade has the qualities so rare among radicals: thoroughness and system. In one week he had our announcements printed and distributed, so that the meetings were far beyond our expectations, both in point of attendance and spirit. But, above all, the gatherings demonstrated the growing insurgency in Socialist ranks. Kansas City more than other cities of the Middle West has a large, conscious revolutionary, industrial element that is fast growing away from the political diet prepared in the Socialist kitchen. True to the revolutionary proletarian spirit, they do not wait for the political chefs to dish out their rations; they prefer themselves to carry on a vigorous agitation along direct economic lines, which is more likely to satisfy the mental and physical palate of the workers. Nor are the Kansas City boys content with mere theoretic diet. A number of them are now tramping to San Diego, having left Kansas City shortly after us, and reaching Denver when we were holding forth in that town. The circumstance gave us an opportunity to collect enough funds to enable them to go further toward the seat of war.

867

840514122

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman. – pp. 87-92 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 3 (May 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

After the milk-and-water Socialists one generally meets in the East, these brave comrades, whose deep solidarity knows no drawbacks, were very refreshing. Added to this was the reunion with several comrades who had traveled far to meet us in K. C. Our old war-horse, Fred. P. Young, ever on hand; Ben Capes, full of the joy of life, and bubbling over with mischief and fun; then Lowell Masters, from Nebraska, as simple and true as if civilization had passed him by. In such company and comradery the stay in K. C. passed all too soon.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, was one of the conspiracies of circumstances. Everything went wrong. But so long as the Ideal is real, such experiences are of little moment.

DENVER turned out to be the city of "miracles." At first things seemed very disheartening. Dear, staunch May Courtney, although poor in health and much harrassed by the economic whip, worked hard to make our five lectures successful. But with the original meeting place refused at the very last moment, and a tremendous rental for halls which *had* to be taken, the situation did not look very promising. The meetings were poorly attended and, what was more paralyzing, the audiences were spiritless and uninspiring. But for the excitement at the lecture on "Socialism Caught in the Political Trap," which nearly ended in a riot, thanks to the very high conception of freedom on the part of a Socialist, the first week in Denver would have passed very uneventfully.

Then the "miracle" happened. I was asked by the Denver *Post* to write a series of articles on the "Growing Social Unrest." At the same time, some newspaper women, who had been rather fair to me on previous occasions, undertook to arrange a lecture in The Brown Palace Hotel, on Rostand's great play "Chanticleer."

Feeling like *Patou,* I scented a rat at first, but when I was given assurance that I could write as I pleased, and speak as I would before any other audience, I cheerfully accepted. Who could forego the pleasure of telling "society" to its face how empty and rotten it is? And where could one find a better vehicle of expression, a more biting satire on all our cherished institutions, a more

unflinching attack on our tinseled culture, than "Chanticleer," Rostand's philosophic and poetic masterpiece?

Had the gods been in my favor, they could not have offered me a better opportunity to hold up the mirror to the parasitic Pheasants, the idle social Guinea Hen, the unprincipled Blackbird, the charlatan Peacock, the cringing, slimy Toads of Denver Society, and, not knowing when fate would so favor me again, I did my best to make use of the occasion.

George Bernard Shaw once said that as long as he wrote Socialist tracts no one would read him; but when he began to employ the drama to express his Socialist attacks upon the idle rich, the latter split their gloves in violent approval of his ideas. The same happened in Denver.

My five meetings of the first week barely brought enough people to pay the hall rents, and, but for the faithful few, the audiences remained inert. But when I spoke through the mouth of Rostand, when I made him expose the social cancer and bring home the dullness and monotony of the "elect" set, the cruelty and ignorance that meet the idealist, the pitfalls and temptations he must face, and the struggle he must make not to forswear the Ideal, the audience "split its costly gloves" in approval. That, however, would have hardly been worth the effort; the thing which was worth while was the presence of a few earnest men and women.

The intellectual proletarians are a new type in America, but an ever increasing and permanent type. School teachers, writers, artists, stenographers, bookkeepers, and professionals in general, are forced even like the workers to realize the terrible effect of the economic struggle. They are of course still groping in the dark, unable to find the point of contact with the rest of the social forces.

What if it is the modern drama rather than the direct industrial phase which opens up the true meaning of our social abyss to these people? After all, the modern drama is no mean factor in disseminating new ideas, in pulling men and women out of their self-satisfied complacency, their mental laziness, their soul indifference.

I was therefore glad to find a number of eager and earnest people, who, after a hard day's work in school, office, or university, flocked to the drama lectures every

868

840514122

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman. – pp. 87-92 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 3 (May 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

day from 5 to 6.30, and listened with an intensity and appreciation which only those who really want to know display.

Space will not permit me to do justice to all who joined the "class." But a few impressed themselves so strongly on my memory, I must say a word about them. There is Mrs. McFarland, a most wonderfully striking personality, instructor in the literary department of the Denver University and, as I have been told, a very brilliant teacher herself. Her face reminds me of Sonya Kovalevskaya, with eyes so big and deep and sad. She absorbed herself so much in the short course, that when I announced the possibility of my return in June, she immediately offered to keep up the work which I started during our Denver visit.

There is Miss Kennan, a most scholarly woman, with a broad and big outlook on life, so rare among American women teachers. There is also Miss Nef, an enthusiast and an eager seeker for social truths. And there were other women, mostly tired, weary, and worn from the terrible struggle for existence. Not least among them, there was a pale-faced earnest newspaper girl, deeply absorbed in the modern economic methods of warfare, syndicalism and direct action. All these intellectual wage slaves came to learn, to find an explanation for the growing unrest of their own class, and how they might become factors in the tide of the greater social awakening.

Nor seems their interest to be momentary, or a mere fad; else they would not so willingly have grouped themselves around Mrs. McFarland, who is now continuing the *causeries* we have started, "to keep the group together until your return," she said in her wonderfully melodious voice.

The most important part of the French propaganda consists in just such small *causeries*, groups of people who discuss all the important phases of the great social struggle. If the Denver venture would serve as an inspiration for other places, there might in time be born a vital intellectual and radical movement that would prepare the soil for bigger and more far-reaching things.

We came to the Rocky Mountain City for five lectures only, but remained till fourteen meetings were held and five articles written and published, all of which was accomplished in thirteen days. As behooves the American spirit, "hurry up, step lively." But where there is a will, there is a way; besides, with the ardent help of Comrades May Courtney, Dr. Wey, Citron, Hurowitch, Frank and Lena Monroe, the two Cohen sisters, and John Spies, Anarchists of old standing, the true Russian souls, Semionof and his wife, the feat did not seem quite so terrible. But the strenuous side was all forgotten in the pleasant social at the studio of our old friend Elder, who also furnished the music.

However, the Denver "miracle" is not at an end; we are to return later on for a month, at the request of the Denver *Post*, if only the wind does not blow in another direction, which in newspaper ethics and the Colorado climate is apt to happen.

After Denver, SALT LAKE CITY appeared tame, even though it is a Mormon town. But we were glad to come back there, because of our loyal circle, among them a very courageous and able little woman, Virginia Stephen, who is an instructor in the art department at the University of Utah, notwithstanding which she carries on active work in the Sunday class of the Modern School, started by Thurston Brown. It was this friend who had also arranged our meetings. If the *intelligenzia* of America, like their Russian confrères, are beginning to make common cause with the people, there is hope for this country.

Just at present the attention of all earnest rebels must be directed toward Mexico, where the heroic struggle of the peons is to be terminated by the mailed fist of Uncle Sam. And also to San Diego, where that terrible fist has already committed enough crimes to condemn it unto all eternity. It is only since our arrival in Los Angeles that we have learned of all the horrors in San Diego, but as we expect to go there ourselves, we will report matters in the next issue. Meanwhile, we have collected some money for the free speech fight, and we shall continue to raise funds till that great struggle is fought to a successful issue.

For this and the next month we have a hard siege before us: Los Angeles, ten days; San Francisco for a similar length of time; Portland for six lectures; Seattle for about two weeks. Mail will reach us until May 28th,

869

840514122

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman. – pp. 87-92 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 7, no. 3 (May 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

at San Francisco; June 3rd—10th, Portland; June 10th —17th, Seattle. All directed to General Delivery.

"This shall be thy reward—that the Ideal shall be real to thee." With that, nothing else matters.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Collected for the Free Speech Fight, San Diego, Cal:—Kansas City, Mo., $18.00; Denver, Colo., $12.75; Denver, for the boys en route to San Diego, $13.00; Salt Lake City, Utah, $9.30. Also collected $5.00 from Rogers Baldwin, St. Louis, for Lawrence, Mass., fund.

❧ ❧ ❧

SAN DIEGO ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We hereby acknowledge the receipt of the following donations for the Free Speech Fight in San Diego:

Emma Goldman Meeting in Kansas City.....	$18.00
" " " " Denver, Colo.....	12.70
" " " " Salt Lake Sity.....	9.30
Total	$40.00

Thanking you for your aid in our fight for freedom, yours in the Revolution,

CALIFORNIA FREE SPEECH LEAGUE,
By STANLEY M. GUE, Secretary. KASPAR BAUER, Treasurer.

❧ ❧ ❧

APPEAL FROM LAWRENCE

Fellow-workers and Comrades! As was to be expected, the mill owners of Lawrence and other points, defeated by the workers in open conflict, have rushed to the blindfolded Goddess of Law to secure balm for their wounded hearts. We have been indicted by the Grand Jury as accessories to the murder of Annie La Pizza, a girl striker. She was shot in a police-created riot on January 29th, and in our belief by a policeman in uniform, one whom numerous witnesses recognized and accused in open court.

Besides this, we together with a number of other fellow-workers have been further indicted on numerous counts for "conspiracy."

Let the hireling agents of the masters swear to their "*instructions.*" Our only crime is "Loyalty to the working class." If the reward for that be death, we will give up our lives with a song on our lips.

Because of the workers' struggle, in which we enjoyed their confidence and played a prominent part, $15,000,-

000 increase in wages annually will be reaped by the textile workers of New England, and there will be that much less profit to the capitalists. Therefore the masters are bent upon having our heads, and through the machinations of their legal and political puppets, they will leave no stone unturned to accomplish their desire.

Comrades! In this struggle, as in the past ones, we gave to our fellow-workers all of our experience, energies, knowledge, enthusiasm, devotion and love, that children may be taken from the mills and sent to the schoolroom, that fathers may receive sufficient pay to maintain their families, that nursing babes shall not be torn from their toiling mothers' breasts. We were violently taken away from the battle and held as hostages. Hitherto, men similarly charged have been entitled by law to bail in the State of Massachusetts, but this has been repeatedly denied us on judges' discretion!

Now that the struggle is over, it is proposed that we shall pay the price for our ideals and activities. It is the duty of the great tribunal of labor and of all who sympathize with labor's aspirations for a better day, to decide the question of our responsibilities and ultimate freedom. Fellow-workers! Gathered around this jail a few weeks ago, twenty-five thousand men, women, and children, members of our class, cheered and sang the songs of their love and feeling of solidarity for us. But this immense and magnificent popular demonstration was not enough to convince the masters of our innocence. Thus again the lesson has been repeated that the basis of law is not the people's will.

We remain, however, unshaken in our firm and profound belief in the final triumph of Truth and Justice. We appeal to you, each and all, to bear witness at our trial when the great cause of human emancipation, in the persons of two sincere soldiers, shall once again sit on the felon's bench to face and challenge all the combined powers of capitalist reaction.

We are innocent of any crime. We have fought like good soldiers a loyal, open, and fair battle, with the clean weapon of working class solidarity; against enormous wealth; surrounded by thugs with guns and clubs in a forest of bayonets; and we have won the greatest victory in the history of labor.

870

890331006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Threats Made by Woman "Red" / Emma Goldman. — p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* The San Francisco Call. —(May 12, 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

and made to kneel and
of the American flag.
they were marched
e being compelled to
pangled Banner."
f April 5 unknown citi-
obile went to the home
ditor of a local weekly
while his wife looked
e was carried to the
taken from the city.
morning he made his
, where he said he had
vigilantes and warned
o the city. From there
Angeles and a week
to San Diego.
e until the present the
ken an active part in
r and keeping the city
bies. On the night of
of this committee, it
ge of a crowd of about
he I. W. W. who had
m the north and es-
vond Oceanside, doing

the superior court for protection.

VIGILANTES FACE LEGAL ACTION

As a result the name of J. M. Porter, a wealthy resident of San Diego, has been mentioned in connection with the so-called vigilantes of the city and an effort will probably be made to learn the names of fifteen others next Monday. At that time Porter and his fifteen alleged companions will be asked to show cause why they should not be punished for contempt of court in connection with alleged intimidation of attorneys employed to defend persons now awaiting trial in the courts of this county.

The citations would have been issued Saturday if it were not a non judicial day. Moore, Robbins and Rawlins went into hiding Saturday night, and up to Monday morning had not been seen or heard from. The vigilantes, so-called, were active Saturday night and Sunday, it is said, but the police say they have heard no reports of violence.

chief of police to say who shall and who shall not have the right to speak in public.

"The socialists pure and simple and the American Federation of Labor are bitterly opposed to the I. W. W. and their preachments, but in the San Diego case, because of the authorities robbing the I. W. W. of the right of free speech, they came to their immediate support and acted with them as a unit, and, in my opinion, rightly so, on the theory that if the I. W. W. could be robbed of free speech today by the chief of police of a city, tomorrow that same chief of police could rob the socialists and the trade unionists or any other body of citizens, of their right of free speech."

"Do you believe there is a serious danger of such a result, in view of the checks on a chief of police when he does not execute the public will?" was asked.

"I am not prepared to say how serious," Weinstock replied, "but there would be danger. It should not be invited."

"Do you believe the chief of police should keep the peace and see that the will of the community is carried out?" was asked.

"The chief of police should obey the law."

SITUATION WAS OUTSIDE LAW

"But you admit that this is a situation outside the law."

"They should make a law to fit the case. No wrong exists that can not be reached by the law, and it is within the province of the people to enact laws to kill this sort of thing."

"What is to be done when a band of men are avowedly lawless, as these men are?" was asked.

"No matter how lawless they are, there must be laws to reach them."

MAILED TO
ER OF DEATH

eives Same Lethal lew His Former heart With

d From Page 1

hy, the Catholic priest,
ent.

nd walked on. He was
in a black cheviot suit,
hite vest, white shirt,
ar and a black bow tie,
in his shirt front and
shoes brightly shined,
aved down the middle.
n entered the chamber.
panied by the clergy-
on after, the unfrocked
ng as calm as either of

letters addressed to
were opened by Warden
e which was found to
of potassium. It was
tion N, New York city,
m.
o clew to the sender,
g inclosed in a small
arked "headache pow-

it showed that it was
ame nature which was
Avis Linnell.
rse advised Warden
e public the receipt of

innocent of any knowl-
ling, the attorney said.

PRESIDENT
E VISITOR HERE

sident of the Equitable
ciety, will arrive in San
nesday morning from
M. Shields will give a
nor at the Fairmont
evening. Day, who was
et, succeeded to the
Equitable upon the
will
will be
Jr. at the

FEAR OF TONGMEN DISTURBS WITNESS

San Francisco Harbor Policeman in Chico Case Threatens to Shoot Himself

CHICO, May 20.—Fearing that members of the Suey Sing tong would harm him because he thoughtlessly divulged the identity of Wong Suey, a Suey Sing tongman accused of murder, J. T. Whalen, a San Francisco harbor policeman, threatened to shot himself in the corridor of the city hall here today during the preliminary hearing of Wong.

His attempt was thwarted by City Marshall Goe and Assistant District Attorney Le Rossignol. Goe took the gun away from Whalen as he drew it from his pocket.

Whalen came as a witness for Wong. He testified that the name of the accused was not Wong Suey. He was heard to call the Chinese Wong outside the courtroom.

GOLDEN WEST, POWER BOAT, HAS TROUBLES

Balky Schooner Makes Golden Gate Instead of Hoquiam

The power schooner Golden West, which entered the port yesterday, brought a story like a chapter from the adventures of "Alice in Wonderland." The Golden West left Raymond, in Washington, May 6 for Hoquiam, about 60 miles farther north.

Its engine, after the schooner crossed the bar at Raymond, came to a full stop. A northwest gale blew the ship down the coast as far as Trinidad, whence Captain Englke managed to work his way in here under sail.

The vessel had been provisioned only for a 60 mile run and food and water were exhausted.

The arrival of the schooner caused some excitement in federal circles, as the immigration authorities are looking for just such a boat with a cargo of contraband Chinese. Captain Englke has a crew of two men.

Every woman realizes that mirrors are not what they were when she was a girl.

THREATS MADE BY WOMAN "RED"

Asserting that if "free speech" were not granted to members of the Industrial Workers of the World in San Diego in the unrestricted permission to teach their tenets in the streets of the southern city, secret meetings and violence would inevitably result, Emma Goldman last night supplemented her dramatic lecture at Jefferson Square hall with a collection for the I. W. W.'s of San Diego and Los Angeles.

From a crowd which comfortably filled the lecture room a total contribution of $27.49 was collected. Half of this will go to the I. W. W.'s at San Diego, and half to those at Los Angeles for sending more recruits. While members of the audience freely bought pamphlets on anarchism, direct action, anarchy versus socialism and other anarchistic publications, there was no applause, but a dead silence, when, just before the collection, Doctor Reitman announced that the offering was taken as "because a policeman killed an I. W. W. in San Diego, 38 members of that organization were being held on a charge of murder."

"If there were such a thing as law in America," asserted Miss Goldman in a loud voice, "every vigilante and brutal policeman in San Diego would be sent to the penitentiary. But there is no law—the government is merely a machine to perpetuate present conditions.

"San Diego's fight is your fight. You may have free speech here, but if they succeed in stopping it at San Diego they will stop it elsewhere. If they win it at San Diego, it will provide the Industrial Workers with that much

BIG LAND DEAL CLOSED—Tulare, May 20.—One of the biggest land deals consummated in this section was closed today. E. O. Walker, a well known banker of Los Angeles, purchased the Burrell Tract, consisting of 1,000 acres, near this city. The deal involved over $300,000.

WOMAN SCREA
SCARES BU

Mrs. W. E. Co
street, frightened a b
her home yesterday a
tried to enter her roo
access to the hou
The burglar sounded
eral times before ent
ing no response, believ
was absent. He made
Mrs. Commery scream
tectives Dolan and G
tailed to the case.

DOWNIEVILLE MAN DE
May 20.—Amos Dubuque
dent, was found dead in
town. Dubuque went
is supposed to have fall

Goo
Me

It is
purchase
be bought
at prices
struments
facturers.
enough t
that will
in appear
well.

No m
enviable r

Th

Made
pointed o
labor savi
the highe
more real
nent usefu
For more
the leadin
stock of L

The S

135-153 Ke

OTHER

871

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

830407025

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Outrage of San Diego] / [Emma Goldman].– [1912 May 16, draft].– 4 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. Institutional Location: Theodore Schroeder Papers, Morris Library.

[Emma Goldman May 16, 19?]

Fifty years ago a young lawyer, looking out from his office window, saw an infuriated, mad, screaming and well dressed mob dragging a man by a rope along the streets of Boston. That man was Lloyd Garrison and the young lawyer, America's greatest orator, Wendell Phillips. So tremendous was the impression made upon Mr. Phillips by the terrible outrageous sight in America and the most cultured City of America, that he became the fiery exponent of the great American cause for which Lloyd Garrison had been assaulted by the mob on that day.

That was fifty years ago. Since then, we have, no doubt, advanced along the lines of ~~intelligent~~ actual and social endeavor. Certainly we have learned that Justice and Truth, for which both Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison made such a brave and gallant fight, represent great ideals now being accepted by millions of people.

But if Lloyd Garrison and Wendeal Phillips had entered San Diego at a little after 1 o'clock on the day of the 14th of May, 1912, they would have realized that very little, if any, has changed since that time. There was the same well dressed, howling, hooting and blood-thirsty mob, the only difference being that the victims in question were two Anarchists instead of Abolitionists and that the mob did not have the rope. Equally so they would have realized that it is to-day as great a crime to work for the emancipation of the White Slave as it has been in that time to espouse the cause of the Black Slave.

However, I do not so much condemn the mob, as it neither reasons nor is it very eminable to reason, but I do condemn those who, for months past have filled the people of San Diego with prejudice and with blood-curdling stories and with the spirit of vengeance. Those who have done so do not represent ~~rabble~~ rabble, but boast of belonging to the so-called better class of citizens, lawyers, doctors, real estate men, the police and one of the leading papers and I say this not without any absolute truth, but because I have been there and have been able to get sufficient data that could send every one of them up to the penitentiary for years, if there were a Judge and Jury in San Diego

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

830407025

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Outrage of San Diego] / [Emma Goldman].– [1912 May 16, draft].– 4 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. Institutional Location: Theodore Schroeder Papers, Morris Library.

brave enough to Dare the case.

My purpose in coming to San Diego was the same as my purpose coming to Denver or to any other City in America, namely, to lecture. Every time I visited the Coast I have addressed large audiences in the City of San Diego and never have I been disturbed, although my subjects have always been along economic and socialistic lines. The things which I was to treat on this visit were two dramas "The Enemy of the People" and "Maternity" by Henrick Ibsen & Brieux by two foremost dramatists of the World. Those lectures I have delivered all over the United States before the most intelligent and cultured audiences and in Denver both these lectures were highly commented upon by Mr. P.W.T.

I have, of course, been interfered with on prior occasions since free speech in our land depends entirely on the whims and arbitrary wills of ignorant police officials, but it was left to San Diego, a town which Nature herself has intended many to be happy and suppress the right of free speech and assemblage in a manner which would have put to shame the Spanish Inquisition. It was left to so-called citizens who swear by law and order to break their human and statutory law.

Austensibly the organization now known as the I.W.W. is responsible for the excitement and the blood-thirsty attitude of the people of San Diego, but after all, that is the indictment made against every organization and idea which the popular minds have not yet accepted, but whether the I.W.W. be right or wrong, they cannot be possibly as wrong as the people of San Diego, who are brutally suppressing the right of expression. Men and women who are not ready to listen to contrast opinion on any given subject, thereby condemn themselves to the grossest ignorance and the most outrageous tyranny. If what a so-called undesireable element has to say is wrong, it will die of itself a much quicker death than if those people are beaten, clubbed, tarred and feathered and driven out like wild beasts. Equally so it is with anything I might to say. ~~The intelligent public in any city, certainly has the right to hear~~ nor can anything I stand for be killed by mob-butchery or by police interference. The

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

873

830407025

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Outrage of San Diego] / [Emma Goldman].– [1912 May 16, draft].– 4 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. Institutional Location: Theodore Schroeder Papers, Morris Library.

#3

issue of free speech is one of the most vital and fundamental in every country and City and the very moment any given section of a community takes it upon itself to suppress that issue, it at the same time undermines the principal of liberty and condemns itself to death.

It was not sufficient for the so-called respectable mob to make a violent and savage attack to threaten the life of the hotel manager who had manhood enough not to turn us out of the house and use a language unprintable, but it demanded our lives and with the direct and deliberate assistence of the police, nearly succeeded in getting Dr. Ben L. Reitman. Evidently, it did not dare go as far as that with me, nor yet to carry out its criminal conspiracy while I was with Dr. Reitman. It was therefore arranged that I be called in the office of the hotel manager to speak to the Chief, and while there, these men bound, gagged the Doctor, placed him in an automobile, took him out six miles from the City limits, tore his clothing off his body, beat him mercilessly, made him undergo indignities beyond description, tortured him and burned the initials I.W.W. on his back. Not content with that, he was compelled to walk thirty miles in a naked condition. Fortunate for the victim, he had money and his return ticket to Los Angeles, but what about the hundreds of victims, the obscure and poverty stricken members of the I.W.W. who have neither friends nor money? I understand that the Savior of the Christian people said "What soever ye do unto the least of these my children, ye do unto me" and yet, the people who call themselves Christians austensibly worship the memory of Christ, go on in a brutal criminal manner outraging life and liberty.

However, it has been said that if there is one innocent man in a City, that City will be saved. And there is such a man in San Diego, a Mr. George Edwards, who is at the head of the Music Institute, a musician of great ability and man of fine culture. At the critical moment, when even business people would have lost their courage, this man, who had never before seen or heard me, offered his hall for a lecture, which was certainly as brave an act as that of Wendell Phillips who rushed out to the assistance of

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

874

830407025

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Outrage of San Diego] / [Emma Goldman].– [1912 May 16, draft].– 4 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. Institutional Location: Theodore Schroeder Papers, Morris Library.

loyd Garrison fifty years ago. I felt, however, to accept Mr. Edwards' kindness and hospitality would have meant to jeopardize his life, which I could not possibly do. It was only because of that and also because I was given absolute assurance by the manager of the U.S. Grant Hotel that no harm would come to Mr. Goldman, although he had been taken out of the City and sent on to Los Angeles in an automobile, it was only that which induced me to go out of that City.

Life, under our present circumstances, is not so great a thing but what anyone who has an ideal should be willing to part with it. But life in San Diego is worse than death. I cannot believe that a number of intelligent people in the United States is so small that it could not bring mal-pressure upon the City of San Diego to desist in its atrocities. It was the intelligent minority which forced the Southern planter to stop his murderous treatment of the Black Man. Surely the same can be done to-day. At any rate it shall hereafter be my subject to bring to the consideration of the intelligent public throughout the land, the atrocities now being enacted by by a so-called respectable mob in the fair City of San Diego.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

875

871014229

The Emma Goldman Papers

Are We Really Advancing? / Emma Goldman.– [1912 June?, draft]. – 4 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois at Chicago Library.

~~1925?~~ 1912

"Are we really advancing?"

Fifty years ago a young lawyer, looking out from his office window, saw an infuriated, mad, screaming and well dressed mob dragging a man by a rope along the streets of Boston. That man was Lloyd Garrison and the young lawyer, America's greatest orator, Wendell Phillips. So tremendous was the impression made upon Mr. Phillips by the terrible outrageous sight in America and the most cultured City of America, that he became the fiery exponent of the great American cause for which Lloyd Garrison had been assaulted by the mob on that day.

That was fifty years ago. Since then, we have, no doubt, advanced along the lines of intelligent and social endeavor. Certainly we have learned that Justice and Truth, for which both Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison made such a brave and gallant fight, represent great ideals now being accepted by millions of people.

But if Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips had entered San Diego at a little after 1 o'clock on the day of the 14th of May, 1912, they would have realized that very little, if any, has changed since that time. There was the same well dressed, howling, hooting and blood-thirsty mob, the only difference being that the victims in question were two Anarchists instead of Abolitionists and that the mob did not have the rope. Equally so they would have realized that it is to-day as great a crime to work for the emancipation of the White Slave as it has been in that time to espouse the cause of the Black Slave.

However, I do not so much condemn the mob, as it neither reasons nor is it very eminable to reason, but I do condemn those who, for months past have filled the people of San Diego with prejudice and with blood-curdling stories and with the spirit of vengeance. Those who have done so do not represent ~~rebels,~~ but boasts of belonging to the so-called better class of citizens, lawyers, doctors, real estate men, the police and one of the leading papers and I say this ~~not without any absolute truth, but~~ because I have been there and have been able to get sufficient data that would send every one of them up to the penitentiary for years, if there were a Judge in San Diego

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

876

871014229

The Emma Goldman Papers

Are We Really Advancing? / Emma Goldman.– [1912 June?, draft]. – 4 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois at Chicago Library.

brave enough to accept the ~~case~~ evidence.

My purpose in coming to San Diego was the same as my purpose in coming to Denver or to any other City in America, namely, to lecture. Every time I visited the Coast I have addressed large audiences in the City of San Diego and never have I been disturbed, although my subjects have always been along economic and sociological lines. The ~~things~~ themes which I was to treat on this visit were the dramas "The Enemy of the People" & Maternity, Henrik Ibsen and Brieux by two foremost dramatists of the world. These lectures I have delivered all over the United States before the most intelligent and cultured audiences and in Denver both these lectures were highly commented upon by Mr. F.W.S.

I have, of course, been interfered with on prior occasions since free speech in our land depends entirely on the whims and arbitrary wills of ignorant police officials, but it was left to San Diego, a town which Nature herself has intended many to be happy and peaceful to suppress the right of free speech and assemblage in a manner which would have put to shame the Spanish Inquisition. It was left to so-called citizens who swear by law and order to break every human and statutory law.

Austensibly the organization now known as the I.W.W. is responsible for the excitement and the blood-thirsty attitude of the people of San Diego, but after all, that is the indictment against every organization and idea which the popular minds have not yet accepted, but whether the I.W.W. be right or wrong, they cannot be possibly as wrong as the people of San Diego, who are brutally suppressing the right of expression. Men and women who are not ready to listen to a contrary opinion on any given subject, thereby condemn themselves to the grossest ignorance and the most outrageous tyranny. If what a so-called undesirable element has to say is wrong, it will die of itself a much quicker death than if these people are beaten, clubbed, tarred and feathered and driven out like wild beasts. Equally so it is with anything I have to say. ~~The intelligent public in any city, certainly has the right to hear~~, nor can anything I stand for be killed by mob-butchery or by police interference. The

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

877

871014229

The Emma Goldman Papers

Are We Really Advancing? / Emma Goldman.– [1912 June?, draft]. – 4 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois at Chicago Library.

In as much as ye have done it unto ~~me~~ one of the least of these ye have done it unto me!

of
issue of free speech is one/the most vital and fundamental in every country and City and the very moment any given section of a community takes it upon itself to suppress that issue, it at the same time undermines the principal of liberty and condemns itself to death.

It was not sufficient for the so-called respectable mob to make a violent and savage attack to threaten the life of the hotel manager who had manhood enough not to turn us out of the house and use a language unprintable, but it demanded our lives and with the direct and deliberate assistance of the police, ~~nearly~~ succeeded in getting Dr. Ben L. Reitman. Evidently, it did not dare go as far as that with me, nor yet to carry out its criminal conspiracy while I was with Dr. Reitman. It was therefore arranged that I be called in the office of the hotel manager to speak to the Chief, and while there, these men bound, gagged the doctor, placed him in an automobile, took him out six miles from the city limits, tore his clothing off his body, beat him mercilessly, made him undergo indignities beyond description, tortured him and burned the initials I.W.W. on his back. Not content with that, he was compelled to walk thirty miles in a naked condition. Fortunate for the victim, he had money and his return ticket to Los Angeles, but what about the hundreds of victims, the obscure and poverty stricken members of the I. W. W. who have neither friends nor money? I understand that the Savior of the Christian people said, ~~"Whatsoever ye do unto one of these my brethren, even to the least of these, ye do it unto me."~~ and yet, the people who call themselves Christians, ostensibly worship the memory of Christ, go on in a brutal criminal manner outraging life and liberty and ~~yet we retaliate by showing mercy unto every one, who differs with us.~~

However, it has been said that if there is one innocent man in a City, that City will be saved. And there is such a man in San Diego, a Mr. George Edwards, who is at the head of the Music Institute, a musician of great ability and man of fine culture. At the critical moment, when even ~~brave~~ people would have lost their courage, this man, who had never before seen or heard me, offered his hall for a lecture, which was certainly a brave act as that of Wendell Phillips who rushed out to the assistance of

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

878

871014229

The Emma Goldman Papers

Are We Really Advancing? / Emma Goldman.– [1912 June?, draft]. – 4 p.; 36 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Illinois at Chicago Library.

Lloyd Garrison fifty years ago. I felt, however, to accept Mr. Edwards' kindness and hospitality would have meant to jeopardise his life, which I could not possibly do. It was only because of that and also because I was given absolute assurance by the manager of the U.S. Grant Hotel that no harm would come to Mr. Leitman, although he had been taken out of the City and sent on to Los Angeles in an automobile, it was only that which induced me to go out of that City.

Life, under our present circumstances, is not so great a thing but what anyone who has an ideal should be willing to part with it. But life in San Diego is worse than that. I cannot believe that the number of intelligent people in the United States is so small that it could not bring moral-pressure upon the City of San Diego to desist in its atrocities. It was the intelligent minority which forced the Southern planter to stop his murderous treatment of the Black Man. Surely the same can be done to-day. At any rate it shall hereafter be my object to bring to the consideration of the intelligent public throughout the land, the atrocities now being enacted by a so-called respectable mob in the fair City of San Diego.

Emma Goldman

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

879

890209017

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Outrage of San Diego / Emma Goldman.– pp. 115-122 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 7, no. 4 (June, 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

have had a great deal of fun. None of them has been as much as slapped on the wrist. They proved to us that we were a lot of cowards, unable to protect ourselves. All that has been done in the way of retaliation has been to appeal to the government and the public for sympathy. We didn't even get that. The revolutionary movement of America has not justified its existence, at least so far as San Diego is concerned. For myself, I weep. I am ashamed that that great, big, strong giant, Labor, can be so readily bullied and beaten, and will not strike back.

A friend, whom I saw last week in San Quentin prison, asked me: "Why don't somebody do something?" I answered: "We are all cowards, I guess."

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

TYRANNICIDE

BY WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.

DANGER is not in action, but in sloth;
By sloth alone we lose
Our strength, our substance, and, far more than both,
The guerdon of the Muse.
Men kill without compunction hawk and kite;
To save the folded flock
They chase the wily plunderer of the night
O'er thicket, marsh, and rock.
Sacred no longer is Our Lord the wolf
Nor crown'd is crocodile;
And shall ye worship on the Baltick Gulph
The refuse of the Nile?
Among the myriad men of murder'd sires
Is there not one still left
Whom wrongs and vengeance urge when virtue fires?
One conscious how bereft
Of all is he . . . of country, kindred, home. . . .
He, doom'd to drag along
The dray of serfdom, or thro' lands to roam
That mock an unknown tongue?
A better faith was theirs than pulpits preach
Who struck the tyrant down,
Who taught the brave how patriot brands can reach
And crush the proudest crown.

No law for him who stands above the law,
Trampling on truth and trust;
But hangman's hook or courtier's privy paw
Shall drag him thro' the dust.
Most dear of all the Virtues to her Sire
Is Justice; and most dear
To Justice is Tyrannicide; the fire
That guides her flashes near.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

THE OUTRAGE OF SAN DIEGO

FIFTY years ago a young lawyer looked out from his office window and saw a well-dressed, infuriated, mad, screaming mob, dragging a man by a rope along the streets of Boston. That man was Lloyd Garrison, and the young lawyer America's greatest orator, Wendell Phillips. So tremendous was the impression made upon Phillips by the terrible, savage sight in an American city, that he became the fiery exponent of the great human cause for which Lloyd Garrison had been assaulted by the mob on that day.

Since then we have no doubt advanced along the lines of intellectual and social endeavor. Certainly we have learned that justice and truth, for which both Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison made such a brave and gallant fight, represent great ideals, now being accepted by millions of people.

But if Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips had been in San Diego a little before 1 o'clock on the 14th of May, 1912, they would have realized that very little, if anything, has changed since their time. There was the same well-dressed, howling, hooting, and blood-thirsty mob, the only difference being that the victims were two Anarchists instead of Abolitionists. Equally so they would have realized that it is to-day as great a crime to work for the emancipation of the white slave as it was to work for the cause of the black slave fifty years ago.

On my previous trips to California I never failed to speak in San Diego, and I have never been disturbed. This time I had a double reason for visiting that city.

880

890209017

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Outrage of San Diego / Emma Goldman.— pp. 115-122 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 4 (June, 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

First, to lecture; and, secondly, to learn for myself of the outrages which had been committed against the I. W. W. men during the last three months. Dr. Reitman and I could have slipped in quietly, but we had nothing to hide. Besides, we wanted to give the authorities a chance to make good their claim that they were not in league with the savagery and cruelties committed by the so-called patriotic citizens of San Diego.

We wrote the Mayor, notifying him of the time and the place of the lectures, and asking him to keep his subordinates from suppressing the right of free speech. In reply we heard from Chief of Police Wilson, ordering us to stay away from San Diego. As we could not possibly recognize the high-handed authority of this uniformed cossack, we determined to carry out our schedule as originally planned.

On arriving in the city we saw a large crowd, but paid no further attention to it, quietly passing to the auto-bus of the U. S. Grant Hotel. Then the mob outbreak began, the moment our presence became known. I shall not attempt to describe the language, the madness, the atrocities that raged around us. It seemed as if the entire city had turned into an insane asylum.

But for the pluck of the chauffeur, we would have been mobbed there and then. He raced at wild speed, with several cars full of vigilantes in made pursuit, screaming, yelling, and cursing the chauffeur. Finally we reached the U. S. Grant Hotel, in our company being Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Kirk. Mr. Kirk, though under indictment himself, showed wonderful bravery in meeting us at the depot—an act which was certainly as heroic as that of Wendell Phillips, who rushed out to the rescue of Lloyd Garrison.

No objection was made at the hotel. We were assigned to our rooms and, after some rest, we went down to the grill-room for our luncheon. Everything seemed quiet, when about 4 P. M. the head clerk announced that he would have to transfer us to other rooms, as the vigilantes had gotten hold of the registry and were determined to get us out of the hotel. Later the manager himself, Mr. Holmes, arrived, assuring us that we were perfectly safe under his roof, but that he could not permit us to go down to the lobby or restaurant, or anywhere in the hotel, which meant nothing less than incarceration. Again we waited for some time to map out a plan of action, but at 7.30 P. M. the horror of our reception was repeated, only in a more hideous manner.

Five thousand people, preceded by a hundred autos, with fashionably-dressed women and men as their occupants, with American flags, their riot-whistles creating a deafening noise, surrounded the hotel. Five hundred of these maniacs, led by a good Christian and American patriot, Francis Bierman, reporter on the San Diego *Union*, entered the hotel lobby, unfurled the American flag, compelled everybody to sing the "Star Spangled Banner" as an inspiration for their heroic work, then walked up to Manager Holmes and demanded: "Turn over the two damned Anarchists to us, or we will take you." Mr. Holmes replied that he couldn't do that. That it was the custom of the hotel to protect its guests; but that if they would quiet down, he would see Miss Goldman and induce her to leave the city. Thereupon the committee said they would wait, but would return, reinforced, raid the hotel, drag every guest out of the rooms until they would locate us. If they should fail in that, Mr. Holmes would have to pay for it with his life.

About 10 o'clock Mr. Holmes came to us and told us that he could no longer guarantee our safety, but that if we would leave he would give us protection. That we refused to do. Equally so, to act upon his suggestion to ask the Chief of Police for protection. We said that when we decided to go, we would leave as we had arrived—openly and without the support of the authorities. While we were discussing the matter, we were interrupted by violent knocks on the door, and a man (whom we took for a detective, but who afterwards proved to be a vigilante) stepped in and informed Mr. Holmes that the Chief of Police, with other men from the department, were at Mr. Holmes' office and demanded to see us.

Strange to say, Reitman showed greater intuition than myself, immediately suspecting foul play. He

881

890209017

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Outrage of San Diego / Emma Goldman.— pp. 115-122 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 4 (June, 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

said that the Chief should come to us, but to avoid argument I suggested that we go down to the office of Mr. Holmes. There we found six men; one, a certain J. M. Porter, I recognized as the leading vigilante of the afternoon mob, and also the one who threatened E. E. Kirk's life in my presence in the hotel lobby. We were then informed that the Chief was in the next room and would see me first. Even then I did not suspect the conspiracy to which the police and even Mr. Holmes himself had lent a willing hand. How could I? We were not in Russia. We were in San Diego, in an American city, in the leading hotel of the town, at 10 o'clock in the evening. How could I for a moment suspect that human beings would be so bestial and degenerate as to commit a thing which would put to shame even Russia?

My conversation with the Chief of Police, his assistant, the head of detectives, and some other officers lasted but a few minutes. They offered their protection, which I refused, telling the Chief that all he had to do was to invoke the ordinance which has made it a felony to gather in the business districts of the city and for which three hundred I. W. W. men had been beaten, clubbed, arrested, and subjected to every cruelty and indignation imaginable. But the Chief replied that he couldn't do that, because the mob had outgrown his power. I then suggested that he resign, as he declared himself unfit to be a protector of so-called law and order. I asked him to let me speak to the mob from the window, as the office was on the first floor. I have faced mobs before in my life and have invariably succeeded in soothing them. But even that he wouldn't do, and so the conversation came to an end, the Chief giving me the cheerful assurance that he would turn me over to the mob the following morning. I replied that if I had to die, I was just as willing to die at the hands of the mob as at the hands of the police.

I immediately went to the room where I had left the Doctor. I found it locked, and then I suddenly realized the whole contemptible conspiracy. I demanded that the door be opened, and of course there was no Ben Reitman. I turned to the Chief of Police

and told him that if any serious injury should come to Reitman, or if he should lose his life, I would hold the Chief responsible for it; and, furthermore, that I would come to San Diego and take his miserable life; nor would I run away, as I am always ready to stand the consequences for anything I say or do. The brave Chief grew pale and said, "Why, we had nothing to do with it. You know yourself, we were in the next room." Which only added to his cowardice, as the whole wretched business was carried out with the consent and connivance of the police department.

For four hours I paced the floor of my room in agony, not knowing what had become of Ben Reitman, and knowing still less what to do, because I could not communicate with our friends in San Diego, as that would have meant turning them over to the police. At 2 A. M., May 15th, the house detective and another man came to the room. Nature does create some freaks. The man with the house detective had a most wonderful face, kind, tender, and human, but he introduced himself as a detective. He reminded me of a beautiful woman with a rotten soul. He said that he would not lie in telling me that he came from Ben Reitman, but that he was given absolute assurance on the part of some authoritative people that no harm had come to him, although he had been taken out of town and was now on his way to Los Angeles. I then called up Mrs. Estelle Kirk, giving the name of the detective, whom she evidently knew, as she told me that he was the only decent man in the entire department; that therefore it might be possible that he was telling the truth. But I did not feel inclined to believe, as I never yet have found a detective who can tell the truth. But the manager of the hotel begged and pleaded with me to leave. He said that he had sheltered us as long as he could; that he didn't ask us to come in the first place; that we were taking undue advantage of him; and that we were ruining the hotel and jeopardizing his life—all of which was true. I felt I had no right to drive the man into a still more desperate position, and therefore I decided to leave on the 2.45 train for Los Angeles. I ordered a taxi. On the way to the depot I could see nothing

882

890209017

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Outrage of San Diego / Emma Goldman.– pp. 115-122 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 7, no. 4 (June, 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

of a suspicious character. The streets were deserted, and San Diego had returned to its normal sleepy state.

I was just about to enter the car when six automobiles with the same maniacs—patriotic citizens—whisked up to the station, and then I felt myself bodily lifted up by the trainmen, pushed into the car, and the door locked. The train did not pull out for another eight minutes, the most terrible, the most hideous eight minutes of my life. There were the good Christian, law-abiding, respectable citizens, and the howl they raised, the language they used, the efforts they made to break into the train, are beyond description, beyond anything that the most depraved human beings could be capable of. After a seemingly endless trip, in the desperate hope that Reitman would join me at some of the stations, I finally landed in Los Angeles, only to find that he had not arrived. Later I learned of the horrible things that happened to him, the details of which our readers will find in his own article.

I have, of course, been interfered with on previous occasions in a number of American cities. Free speech in this country depends entirely on the whims and arbitrary will of ignorant police officials. But it was left to San Diego, a town which Nature herself has intended man to be happy and peaceful in, to suppress the right of free speech and assemblage and to outrage every vestige of personal liberty in a manner which would have put to shame the Spanish Inquisition. It was left to citizens who swear by law and order to break not only their own written laws, but every principle of decency and humanity.

Ostensibly the organization now known as the I. W. W. is responsible for the excitement and the bloodthirsty attitude of the people of San Diego. But after all, that is the indictment made against every organization and idea which the popular mind has not yet accepted. But whether the I. W. W. be right or wrong, they cannot possibly be so wrong as the people of San Diego who are brutally suppressing the right of free expression and who are committing acts of violence and outrage which would put every one of them, including the entire police department, into

the penitentiary for life, if the judiciary of that city were not as cowardly and craven as its citizens.

Men and women who are not ready to listen to contrary opinion on any given subject, thereby condemn themselves to the grossest ignorance and the most outrageous tyranny. If what the I. W. W., or any other undesirable, have to say is wrong, it will die of itself a much quicker death than if these people are beaten, clubbed, tarred, and driven out like wild beasts. Nor can anything I stand for be killed by mob-butchery or by police violence. The issue of Free Speech is one of the most vital and fundamental in America, and the very moment any given section of the country undertakes to suppress freedom of expression, it at the same time undermines every principle of liberty and condemns itself to death.

Fortunately for Reitman, he had money and his return ticket to Los Angeles. He could at least help himself somewhat after the terrible experience. But what about the hundreds of men, without friends or money, who were subjected to the same terrible outrage, except that their bodies were not burned or tarred? I understand that the Savior of the Christian people said, "Whatsoever ye do unto the least of these my children, ye do unto me." And yet the people who call themselves Christians and worship the memory of Christ, continue in a brutal, savage manner to outrage life, to beat and club men, to drive them out of town, to leave them penniless and without food on the deserts of California.

Verily, man's power of endurance is a very elastic thing, or the vigilantes would have long ere this been given a dose of their own medicine.

However, it has been said that if there is one innocent man in a city, that city will be saved. And there is such a man in San Diego—Mr. George Edwards, who is at the head of the Music Institute. At the critical moment, when even the bravest people lost their courage, this man, who had never before seen or heard me, offered me his hall for a lecture. I felt, however, that to accept Mr. Edwards' kindness and hospitality would have meant to endanger his life, which I certainly could not do. But it was his spirit

883

890209017

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Outrage of San Diego / Emma Goldman.– pp. 115-122 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 7, no. 4 (June, 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

of kindliness and the great friendship shown by the Kirks that gave the only spark of life and warmth in that benighted, maddened town, San Diego.

Life under our present system is not so great a thing that he who has an ideal and loves liberty should not be willing to part with it. But life in San Diego is worse than death. I cannot believe that the number of intelligent people in the United States is so small that they could not bring moral pressure upon that city to stop its atrocities. It was the intelligent minority which forced the Southern planter to stop his murderous treatment of the black man. Surely the same can be done to-day. It is with that in view that this article is written, and not in complaint of anything we have endured. It is also because I feel that the crimes, the savagery, and the unspeakable cruelties perpetrated by the San Diego thugs, with the connivance of the police, and the support of the San Diego *Union* and *Tribune,* must be brought to an end. Crime begets crime, and violence inevitably gives birth to violence. If San Diego is justified in violence, why not its victims? To avoid both, I appeal to all fair-minded and liberty-loving people throughout the country to join in a determined campaign against San Diego and its horrors.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

A PROTEST AND A WARNING

EDITORIAL silence of the New York press regarding the San Diego outrages, and the attitude of direct encouragement on the part of some newspapers, caused the undersigned to send the following letter to the press:

The Anarchists of America have for years been propagating in a peaceful manner their ideas for the regeneration of society. On numerous occasions the authorities of the various cities have subjected them to persecution and suppressed their rights of free speech. Nevertheless, in spite of all the violence toward them, the Anarchists did not reply in kind. On the contrary, they constantly emphasized the peaceful methods of their propaganda.

But violence begets violence. Terror from above breeds terror below.

The authorities in different parts of the country have recently inaugurated a régime of terroristic oppression against every opponent of existing conditions. Peaceful assemblies have been summarily suppressed, and the right of free speech abrogated by force of physical violence. The scene of the most brutal persecution is at present San Diego, Cal. Every vestige of free speech has been entirely suppressed there, and inoffensive men and women subjected to treatment recalling the pogroms in Russia. Irresponsible bands of Black Hundreds, known as vigilantes, are carrying on a reign of terror with the approval of the local authorities and apparently with the financial aid of the "respectable and law-abiding" element of the city. If the public sentiment of the country and the passive attitude of the press continue to encourage these outrages, we feel that the Anarchists and other social rebels will be forced, as a matter of self-defense, to answer violence with violence.

Not because they wish it, but because driven by utmost necessity.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN,
HIPPOLYTE HAVEL,
H. KELLY.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

A TRIBUTE TO MIKOLASEK, MURDERED IN SAN DIEGO

MIKOLASEK, child of the people, you left your native soil, the wild primitive planes of Bohemia, in the fervent hope that the new land may quench the thirst of your liberty-longing soul! But what your yearning gaze beheld was naught but rocks and stones, as cold as the hearts of the people whom you met.

You did not despair, Mikolasek, you took your place among your people, and gave them of yourself, of the wealth your nature contained.

Golden California, with all her treacherous beauty,

890209018

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Tribute to Mikolasek, Murdered in San Diego / Emma Goldman.— pp. 123-125 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 4 (June, 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

of kindliness and the great friendship shown by the Kirks that gave the only spark of life and warmth in that benighted, maddened town, San Diego.

Life under our present system is not so great a thing that he who has an ideal and loves liberty should not be willing to part with it. But life in San Diego is worse than death. I cannot believe that the number of intelligent people in the United States is so small that they could not bring moral pressure upon that city to stop its atrocities. It was the intelligent minority which forced the Southern planter to stop his murderous treatment of the black man. Surely the same can be done to-day. It is with that in view that this article is written, and not in complaint of anything we have endured. It is also because I feel that the crimes, the savagery, and the unspeakable cruelties perpetrated by the San Diego thugs, with the connivance of the police and the support of the San Diego *Union* and *Tribune,* must be brought to an end. Crime begets crime, and violence inevitably gives birth to violence. If San Diego is justified in violence, why not its victims? To avoid both, I appeal to all fair-minded and liberty-loving people throughout the country to join in a determined campaign against San Diego and its horrors.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

A PROTEST AND A WARNING

EDITORIAL silence of the New York press regarding the San Diego outrages, and the attitude of direct encouragement on the part of some newspapers, caused the undersigned to send the following letter to the press:

The Anarchists of America have for years been propagating in a peaceful manner their ideas for the regeneration of society. On numerous occasions the authorities of the various cities have subjected them to persecution and suppressed their rights of free speech. Neverthcless, in spite of all the violence toward them, the Anarchists did not reply in kind. On the contrary, they constantly emphasized the peaceful methods of their propaganda.

But violence begets violence. Terror from above breeds terror below.

The authorities in different parts of the country have recently inaugurated a régime of terroristic oppression against every opponent of existing conditions. Peaceful assemblics have been summarily suppressed, and the right of free speech abrogated by force of physical violence. The scene of the most brutal persecution is at present San Diego, Cal. Every vestige of free speech has been entirely suppressed there, and inoffensive men and women subjected to treatment recalling the pogroms in Russia. Irresponsible bands of Black Hundreds, known as vigilantes, are carrying on a reign of terror with the approval of the local authorities and apparently with the financial aid of the "respectable and law-abiding" element of the city. If the public scntiment of the country and the passive attitude of the press continue to encourage these outrages, we feel that the Anarchists and other social rebels will be forced, as a matter of self-defense, to answer violence with violence.

Not because they wish it, but because driven by utmost necessity.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN,
HIPPOLYTE HAVEL,
H. KELLY.

A TRIBUTE TO MIKOLASEK, MURDERED IN SAN DIEGO

MIKOLASEK, child of the people, you left your native soil, the wild primitive planes of Bohemia, in the fervent hope that the new land may quench the thirst of your liberty-longing soul! But what your yearning gaze beheld was naught but rocks and stones, as cold as the hearts of the people whom you met.

You did not despair, Mikolasek, you took your place among your people, and gave them of yourself, of the wealth your nature contained.

Golden California, with all her treacherous beauty,

885

890209018

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Tribute to Mikolasek, Murdered in San Diego / Emma Goldman.— pp. 123-125 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 4 (June, 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

lured you, Mikolasek, and you followed her, like many another brave soul, in search of Freedom's land. Again you found yourself deceived, child of the people, again you found the same brutal hand of gold crushing life, killing, devastating precious life.

You rebelled. Yours was a sensitive, deeply loving, and turbulent soul. Though starving and homeless yourself, you could not see the people suffer; you could not endure and submit in silence. Then came the call of San Diego, the desperate call of your outraged brothers; and, as was your wont, you responded bravely, heroically. You took your place, you stood the brunt, all for the love of a great truth. Naught could stay your devotion and zeal.

Then they killed you, Mikolasek, in cold blood they murdered you, piercing your body with fourteen bullets. The craven cowards, they did so in the hope that they would also kill the thing you loved with all the passion of your great heart. The thing for which you had often staked your young life, the wondrous thing that you had chosen as your goal,—Anarchy, the most reviled and hated truth.

They killed you, Mikolasek, but out of your wounds rose your mighty spirit that is now dreaded by your murderers far more than you could have hoped for while you lived. They see it everywhere, your spirit, Mikolasek, and evil doers that they are, they feel frightened. Mikolasek, child of the people, your hangmen refused you even as much as man gives to his dog, a last resting place. And justly so: with the weight of your dead body upon their souls, they might never again know the joy of life. Therefore they drove you hence, in life as in death.

Thus you returned to the fold of your people. Lo, how they received you, Mikolasek! No king or ruler ever lived who might hope for the same devotion, the same reverence, the same honors that were given you, Mikolask, by your people.

Two thousand of your brothers gazed upon your silent, yet powerfully speaking, face. Equally as many accompanied you in deep reverence to your last resting place.

They showered flowers over your poor, defiled body;

they sang the songs that never failed to stir your heroic heart, and they vowed to continue the struggle for truth and justice, for which you and many others have paid the price.

Mikolasek, child of the people, you have been returned to the cosmic forces of the universe, but more so you have been returned to the fold of your birth, an inspiration, a beacon light for those who will follow in your path, who will keep your banner high, who will maintain, even unto death, the struggle for your ideal,—Anarchy, the harbinger of truth, the great leaven for human brotherhood.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

THE POWER OF THE IDEAL

By E. G.

> And this shall be the strangest: far off from the bursting sands where, to other men, there is only the desert's waste, he shall see a blue sea! On that sea the sun shines always, and the water is blue as burning amethyst, and the foam is white on the shore. A great land rises from it, and he shall see upon the mountain-tops burning gold.—OLIVE SCHREINER, in "A Dream of Wild Bees."

IT WAS in 1897 that I saw for the first time a great land rise before me, like burning gold upon the mountain-top,—California! And ever since I have thought that the great change in American life will come from there. The fascination of California has continued all these years, and always in moments of despair and disillusionment, I see the great land rise out of the blue sea, and upon its mountain-top the glow of burning gold.

Within the last two years California bids fair to make good her rich promise. The Mexican Revolution continues to surcharge the air along the border line, holding the California people in a spell of awe before the wonderful struggle of the peons and Yaqui Indians, who, without much support from the outside world, have been demonstrating what love of the soil and liberty can accomplish.

It is also California that gave the American labor

886

890209016

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / E[mma] G[oldman].— pp. 125-131 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 4 (June, 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

lured you, Mikolasek, and you followed her, like many another brave soul, in search of Freedom's land. Again you found yourself deceived, child of the people, again you found the same brutal hand of gold crushing life, killing, devastating precious life.

You rebelled. Yours was a sensitive, deeply loving, and turbulent soul. Though starving and homeless yourself, you could not see the people suffer; you could not endure and submit in silence. Then came the call of San Diego, the desperate call of your outraged brothers; and, as was your wont, you responded bravely, heroically. You took your place, you stood the brunt, all for the love of a great truth. Naught could stay your devotion and zeal.

Then they killed you, Mikolasek, in cold blood they murdered you, piereing your body with fourteen bullets. The craven cowards, they did so in the hope that they would also kill the thing you loved with all the passion of your great heart. The thing for which you had often staked your young life, the wondrous thing that you had chosen as your goal,—Anarchy, the most reviled and hated truth.

They killed you, Mikolasek, but out of your wounds rose your mighty spirit that is now dreaded by your murderers far more than you could have hoped for while you lived. They see it everywhere, your spirit, Mikolasek, and evil doers that they are, they feel frightened. Mikolasek, child of the people, your hangmen refused you even as much as man gives to his dog, a last resting place. And justly so: with the weight of your dead body upon their souls, they might never again know the joy of life. Therefore they drove you hence, in life as in death.

Thus you returned to the fold of your people. Lo, how they received you, Mikolasek! No king or ruler ever lived who might hope for the same devotion, the same reverence, the same honors that were given you, Mikolask, by your people.

Two thousand of your brothers gazed upon your silent, yet powerfully speaking, face. Equally as many accompanied you in deep reverence to your last resting place.

They showered flowers over your poor, defiled body;

they sang the songs that never failed to stir your heroic heart, and they vowed to continue the struggle for truth and justice, for which you and many others have paid the price.

Mikolasek, child of the people, you have been returned to the cosmic forces of the universe, but more so you have been returned to the fold of your birth, an inspiration, a beacon light for those who will follow in your path, who will keep your banner high, who will maintain, even unto death, the struggle for your ideal,—Anarchy, the harbinger of truth, the great leaven for human brotherhood.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

THE POWER OF THE IDEAL

By E. G.

> And this shall be the strangest: far off from the bursting sands where, to other men, there is only the desert's waste, he shall see a blue sea! On that sea the sun shines always, and the water is blue as burning amethyst, and the foam is white on the shore. A great land rises from it, and he shall see upon the mountain-tops burning gold.—OLIVE SCHREINER, in "A Dream of Wild Bees."

IT WAS in 1897 that I saw for the first time a great land rise before me, like burning gold upon the mountain-top,—California! And ever since I have thought that the great change in American life will come from there. The fascination of California has continued all these years, and always in moments of despair and disillusionment, I see the great land rise out of the blue sea, and upon its mountain-top the glow of burning gold.

Within the last two years California bids fair to make good her rich promise. The Mexican Revolution continues to surcharge the air along the border line, holding the California people in a spell of awe before the wonderful struggle of the peons and Yaqui Indians, who, without much support from the outside world, have been demonstrating what love of the soil and liberty can accomplish.

It is also California that gave the American labor

887

890209016

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / E[mma] G[oldman].— pp. 125-131 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 4 (June, 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

movement a new direction. And though it ended in a seeming defeat, with the usual toll of human flesh, yet the sacrifice was not in vain. The privileged class has learned, as never before in the history of America, that labor also knows how to strike a telling blow.

Now California is again a volcano, the San Diego free speech struggle once more proving the farce and mockery of American liberty and justice. Thus California is ever the land rising out of the sea, with the white foam on its shore, and the burning gold on its mountain-tops.

Our first stop was LOS ANGELES, with its usual warm, generous comradeship. Our meetings, though very good, were to some extent impaired by the noisy and silly masquerading of the Shriners. Naturally, San Diego furnished the most important topic, as well as serving as a means to enlist the moral and material aid of all liberty-loving people. It was also that which brought together most of the radical forces, that hitherto had kept away from Anarchist lectures and gatherings.

The most inspiring event in Los Angeles was the cremation of our murdered Comrade, Joseph Mikolasek. Evidently the authorities of San Diego feared the dead Mikolasek more than the living, because they would not let him be buried in that town. But these good Christians do not know the power of the Ideal, nor the difficulties it can overcome. .

Our martyred Comrade was brought to Los Angeles and tendered a last farewell, such as neither wealth nor power could have purchased. At least two thousand workers passed through the I. W. W. Hall, where our murdered Comrade lay in state, in a bower of flowers, to pay their tribute to him who had died for the ideal of human brotherhood. After a short, simple address, which I had been chosen to make, the body of Mikolasek was borne to the crematory, followed by a great multitude of men and women, who walked all the way. Ben Reitman, imperturbed and serene, carried the red banner, accompanied by numerous transparencies bearing the following inscriptions:

"The Defenders of Liberty are jailed and murdered. The vigilantes still go free."

"With the suppression of Free Speech our liberties are gone."

"Our fellow worker who was murdered in the fight for Free Speech in San Diego."

"He had nothing to give but his life. That he gave freely."

"Our silence in the grave will be more powerful than the voice you strangle to-day."

So tremendous was Labor's tribute to its martyred son, that even the enemy was impressed, the police actually clearing the way for the dead Mikolasek and his comrades. At the crematory Ben Reitman and others spoke, and the whole assembly sang the International and other stirring songs of the proletariat.

Nor were the living forgotten that day. On the return from the demonstration, two hundred of our brave boys, victims of the vigilantes, were given a feast of love. Never did a more solidaric and truly communistic gathering take place. Money, labor, and service were all freely contributed, and so was the appetite of the diners who had not seen much food since they were driven out of that hospitable southern town. Good fellowship and harmony marked the day, and all felt as if this infernal world of ours had been sunk into the sea. If only the Otises and the Spreckleses could have seen the gathering at the I. W. W. Hall, possibly their coarse brains and dead hearts might have gotten a glimpse of a new world, a new life, a new human relationship. Possibly!

One other event was enacted during our stay in Los Angeles,—the wonderful protest meeting after our return from the hell of San Diego. Two large halls were filled with indignant men and women, and thousands were sent away, although the two meetings were arranged in but twenty-four hours. The speakers, Anton Johansen, brave and bubbling with the spirit of life; Dr. Pandit, of Oriental culture and depth of feeling; C. T. Sprading, the passive direct actionist; McKilvey, Secretary of the I. W. W.; Ben Reitman, worn with torture, the letters I. W. W. burned on his back and Anarchism burned into his heart; and myself, —all spoke twice on that day, but with the enthusiasm and indignation flowing in our blood, we could have addressed many more audiences.

888

890209016

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / E[mma] G[oldman].— pp. 125-131 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 4 (June, 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The social fellow-feeling during our stay in Los Angeles was a most wonderful manifestation, the comrades doing their utmost to make us forget our terrible experience in San Diego, and to show their appreciation of our efforts. That and the dance arranged to aid in the Free Speech fight, made us vividly realize the power, the great knitting force, of the Ideal.

Comrade C. T. Sprading and sweet Ada Sprading acted as the vanguard in preparing the meetings, as well as our hosts. Comrades Pandit, Freedman, Ellsworth, Kaufman, Cravello, Joe Edelsohn, and Jack Whyte, one of the ablest of the San Diego I. W. W., aided in the hard work and helped to make the meetings a success; our friends Stringer and Evans ministered to Ben's bruised body and to our tired spirits, and faithful Comrade Victor and Dr. Price showered flowers upon our path.

SAN FRANCISCO was equally eventful. It began with an official and public reception on the part of the Mayor, plain clothes men, reporters and cameras, all ready at the station to greet us. Thanks to the thoughtfulness of our friend Rebekah Raney, we were spared the honors and quickly driven to the hotel. There began a perfect orgy of work, meetings every night, drama classes every day, and no end of publicity work to make the vigilantes known in all their horrible savagery. And last, but not least, social affairs which our kind friends and comrades had arranged.

The soil had been thoroughly prepared by our own "Mickie," Kassel, Balinsky, Briesen, Morton, Rebekah Raney, and her chum Gladys. Added to that came the San Diego atrocities, which not only advertised our meetings extensively, but also added much color to our San Francisco stay.

The lecture on "Socialism Caught in the Political Trap" proved most interesting, inasmuch as it emphasized the tremendous insurgency in the Socialist party ranks. What a pity we lack a Tom Mann in America, to gather up the forces that are sick to their very souls with the opportunistic compromises of the party? The soil has never been more ripe, the material never more ready for a real revolutionary Syndicalist movement. But it will come; it must come. Indeed, it is in the very making. Meanwhile, Socialism is indeed caught in the political trap, and is doing its utmost to hasten the day.

The climax in San Francisco took place at the Trades Council Hall, Sunday, May 26th. Over a thousand workers gathered to protest against the twentieth century inquisition in San Diego. Anton Johansen spoke, urging a boycott against the San Diego fair, until its citizens will be cured from their rabies. Ben Reitman related in a simple manner the gruesome story of the night of May 14th, and I told my own experience, also delivering the "treasonable" lecture prohibited in San Diego, on "the Enemy of the People." The meeting was wonderfully stimulating and inspiring. The evening closed our very eventful and rich visit to San Francisco, bringing both mirth and pathos into the lecture on "Woman's Inhumanity to Man."

Needless to say, the agitation against the atrocities in the southern city will not end with our meetings in San Francisco. Already a regular campaign has been started, which is to be kept up until the backbone of the vigilante gang is broken. Sunday, June 9th, has been set for a monster meeting at Dreamland Rink, with Mrs. Fremont Older and other well-known speakers of San Francisco, who feel the shame of California too deeply to submit supinely to the horrors perpetrated in one of its cities.

Much credit for stimulating interest in the San Diego situation, as well as for a good deal of the success of our meetings, is due to a large extent to Mr. Fremont Older of the San Francisco *Bulletin*. He is perhaps the one man on a capitalist sheet brave enough to plead the cause of labor and human freedom. It was he who, at the risk of his position and against the will of the owner of the paper and of many of his conservative friends, made a valiant fight in behalf of the McNamaras. And it is Mr. Older again who is fearless and defiant in the San Diego free speech fight. It was also the *Bulletin* that published the report of H. Weinstock, the commissioner sent by the Governor of the State to investigate the San Diego situation,—a report so powerful in its condemnation of the things

889

890209016

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / E[mma] G[oldman].— pp. 125-131 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 4 (June, 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

done in that city that, if there were even a single shred of justice, the vigilantes and the police would now be in San Quentin.

He is most free who stands alone; but it is a very lonely and difficult position, which few can endure. Mr. Older stands almost alone in his brave defence of the workers. Fortunately for him, Mrs. Older is herself a courageous fighter, giving much of her time to the I. W. W. agitation and to the emancipation of her own sex, which needs it very much. Also, Mr. Older has some very able and fair-minded co-workers on the *Bulletin* in Mr. John D. Barry, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. West, and others. I should wish for Mr. Older independent means to own a paper like the *Bulletin*, if I did not know that property is theft and wealth corrupting.

A few there are in San Francisco who embody all that one hopes for the future man—strength, beauty, and tenderness. Some day I may speak of them; for the present I can only state that they illumined our horizon and filled our visit with much joy and good-fellowship. Yet more than that: they proved a real inspiration, because it is their zeal and devotion which is helping to prepare San Francisco for the great things to come from there.

Apropos of the drama class. As in Denver, it aroused much interest on the part of teachers and educators, all being impressed with the necessity of just such a medium for social awakening. The parting was hard, but somewhat relieved by the knowledge that Mr. John D. Barry will continue the class. Thus the time and effort will not have been wasted.

Of course, there was the usual Anarchist social and dance, which gave all a chance to make merry, and helped to raise funds for San Diego. After that, Palo Alto was invaded, an afternoon gathering for the "intellectuals" who "came to scoff and left to pray." In the evening a meeting arranged by the Socialist Industrial Union, and finally a pleasant reunion with our splendid Comrade Nielsen and family. Then back to the Golden Gate City on a most beautiful moonlight night, and the San Francisco "orgy" was over.

SACRAMENTO, the dull capital of California, was very

dull indeed, but we were glad to be there, if only to see once more our veteran Comrade, Dr. George Pyburn, who, though feeble in body, is still remarkably alert in mind. His daughter Fanny and our faithful Comrade Marietta, made us forget the dullness and indifference of the town.

How wonderful the contrast between the patriotically drunken mob of San Diego and the fine comradeship in Los Angeles, the beautiful friendship, devotion, and intense interest in San Francisco. How very wonderful! And yet not so very, with the vision of the Ideal beckoning to the heights. It alone can perform the wonders, because it is the Power of the Ideal that gives one strength and faith and hope.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

P. S.—Till June 20th, we can be reached, General Delivery, Seattle, Wash. After that, until June 27th, General Delivery, Denver, Colorado.

❦ ❦ ❦

SAN DIEGO FREE SPEECH FUND

RECEIPTS—LOS ANGELES.

Collections at E. G. meetings	$165.00
Collection for cremation of Comrade Mikolasek	60.00
Proceeds, Anarchist Social	60.50
Collection at banquet	20.00
Total	$314.50

DISBURSEMENTS.

To San Diego Free Speech League	$55.00
To McKilvey, Sec'y Los Angeles I. W. W., for free speech fight	30.25
Expenses funeral and cremation	69.00
Expenses Walker Theatre, Lincoln Hall, and printing (protest mass meeting)	93.25
Expenses San Diego and publicity	47.00
Banquet	20.00
Total	$314.50

RECEIPTS—SAN FRANCISCO.

Collections at E. G. meetings	$154.00
Proceeds Anarchist Social	43.00
Total	$197.00

890

880714002

The Emma Goldman Papers

1840 to 1912 / Emma Goldman. – p. 2 ; 43 cm. *In* Solidarity [Newcastle]. –(June 1, 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Solidarity (IWW) June 1, 1912 p.2

ed a revulsion of feeling in many cap
st circles as well as it has caused a
eal front of all elements of the labor
ement Already the end is near at
d, and it will be a victory for the
w spirit of labor in a new form"—
ecuting Attorney Utley the other
was reported by the San Diego Sun to
ave expressed himself as "becoming
iscouraged that he was entertaining
question of dismissing all of the
s against the I W W s from
ting on that infamous Free Speech
ance Moore was Mr Ettor has
to be discouraged The wit
es brought from Canada were brought
at a cost of $
The
ots at least $ and
e passes are being issued
ad $ Its M Ave
ber of the I W W who was
ested for "obstructing the pas
" as a protest against being denied
d water has
than $ and a petition that the
powers of the county would take
ve steps to settle the whole
The
ers of the city where they
in of the cost incurred in connec
Scott cases Attorney Moore is said
have hired ads in order to
Chief of Police Wilson that we
ntually send the cost of the prosecu
s

How the San Diego fight stands as a
borough test of the power of both asso
Above all it demonstrates that the
olutionary spirit of the working as
not be conquered except by the pass
ers of the organized capitalist class
the wage I that res lutionary
it represents a force first and most
gressive in times of crisis whereas, on
ontrary, the spirit of San Diego re
s the "Cave and Liver dwellers" in no

NEWS AND VIEWS

But we hear the good news The
theri sal of Ettor Workers, I
ing with the w of the strong has
e the I W W to the I W W s
w Sure as he gave expression gr was
t's the growth without whether the
system that is base is gone

ber ge He is an Englishman
and who says "It's a sin
City" We also congratulate
press on the same argument
not condemn that the agitators
ust work on Cove some law
mpts to keep the I W W s out
ion and the use of new
es if possible But then, that is
er impossible
pression

's getting extremely difficult pick
a newspaper or magazine which
ning our s against an editorial
article headed
ur." Such a sin, the New
Ettor s Acquittal." The lesser
west and Brownsville affair, for
ple which created such a furor of
dignation
ion of the I W W
Syndicalism." And other titles to
nerous to mention The subject seems
be inexhaustible and one of deep
cessing interest It is no mere lazy
der, evidently but a deep rooted
establishment of great social changes,
ges that are inflamed
and industrial upright They loathe
growth and consciousness of power of
e struggle on the part of the working
The workers are standing erect,
ping to the gutation of all
ptial
ic industrial
ns for them, who will, study
ts, but never more determined to
ruction Syndicalism will decide the
st society and it is according to
ing matter especially as to as the
talist class is concerned He work
regard the future, however with con
ence In them belongs the new era
rapidly approaching

last week I was stated the
the Socialist Party national
had made and
so reported in the Socialist Party
s in New York City The report
e not to be untrue The Socialist
y national convention did not con
n "direct action" Accordingly the
er gladly withdraws the statement
e, and hopes his readers will note the

ell, the Ettor Giovannitti protest is
ering in volume Meetings are in-
creasing in numbers and frequency organi-
zations are wheeling into line against cap
italist reaction and the movement generali-
y is making headway But there is still
a great deal more to be done The work
ing class is only partly aroused we must
arouse all of it We must interest every
man, woman and child in it Push pub
licity Get out circulars leaflets, etc
Interest the newspapers by demanding
news on the situation at Lawrence Send
protests to Governor Foss at Boston,
Mass or to District Attorney Sherin, Mass
Emils should go to Wm Yates, 9 Mason
St Lawrence, Mass

Mr Ettor
capitalist reaction must not be victorious in
Ettor and Giovannitti must not be

1840 TO 1912

Seven years ago a young lawyer looked
from his office window and saw a
excited crowd streaming with
to hang, a negro to a lamp along the
Street of Boston This city was host
Garrison and the young lawyer Americ's
greatest orator Wendell Phillips Sorrow
indignation was depicted on
Mr Phillips by the terrible savage sight
America was the most cultured city of
America that he became the hero exponent
of the great human cause for which
Lloyd Garrison had been mobbed by the
mob of that day

That was years ago Since then,
we have no doubt, advanced along the
lines of political and social evolution
Certainly we have learned that justice
and liberty, for which Wendell Phil
ips and Lloyd Garrison made such a
noble and valiant fight represent great
ideals now
applied to
Ettor

But if Lloyd Garrison and Wendell
Phillips had rejected San Diego as the
battle ground for the
Mayor a old Lee rejected
that year little, I am
that
There was the same wel
dressed, business thinking and liberal
class in the
that the
and the spirit of
There was
attempt to
with the spirit of
There were
to represent the
of
engaging
could
with
than $ and a petition that the
powers of the county would take
ve steps to settle the whole
The
ers of the city where they
in of the cost incurred in connec
Scott cases Attorney Moore is said
have hired ads in order to
Chief of Police Wilson that we
ntually send the cost of the prosecu
s

How the San Diego fight stands as a
borough test of the power of both asso
Above all it demonstrates that the
olutionary spirit of the working as
not be conquered except by the pass
ers of the organized capitalist class
the wage I that res lutionary
it represents a force first and most
gressive in times of crisis whereas, on
ontrary, the spirit of San Diego re
s the "Cave and Liver dwellers" in no

NEWS AND VIEWS

But we hear the good news The
theri sal of Ettor Workers, I
ing with the w of the strong has
e the I W W to the I W W s
w Sure as he gave expression gr was
t's the growth without whether the
system that is base is gone

ber ge He is an Englishman
and who says "It's a sin
City" We also congratulate
press on the same argument
not condemn that the agitators
ust work on Cove some law
mpts to keep the I W W s out
ion and the use of new
es if possible But then, that is
er impossible
pression

's getting extremely difficult pick
a newspaper or magazine which
ning our s against an editorial
article headed
ur." Such a sin, the New
Ettor s Acquittal." The lesser
west and Brownsville affair, for
ple which created such a furor of
dignation
ion of the I W W
Syndicalism." And other titles to
nerous to mention The subject seems
be inexhaustible and one of deep
cessing interest It is no mere lazy
der, evidently but a deep rooted
establishment of great social changes,
ges that are inflamed
and industrial upright They loathe
growth and consciousness of power of
e struggle on the part of the working
The workers are standing erect,
ping to the gutation of all
ptial
ic industrial
ns for them, who will, study
ts, but never more determined to
ruction Syndicalism will decide the
st society and it is according to
ing matter especially as to as the
talist class is concerned He work
regard the future, however with con
ence In them belongs the new era
rapidly approaching

last week I was stated the
the Socialist Party national
had made and
so reported in the Socialist Party
s in New York City The report
e not to be untrue The Socialist
y national convention did not con
n "direct action" Accordingly the
er gladly withdraws the statement
e, and hopes his readers will note the

ell, the Ettor Giovannitti protest is
ering in volume Meetings are in-
creasing in numbers and frequency organi-
zations are wheeling into line against cap
italist reaction and the movement generali-
y is making headway But there is still
a great deal more to be done The work
ing class is only partly aroused we must
arouse all of it We must interest every
man, woman and child in it Push pub
licity Get out circulars leaflets, etc
Interest the newspapers by demanding
news on the situation at Lawrence Send
protests to Governor Foss at Boston,
Mass or to District Attorney Sherin, Mass
Emils should go to Wm Yates, 9 Mason
St Lawrence, Mass

Mr Ettor
capitalist reaction must not be victorious in
Ettor and Giovannitti must not be

1840 TO 1912

Seven years ago a young lawyer looked
from his office window and saw a
excited crowd streaming with
to hang, a negro to a lamp along the
Street of Boston This city was host
Garrison and the young lawyer Americ's
greatest orator Wendell Phillips Sorrow
indignation was depicted on
Mr Phillips by the terrible savage sight
America was the most cultured city of
America that he became the hero exponent
of the great human cause for which
Lloyd Garrison had been mobbed by the
mob of that day

That was years ago Since then,
we have no doubt, advanced along the
lines of political and social evolution
Certainly we have learned that justice
and liberty, for which Wendell Phil
ips and Lloyd Garrison made such a
noble and valiant fight represent great
ideals now
applied to

But if Lloyd Garrison and Wendell
Phillips had rejected San Diego as the
battle ground for the
Mayor a old Lee rejected
that year little, I am
that
There was the same wel
dressed, business thinking and liberal
class in the
that the
and the spirit of
There was
attempt to
with the spirit of
There were
to represent the
of
engaging
could
with

organization and idea which the popular
minds have not yet accepted, but whether
the I W W be right or wrong, they
cannot be possibly as wrong as the people
of San Diego, who are brutally suppress-
ing the right of expression Men and
women who are not ready to listen to
contrasted opinion on any given subject
thereby condemn themselves to the
grossest ignorance and the most out-
rageous treason If what a so called
undesirable element has to say is wrong,
I will be of itself a much quicker death,
than if their people are beaten, clubbed,
tarred and feathered and driven out like
wild beasts Equally suit is with anything
I might say, nor anything I stand for
be killed by mob butchers or by police
interference The issue of free speech is
one of the most vital and fundamental in
every country and city and the very mo-
ment any given section of a community
takes it upon itself to suppress that is-
sue, that the same time undermines the
principle it emblematic and condemns itself to
death

It was not sufficient for the so called re-
spectable mob to make a violent and sav-
age demand and threaten the life of the
Free Speech fighters, who had manhood enough
not to run out of the house, to use a
language unprintable, but it demanded
their lives and with the direct and delib-
erate assistance of the police, nearly suc-
ceeded in killing Dr Ben L Reitman
Evidently it did not dare go as far as that
with the intent to carry out its criminal
conspiracy with I was with Dr Reit-
man It was therefore arranged that I
be called in the office of the hotel mana
ger to speak to the chief as I while there
was struck and, gagged the doctor, placed
him in an automobile, took him out six
miles from the city limits, tore his cloth
ing off his body, beat him mercilessly,
made him undergo indignities beyond
description tortured him and burned the
initials I W W on his back Not con-
tent with that he was compelled to walk
miles in a naked condition Fortu-
nately for the victim, he had money and
his return ticket to Los Angeles, but
what about the hundreds of victims,
poverty stricken members of
the I W W who have neither friends or
money I understand that the Savior of
the Christian people said "Inasmuch as
ye do unto the least of these, my chil
dren ye do unto me" and yet the pro-
fessed followers of the meek and lowly
who call themselves Christians intend
worshipping the memory of Christ go
and act
outrageous manner outraging
and insulting

However, it has been said that if there
is one honest man in a city, that city
will be saved And there is such a man
San Diego Mr George Edwards, who
is the head of the Music Institute and
musician of great ability and man of fine
culture At the critical moment when
even business people were afraid to have
courage, the man, who had never before
appeared in court, offered his bail for a
stranger, who he was certainly as brave an
as himself Wendell Phillips who
rushed out to the assistance of Lloyd Gar
years ago I felt however, that
except Mr Edwards kindness and hos-
pitality would have meant to jeopardize
his life, which I did not possibly do It
was only by the use of that I also because
I was given absolute assurance by the
managers of the U S Grant hotel that no
harm would come to Dr Reitman, al
though he had been taken out of the city
and sent to Los Angeles in an automobile,
I was only that which induced me to go
out of that city

Life under our present circumstances is
not so great a thing but what anyone who
has an ideal should be willing to part with
But life in San Diego is worse than
death I cannot believe that the number
of intelligent people in the United States
is so small that it would not bring mal-
pressure upon the city of San Diego to de-
sist in its atrocities It was the intelli-
gent minority who forced the southern
planter to stop his murderous treatment of
the black man Surely the same can be
done today At any rate it shall hereafter
be my object to bring to the consideration
of the intelligent public throughout the
land the atrocities now being enacted by a
so called respectable mob in the fair city
of San Diego EMMA GOLDMAN

SUB HUSTLERS WANTED

Solidarity wants to get in touch with 10
I W W men who may be induced to take
the head in different parts of the East, and
rustle subs for this paper They may
double up that is, go in pairs, and com-
bine agitation with sub getting: Solicit
subs in daytime and hold meetings at
night Liberal terms on subscriptions and
literature Write to Solidarity for par-
ticulars.

ARTURO GIOVANNITTI

Interlocked in the great Lawrence strike
with the name of Joseph J Ettor is that
Arturo Giovannitti Throughout the land
we hear references to the "Ettor-Gio-
vannitti trials" Ettor was the chief
leader at the memorable and victorious
textile struggle; Giovannitti, the orator.
To him fell the task of arousing enthu-
siasm, aiding and cementing the ranks
and driving home the lessons and tactics
of the hour among the Italians who were
a prominent factor in the strike And well
adapted was Giovannitti for the task Tall,
robust, with a powerful voice, intense,
earnest, incisive of speech, and a leonine
manner, he made a forceful, rousing im-
pression on his hearers Nor was the
knowledge derived from working class
experience lacking; for Giovannitti's ca-
reer in America has been typical of the
proletarian struggle for existence under ad-
vanced capitalism, such as prevails here.

Giovannitti was a miner, bookkeeper and
teacher before he became the editor of Il
Proletario, and the Italian orator of the
Lawrence strike. In the bowels of the
earth, he wielded a pick in the coal mines
of Canada, and he has slept and starved
as an unemployed worker in winter, on
the benches of the parks of this city of
New York Giovannitti has traveled far,
physically and mentally, only to learn
those facts about capitalism that bring
conviction and eloquence to the men in
the movement destined to bring about its
overthrow the movement towards social-
ism, towards industrial democracy, and
for the workers as against the skinkers

Arturo Giovannitti is an American by
experience, but an Italian by birth
Compobasso, a city of 30,000 inhabi-
tants in the province of Abruzzi, Italy, is
now better known for his having been born
there. Giovannitti has put it on the map
He is now 28 years of age His family
are liberals and socially well connected in
the city of his birth His father and el
der brother are physicians, his younger
brother a lawyer

Together with his mother, they are very
much interested in his case His father
desired to come to this country to aid in
his son's defense, but filial regard caused
Giovannitti to dissuade him from doing so,
as he wished to spare his aged parent the
travel and pain attending such an event

Giovannitti was educated in the uni-
versity of his native city and left there
when 16 years of age to seek his fortune
in this land of golden promises and brutal
realities, like many of his fellow country-
men. The reason for the emigration
Giovannitti has well set forth in a recent
article in the International Socialist Re-
view, on the cause of the Italian war in
Tripoli

As an illustration of his ability as a
thinker, and as a specimen of his style as
a writer and orator, this article is typical
It may also be quoted because of the light
it sheds on the immigration problem.
Says Giovannitti "The Italian prole-
tariat, especially in the south, has re-
mained through the last 40 years what it
has always been, the same people of old,
mostly addicted to agriculture, stock rais-
ing and other labors that are strictly con-
fined to the surface of land Now during
these 40 years the population has steadi-
ly grown with that impetus that has
made Italian fecundity famous all over
the world, whilst the land has remained
the same

"The Italian bourgeoisie having,
through their utter lack of courage and
capacity, been unable to create industries
adequate to the necessity and even to ap-
ply modern systems to farming that the
land might have grown more productive,
has been left to face a desperate prob-
lem that of maintaining 35,000,000 peo-
ple on the resources of the country and
at the same time keep their own profits at
the same level. After years of discussion,
scheming and heavy thinking, they have
been able to find only one solution to de-
populate the country.

"The only remedy, then, that was left
was emigration For the last 40 years the
Italians have been emigrating at the rate
of three to four hundred thousand a year,
flocking mostly to the United States and
South America Here however the Ital-
ian peasant, which gives the highest
percentage of emigration, has lost its char-
acteristics, and having developed at home
a sullen hatred for the land which has
been such a cruel step mother to him, he
has refrained from agriculture and invaded
the industrial fields

"Had the Italian peasantry in the
United States taken to farming, they
could, perhaps, upon their return home do
what the landlord bourgeoisie had not
been able to do; develop, fertilize
the soil after the scientific Americ
and still manage to live but th
become industrialised and as t
Italian industries are over-crowded,
lows that all those who emigrat
United States are entirely lost
mother country The few that
home either become small proprie
business there, or, and this is ou
sell whatever they have however t
can, gather all their family and
sail again for America"

It was this profound sociologi
deny that caused Giovannitti to
America 12 years ago. After h
about at various jobs, he obtai
ployment in a coal mine in Cana
years ago It was in the dismin
he got his first taste of modern in
ism on an advanced scale Giov
two years afterwards, secured a
position in Springfield, Mass There
came a socialist He was also ver
interested in the protestant relig
preparing to enter the ministry,
the degree of Bachelor of Arts in
nary It is a striking testimonial
man's personality that though
drifted away from protestantis
former teachers are at present
by him and are very much inter
the legal proceedings intended to
him of his life.

Shortly after, Giovannitti came
York. Here he joined the Italian
ist Federation He was a member
La Lotta Club (The "Struggle")
During the discussion between
Club and Circolo Socialista di Ba
(Downtown Socialist Club), Giovan
came a convert to syndicalism and
tionary action While a membe
Lotta, he was engaged by the
branch of the Y M C A., We
St, to deliver a religious talk.
to a misunderstanding. He was
with distrust, though he was at t
without a home, without employm
was compelled to sleep in the
winter. Giovannitti did not live h
his ideas He is a man of convic
willing to suffer for them This
in his own life was the cause of a
hour entitled "The Blind Man"
has been very much admired

It was at this time that Giovan
came a book keeper in this city
was his interest in all matters of
and science that his room on W
St. became the nightly meeting
men of various nationalities inte
literary, artistic, political, econo
other questions These nightly di
broadened the intellectual horizon
annitti

Like many another I W W
and organizer, Giovannitti is a
The I W W is a polyglot orga
that is, an organization in whic
guages are represented. G
speaks English, Italian, French a
fluently, and has taught them all
ter especially.

Three years ago Giovannitti be
editor of Il Proletario He made
gan of industrial unionism, and
direction, it became a power a
Italian working class, and a
bringing him into greater dem
speaker and agitator Among th
Giovannitti is regarded as a p
thinker, writer, poet and orator o
ability The capitalists of L
Mass., are determined to co
opinion most emphatically, if th
class of this country will permi
do so without a vigorous protest
bring their heinous scheme to di

Giovannitti is not only highly
among the Italians in this co
also in Italy The May numb
Almanacco de L'Internationale
Almanac of the International),
at Parma, Italy, contains one of
in Italian entitled "Il Boreal
poem is prefaced by a note com
on Giovannitti's poetical powe
devotion to the working class, ex
Lawrence.

The following Whitmanesque
at once suggestive of Giovanni
militant spirit of the present
his reciprocated devotion to his
ours in the class war on the textil
New England

THE PRISONERS' BENC

In the court room at Lawrence

TO JOSEPH J ETTO

by Arturo Giovannitti

Passed here, all wrecks of the te
storms
Of life have washed away the

891

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890109003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The outrage of San Diego. In Italian] Contro la Vandea! / Emma Goldman. – 29 cm.
In Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. –(June 1, 1912).
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

"se e pel benessere del popolo. Questo e "non altro ha fatto la popolazioue di "San Diego." Ha deportato i membri dell'I. W. of W. qualcuno ne ha ammazzato, ha deportato Emma Goldman, ha sequestrato, percosso, torturato il Dottor Reitman,e continua, sorretta dalla polizia ed incoraggiata all'assassinio dai suoi deputati, dai suoi giornalisti, dai suoi **decenti** cittadini.

La costituzione, la legge?

Sacre quando bastano a custodire i loro privilegi di classe ed a sancire l'impunità delle paradossali rapine, sono meno che un impaccio ed uno scrupolo ai nostri padroni e signori quando al compito di preservazione si rivelino pericolose od incerte.

A rispettarle, ad ostiuarci nel culto, nella fede, nei confini della legge, rimaniamo, ineffabile ironia! noi soli; ed alla legge. ai suoi fattori, depositarii, interpreti abbiamo, coll'esempio se non colla parola, indotto nei volghi tauta religioue che questi dalla legge soltanto aspettano la riparazione dei torti subìti, ed alle leggi soltanto la iuvocano.

Se invece di suadere tanta mansuetudine, avessimo fermentato, secondando le istintive diffidenze della massa, un inverso sentimento d'indipendenza, un salutare spirito di rivolta, non ci troveremmo ora a queste strette dolorose, al fallimento confessato e disperato.

Su San Diego, sentina di viltà, d'abbiezione e di vergogna, invece delle effimere fiamme degli sdegni sarebbe passata inesorabile pronta spietata la fiamma di un incendio espiatore; al sequestro di Ettor e Giovannitti gli scioperanti di Lawrence avrebbero risposto togliendo iu ostaggio il Wood e l'Atwill, il boja ed il tirapiedi del bieco dramma giudiziario che a Salem deve segnare la restaurazione del prestigio padronale e la confusione degli araldi di libertà; se.....

Ma a che serve?

Un conto è chiaro. Qualunque fosse stato l'esito della lotta noi vi avremmo guadagnato.

I **vigilantes** di San Diego avrebbero ammainato il loro furore, i banditi dell'America Wool Co. avrebbero dimesso la boria, ricordata per un pezzo la lezione; nella peggiore delle ipotesi non avremmo perduto nulla, se il rispetto alla legalità, tanto, si sconta in California colla tortura, ed in Lawrence si espia colla galera.

l'evoluzione che governano l'universo, assolverebbe le espropriazioni generose e rivolte ad un progresso condiviso; ma l'uomo bianco non oppone guari alla barbarie naturale dei suoi simili, neri, bronzati o gialli, che i vizii complicati dei quali soffre esso medesimo: l'ambizione senza merito, l'intrigo, l'ingiustizia e l'egoismo che tradiscono la bestia nascosta sotto la scorza umana superficiale.

Alberto I, *principe di Monaco.*

Contro la Vandea!

Cinquant'anni fa un giovane avvocato guardando oltre le vetrate dello studio si vide d'un tratto sotto gli occhi un orda pazza, urlante, imbestialita, di gente a modo che per la corda attraverso le vie di Boston trascinava un uomo.

Quell'uomo era Lloyd Garrison, il giovane avvocato che doveva ben presto rivelarsi pel più grande oratore d'America era Vendell Phillips.

E nell'animo del giovane rimase così profonda, così penosa l'impressione dello spettacolo infame, nella sua patria, nella città più colta della patria sua, che egli divenne l'araldo più fiero della grande causa americana per cui Lloyd Garrison era stato quel giorno málmenato dall'elegante bordaglia insana.

Cinquant'anni fa. Da quel giorno, bisogna riconoscerlo, lungo l'erta d'un più alto divenire iutellettuale e sociale noi abbiamo progredito, abbiamo quanto meno raccolto il conforto che Giustizia e Verità per le quali entrambi, Wendell Phillips e Lloyd Garrison avevano combattuto la loro eroica e generosa battaglia, sono l'ideale per cui fremono oggi milioni di cuori.

Ma se Lloyd Garrison e Wendell Phillips fossero entrati in San Diego il 14 Maggio del 1912, un po' dopo l'una, essi avrebbero amaramente constatato che ben poco dai loro tempi sono mutate, se pur sono mutate, le cose. Vi avrebbero trovato, elegante, furiosa, imbestialita, assetata di sangue la stessa ciurma, pazza, con questa sola differenza che le vittime della sua libidine bestiale erano due anarchici in luogo di due abolizionisti, e che la bordaglia con sè non traeva corde; e si sarebbero persuasi che lavorare oggi per la emancipazione degli schiavi bianchi è delitto così grave come lo sposare, al loro tempo, la causa degli schiavi negri.

Tuttavia io non saprei condannare se veramente la turba inconsciamente feroce, ma condanno coloro i quali durante mesi

dopo tutto non è questa la solita stantìa accusa lanciata contro ogni organizzazioue ed ogni idea non accolta ancora, non ancora penetrata dal tardo spirito popolare? Ma avesse pur torto l'Industrial Worker of World, avrebbe essa torto quanto la popolazione di San Diego che butta il capestro e la mordacchia al diritto di parlare?

Ma così, uomini e donne che non si sentono di affrontare il meno acceso contrasto di opinioni condannano sè stessi all'ignoranza irredimibile ed a la tirannia più odiosa. Se gli elementi cosidetti indesiderabili non ispendono che sciocchezze, le sciocchezze moriranno assai più presto di per sè stesse che non bastonando, lacerando, torturando coloro che le divulgano, od abbandonandole come belve nel deserto.



Così per ogni cosa che io avessi potuto dire, ed alle quali non avrebbe aggiunto nè tolto il rischio di essere scuoiata da una turba di cannibali od ammutolita dal bavaglio della polizia. La libertà di parola è senza contrasto uno dei diritti vitali e fondamentali d'ogni nazione e di ogni civiltà, ed ogni giorno un grupno della comunità si arroga l'arbitrio di confiscarlo minando così i principii della libertà e condannandosi di per sè alla morte.

Ai sedicenti cittadini per bene di San

dell'U. S. Grant Hotel che al Dottor Reitman non si sarebbe usata altra violenza che di ricondurlo in automobile a Los Angeles, per queste ragioni soltanto ho acconsentito a lasciare San Diego.

La vita, nelle presenti condizioni della società, non è grande cosa, e chiunque abbia fede in un ideale deve darla al trionfo della sua fede senza rimpianti. Ma a San Diego la vita è peggio che la morte.

Io non voglio ammettere che, per quanto esigua, manchi agli Stati Uniti una minoranza d'intelligeuti che possa costringere la città di San Diego a cessare dalle atrocità e dalla vergogna. È un'intelligente audace minoranza che costrinse i piantatori del Sud a cessare dalla tortura e dalla strage dei negri. Un'intelligente audace minoranza può fare nelle presenti condizioni altrettauto.

Mi farò dovere da parte mia offrire alla considerazione del pubblico intelligente dei quarantasei Stati dell'Unione le bestiali ferocie e le atrocità senza nome perpetrate in odio nostro ed a propria vergogna irremissibilmente dalla sedicente rispettabile canaglia della allegra città di San Diego.

Emma Goldman

San Francisco, Cal. 18 Maggio 1912.

LIBERIAMOLI!

PER ETTOR E GIOVANNITTI

Ettor e Giovannitti sono in prigione, condannati a passare il resto della vita fra le mura di un tetro carcere, se la forza della classe capitalista riuscisse nel suo intento.

È questo l'ordine dei padroni, il verdetto dei re della lana e del cotone d'America.

Perchè ciò?

Perchè essi sono stati fedeli ai loro compagni di lavoro! Devoti sempre, sempre con essi durante il periodo della lotta per la conquista del pane e per il diritto alla vita.

Essi furono sempre i primi nella battaglia per la conquista dei diritti operai. Le loro voci potenti servirono a scuotere centinaia di migliaia di sofferenti, affin-

specie di sfruttamento da parte della classe parassitaria che detiene tutta la ricchezza sociale.

Un ex presidente degli Stati Uniti affermava senza reticenz. che le corti erano state corrotte per fare gl'interessi dei padroni capitalisti e ciò è vero per i distretti manufatturieri del New England.

Quando per il passato gli oltraggiati lavoratori si ribellavano, i capitalisti mettevano sempre contro di essi altri lavoratori che ne prendevano il posto e il pane o cercavano di averli nelle loro mani per mezzo della forza politica, o facendoli ingannare da falsi organizzatori; in questo modo tutti dormivano soffrendo passivi indifferenti, gli orrori della schiavitù industriale.

Quelli che ora sono in carcere emisero per i primi il grido della rivolta:

"Schiavi insorgete, state uniti, cercate di ottenere i vostri diritti nella lotta".

E il gigante lavoratore alzò il capo, insorse e si ribellò, combattè e vinse!

Milioni di dollari di più, sotto forma di salari, furono il guiderdone. Ma Ettor, Giovannitti e tutti gli altri che erano con essi, stanno conseguati al boia perchè sono stati fedeli alla causa degli operai.

La classe capitalista cercherà tutti i mezzi per sbarazzarsi di loro, credendo così di potersi disfare di tutti quelli che le potrebbero dare del filo da torcere nelle contese fra capitale e lavoro.

Solamente i lavoratori, sì solamente essi, possono sventare la congiura capitalista! Essi ad ogni costo devono impedire che i loro migliori amici, quelli che sono stati sempre loro fedeli, durante la lotta, vengano sepolti nelle prigioni!

Ettor, Giovannitti e tutti gli altri chiedono la solidarietà della classe lavoratrice. Un'ingiuria fatta a uno solo dev'essere considerata come fatta a tutti; questo essi hanno sempre praticato, questo essi affermeranno quando saranno condotti davanti ai giurati.

Essi non hanno da confessare degli attentati colla dinamite, nè degli altri tradimenti di Stato. Non mancheranno di tener la testa alta di fronte ai loro accusatori e, se i capitalisti potranno condurre a termine i loro criminali e nefandi disegni, ciò sarà semplicemente perchè gli schiavi industriali non saranno insorti non avendo essi compreso che con questo processo si cerca di distruggere l'organizzazione operaia.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

892

890109003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The outrage of San Diego. In Italian] Contro la Vandea! / Emma Goldman. — 29 cm.
In Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. —(June 1, 1912).
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

nella peggiore delle ipotesi non avremmo perduto nulla, se il rispetto alla legalità, tanto, si sconta in California colla tortura, ed in Lawrence si espia colla galera.

L'utopia pacifista, legalitaria, dilegna anche nella fede di coloro che la praticarono con costanza irremovibile durante un ventennio. È un primo passo, verranno lenti gli altri e si rignadagnerà il tempo perduto: **La violenza**, legge di estrema difesa e di suprema salute, **risponderà alla violenza.**

Non è un augurio, è previsione che non si inganna e non inganna.

Alla violenza, la violenza!

L'Eretico.

Barbari e Civilizzati.

Un quarto di secolo è bastato per trasformare la politica del mondo su tutti i mari e su tutte le terre, senza che le razze attardate sembrino di aver trovato nelle dichiarazioni della filosofia moderna un beneficio apprezzabile.

La schiavitù è abolita; ma gli uomini nati sul suolo primitivo che i bianchi civilizzano sono spoliati del loro patrimonio con la forza quando la scaltrezza non basta all'uopo; e l'alcool insinuato nelle loro vene coi mezzi migliori dell'espansione coloniale, decompone il loro sangue.

Il cannibalismo fugge davanti ai soldati, ma questi massacrano la carne umana violando i pricipii d'umanità che stabiliscono in seguito a loro proprio vantaggio.

Si qualificano di barbare le orde che lanciano agli invasosi delle freccie avvelenate o che stacciano le carni, ma è colle palle dum-dum, coll'oppio, colle menzogne, coi funzionari brutali e venali che ci si installa nei loro territorii. L'influenza dell'idolatria ingenua e crudele è vinta, ma il dogmatismo intransigente snatura il pensiero, divide le coscienze e le perseguita con mezzi ipocriti. Infine, i civilizzati danno ai barbari l'esempio delle loro lotte fratricide per il possesso di un poco d'oro o di potere.

Breve, se la lotta della vita s'è coperta di una maschera, è tuttavia con la forza che la nostra razza rovescia, sopra tutti i continenti, l'eccedente dei suoi figli e dei suoi vizii. La morale delle coscienze modernizzate, sottomesse alle leggi del-

lo sposare, al loro tempo, la causa degli schiavi negri.

Tuttavia io non saprei condannare se veramente la turba inconsciamente feroce, ma condanno coloro i quali durante mesi e mesi hanno saturato di pregiudizii, di menzogne, di storie macabre e di spirito di vendetta la popolazione di San Diego.

Oh, non sulla canaglia volgare ricade la vergogna dell'ultima gesta scellerata, ma sugli spavaldi rappresentanti delle sedicenti classe elevate, sulla gente per bene, sugli avvocati, i dottori, i grandi sensali, la polizia, qualche giornale ben pensante; ed io non affermo temerariamente, ma dopo di essere stata quì, dopo di aver raccolto elementi bastevoli a mandar ciascuno di cotesti prodi in galera per parecchi anni se a San Diego vi fosse un giudice, se vi fossero giurati sufficientemente coraggiosi da affrontar la prova.

Le ragioni della mia presenza in San Diego erano le stesse che mi avevano condotto a Denver ed un po' in tutte le città dell'America, tenervi qualche conferenza. Ogni qualvolta io ho fatto escursioni lungo la costa del Pacifico mi son trattenuta a San Diego parlando in assemblee numerose senza riscuotere mai il minimo affronto per quanto le mie conferenze abbiano avuto in ogni tempo un accusato carattere economico sociale. Dovevo questa volta intratteuermi su **Il Nemico del Popolo** e **Maternita'** capilavori dei due più grandi drammaturghi del mondo; due conferenze che io ho tenuto in tutti gli Stati Uniti dinnanzi al miglior pubblico, ed in Denver ultimamente provocaudo da critici autorevoli i commenti ed i giudizii più lusinghieri.

Certo più di un guaio io l'ho avuto dal giorno che la libertà di parola in questa terra nostra è stata affidata al capriccio ed all'arbitrio dell'ignorante e zotica polizia ufficiale; ma doveva rimanere a San Diego la somma ventura di sopprimere il diritto di parola e di riunione con una procedura che le potrebbe essere invidiata dalla Santissima Inquisizione spagnuola, doveva rimanere alla sedicente Alleanza dei Cittadini investita della legge e dell'ordine la vergogna di spezzare ogni legge ed ogni vincolo umano e ci vile.

Del fermento, della turbolenza della popolazione di San Diego si ributta la responsabilità sull'organizzazione oggi conosciuta sotto il nome di Industrial Workers of the World, e sta bene; ma,

comunità si arroga l'arbitrio di confiscarlo minando così i principii della libertà e condannandosi di per sè alla morte.

Ai sedicenti cittadini per bene di San Diego non bastava la violenta e selvaggaggressione al direttore dell'albergo che si rifiutava di cacciarci in istrada alla mercè degli assalitori; non bastava il gergo sguaiato e sbracato che la penna si rifiuta di produrre; colla manifesta, deliberata complicità della polizia essi hanno reclamato a gran voce la vita nostra, e sono andati ad un passo di prendersi quella del dott. Ben L. Reitman.

Evidentemente con me non si sono arrischiati a tanto, e neanche essi osarono condurre a termine il loro criminoso proposito finchè il dott. Reitman rimase con me. Era stato prestabilito che io dovevo essere chiamata nell'ufficio del direttore dell'albergo per avere comunicazioni dal capo di polizia, e mentre io stavo in ufficio, gli eroi della Citizens Alliance legarono il dottor Reitman, l'imbavagliarono, lo caricarono sopra un automobile e trattolo a sei miglia dalla città, lo spogliarono, lo flagellarono, lo torturarono in modo che la parola non osa descrivere, gli bollarono a fuoco tra le spalle le iniziali dell'I. W. of W., l'avvolsero di bitume, di paglia, di penne e lo costrinsero a fare in quelle condizioni una trentina di miglia.

Per fortuna della vittima, le lasciarono i famuli della Citizens Alliance i i quattrini ed il biglietto di ritorno a Los Angeles; che cosa sarebbe altrimenti avvenuto, che cos'è avvenuto delle centinaia di vittime dell'I. W. of W. che hanno rari gli amici e più rari i quattrini?

Tuttavia si dice che se in una città sia anche un solo innocente, la città deve essere salvata. In San Diego l'innocente vi è; v'è il sig. Giorgio Edward, direttore di un Istituto Musicale, un maestro di grande perizia ed un uomo dalla mente colta e geniale che, pur non avendomi mai veduta, pur non avendo mai udito parlare di me, mi offrì, nel momento critico, quando tutti avevano perduto il coraggio, la sua sala per una conferenza. Una offerta che è altrettanto coraggiosa quanto l'assistenza data da Wendell Phillips a Lloyd Garrison cinquant'anni fa. Io non ho creduto approfittare della cortesia e dell'ospitalità del sig. Edward. Approfittarne equivaleva esporlo al più grande pericolo ed io non ho voluto farlo.

Per questa ragione, prima, per le assicurazioni datemi di poi dal direttore

lotta per la conquista del pane e per il diritto alla vita.

Essi furono sempre i primi nella battaglia per la conquista dei diritti operai. Le loro voci potenti servirono a scuotere centinaia di migliaia di sofferenti, affinchè si rivoltassero contro inumane e oltraggiose condizioni.

Essi furono i primi a sentire le angoscie della fame del povero e conobbero le torture infernali e le lagrime di donne soffcrenti; il loro cuore fu lacerato dai lamenti di bimbi strappati prematuramente dal petto delle madri e quindi incominciarono a rendere più gigante la rivolta contro le inumani condizioni di vita sia nelle città che nei villaggi, affinchè i raggi della civiltà penetrassero in in essi, ad onta del randello del poliziotto, del fucile e della baionetta del soldato al servizio dell'autocrazia padrouale, che condanna tanti lavoratori a vivere in condizioni tanto terribili da non potersi descrivere.

Ettor, Giovannitti e i loro compagni Haywood, Trautman, Halliday ed altri, saranno condannati a marcire in prigione se la classe lavoratrice non si ribellerà contro il verdetto già emesso dalla classe capitalista.

Ettor e Giovannitti! Pionieri sempre di pace, pace ch'essi vogliono pei tuguri e per le capanne del povero pel quale hanno sempre reclamato un pane più abbondante, più agiatezza per le loro case, dichiarando guerra ai palazzi dei parassiti, dei debosciati, dei dissanguatori del popolo.

Ed è questo il loro delitto.

Ed è per questo ch'essi sono in prigione!

Ed è per questo che i re del cotone, della lana, dell'acciaio, ecc., escogitano tutti i mezzi per poterli gittare nelle galere!

Ob Massachusetts, un tempo culla di libertà, tu che un tempo desti ricetto ai fuggiaschi pellegrini d'Europa e che per primo gittasti il grido di ribellione contro il governo britannico, in quanta vergogna sei tu caduto!

In te non comanda più il popolo: una geldra di crudeli parassiti, quì venuti da tutto il New England per sfruttare le tue ricchezze, sono riusciti ad avere tutto nelle loro mani: Comune, Stato, Giustizia e tutti i poteri costituiti, i quali sono sempre pronti a far di cappello davanti al potente dio dell'oro. I tuoi vecchi agricoltori hanno dovuto andare in esilio verso l'Ovest; altri popoli nuovi li hanno sostituiti, assoggettandosi ad ogni

disegni, ciò sarà semplicemente perchè gli schiavi industriali non saranno insorti non avendo essi compreso che con questo processo si cerca di distruggere. l'organizzazione operaia.

Lavoratori, siate uniti con noi! fate tuonare le vostre voci di protesta, gridate dapertutto che volete la liberazione dei prigionieri e fate in modo che non sia soltanto la protesta vostra ma di tutti i lavoratori degli Stati Uniti e di altri paesi!

La classe capitalista sta per all'agguato e solamente i lavoratori possono sventare i suoi piani.

Aiutateci moralmente e finanziariamente, reclamante immediatamente la libertà provvisoria per Ettor e Giovannitti, ...

.....e quando a questi uomini verrà fatto il processo per delitti commessi dagli stessi strumenti della classe capitalista, essi ad alta voce proclameranno i loro principii, che sono delle verità inconfutabili, e verranno assolti, se tutti i lavoratori avranno fatto il loro dovere!!

MA ESSI DOVRANNO ESSERE POSTI IN LIBERTA' ORA! NON PERDETE TEMPO.

.....

Mandate tutte le comunicazioni e le contribuzioni a Wm. Yates. Secretary, 9 Mason St. Lawrence, Mass. e scrivete per altri schiarimenti al

THE ETTOR-GIOVANNITTI
DEFENCE COMMITTEE
9 Mason St. Lawreuce Mass.

Wm. D. Haywood, W. E. Trautman, Elizabeth Gurley Flyn. Wm. Yates, Francis Miller.

Augusto Masetti

Splendida fototipia su ritratto mandato direttamente dalla famiglia ai compagni della **Cronaca.**

Il Gruppo Autonomo di E. Boston ne ha fatto una magnifica cartolina che a beneficio della propaganda manda, su richiesta accompagnata dal relativo importo, a chiunque la desideri.

1 copia **0,05** — 6 copie **0,25** — 100 cartoline **$ 3,00.**

Presso il Gruppo Autonomo.
P. O. Box 53
East Boston, Mass.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

893

890722004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman Tell of San Diego Experience / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 43 cm. *In* The Industrial Worker [Spokane]. —(June 6, 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

AGITATE—EDUCATE—ORGANIZE—FIGHT FOR THE

EMMA GOLDMAN AND BEN REITMAN TELL OF SAN DIEGO EXPERIENCE.

(By Caroline Nelson).

The most fearless woman in America today undoubtedly is Emma Goldman. She told me that her "first crime" was committed in Russia when she was only eight years old. It happened in her own home. Her folks were farmers and had a servant girl, who got herself into trouble and was promptly kicked out into the cold world without any means. Emma forthwith robbed her mother's strong-box and handed the proceeds to the outcast. I am not an anarchist because I can't subscribe to their philosophy, but I can admire a little woman who fought for years all alone for what is to her most sacred, and who went calmly on to fight in the teeth of all opposition. A dozen women of the Emma Goldman type in the labor movement could give the movement a boost that would make it leap ahead with lightning speed. Unfortunately for our working men today the working women are not revolutionary and mostly have the absurd idea that by confining the workers' philosophy to mean nothing but a little reform they can do a whole lot of good. The socialist women in general are nothing short of a lot of geese, that confine themselves to cackling about uplifting the workers, and sprawl before upperclass or professional woman who will condescend to grace their meeting to hand them out a little respectibility. Not so Emma Goldman, she stands by her guns through thick and thin, and goes with the police to jail with the same defiance that she mounts the platform to speak to a hostile audience, if need be.

She says that she went to San Diego in the midst of the free speech fight to compel the capitalistic press of the country to take notice of it which she knew it would be compelled to do, not because she is respectable, but because she is the most disreputable woman in America. Her object was certainly accomplished. In her own way of telling it, the listener is brought face to face with the fact that our civilization has voted into power the most savage and brutal members in society, who drop their veneer of culture at the least provocation. Miss Goldman said in part on her experiences in San Diego:

"I have seen mobs many times, but I have never seen such a yellow mob of thousands of well-dressed people as the one which greeted us at the depot in San Diego. We had engaged rooms at the U. S. Grant Hotel and we managed to get on the automobile hotel buss. Six private automobiles followed. They were filled with upper class women who hooted and yelled 'Give up that anarchist,' we will strip her naked, we will tear out her guts.' Many other things were said by those "cultured" women which could not be repeated in public. The working men having charge of the hotel automobile raced for their life to save us from the vigilantes, when closed in on us at every turn. At last we got to the hotel to our rooms. The mob was held at bay by the hotel manager outside. But after a while they stormed the hotel and demanded that we be delivered over to them. The manager told them that it was his custom to protect his guests. They then told him that they would ruin him and tear down the building to get us.

Finally a hotel clerk came to us and said that the chief of police wanted to see us. We told him to send the police to our rooms, but he said that we must come down and see him in a private room. We went with the clerk, and I was taken by myself to a room where the chief of police, Wilson, and a man that looked like a detective were awaiting me. "We want you to sign a document demanding the protection of the police," said Wilson. 'I shall do no such a thing, I said. 'The mob is beyond our control,' said Wilson. 'If the mob is beyond your control,' said I 'you are not fitted for your office and had better resign. Let me speak to the mob. I have soothed more than one mob. But the chief of police refused to allow me to speak to the mob and the interview ended.

When I returned to our rooms I found that Ben Reitman had been kidnaped by the vigilantes. I then returned to the chief of police and declared that I should hold him personally responsible for Reitman's life; that if any harm came to him he would have to pay for it, that I would come back to San Diego to take his life myself. Whereupon the official began to shake in his knees and declared that he had nothing to do with the kidnaping of Reitman.

The manager again came to my room and said that he could not protect me from the rage. I was then allowed to put on my underclothes because the Christian gentlemen that I might meet some ladies and shock them. I was also allowed to put on my vest. Then I was made to run the gauntlet of fourteen of these ruffians, who told me that they were not working men, but doctors, lawyers, real estate and business men. They tortured me and humiliated me in the most unspeakable manner. One of them was to pull my cane in my rectum. Three hundred I. W. W.'s had gone through a similar torture before me by these Christian gentlemen."

Emma Goldman declared that she had seen many mobs, but that in no instance had the mobs been made up of working people, but always of the respectable citizens.

Anyhow the whole state of California is stirred up over this San Diego free speech fight. Spreckles Call in San Francisco and his papers in San Diego have done all they could to stir this mess into a patriotic stew, but the whole working class of every brand of organization is on to the game, and knows it is a class struggle. This fight is the greatest thing that ever happened in California to promote class consciousness. Everybody is asking what is the I. W. W. Let the good fight on. All we need is to capture the workers' mind, when we have that we have all. And one of the best ways to capture it, is to make the capitalist press advertise what we stand for. All activities lead to revolution. Peace and submission is our greatest enemy at this stage of the game.

THE ART OF LECTURING.

While the I. W. W. is not in agreement with many of the ideas of Arthur M. Lewis of Chicago, it must be admitted by all that he has power as a lecturer and there are few who approach his equal as a seller of literature. His book of the title "The Art of Lecturing" should be in the hands of every speaker. We give a few extracts that are of value to I. W. W. agitators.

Hall Lectures.

"At the beginning, the voice should be pitched barely high enough for everybody to hear. This will bring the "hush" which should mark the commencement of every speech. Whether it be loud and rattling, or low and tense, it is to be heard by everybody, for the other kind would not be worth while. If you really have a lecture, you will need every bit of it.

"No lecturer who aims high should go upon a platform and content himself with merely saying in cases of great urgency 'gentlemen having worked out his supreme sentence.'

Lewis advises that in the beginning the current misconceptions regarding the subject be found and the subject and then the speaker should speak deliberately upon the main topic. 'Do not talk so slowly as to encourage the idea that you are unfamiliar with the subject.' If closes the lecture the threads of the subject should be drawn together and the delivery should be given in deeper tones and with more rapidity.

Advice is given on the matter of preparation of subject material and the necessity of being well informed on all related subjects.

"It was well enough in the middle ages for great conclaves of clericals to discuss sagely what language will be spoken in heaven, and how many angels could dance a saraband on the point of a needle, but the twentieth century is face to face with tremendous problems and the public mind clamors for a solution. It will listen eagerly to the man who knows and has something to say. But it insists that the man who knows no more than it knows itself, shall hold his peace."

Lewis advises short lectures, the absence of mannerisms and the avoidance of hackneyed phrases and repitition of words.

Street Speaking.

Lewis advocates an entirely different method for street speaking and the crowds he is able to gather bear witness to the value of his methods.

"Here is the program for the speaker: "He must plunge at once into the heart of his talk and put as much energy into addressing the first dozen as when the crowd grows larger. As soon as he adapts his voice and manner to the size of his crowd the crowd will stop growing. The only way to add another hundred is to talk as though they were already there. A hall lecture should have but one subject, and stick to it—because the audience is the same in its composition throughout. At a street meeting about half the audience is constantly changing, and hopping from one question to another has many advantages."

Long stories, which carry their point to the orator before the end, and the humorous

to see that the audience is supplied and upon efficient ushers depend largely the success of the sales. These should be skillful in making change so as to avoid delays, and should be painstaking enough not to slight any portion of the audience. Books, pamphlets and papers should always be sold with a view toward enlightening the audience and not as a mere scheme to enrich the treasury. The audience quickly detects the latter purpose and sales fall accordingly.

The example of how to sell books is too long for reproduction here; the method is briefly as follows, taking Untermann's "ONE BIG UNION."

First tell who Untermann is, not to boom him, but for the purpose of showing that he is an authority upon that particular subject. Show his long and arduous work in the labor movement, giving facts about his training in the craft unions, his work as editor of the Brewery Workers' Journal, explain how he was one of the foremost founders of the I. W. W. and thus show that he was competent to do the work in hand.

Next deal with the object the author had in view in writing the pamphlet and show the necessity for the appearance of the work.

Deal next with the main subject of the book and then read a short but stirring extract.

In this particular case call attention to the chart, holding it up so that all can see and briefly explain it.

Lastly impress upon the audience the necessity of a careful reading of the book in order to gain vital knowledge on a subject that is agitating the entire civilized world, and which affects them deeply as wage workers.

Announce then the price and the ushers can attend to the sales.

Pamphlets by Austin Lewis, Wm. Thurston Brown, Vincent St. John and others can be handled substantially in the same manner.

The success of the I. W. W. depends greatly upon the methods used by those who appear as the expounders of Industrial Unionism. The above matter should be given careful consideration by all speakers and prospective agitators.

SCABS EXPELLED FROM I. W. W.

The following list of names are former members of Local No. 253 I. W. W. Aberdeen, Wash.

These individuals have been expelled for scabbing on the I. W. W. at that point.

This is the treatment given to any persons who are found scabbing upon either craft union or unorganized workers while falsely holding membership in the Industrial Workers of the World.

Ed Bonner, card number 39525.
J. F. Hammond, card number 39531.
A. Burke, card number 35222.
F. Jennings, card number 39534.
L. Lake, card number 39584.
G. Bush, card number 39587.
C. Brown, card number 39510.
John A. Vonlonberg, card number 39501.
W. Speckemeier, card number 39586.
Bud Dixon, card number 39591.
N. Peterson, card number 38969.
Paul Lambrick, card number 39524.
Dan Hyatt, card number 39523.
John Rosenthol, card number 35201.

WHAT WAS DONE TO BEN REITMAN By Citizens of San Diego the Night of May 14th, 1912.

(From "A Sworn Statement").

He was taken from the U. S. Grant Hotel by vigilantes, operating, under police protection, placed into an automobile and taken to a point about twenty-three miles from the city. There all his clothing was taken from him. He was cursed in the vilest manner, beaten with clubs and with his own cane. His hair was pulled out of his head in handfulls. Lead pencils and fingers were stuck into his nostrils and ears. A cane was pushed into his rectum. His scrotum was twisted and he was beat upon the penis. He was tarred and grass and brush was rubbed into his skin. Cursed and reviled all the time. He was branded "I. W. W." and made to kiss the U. S. flag, and finally, bleeding, bruised and sore, set adrift on the prairie to perish.

Done by the vigilantes of San Diego, in the year 1912, to a man who had committed no offense and intended no offense.

These men are permitted to wear the American flag as a distinguishing emblem.

PETTIPIECE AND OTHERS ACQUITTED

Vancouver, B. C., May 29.—R. Parm Pettipiece and six other men charged with unlaw-

ALBERT WILSO

Houston,

Walker C. Smith,

Fellow Worker: Aft
munlead in San Diego
same on the 20th inst.,
Am leaving the Port Ga
German Lloyd boat
Diego local of proceed
The weather for the
enjoy the trip from Ga
mensely. Hoping that
in the usual spirits, I r
Yours for
ALBERT WILS

DEATH GRASPS K

Robert Roellig, memb
Local No. 46, I. W. W.
on May 17 as a result
tained in the course of

Roellig was a baker.
his work forced him to
the cellar bakeshops of
of his death, after clean
customary, Roellig star
ashes and refuse to th
ing he strained some
An ambulance was su
worker removed to the
he died upon the opera

The funeral took pla
tionary services being
parlors at 10 a. m. S
resolutions revolutionary
who spoke briefly were
and Thornazo. The ca
large red banner bearin
and was decorated with
cal 46. The body was
in the Fresh Pond crea
ing of the "Internation

Roellig was of Germ
but 23 years of age. H
wood says, "to young
and internationalist w
He made his fight a
and added his mite to
holes in which bakers

In the death of Rob
loses a valiant fighter
best members.

LATE HA

The following items
to allow full particula

The Portland stree
May 1 returned to work
Are waiting another f
balance of demands.

Two Socialist party
elders for street spe
speech fight will be d
against the arrested m

Thomas Whitehead
sentence on a fake ch
tary conditions in a
complied with all hea
contractor's camp bre
contractors are punish

Twenty-seven strike
Kamloops jail and are
This should shame th

The eight I. W. W.
Westminster, B. C., s
Holton, 2 months 28 d
days; Minifchi, 2 mo
months 22 days; Olson
si. 2 months 18 days
days.

Zielinski and Sebesty
organizers, are in ch
American Radiator Co

A silent strike is pre
at Lowell, Mass.

J. E., in Solidarity,
has joined the I. W.
await an official repor

Three of the best
Worker" has have wri
One wants more strike
more propaganda art
third wants more sp
organization affairs.
all three is to have an
third more effort on
will turn the trick.

In selling the song
meetings it is well to
songs contained in the
if possible, read a por
nounce that the audi

894

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

890722004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman Tell of San Diego Experience / Emma Goldman. — p. 4 ; 43 cm. *In* The Industrial Worker [Spokane]. —(June 6, 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

[illegible] can do a [illegible] about it, [illegible] the workers, and [illegible] exercises of [illegible] woman who will [illegible] their meeting to hand [illegible] public respectability. Not so Emma Goldman, she stands by her guns through [illegible] and then and goes with the police to jail with the same defiance that she mounts the platform to speak to a hostile audience, if need be.

She says that she went to San Diego in the midst of the free speech fight to compel the capitalistic press of the country to take notice of that which she knew it would be compelled to do not because she is respectable, but because she is the most disreputable woman in America. Her object was certainly accomplished. In her own way of telling it, the listener is brought face to face with the fact that our civilization has hoisted into power the most savage and brutal members in society, who drop their veneer of culture at the least provocation. Miss Goldman said in part on her experience in San Diego:

"I have seen mobs many times, but I have never seen such a yelling mob of thousands of well-dressed people as the one which greeted us at the depot in San Diego. We had engaged rooms at the U. S. Grant Hotel and we managed to get on the automobile hotel bus. Six private automobiles followed. They were filled with upper class women who hooted and yelled 'Give up that anarchist!' 'we will strip her naked, we will tear out her guts!' Many other things were said by those "cultured" women which could not be repeated in public. The working men having charge of the hotel automobile raced for their life to save us from the vigilantes, which closed in on us at every turn. At last we got to the hotel to our rooms. The mob was held at bay by the hotel manager outside. But after a while they stormed the hotel and demanded that we be delivered over to them. The manager told them that it was his custom to protect his guests. They then told him that they would ruin him and tear down the building to get us.

Finally a hotel clerk came to us and said that the chief of police wanted to see us. We told him to send the police to our rooms, but he said that we must come down and see him in a private room. We went with the clerk, and I was taken by myself to a room where the chief of police, Wilson, and a man that looked like a detective were awaiting me. 'We want you to sign a document demanding the protection of the police,' said Wilson. 'I shall do no such a thing, I said. 'The mob is beyond our control,' said Wilson.' 'If the mob is beyond your control,' said I 'you are not fitted for your office and had better resign. Let me speak to the mob. I have soothed more than one mob. But the chief of police refused to allow me to speak to the mob and the interview ended.

When I returned to our rooms I found that Ben Reitman had been kidnaped by the vigilantes. I then returned to the chief of police and declared that I should hold him personally responsible for Reitman's life; that if any harm came to him he would have to pay for it, that I would come back to San Diego to take his life myself. Whereupon the official began to shake in his knees and declared that he had nothing to do with the kidnaping of Reitman.

The manager again came to my room and said that he could not protect me from the mob, and asked me to leave the hotel, that I had no right to stay there and ruin him, as he had not asked me to come. I decided to leave on the next train for Los Angeles. The mob outside the hotel again followed me up in their automobiles. I reached the train and just as I stepped on the ground the vigilantes closed in on me and were on the point of grabbing me when the trainmen rescued me and lifted me on board the train and slammed the car door in the face of the howling mob."

Ben Reitman's story is almost unbelievable. He says: "The moment Miss Goldman was out of the way a half dozen men clutched hold of me. One put his hand over my mouth. They threw me in a waiting automobile in the bottom and began to torture me and hysterically calling me by the vilest names. One of the men urinated on me while others held me down. They took me twenty miles out in the desert where they stopped and threw me out. Immediately they tore off my clothes and threw me on the ground and with tar taken from a can traced I. W. W. on my back and a doctor burned the letters in with a lighted

[illegible] happened to Carl [illegible] class conscious. Everybody [illegible] ing what a the I. W. W. Let the good [illegible] All we need is to capture the workers [illegible] when we have that we have all. And [illegible] the best ways to capture it is to make [illegible] that press advertise what we stand [illegible]. All activities lead to revolution. Peace and submission is our greatest enemy at this stage of the game.

THE ART OF LECTURING.

While the I. W. W. is not in agreement with many of the ideas of Arthur M. Lewis of Chicago, it must be admitted by all that he has power as a lecturer and there are few who approach his equal as a seller of literature. His book of the title "The Art of Lecturing" should be in the hands of every speaker. We give a few extracts that are of value to I. W. W. agitators.

Hall Lectures.

"At the beginning, the voice should be pitched barely high enough for everybody to hear. This will bring that "hush" which should mark the commencement of every speech. When all are quiet and settled, raise the voice so as to be heard by everybody, but no higher. Hold your energies in reserve, if you really have a lecture, you will need them later on."

"No lecturer who aims high should go upon a platform and confront an audience, except in cases of great emergency, without having worked out his opening sentence."

Lewis advises that in the beginning the current misconceptions regarding the subject on hand be exposed and then the speaker should speak deliberately upon the main topic. "Do not talk so slowly as to convey the idea that you are unfamiliar with the subject. To close the lecture the threads of the subject should be drawn together and the delivery should be given in deeper tones and with more rapidity."

Advice is given on the matter of preparation of subject material and the necessity of being well informed on all related subjects.

"It was well enough in the middle ages for great conclaves of clerics to discuss sagely what language will be spoken in heaven, and how many angels could dance a saraband on the point of a needle, but the twentieth century is face to face with tremendous problems and the public mind clamors for a solution. It will listen eagerly to the man who knows and has something to say. But it insists that the man who knows no more than it knows itself, shall hold his peace."

Lewis advises short lectures, the absence of mannerisms, and the avoidance of hackneyed phrases and repitition of words.

Street Speaking.

Lewis advocates an entirely different method for street speaking and the crowds he is able to gather bear witness to the value of his methods.

"Here is the program for the speaker. "He must plunge at once into the heart of his talk and put as much energy into addressing the first dozen as when the crowd grows larger. As soon as he adapts his voice and manner to the size of his crowd the crowd will stop growing. The only way to add another hundred is to talk as though they were already there. A hall lecture should have but one subject and stick to it because the audience is the same in its composition throughout. At a street meeting about half the audience is constantly changing, and hopping from one question to another has many advantages."

Long stories, which carry their point to the hearer before the speaker can send the shot home, are condemned and all stories except those of two or three sentences serve to distract the attention of the crowd. They pause to laugh and your spell upon them is broken.

"The street speaker should use short sentences of simple words. He should avoid oratory and talk as if he were telling something to another man and in dead earnest about it. I have watched a man talk to another man on the street forgetting the outside world completely and using forceful language and eloquent gestures. If such a man could only talk like that to an audience he would be surprised at his own success."

Courtesy should be shown to questioners and if the speaker keeps his temper on trying occasions he will gain favor among the audience, thereby.

Literature Selling.

In this connection it is urged that no more than two books be sold at any one meeting, one at the opening and one at the close. The first book should be the most important one and the middle of the lecture should be so given as to bring attention to the subject discussed in the work. Ushers should be at hand

[illegible] Now dear wobbly the [illegible] how to sell the pamphlet and show the necessity for the appearance of the work.

Deal first with the main subject of the book and then read a short but stirring extract.

In this particular [illegible] call attention [illegible] briefly explain it.

Lastly impress upon the audience the necessity of a careful reading of the book in order to gain vital knowledge on a subject that is agitating the entire civilized world, and which affects them deeply as wage workers.

Announce then the price and the ushers can attend to the sales.

Pamphlets by Austin Lewis, Wm. Thurston Brown, Vincent St. John and others can be handled substantially in the same manner.

The success of the I. W. W. depends greatly upon the methods used by those who appear as the expounders of Industrial Unionism. The above matter should be given careful consideration by all speakers and prospective agitators.

SCABS EXPELLED FROM I. W. W.

The following list of names are former members of Local No. 253, I. W. W., Aberdeen, Wash.

These individuals have been expelled for scabbing on the I. W. W. at that point.

This is the treatment given to any persons who are found scabbing upon either craft union or unorganized workers while falsely bobbing membership in the Industrial Workers of the World.—

Ed Benner, card number 39525.
P. E. Hammond, card number 39531.
A. Burke, card number 35222.
F. Jennings, card number 39534.
C. F. Luke, card number 39584.
G. Bush, card number 39587.
G. Brown, card number 39510.
John A. Vonlomberg, card number 39593.
W. Spickelmeier, card number 39580.
Bud Dixon, card number 39591.
N. Peterson, card number 38969.
Paul Lambrick, card number 39524.
Dan Hyatt, card number 39523.
John Rosenthol, card number 35[illegible].

WHAT WAS DONE TO BEN REITMAN!

By Citizens of San Diego the Night of May 14th, 1912.

(From a Sworn Statement).

He was taken from the U. S. Grant Hotel by vigilantes, operating under police protection, placed into an automobile and taken to a point about twenty-three miles from the city. There all his clothing was taken from him. He was cursed in the vilest manner, beaten with clubs and with his own cane. His hair was pulled out of his head in handfulls. Lead pencils and fingers were stuck into his nostrils and ears. A cane was pushed into his rectum. His scrotum was twisted and he was beat upon the penis. He was tarred and grass and brush was rubbed into his skin. Cursed and reviled all the time. He was branded "I. W. W." and made to kiss the U. S. flag, and finally, bleeding, bruised and sore, set adrift on the prairie to perish.

Done by the vigilantes of San Diego, in the year 1912, to a man who had committed no offense and intended no offense.

These men are permitted to wear the American flag as a distinguishing emblem.

PETTIPIECE AND OTHERS ACQUITTED

Vancouver, B. C., May 29.—R. Parm Pettipiece and six other men charged with unlawful assemblage on the Powell street grounds during the free speech campaign in this city last January were acquitted tonight. The jury was out three hours.—News Item.

ORGANIZERS.

Any locals wishing organizers should communicate with the Joint Locals, Portland, Ore., 39 Davis street, stating wages, commission, whether fare will be advanced, etc. Speakers and organizers are: Brown, Isler, Lawton, McDonald, Miller, Panener and Reese in English, Krauss in English and German, and Ross in Italian.

We are in receipt of Vol. 1 and No. 1 of a [illegible] bearing the title "The Home Defender." It is to be a monthly, devoted to fighting the I. W. W. in particular, although not slighting the red section of the Socialist party. We like the title and hereby pledge ourselves never to cease fighting until every worker in the world has a home to defend.

What injures Joe Ettor injures you. Remember that.

[illegible] ecessary. Rowley starts [illegible] ashes and refuse to the [illegible] ing he sustained some o[illegible] An ambulance was sum[illegible] worker removed to the [illegible] d died upon the operati[illegible]

[illegible] he funeral took plac[illegible] y services being h[illegible] at 10 a. m. Se[illegible] remained revolutionary s[illegible] who spoke briefly were [illegible] and Thormazo. The ca[illegible] large red banner bearing [illegible] and was decorated with [illegible] cal 46. The body was c[illegible] in the Fresh Pond crema[illegible] ing of the "International

Rowley was of Scott[illegible] but 23 years of age. H[illegible] wood says, "to young [illegible] and internationalist wo[illegible] He made his fight ag[illegible] and added his mite tow[illegible] bodies in which bakers [illegible] In the death of Robe[illegible] loses a valiant fighter [illegible] best members.

LATE HA[illegible]

The following items [illegible] to allow full publ[illegible] sue.

The Portland street [illegible] Men returned to work [illegible] Are waiting another fa[illegible] balance of demands.

Two Socialist party s[illegible] coleen for street spea[illegible] speech fight will be d[illegible] against the arrested m[illegible]

Thomas Whitehead [illegible] sentence on a fake cha[illegible] tary conditions in a [illegible] complied with all hea[illegible] contractor's camp bre[illegible] contractors are punish[illegible]

Twenty-seven striker[illegible] Kamloops jail and are [illegible] This should shame th[illegible]

The eight I. W. W. [illegible] Westminster, B. C., a[illegible] Holton, 2 months 28 da[illegible] days; Minitchi, 2 mo[illegible] months 22 days; Olson [illegible] si, 2 months 18 days [illegible] days.

Zielinski and Sebesty[illegible] organizers, are in cha[illegible] American Radiator Co[illegible]

A silent strike is pre[illegible] at Lowell, Mass.

J. E., in Solidarity, [illegible] has joined the I. W. W. awaits an official repor[illegible]

Three of the best [illegible] Worker" has have wri[illegible] One wants more strike [illegible] mote propaganda art[illegible] third wants more spa[illegible] organization affairs. [illegible] all three is to have an [illegible] third more effort on [illegible] will turn the trick. G[illegible]

In selling the song [illegible] meetings it is well to [illegible] songs contained in the [illegible] if possible, read a por[illegible] nounce that the audie[illegible] chorus. Then start t[illegible] should have a bunch o[illegible] and interest holding s[illegible] ad elsewhere.

In selling the "Work[illegible] best method is to an[illegible] briefly its distinct pol[illegible] without capitalist adve[illegible] not subsidized, read a [illegible] most interesting news [illegible] the headings, and then [illegible]

The Russian Labor [illegible] City, commenced publi[illegible] a monthly paper, Go[illegible] Labor) advocating th[illegible] tionary syndicalism. [illegible] is 35 cents a year, 20 c[illegible] eign and Canada, 50 [illegible] Box 41, Station D, Ne[illegible]

One of the delegate[illegible] convention suggested [illegible] opposed "sabotage" w[illegible] be pronounced with a [illegible]

895

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

880824004

The Emma Goldman Papers

The San Diego Outrages / Emma Goldman. – 36 cm. *In* Freedom [London]. – (July, 1912).

Obtained from the Center for Research Libraries, Chicago.

there is an uneasy and increasing consciousness that the other side hates and threatens.

"It may be well the case, and there is every reason to fear it is the case, that there is collected a population in our great towns which equals in amount the whole of those who lived in England and Wales six centuries ago; but whose condition is more destitute, whose homes are more squalid, whose menus are more uncertain, whose prospects are more hopeless than those of the poorest serfs of the middle ages and the meanest drudges of the mediæval cities. The arm of the law is strong enough to keep them under, and society has no reason to fear their despair; but I refuse to accept the superficial answer, that a man is an admirer of the good old times because he insists that the vaunts of civilisation should be examined along with, and not apart from, its failures. It is not possible to give the solution of one problem, the growth of opulence, and to refuse all attention to the other problem, the growth of penury.

"I do not assert that my researches into the economical history of England will throw a clear light on these complex and contradictory phenomena; but I am convinced that till we learn how it was that this society has grown and been collected, and how wealth has been distributed between labourer, capitalist employer, and those who enter on the rest of the inheritance which labour has earned, we shall only be dealing with the most superficial elements and the least important problems of social life; we shall be offered remedies which are more dangerous than the disease; we shall be invited to adopt as a complete solution of a profound difficulty, that which would make the confusion more inextricable, and the prospect of unravelling it more hopelessly remote, if we accepted it without reserve, examination, or anxiety."

THE SAN DIEGO OUTRAGES.

The following extract from a letter to us by Emma Goldman throws some more light on the treatment accorded to her and Ben Reitman:—

"I understand that the event of San Diego has been wired across, so you know what has happened there. It certainly was one of the most terrible things in America, a situation which did not prevail even before the Civil War. Of course the fight for free speech in San Diego is not the first, as you know I have been compelled to fight for every chance of free expression during the last twenty-three years; also the concerted fight on the part of the I. W. W., which has been going on for the last two years, has always been victorious in a number of cities. In San Diego it has reached the climax, because the city is isolated and consists largely of wealthy real estate people, retired bankers and army men. Never in the history of the United States have such brutality and savagery been perpetrated as during the last three months, nor yet has anything similar happened as that which happened to Reitman and myself. It was a deliberate conspiracy on the part of the so called patriots, with the connivance of the police. Evidently afraid to kidnap Reitman in my presence, they lured me out of the room, and then six men with loaded revolvers closed in on him, bound and gagged him, and drove him out of town in an automobile. Reitman has written a detailed account in *Mother Earth*, which will appear in our current issue, so you will be able to judge for yourself of the things which may happen in a free country; but as our grandmothers used to say, 'There is a silver lining to every cloud.' Certainly if the 'Vigilantes' had gone about it in a deliberate way to defeat their own ends, they could not have done better than by the reception they have given us. The Press of the entire country is full of condemnation for San Diego—even the authorities of California have begun to act; and altogether the situation has received publicity which was worth all the horror and shock that we received. Needless to say, we are not yet through with San Diego, and are pushing the matter to the best of our ability.

"Our tour, which started in a very dull and wretched manner, barely making it possible for us to cover expenses, took a sudden turn when we got to Denver, and has kept up marvellously ever since.

"I am sending you a lot of clippings, and also a copy of an article which was extensively published throughout the country. Will be glad if you can make use of it in FREEDOM, as it is certainly well for the English comrades to realise the conditions in America. I believe we have good reason to congratulate ourselves with the result of our work, although it has meant pain and sorrow and suffering; but there is a tremendous awakening, and while Anarchism is being brutally condemned and attacked by the reactionary press, there still are a large number of daily papers which are beginning to realise that Anarchism is not merely the result of a "cracked brain," but is a deep and vital issue. Besides that, our propaganda on behalf of Direct Action and the General Strike is gaining ground more and more. Already it has brought the Lawrence, Mass., strike to a success, and is being discussed and written about within the last few months more than it ever has been before. Of course, the same is happening in England and everywhere in the world, as the air is surcharged with revolutionary ideas."

One of the above-mentioned clippings is an article in the *San Diego Union* of May 20. It is too long to reproduce in full, but the comment on the action of the Governor of the State in sending the Attorney-General to San Diego is typical of the rest of the article:—

"What the Attorney-General can accomplish in San Diego cannot be definitely predicted. It is possible that as the Governor hopes 'a solution of the problem confronting San Diego may be found,' and if thereafter from this knowledge and experience the Attorney-General can advise in such manner that other cities may be protected, San Diego will feel that her example and methods of dealing with the 'problem' have not been offered and exerted in vain. And since the Governor is eager to 'do anything necessary to provide requisite statutes' whereby the 'problem' may be more easily solved hereafter, it is suggested that he get busy at once framing statutes for adequate punishment of I. W. W.'s and other Anarchists who insult the American flag, who assault cities en masse for the purpose of filling the jails on trivial misdemeanour charges, hoping to bankrupt the taxpayers by compelling them to pay for keeping them in jail; who conspire to violate city ordinances; who preach sedition and treason from soap boxes in the public streets, and who otherwise conduct themselves with the deliberate intention of annoying the citizens, disturbing the peace of the community, and provoking the people to riot with the intention of calling down the wrath of the Governor of the State upon the harassed and harried community. A few statutes covering these phases of the 'problem that confronts San Diego' will go towards solving that problem; but it is doubtful if even Governor Johnson, wise and willing as he is, can solve it any more effectually than San Diego has solved it for herself."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

United States.

Though the 25,000 textile workers in the woollen mills of Lawrence, Mass., triumphed in the recent strike over their employers, who were forced to increase the starvation wages of their hands, the owners have neither forgotten nor forgiven their defeat. Not only has a part of their profit to go into the pockets of the workers, but the strike revealed to the public the horrors of slavery and child exploitation in their mills. On whom to revenge themselves?

Joseph Ettor and Arthur Giovannitti, the two Syndicalist propagandists of the Industrial Workers of the World, who had led the workers through the long weeks of struggle to victory, were chosen as the scapegoats by the humiliated and infuriated masters. A woman among the strikers was shot by a policeman. Though this was witnessed by several persons, nevertheless Ettor and Giovannitti were arrested for complicity in this murder of a striker! It seems hardly possible that such a ridiculous charge can bring our comrades into danger, but the Labour history of the United States has too many examples of the brazen effrontery of the capitalists when they are determined to carry terror into the hearts of the awakening proletariat. Did not Spies, Parsons, and their comrades fall as victims of such a plot? And are the juries, judges, and police now less willing to give a helping hand to a capitalist conspiracy?

Thanks to the enormous interest taken by millions of workers in the defence of Haywood and his comrades, these men were saved from the fate which organised capital had prepared for them. Unless an equally strenuous effort is made by the friends of Labour and liberty, Ettor and Giovannitti will pay with their lives for having dared to rouse and lead Labour to victory against Capital. An Ettor-Giovannitti Defence Committee has been formed at 9, Mason Street, Lawrence, Mass., which has issued an appeal for assistance in raising a strong protest against the intended outrage.

Italy.

After the condemnation of Maria Rygier, the editor of *Agitatore*, the trial began before the Volterra tribunal of the militant comrades who had led the strikes in the mines and factories of the island of Elba and Piombino. The Public Prosecutor had demanded a total of ninety-one years' imprisonment for the forty-six accused; but twenty-five of them were acquitted, six were condemned for incitement to crime to seven and a half months' each, whilst the others, accused of violence and insulting officials, received sentences varying from nine to fifteen months.

Whether it is strikes, anti-Militarism, or Anarchism, it is all alike to the capitalists and Governments, who go hand in hand in suppressing any form of revolt against Capital and the State. In this case again the law proved itself the docile servant of the propertied classes. Though the total of eighteen years is far below that demanded by the Public Prosecutor, nevertheless the sentences are a cruel and vindictive act of the Government against the leaders of a strike in which the workers stood up heroically for their cause.

France.

The Socialist Minister Millerand has presented his country and "comrades" with a new Bill which leaves every existing Bill against Anarchists far behind it. According to this law, every young man who has ever been sentenced for anti-militarism or strike troubles will be sent to the regiments in Africa. This means that the most intelligent, the most daring and generous youth of France will have to choose between the hell of the African regiments or desertion to foreign countries. In their mad desire to suppress the revolutionary propaganda, the Government does not shrink from the most despotic measures, though it would deprive the country of the best of its youth, who would without hesitation prefer exile for life to death under slow torture in Africa. And yet the same ministers lament the depopulation of France, and means and measures are devised to increase the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

896

890209019

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman.– pp. 164-168 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 7, no. 5 (July 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

capital is constantly becoming more intense and compelling, and the great mass of the workers will not be deceived by the crude clap trap of State Socialism.

❦ ❦ ❦

THE POWER OF THE IDEAL

> The man whom I touch, when he bends to pick up gold, he sees suddenly a light over his head in the sky; while he looks up to see it, the gold slips from between his fingers, or sometime another passing takes it from them.—Olive Schreiner, in "A Dream of Wild Bees."

PROBABLY no other trip in all my experience has better demonstrated this truism. So often it seemed as if we had but to bend down to pick up gold. But always there appeared a light over our heads in the sky; and while we looked up to see it, the gold slipped from between our fingers. Thus it must always be with him who is touched by the Ideal.

It is as hard to explain the peculiarities of cities as of human character. The most generous person often displays very petty traits. Equally so the city that often receives new ideas with open and ready response, will on some other occasion display absolute indifference. Thus Portland, for many years among our most hospitable cities, proved very cold and inert this time. Yet there was no lack of effort. True, our able organizers, Agnes Fair and the Holzwarth comrades, were missing; but Comrade A. Raymond was no less eager to make our meetings successful. At any rate, he left nothing undone, ably assisted as he was by Pauline Cantor and several other faithfuls, who helped to distribute cards and dispose of tickets. Then, too, there was an unusual amount of publicity by the generally chary Portland press. Some Grand Army men felt outraged because their hall was to be "contaminated" by a lecture of E. G. The worthy patriots threatened to raise a rumpus, which was grist in the mill of the newspapers.

The threat was not carried out, its only result being that we were refused several hotels, and that for many

hours we were forced to join the great unknown, whose daily abode is the public park. But having tasted nature's hospitality on former occasions, this did not affect us as much as the subsequent disappointment that the unsought-for sensation failed to bring out even the former Portland attendance.

Our meetings, except the first Sunday, were small and the audience inert. It was indeed a cold douche on top of the hot wave in California. I understand that the extremes of hot and cold are beneficial for some bodily ills, but I would never advise such treatment for mental troubles: the shock is very disconcerting and leaves a painful impression. Fortunately, our friends always help to overcome the hardest shocks. Little Pauline Cantor, Kitty Beck, C. E. S. Wood, and other friends made our stay in Portland endurable, though all else failed.

However, fate has not ordained that we should be overlooked for any length of time. Long before we made for Seattle it appeared as if San Diego was not to remain alone in its patriotic delirium tremens. A yellow sheet, the Seattle *Times*, jealous of the national "glory" of the San Diego *Union* and *Tribune*, began a mad campaign of American flagomania. "The flag must be protected. The city will not stand for Anarchism. Will not some patriots save Seattle from the treasonable utterances of E. G.?" and so forth.

Of course, the senile patriots and Spanish war veterans suddenly discovered their lost youth, and called on the Mayor to prevent me from speaking. When the Mayor insisted upon every one's right to free speech, the "law-abiding, liberty-loving American patriots" declared they would stop the dangerous woman by force of arms.

It does not take long to arouse a patriotic heart to violence. Hence the hall keepers were terrorized, the Mayor was worried, and our own comrades, with San Diego still fresh in their memory, felt anxious for our safety. And we? Well, the power of suggestion had us in its grip, and we actually expected a repetition of San Diego,—five hundred "brave soldiers" meeting us at the train. But whether the yellow sheet had concocted the story, or the "heroic" veterans had lost

897

890209019

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman.— pp. 164-168 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 5 (July 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

heart, there were no soldiers at the depot nor at any of our meetings, so far as we could find out.

"God save us from our friends; from our enemies we can protect ourselves," certainly applied to the SEATTLE situation. Mayor Cotterill, as I understand, has Single Tax tendencies, and that may account for his brave stand against the *Times* and its barking. He was, however, very anxious about our safety, and in his zeal to protect us did our meetings no end of harm. He turned out the whole police department, with the result that we had police in front of us, back of us, on the side of us, police watching the hotel, crowding our meetings, spreading themselves everywhere, even on the roof of the hall and in the lavatories. They even searched some people for weapons, all for the sake of our "protection."

Not being accustomed to such a display of official affection, we had to beg the Mayor to relieve us, especially as the ungainly sight of so many brass buttons frightened the people away even more than the threatened presence of the war veterans.

The first half of our visit in Seattle was anything but restful for delicate nerves, but after our "protectors" had been withdrawn, the timid ones—and they are always in the majority—took courage and our meetings ended as usual, with flying colors.

Seattle has never been an easy burg to arrange Anarchist meetings, but this time it required extraordinary maneuvring and hard work to make the venture at all possible. Comrade Sam Hammersmarck acquitted himself handsomely by his skill and indefatigability. With him was dear Jennie Lavroff and several others of the old guard, ever ready to help when they are called upon. Through their efforts, reinforced by our faithful mascots, Ben Capes, Joe Edelsohn, and "Mickie," the situation in Seattle was saved.

SPOKANE, Wash., was gratifying, mainly because of the fine, solidaric spirit we met with among some members of the I. W. W. Walter Smith, the editor of the *Industrial Worker*, undertook the arrangements of the lectures, and when every other meeting place was refused us, the I. W. W. hall was willingly turned over to our use. Furthermore, Ed. Baily, the secretary of the

local I. W. W., his wife and several other comrades helped faithfully in every respect. This was particularly inspiring because, prior to Spokane and when we were hard pressed for a lecture place, another group of I. W. W. acted very shabbily in refusing us their hall. But, then, no movement is quite responsible for all its adherents.

COLVILLE, Wash., is a mental graveyard. The greater is the courage and perseverance of our Comrade Otto Weik, who for several years has been trying to kindle the fires of life in that dead spot, but I fear me much he will not succeed. However, I was glad to have gone down, if only to assist our heroic comrade in his untiring struggle. Besides, it also gave me the opportunity to meet again our friend Mrs. Langdell, more delicate in health than ever, but as full of spirit and enthusiasm as of yore.

BUTTE, Montana, proved a great treat. It brought us back to the warm, tender friends of old days, Annie and Abe Edelstadt. When I look back upon the human panorama that passed my gaze during the last twenty-three years, the Edelstadts stand out as among the few, the very few, who have remained pure and true in their idealism, in spite of the economic grind, poor health and all sorts of adversities. Which merely proves that character is stronger than environment, stronger than external forces.

Like many other small trades people, the Edelstadts depend for their livelihood upon those living near them. Yet never have they denied their ideas, nor yet forsworn their colors. It is, no doubt, because of this great loyalty and devotion that our friends are so respected, revered, and loved. Would to goodness more of our comrades dared admit the things they stand for, since example more than theory is the potent force.

Our three indoor meetings made up in quality what they lacked in quantity, but the street meeting in behalf of San Diego surpassed anything we had ever before experienced in Butte. As a rule, I do not relish outdoor propaganda, because it is next to impossible to concentrate on a subject with the thousand noises of the street to combat, nor does it seem that a street

898

890209019

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman.— pp. 164-168 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 5 (July 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

audience can be interested for more than a brief moment. But our experiences in Butte proved an unusual and most fascinating event. Fifteen hundred people glued to the spot for nearly two hours, with an attentiveness and earnestness I have rarely found in a hall. It was a wonderfully inspiring occasion, not easily forgotten.

The few joyous days spent with our comrades Annie and Abe, Sadie and Albert Edelstadt, and Sam Stein, would have made our short stay in Butte a real holiday but for the very sad news that reached us there of the death of our brilliant and uncompromising Comrade Voltairine. The memory of her helped to knit us closer together in our determination to continue the work for which our dead comrade, more than any other native Anarchist, lived and worked so faithfully.

In the next issue of our magazine I shall give a resumé of our long, difficult, and interesting tour, and the lessons to be drawn from it. But one thing I know already, and it were well for every idealist to know, that "the gold slips from between his fingers, who looks up to see the light over his head, in the sky."

EMMA GOLDMAN.

P. S.—San Diego still looms up in interest wherever we come. Since our last acknowledgement the following amounts have been contributed:

Seattle, Wash.	$82.45
Spokane, Wash.	9.78
Butte, Mont.	21.00
Denver, Colo.	14.80
Total	$128.03

The money has been forwarded to Kaspar Bauer, Treasurer, Free Speech League, San Diego, Cal.

Also collected for the defence of Ettor and Giovannitti:

Spokane meetings	$17.00
Butte meetings	11.00
Total	$28.00

Spokane amount turned over to E. S. Baily, Sec'y, I. W. W.

BRITISH JUSTICE

(*Correspondence from London.*)

OUR old Comrade Malatesta is doing three months in prison owing to the "fair play" which is such a tradition of our Courts of Justice. He quarrelled with an Italian, an ex-Anarchist—with whom he was at one time very friendly—on account of the war in Tripoli, Malatesta taking an anti-war attitude, the other—Bellelli—taking the patriotic side. Malatesta and his comrades here issued a paper against the war, and Bellelli told several people that Malatesta had sold himself to the Turkish Government. This roused Malatesta, who issued a challenge to Bellelli, saying, "People say that you are an Italian spy. You say I am a Turkish spy. Let us call a court of honor. I will prove how I earn every cent I spend. You can do the same. This will clear both of us. As an honest man, you must do this." This was printed and distributed among the Italian colony. Bellelli thereupon sent MS. to a printer and got proofs of a leaflet he intended to issue, but at the last minute (probably at the instigation of the police) he told the printer to destroy everything and then charged Malatesta with publishing a criminal libel about him.

Comrade Malatesta was sent for trial, and at the Central Criminal Court on May 20th he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, to pay the costs of the trial, and recommended for deportation as an undesirable citizen. The trial was prejudiced all the way through with charges of Anarchism, and when the jury had returned a verdict of "Guilty," a political detective (Powell) went into the box and launched a long tirade against Malatesta (not on oath), stating that he had been expelled from every country in Europe, had supplied materials to the Houndsditch burglars, and was the associate of coiners. The hypocritical judge, in passing sentence, said: "The Court does not take into account the fact that you are an Anarchist," and then gave him the before-mentioned punishment. Immemediately protests came thick and fast, some of the papers on the Government (Liberal) side coming out

899

890209020

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman.— pp. 190-193 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 6 (Aug. 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THE POWER OF THE IDEAL

> In those eyes that had never seen the day, in that half-shaped brain was a sensation of light! Light—that it never had seen. Light that perhaps it never should see. Light—that existed somewhere!
>
> And already it had its reward: the Ideal was real to it.—Olive Schreiner in "A Dream of Wild Bees."

IN THE May issue of our magazine I stated that "We are to come back later for a month, at the request of the Denver *Post*, if only the wind does not blow in another direction, which, in newspaper ethics and the Colorado climate, is apt to happen."

We did come back, and, while little had changed in the climate, two months had proven too long a task for the newspaper ethics of the *Post*. We found it involved in a criminal libel suit; hence unwilling to have in its columns articles from E. G.'s pen.

Apropos of criminal libel suits. What a farce they are, in view of the fact that our entire system—governmental, commercial, and moral—rest on libel, fraud, and dishonesty. Of course, almost everybody knows this to be so, but everybody hates the other fellow to say as much about him. Therefore the dirty linen is dragged into court, and the majesty of the law plays the washerwoman. What a farce!

Our drama class in Denver, which had been ably conducted during my absence by Ida Kruse McFarlane, met me with great enthusiasm, amply making up for the disappointment in regard to the *Post*. A few of our ablest pupils had left for their vacation; most of them school teachers, who had tired of their task to stuff their victims like geese for slaughter, had gone for a rest. But the vacancy was made up by new members, and when the work began we had an equal attendance.

August Strindberg, the great Swedish dramatist, was to me always the most unique and sombre figure in the world of dramatic art. It is more than fifteen years that I first came across "The Father," Strindberg's most powerful play. Even since then it was my hope to bring him to the attention of my American audiences. Unfortunately, he was not accessible to the English reading

public, until now when his works are finally being published in English. Thanks to this, I was able to acquaint my class with the life, the struggle and the masterly works of the Swedish dramatist, who, while not easily understood, is yet so fascinating that one is bound to go ahead, sometimes against oneself.

My class, too, became deeply engrossed, though but few were willing to accept the bitter, scathing attacks and criticism which saturate all of Strindberg's works. It was with regret that we turned to other dramatists.

The "Silver Box," "Strife," "Justice," and especially "The Pigeon," by John Galsworthy, called forth the most vivid discussions. Naturally, since all are social plays, flaying our social ills in a relentless manner. "The Pigeon" is more than merely a social sermon, it is a masterly critic of the hypocrisy and futility of all reforms, proving that poverty and vice are ingrained in our social fabric, and cannot be eradicated through punishment or charity.

Lastly, Andreiev's "King Hunger" came in for consideration, and with it the entire Russian literature. It is amazing how little even cultured Americans know about Russia. Turgenev and Tolstoy have long ere this been accepted by the intelligent American reader. But they have not helped to bring Russia closer to America, because Americans have failed to understand the soil whence spring the Russian works of art.

I was asked once, "Why is Russian literature so sad?" I replied, as I do now, because it is begotten in sorrow, nurtured in tears, and is born in the agony of the unsatisfied longing of the Russian people. It is that which makes the works of all Russian writers so deeply human, so wonderfully sympathetic, so much akin to the soil and the people whence the Russian writers draw their inspiration. In short, so unlike all other literature.

As during my first venture in Denver, so this time. I found the drama a splendid vehicle for social thought. Especially for people who, in this country, have so far kept aloof from the social and economic struggle which is daily becoming more acute. Perhaps not so much because of indifference but rather because the professional class until very recently had remained content

900

890209020

The Emma Goldman Papers

The Power of the Ideal / Emma Goldman.— pp. 190-193 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 6 (Aug. 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

with mere material acquisition. And, as it could easily get that, "all was well in heaven and God was on his throne."

All this is rapidly undergoing a change. The professional man and women of to-day find it harder than even the skilled worker to exist. With the material uncertainty inevitably came the uncertainty, the voidness, of all our social life, which is brought out more forcibly than in any other manner through the modern drama. Hence its importance as an educator of the professional class.

My stay in Denver, more than on any previous occasions, has been intensely interesting and useful to me,—not to mention the pleasant phase of it, which is very important in the life of an agitator. It was, therefore, with great reluctance that I bid my many friends and earnest pupils adieu. But he who is touched by the Ideal may never halt long in any place.

On my way to New York I stopped in Chicago. I have done that now for many years, but always I take away from it naught but pain and bareness. It was more accentuated this time through the loss of our Comrade, Voltairine de Cleyre, whose voice had come to me over the phone only two months prior. Those who knew the martyrdom of her life will feel with me that death was a relief for her. It was, therefore, not that which gripped me so, but the knowledge that her death, like her life, had been terrible (she suffered excruciating pains for nine weeks), and that the thing she longed for most and never had—harmony—was denied her in death as in life.

I went to Waldheim and found her grave within the shadow of those who had inspired Voltairine's soul—the Chicago Anarchists. There she lies, whose body had never known respite from pain, whose soul had never tasted peace, and who yet never relaxed, until the end, in her zeal, her wonderful zeal for the ideal she loved so well—Anarchism, the redeemer of the human race.

While on the firing line, one neither cares nor can reflect upon the use or the worth-whileness of one's efforts. It is only after the battle is fought that one may

ask, Why and wherefore? And ours was a battle, more difficult, more trying, more painful than any other in our experience. And now it is fought, we may ask ourselves, was it worth while, was it worth the price in suffering, in thrusts from friends, and persecutions from the enemy? Yes, a thousand times yes!

Not that we can boast of great victories, nor yet claim hosts behind us. But that more and more the perseveranee and the determination to go ahead, to break through every obstacle, has created an interest in the things we stand for, which cannot but bear fruit. Especially is this true of the Pacific Coast, where the workers, partly through their own experiences and partly through the struggle we were forced to make, are beginning to see the truths contained in Anarchism and, even more so, the logic and inevitableness of the methods which the Anarchists have propagated these many years. Namely, direct action, a revolutionary, uncompromising attitude, and the general strike. It was therefore worth while.

But even if results were not apparent, the effort would still be worth while, because of its reward, that "the Ideal shall be real to thee."

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

MADAME MICHAELIS AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMAN

By OLIVE ALLERTON.

NOW that the sexual question is the most ardently discussed question of the day, because it is more intimately connected with society, and because, in different ways and with different tendencies, it goes to make up the modern struggle of life; now that women have found the courage to occupy themselves in public in spite of man, who, until now, thought himself to be the sole possessor of every knowledge, I have thought it necessary to speak, and to speak freely, on this subject. Especially after the last lecture at Carnegie Hall, by the well-known author, Madame Karin Michaelis.

Madame Michaelis has made a great noise in the world, especially in the feminine world, because, as a woman,

901

890209021

The Emma Goldman Papers

Ross Winn / Emma Goldman.– pp. 208-211 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 7, no. 7 (Sept. 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

to a crisis where the government must face two alternatives, either they must prepare to send large numbers of women to penal servitude, or give women the vote without further delay.

In a few short weeks the holidays will be over, and the W. S. P. U. will be at work again. My enforced absence during the past critical weeks has been hard to bear, but when Parliament re-opens I shall be with you, ready to fight by your side and prepared to share the penalties which this contemptible government may think fit to impose in the vain hope of crushing our movement. The end is in sight, and very soon the victory will be ours.

When they have accomplished their object, it is to be hoped that these brave suffragists will perceive that the future of man requires the realization of greater ideals than those of suffrage.

❧ ❧ ❧

ROSS WINN

THE inexorable master, Death, has again visited the Anarchist ranks. This time its victim was Ross Winn, one of the most earnest, sincere, and able American Anarchists.

Never has the power of the Ideal been demonstrated with greater force than in the life and work of this man, Ross Winn. For nothing short of a great ideal, a burning, impelling, all-absorbing ideal, could make possible the task that our dead comrade so lovingly performed during a quarter of a century.

Born in Texas 41 years ago, of farmer parents, young Winn was expected to follow the path of his fathers. But the boy had other dreams, dreams extending far beyond the confines of his parents' farm; far beyond his immediate ties. His were dreams of the world, of humanity, of the struggle for liberty. He was possessed by a passionate longing to learn the printing trade, and by means of it to carry a message to mankind. His father, however, was opposed to such "foolish" notions, but Ross could not be daunted either at the age of 16, or during the rest of his life. He worked as a farm hand and picked cotton, and out of his meager earnings he bought for himself a small hand press. It was at a time when plutocracy, drunk with power, was about to put to death the men whose ideas were to serve as a beacon light in the life of Ross Winn—the Chicago Anarchists. Verily, Spies was prophetic, "The voices in

the grave will speak louder than those you strangle today."

Voltairine de Cleyre and Ross Winn—two native children of America heard the strangled voice, and forthwith set themselves to keep alive the work for which our brave comrades had died.

Ross Winn immediately made himself conversant with the philosophy of Anarchism, which found in him a powerful, uncompromising, and daring exponent. Soon after the death of our Chicago comrades, he revived the *Alarm*, founded by Albert Parsons and later published by Dyer D. Lum.

Always harassed by poverty that later caused his illness and death, our comrade was often compelled to discontinue his publishing work. But never for very long. Thus we find him again at the helm in 1894, issuing a little paper called the *Co-operative Commonwealth;* then in 1898, the *Coming Era;* in 1899, *Winn's Freelance*. Pressed by adverse economic conditions, our comrade at this time was forced to suspend his publication, contributing, however, meanwhile for the *Free Society*, published by the Isaac family. But in 1909 Winn again resumed his own publication, *Winn's Firebrand*, which he subsequently called the *Advance*, and later the *Red Phalanx*.

Always his one supreme passion was a paper, to arouse, inspire, and educate the people to a higher conception of human worth. So intense was that passion, that we find our comrade preparing copy on the very last day before his death for the August issue of his paper, from which we reproduce some of Winn's trenchant editorials.

I met our comrade in Chicago, in 1901, and was deeply impressed with his fervor and complete abandonment to the cause,—so unlike most American revolutionists, who love their ease and comfort too well to risk them for their ideals.

Ross Winn was of the John Brown, Albert Parsons, and Voltairine de Cleyre type. He lived and worked only for his ideas and would have gone to the gallows with the same fortitude. But fate decreed that he should die a hundred deaths. Three years ago our com-

902

890209021

The Emma Goldman Papers

Ross Winn / Emma Goldman.— pp. 208-211 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 7 (Sept. 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

rade fell a victim to the disease of the poor—tuberculosis. He had little faith in doctors, and he tried nature instead. Unfortunately one cannot live on nature alone, especially when one has a wife and child. And so Ross Winn had to return to civilization. In Mount Juliet, Tennessee, assisted by his devoted companion, Gussie Winn, and cheered by his child, Ross Jr., he eked out a miserable existence, and kept up his propaganda. Last year, however, his condition made work impossible, but he was too proud to ask assistance from his comrades even. It was through his wife that we learned of their terrible plight and immediately raised a small sum, which might have kept him in comfort for a while. But the only thing that meant comfort for Ross Winn was the spreading of his beloved ideas. And so he spent sixty dollars—a fortune to the little family—on a new printing outfit, and the *Advance* was again resumed.

It was this that helped more than medicine or nature to prolong the life of our tireless comrade. And then the end came. In the early morning hours of August 8th, the inexorable master, Death, stilled the fervent, burning heart of Ross Winn. Only faithful Gussie and their boy were with him. The good Christian neighbors had no use for the heretic. Poor fools! How could they fathom the beauty and love that permeated the man whom they had feared in life and shunned in death.

He is beyond them now, but not so his boy, whom next to his ideals he loved most, and whom he had hoped to save from Christian kindness and patriotic beneficiency. Ross Winn is beyond it all, but we are still here, not only to continue his work with the same ardor and devotion as he, but also to bring to his child, even in a small measure, the comradeship and care of his father.

At the death of Ross Winn, nine dollars was all that was left to his family.

Their need is great and immediate. I therefore earnestly urge that a fund be raised at once to assist the family of our dead comrade. Contributions can be sent direct to Gussie Winn, Route 3, Mount Juliet, Tennessee, or in care of MOTHER EARTH.

It is only through the manifestation of solidarity that we can prove the living force of the ideas and ideals for which Ross Winn lived, worked, and struggled.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

SHORT EDITORIALS

By ROSS WINN.

DEAN SWIFT, in his satirical romance, "Gulliver's Travels," tells of a philosopher who spent a lifetime trying to discover a process for extracting sunshine from cucumbers, his plan being to bottle up the manufactured sunshine for use in cloudy and cold weather. For several centuries humanity has been trying to extract social happiness and personal benefit from legislation and government; and it hasn't succeeded any better than the fellow with his cucumber sunshine experiment.

* * *

THE tide of crime which, under the present order—or let us say, rather, disorder—of government rises continually higher and higher, does not prevent the defenders of the state from naively asking us: What protection or security against criminals will be given to society under Autonomy? "What are you going to do with the criminals?" cry the governmentalists, as if crime was a thing unknown where authority exists. The Autonomists themselves are not worrying over this problem as it will present itself under the new order. What to do with criminals will be a much less serious problem when we stop producing them, and when crime is reduced to an insignificant factor in human affairs. Government itself and the anti-social conditions created by its activities is chiefly responsible for the social disease we call crime; and when the causes are removed the effects will speedily disappear. This is a scientific age, and more and more people are beginning to suspect that present methods of dealing with crime are survivals of barbarism and that they must give way to more rational modes in harmony with science.

* * *

IN all of the political-party platforms there is not one note for personal liberty; not a single plea for the sovereignty of the individual. The trend of political

903

881108010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The drama: a powerful disseminator of radical thought. In Japanese] Kindaigekiron / Emma Goldman. – pp. 19-27 ; 22 cm. *In* Kindai Shisó [Tokyo]. – (Oct.-Nov. 1912)

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: East Asiatic Library.

大正元年十月一日第三種郵便物認可　大正元年十月一日發行（毎月一日發行）

近代思想

十月號

■愚かなるものよ……（詩）……嵐……（一）
■本能と創造……（評論）……大杉榮……（二）
■本當に瞞されてゐる男（對話）……伊庭幸……（六）
■新しい戯作者……（感想）……山本飼山……（一〇）
■大杉と荒畑……（人物）……堺利彦……（一三）
■ラファルグの認識論……（研究）……小原慎三……（一四）
■愈情者……（小説）……荒畑寒村……（一七）
■近代劇論……（評論）……荒畑寒村……（三一）
■雑文雑話……（隨筆）……荒畑寒村……（三一）
■發刊事情……榮……（一七）
■九月の評論……（批評）……榮……（一七）
■九月の小説……（批評）……寒……（二〇）
■消息……記者……（二五）

近代思想社

東京府下大久保百人町三五二

Copy for Personal Use Only The Library, University of California at Berkeley

881108010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The drama: a powerful disseminator of radical thought. In Japanese] Kindaigekiron / Emma Goldman. — pp. 19-27 ; 22 cm. *In* Kindai Shisó [Tokyo]. —(Oct.-Nov. 1912)

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: East Asiatic Library.

大鉋のグリップから脱れて、桶を荷つて、晝飯の湯を汲みに行つた。

一組三四十人が呑む湯を、餘り近からぬ製罐部から荷つて來るのは、彼に對しては容易な事ではなかつた。然し一日中、此の時位彼の愉快な時はなかつた。彼はそこでのみ快活な少年に返つて、同じ湯汲仲間と談笑した。彼が殊に親しかつたのは、船渠部の橋場といふ職工だつた。橋場は彼よりも一つ上の十九で、常に蒼白い顏をして、力の無い咳をして居た。此の二人の外、他は皆大人のやうな遊びをして、それを得意氣に、亦面白そうに談り合つて笑つた。十一時半に終業の鐘が鳴ると、皆低い細長い食卓を圍んで飯を食つた。彼は逸早く、マズい麥飯と牛勞の煮付の辨當を食つて了つて、いつものやうに工場の中央に据ゑたカッタァの底に潜り込んで疲れ切つた體を横たへた。彼は、病氣の苦しさも、日々の味氣ない生活も、遠い土地に貧しく暮して居る父母も思はなかつた彼は亦、湯汲仲間の話を聞く毎に感ずる、深い心の空虚さへも想ひ出さなかつた。只だこうして休める時間が、もう卅分永ければいゝと思つた。

五

彼は烈しく横腹を突かれて、愕然として睡りからさめた。

海から吹いて來る初夏の風の涼しさに、彼は始業の鐘が鳴つたのも知らず、ウトウトと睡つて了つたのだ。で、ハット思つて頭を上げると、伍長が恐ろしい顏をして睨み付けて居た。

『此の怠け者ッ、ズウズウしい眞似をしやがると承知しねえゾ。早く彼の板を削つ了へッ。』

後の半日は、彼に取つては煩はしい、惱ましい不斷にイムポーズされる恐怖と苦痛であつた。此し劇しく働らくと、すぐ目眩ひがして、孕み女のエヅくやうに、ありもせぬ物を嘔げやうとして、絶へず生唾を吐き散した。『怠け者』『意氣地なし』絶へずこう罵られ乍ら、彼は只だ歸つて休む事のみ考へて居た。

『アヽ、今日もやつと終つた。明日こそどうかして休みたい、そして一日寢通して見たい。』彼は重い。ムクんだ脚を曳ずつて、群集にもまれ乍ら歸つて行つた。そう思ひ續け乍ら……

The Library, University of California at Berkeley
Copy for Personal Use Only

近代劇論（上）

荒畑寒村譯

一

近代の意識されたる社會的不安の驚くべき播布は、單に之を傳導的文書の功にのみ歸すべきではない。寧ろその大部分は是を美術、文學、殊には痛感さるゝ不滿足の最も強き解釋者たる近代劇に歸するの至當なるを想ふのである。ミレーが描ける農民の寥廓たる生活、ムーニエが寫せる鑛夫の悲慘なる勞苦にも增して、反抗の精神を呼び醒まさしむるものは、普遍的醱酵の精神と、社會變化に對する憧憬とに、生命の息を與へたツルゲネフ、ドストエフスキー、トルストイ、アンドレーエフ、ゴーリキー、ホイツトマン、エマーソン等の人々である。然しそれ等にも優つて、最も強き急進思想の播布者は、實に近代劇ではないか。

近代劇に對つて、かゝる重要なる位置を與ふる事は、やゝ誇張に失するとの譏があるかも知れぬ。然し、夫方の劇に於ける近代思想の發達を研究する時は、他の形式をとれる時は概ね顧みられない事實、大なる社會的事實を、劇のみよく宣傳する事に成功せるを見るのである。

但し、露西亞及び佛蘭西は是が例外である。露西亞國民の智識的生活と、それを壓碎せんと努むる專制政治との兩者間の大なる對照は、必然に國民をして思索せしめ、且つその社會的同情を喚起せしめた。然しトルストイ、サルトフ、ガーシキー、及びアンドレーエフ等の劇的傑作から、露西亞國民の生活と、努力と、希望と渴仰とな反映しつゝある時すらも、それは他の國に於て劇が成せる程には、急進思想に感化影響する事はなかつた。されど誰が『暗の力』或は『夜の宿』等に依て作られた著しき感化を非認する者があらうか。寔にトルストイは眞の基督教徒ではあつたが、猶且つ組織的基督教の强敵であつた。何人が、人心を殘害する暗の力たる基督教會の迷信を描くに、彼が如き靈腦神筆を有するものぞ何人が、その機性に依て犯さるゝ罪惡に對する教會の責任を問ひ面して又、これに依て人類が眞心の憤怒を喚起するに、彼が如きドラマチック、パワーを有するものぞ。その直接にしてまた强力なる效果は、殘酷なる非社會的なる境遇に依て凋萎壓抑せられ、貧窮と罪惡とに追逐せられつゝも、猶必死に希望と渴仰との絶端に

905

881108010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The drama: a powerful disseminator of radical thought. In Japanese] Kindaigekiron / Emma Goldman. – pp. 19-27 ; 22 cm. *In* Kindai Shisô [Tokyo]. – (Oct.-Nov. 1912)

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: East Asiatic Library.

Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2011 with funding from The Library, University of California at Berkeley
Copy for Personal Use Only

とり纏れる下級民を描いたのである。

斷へず自由に對つて努力せる佛蘭西は、實に急進思想の搖籃とも云ふべきで、覺醒の手段として必ずしも劇を選ぶの要なかつたのである。されど猶、裁判官の恐るべき腐敗を描けるアリユーの『赤き衣』の如き、人心を壞滅する富の勢力を寫せるミルボーの『實業は實業だ』の如きは、社會問題に關して佛蘭西で出た書物の何ものよりも、一層廣き範圍に達した事は疑ひないのである。

獨乙、スカンヂナビア、英吉利の如き國に於ては、(更に低度ではあるがまた亞米利加に於てさへも)劇は實に歷史を作りつゝあるの觀である。

二

曾へば獨乙を見よ、普佛戰爭の勝利に依て、殆んど沸騰點に達せる國民の自負心が生んだ感情的愛國的文學の繁榮は、いかに征服と流血との光榮に依て地方青年の心を殘害したらうか。美人と奢侈とに圍らるゝ貴族富豪が彼等と相並んで獸にも劣れる生活を營める同胞人類あるを信じ得なかつた事は、特に當時の現象であつた。故に獨乙の智識階級は、イブセン、ゾラ、ドーデー、モウパッサン、又は特にドストエフスキー、トルストイ、及びツルゲネフの傑作等の如き、外國文學に依て僅かに渴を醫すに過ぎなかつた。然し乍ら、自己の發土に生れた文學及び劇なき文化に、何れの國民かよく久しく耐え得やう。獨乙もまた、漸くにしてその國民の生活と、努力とを反映せる劇を發達せしむるに至つた。

同時代の最も若き劇作家アルノ、ホルツが作『ゼリツケ一家』は、屑箱から抓み出した物を食つて、僅かに生命を繋いで居る社會の落伍者を描いたものである。此の劇が驚くべき憤怒を湧起せしめたのは云ふを要さない。伯林の上流社會が此事實と當面した時、彼等は實にそれを憎んだのである。ホルツが此の作は、前人未發といふべきものではなかつたが、ホルツが劇的天才は、その劇の强き解釋と共に、必然に最も廣き範圍に侵入し、人民をしてその周圍の恐るべき不平等を思索せしめたのである。

更に重要な問題をとり扱つたものは、ズーデルマンの『名譽』、及び『故郷』である。既に述べた如く感情的愛國主義は獨乙人をして全然誤つた名譽の觀念を抱かしめた結果、決鬪は殆んど日常の出來事となるに至つた。此の狂想に反抗して屢々大なる叫びは揚げられたとは云へ、然も此の國家的疾病の曝露者、淨化者として、未だ何ものも『名譽』の如き力を齎らしたものはなかつた。此の劇は單に決鬪を論じた許りでなく、亦實に名譽の眞意義を分析して、その固定した天賦の感情ではなくして、凡ての人民、凡ての時代と共に變化し、且つ特に人の經濟的、及び社會的狀態に關係するもなる事を示したものである。吾人は此の劇に依て、大厦高樓に棲む貴族富豪が、必然にその犧牲とは異なれる名譽の定義を有する事を知る事が出來る

「名譽」のハイネッケ一家は、その子ロベルトの不在中、富豪ミューリンクの慈悲でその構内の破れ小舍に住んで居るロベルトはミューリンクの支配人として、印度で主人の爲に財産を作つて居たが、歸國するに及んでその妹が主人の息に弄ばれたのを知り且つミューリンクが四萬マルクの金を以て事を葬らんするを見て痛憤措す、遂に店僕の故を以て職を失ふや、

『吾々は汝の奴隸であつた、吾々は汝の爲に心血を犧牲とした。然し汝は吾々の娘と妹を凌辱し、そして吾々が汝の爲に儲けた金を以て、その不名譽を償はうとする、是れ汝が名譽と稱するものだ。』と面罵する。

『故郷』は、老人と青年との間の軋轢を描いたもので、劇曲的文學の上に永久の重要なる位置を有する。

父の選んだ嬰を拒んだ爲めその家を逐はれた、陸軍中佐シュワルツの娘マグダは、十二年の後著名なるシンガアとして故郷に歸るや、一切父母に過去の祕密を語らぬといふ條件で、家を訪ふ事を承諾する。然し父の執拗な質問は、遂にマグダが生涯の悲劇を曝露するに至り、警事官ホン、ケルレルがまた學生時代に、經濟的及び社會的獨立の爲に戰つて居たマグダの戀人だつた事が解るシュワルツエはケルレルをして、マグダが法律上の夫たる事を承諾させやうとしたが、既にマグダの成功を見たケルレルは、もしマグダにして舞臺を去り、且つ自分の生せた一子を孤兒院に入れる事を承諾すれば、喜こんでその要求に應ずると云ふ。新舊間の軋轢は、マグダが此の書に於て、殆んどその高潮に達する。

『私は貴君や、貴君方の尊敬すべき社會に就て、自分の思つて居る事を申します。慮外に依て貴君方の間に自分の生存を延さねばならぬ程、如何して私は貴君方より惡いのでせうか。私の躰に流て居る此の黃金、私の名を圍繞する光は、何故私の不名譽を增すのみなのでせうか。十年の永い間、私は朝は早くから夜は遲く迄働かなかつたか。私の多くの仲間のやうに私は一步一步私の位置を築き上げなかつたか。何の爲に私は他人の前に羞ぢ入らねばならないのか。私は私自身です、そして私自身で、私は現在の自分となつたのです。』

『故郷』の主旨は決して獨創のものではない。それは曾て時代の覺醒を描いた『父と子』とに於て、靈腕を以て描寫された處である。然し技巧に於てはツルゲネフの作に劣つて居るが『故郷』……性の

906

881108010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The drama: a powerful disseminator of radical thought. In Japanese] Kindaigekiron / Emma Goldman. – pp. 19-27 ; 22 cm. *In* Kindai Shisó [Tokyo]. – (Oct.-Nov. 1912)

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: East Asiatic Library.

覺醒を描ける……は、猶主としてその劇的表現の爲に、強大な革命的要素たる事を示せるものである。

當に急進主義を播布したのみに止まらず、眞に獨乙思想界を革命した劇作家は、ゲルハルト、ハウプトマンである。彼が第一の作たる『日出前』は獨乙の有ゆる大劇場に依て拒まれ、最後に獨立レッシング劇場で上場されたが恰かも電光の如く社會の全地平線上を照した。此の劇の扱つた處は、無智無學で殘忍な大地主、及びその經濟的奴隸の生活に在て、飲酒の如き、痴愚の如き、また墮落の如き、富がそれを作つた犧牲と、その所有者とに及ぼす感化は、極めて鮮明な色彩で示されて居る。然し『日出前』の最も著しい特徴で、ハウプトマンが讃美の聲雨を蒙むつた點は養育不能なる親の無差別なる出產に關する問題であつた。その第二回興行の際、一人の著名なる外科醫は、もし出產が舞臺の上で公然論議さるゝならば、獨乙の禮儀と道德とは破れ去るであらうと聲を限りに絕叫した。されど見よ、此の外科醫は忘れ去られたけれ共、ハウプトマンは世界の前に巨人の如く立つて居るではないか。

『縫工』が初めて演ぜられた時、道學先生は叫んで云つた。

『何事ぞ、勞働者の如き汚穢なる奴隸が、舞臺に上ぜらるゝとは見てその恐怖と醜惡との極なる貧窮が、恰かも食後の娛樂の如く突出さらるゝとは。こは餘りに堪え難し。』と。然り、職工と富豪せん家は、肥滿せる富者に對つては餘りに堪え難い處であらう。自己飽足の社會の聖せる耳に、悲鳴の如く響ける眞理と事實との故に、こは餘りに堪え難き處であつた。けれども近代劇の目的は鄕壓せらるゝもの、自覺を促がすに在る。夙くともゲルハルト、ハウプトマンが、シレシアに於ける職工の境遇を、世界に對つて描出した所以は、實にこゝに在つて存する。一日十八時間の勞働に從つて、猶且つ充分なるパンと薪炭とを儲くる能はざる人類！半ば雪を以て覆はれた破れ傾ける小舍に住し、寒さな凌ぐものとては、襤褸以外何ものも無き人類！。飢餓と放棄との爲に、痴なる兒て覆はれた幼兒と、肺結核の末期にある姙婦。生命なく、希望なく、暖氣なく、惠深き基督敎時世の犧牲よ！。あゝ然り、こは餘りに堪へ難き處ではないか。

經濟狀態の惱ましい力を寫した外、彼はまた、習慣と傳說との束縛を脫せんとする、個人の內的及び精神努力をも扱つた。斯くして、劇的散文詩『沈鐘』に於ける鑄鐘師ハインリッヒは、ラウテンデラインの云つた如く、余りに長く谷底に住んだ爲めに、遂に自由の山巓に達する事が出來なかつた。是と等しく博士フォッケラートおよびマアルも彼等に神聖なる傳說を破るの勇氣が無かつた爲に寂しき人々として終つた。然し乍ら、彼等がその失敗こそ、實に永遠に個人的及び社會的解放を妨ぐる世界に對して、反抗的精神を呼び現すものではないか。

マックス、ハルベが『青年』、及びウェデキンドが『春の目ざめ』は、共に全く異なれる方面に向つて急進思想を播布せる劇で、兩者共に少年及び性慾の覺醒と當面する度し難き無智と、狹隘なる嚴格主義とを批評したものである。特に『春の目ざめ』は、眞に善良なる母が十四歲に達した娘をして、兩性間の問題に關して全然知らしめず、そして最後に若き娘が無智の犧牲となつた時、同じ母はその娘が庸醫の手術に依て殺さるゝを見る事を示せるので、早熟にして怜悧なるウェンドラは母に切願して生の神祕を說明せしめやうとする。

『姉さんがお嫁に行つて二年半になる間に、私はもう今度で三度叔母さんになるのね。如何してそうなるの。私には如何しても解らないワ。怒つちや厭よ母さん、だつて、それじや誰に聞けばいゝの。叱らないで聞かして頂戴よ。ネ如何してそうなるの。』

もう十四よ、嬰の話なんか信じやしないワ。』若し彼女の母にして、誤まつた道德觀の犧牲でなかつたならば、賢明なる說明はその娘を救つたのだつた。然るに因習的なる母は、羞ぢて說明を與へなかつた。

『子供をもつには、自分が結婚した夫を愛さなければならないのです。夫を愛するといふ事は、お前の年ではまだ解らないが今に解りますよ。』ウェンドラがどれ程知つて居たかゝ解つたのは、傍りに連かつた。姙んだ少女は水腫病に罹つたと想像して居たが『お前は水腫病に罹つたのじやない、子供を姙んだのに違ひない。』と、母が絕望的に叫ぶ時、苦惱せるウェンドラは驚き迷ひつゝ叫ぶ。

『だつて母さん、そんな事があるものですか。私はまだ結婚やしないじやありませんか。あゝ母さん、何故母さんは、何も彼も話して呉れなかつたんです。』

數年間獨乙に於ける男女思想家は、性慾啓蒙の急務を論じ、兩性問題研究の爲に發刊せる『ムッテル、シュージッ』は、久しい間之が宣傳に努めた。然し乍ら、獨乙國內の多くの學校內に、兩性心理學の課目を强ゆる迄に、急進思想を感化したものは實にウェデキンドが劇的天才の力だつたのである。

（英譯完結）

907

881108010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The drama: a powerful disseminator of radical thought. In Japanese] Kindaigekiron / Emma Goldman. – pp. 19-27 ; 22 cm. *In* Kindai Shisó [Tokyo]. – (Oct.-Nov. 1912)

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: East Asiatic Library.

大正元年十月一日第二種郵便物認可　大正元年十一月二日發行　毎月一回一日發行

近代思想

十一月號

■ナイヒリストの死(小話)……榮（一）
■近代科學の傾向(評論)……大杉榮（二）
■オーソリテの話(寓話)……ムルタトウリ（七）
■日記から(隨筆)……上司小劍（八）
■鴨の路(詩)……風（一〇）
■小妹(短歌)……安成二郎（一一）
■シルレル武裝と人(梗概)……堺利彥（一三）
■オスカー、ワイルド二篇(寓話)……和氣律次郎（一三）
無知(寓話)……ムルタトウリ（一三）
■近代劇論(評論)……荒畑寒村（一三）
■讀んだだけ(批評)……安成貞雄（一八）
■大久保より(雜錄)……榮（一〇）
■新刊紹介……記者（一二）
■六合雜誌から……（一三）

近代思想社

東京府下大久保百人町三五二

Copy for Personal Use Only The Library, University of California at Berkeley

908

881108010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The drama: a powerful disseminator of radical thought. In Japanese] Kindaigekiron / Emma Goldman. — pp: 19-27 ; 22 cm. *In* Kindai Shisó [Tokyo]. — (Oct.-Nov. 1912)

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: East Asiatic Library.

行くのぢや。』女は基督なのを見て、笑いながら、斯う答へた。『今歩いてる路は樂しい道です。貴君は私の罪を皆んな赦して下すつたではありませんか？』

基督の心は悲しみに滿ちた。彼は市を去らうとした。市を出やうとする時、彼は、市の濠の土手で二人の若者の泣いてゐるのを見付けた。彼は近づいて、若者の頭髪を撫でながら、斯う云つた。『友達、何故泣くのぢや。』若者は眼を上げて、基督なのを見て、斯う答へた。『私は死んでゐたのを、貴君が甦へらしたのです。この世で何うして泣かずに居られませう？』

審判の日

神の審判の庭は、寂として音もなかつた。罪人の靈魂は、赤裸々のまゝ、神の御前に立つた。

神は罪人の一生を記した文書を開いて、斯く宣はれた。『汝の一生は罪惡に滿ちてゐる。汝は……の罪を犯したれば地獄に送るべし。』

罪人は叫んだ。『私を地獄へやる事は出來ません。』

神は罪人に向つて問ふ。『それは又何故か。』

罪人は答へて云ふ。『今迄だつて何時も地獄の生活をして居たんです。』

神の審判の庭は寂として音もなかつた。

軈て神は罪人に宣うやう。『地獄へ送る事が出來ないなら、天國へ送るべし。』

『天國へやる事も出來ません。』

神は罪人に向つて問ふ。『それは又何故か。』

罪人は答へる。『今迄に天國なんてものは夢にも見た事がないからです。』

神の審判の庭は寂として音もなかつた。

無知

ルメトウリ作

「お父さん？何うしてお日樣は落こちて來ないの？」

親爺は困つた。實は何うして太陽が落こちて來ないんだか知らなかつたんだ。そして親爺は、自分の無知を見あらはされたのを怒つて、子供を叱りとばした。

其の後子供は、親爺に叱られるのが恐くつて、何うして太陽が落こちて來ないんだかも、又其の外の是非知りたいと思つた事も、何んにも尋ねやしなかつた。

此の子供は、もう六千年も——否やもつと〳〵永く——生きてゐるんだが、まだちつとも大人にならない。そして今日までまだ馬鹿で無知でゐる。

近代劇論（下）

荒畑寒村譯

三

スカンヂナビアもまた獨乙の如く、其の思想界は他の道を通じてよりは劇を通じて更に多く進歩した。イプセンの未だ現はれざるに先んじて、ブヨルンソンは北歐の天地に漲れる不平等、奸惡に反抗して、雷鳴の如く咆哮した。然しそれは荒野に於ける聲の如く、僅かに少數者に達したるに止まつて居たが、イプセンに在つては然らず、彼が『ブランド』、『人形の家』、『社會の柱』、『幽靈』、及び『人民の敵』は、古き概念を突き崩して、新しき、眞實なる人生の觀察を以て之に代へた。人もし人類同胞、一致協同、及び仁慈の原則として、地上に成就せらるべき理想としての宗教の近世的概念を知らんとせば、一篇の『ブランド』を讀まば足る社會的虛僞の至上の憎惡者たるイプセンは、彼れの面上より僞善のヴエイルを剝ぎ去つた。特に『社會の柱』、『人形の家』、『幽靈』及び『人民の敵』に於てそうである。

社會の柱—その信ぜる町の愚人たり、社會の最も强き柱石たりして社會上及び財政上の地位の絶頂に在る領事ベルニックは、虛僞と詐詐と、欺瞞との路を通じて山巓に達した。彼はその親友の名譽を奪ひ、また財產を得んが爲に無人なるロナ、ヘツセルを捨てゝその妹を娶つた。彼は更に社會の爲てふ名の下に、怪しげな事件に依つて巨額の富を得、遂に用に堪へざる老朽船「インデアン、ガール」を航海に用ひて、人命を危ふするに至る。然るにロナの復歸は彼をしてその狹隘なる生活の空虛と卑陋とを感ぜしめ、その子のより善き生活の爲に地を淨めたいといふ希望に依て、僞りに覺醒した眞心を容和しやうと努むるに至つたが、やがて眞理は虛僞の上に築く能はざるを知つた時、彼が此の最後の希望さへも粉碎し終つた。全市が此の社會の愚人の爲に組織の宴を開かんとせる瞬間、其心の成人に達せる彼は、集合せる市民に對つて懺悔する。予はかゝる禮を受くべき權利が無い、予が痴漢は予の核迄も知つて居るであらう。よしさらば、万人をして予を調らべしめよ。而して予をして此の事件より新しき生活に入るの預言を實現せしめよ。過去はその破產、その僞善、その不眞實、その虛飾、及びその憎れむべき卑怯と共に、教訓の爲に開かれた博物館の如く予等が背後に橫はるであらう。」

Copy for Personal Use Only - The Library, University of California at Berkeley

909

881108010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The drama: a powerful disseminator of radical thought. In Japanese] Kindaigekiron / Emma Goldman. – pp. 19-27 ; 22 cm. *In* Kindai Shisó [Tokyo]. – (Oct.-Nov. 1912)

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: East Asiatic Library.

『人形の家』を以て、イブセンは婦人解放に對する道を整へた。ノラは人形の役から覺醒して、父及びその夫ヘルマア、トルバルトに依て爲された不正を知つた。

「父の膝下に居た時分は、妾は父に云はれた通りの考へを持つて居ました。妾の考へが遖つて居る時は、妾は父に咎められるのを怖れて、それを隱すやうにして居ました。父は妾を人形々々と呼んで、妾が自分の人形と遊ぶやうに妾と遊びました。妾が此の家に來てからも、矢張り何でも貴君の嗜好通りにして居ました。でなくとも、そう做つて居ました。今となつて見れば、妾はまるで乞食のやうな生活を爲つて居たのです。妾は今迄申戲ばかりして居ました、だけどトルバルト、貴君がそうさせたのじやありませんか。貴君と父は、妾に非常な邪な事をしたのです。」

妻の義務、社會的服從等の、ヘルマアが說明も效を爲さなかつた。ノラは今や人形の衣を脫して自ら思案し、自ら判斷する、意識ある婦人となつたからである。彼女は今や萬事に先だつて、彼女が自身に對して第一の義務を負へる人間なる事を知つた。彼女は今や、社會的放逐をさへも恐れぬのである。彼女は今や法律の正義を疑ひ、立法の智識を疑ひ、その反抗的精神は、現在せる萬物に對して驀進する。乞ふ、彼女自身が語に聞け!。

Copy for Personal Use Only The Library, University of California at Berkeley

『社會か、妾か、妾は眺れが正しいか定めねばなりません。』

根底より社會を震撼せしめたものは『幽靈』である。アルビング夫人は、二十六年の久しき、彼女が夫の家の有害なる空氣中より救はんとせる、その幼兒オスワルドが爲に十字架を負つた。彼女が義務と禮儀との迷信的なる畏怖に於て、彼の父の僞善をカバつた事も、亦その犯せる子の爲だつたのである。噫、彼女がその全生涯の犧牲の徒事、その子オスワルドが受けた父の罪の報いを知つたのは餘りに遲かつた。彼女はまた是を知つた。

「私達は皆幽靈だ、私達の裏に歩んで居るものは、父母から遺傳されたもの許りではない、それは死んだ理想と、生命なき古い信仰の凡ての種類なのだ。彼等は生命を有さない、然し私達は遂に彼等を逐ひ出し得ないで、悲慘な態で光明を恐れて居る。汝が義務と稱し、服從と稱する軛の下に私を強ひた時、私の全心が厭ふべきものとして反抗するものを、正當なるものとして汝の賞讚した時、私は實に汝の敎條の縫ひ目を見始めたのだ。私達は只だ一つの結び目を探まうとしたのみであるが、然しそれを解いた時、凡ては忽ちにして解つた。そして私は初めて、凡てが機械だつた事を知つたのだ。」

イブセンが社會の譏誚嘲笑に對して、屈せざる

の意氣を示したものは『人民の敵』である。此の大傑作は、既に死滅せる社會に與へた、イブセンの引導と見る事が出來る。而してその灰燼から現はれたもの、即ち復活せる個人、勇敢なる反抗者である。

鑛泉の醫師として故郷に招聘された醫師ストックマンは、既に浴場が患者に有害なる沼澤の上に建設されて居る事を發見し、是を社會に公表しやうとした。然し乍ら、ストックマンは、忽ちに配當金及び利益が、毫も健康若くは主義と相關しない事をも知つた。そして町の新聞紙『人民の使者』さへも、斯くては町の衰亡たり、自己の損失たる事を知つて、彼に對する援助を撤回するは、人民の敵てふ嘲笑と罵聲との間に葬り去られてすつた。彼の發見が町の衰亡を招くといふ一事は、爲に官吏、善良なる市民、及び改革者さへも事實を抑壓しやうとした。而して庶僞と詭瞞との上に、町の利益を築くに躊躇せぬ此の一團は、彼を謀ゆるに社會の公益の破壞者を以てする。然しストックマンは實際的政治家ではない、彼は思索する自由なる人民である。彼の心には「虛僞なる社會は破壞さるゝとも何かあらう。それは地上に强へさなければならぬ。虛僞の上に生存する全人民は、毒蟲の如く根絶しなければならぬ。」

『社會の柱』、『人形の家』、『幽靈』、及び『人民の敵』等の如き劇は、文明と稱する社會的墓地を步んで居る幽靈を逐ひ散らす動力を作つた。實にイブセンが破壞力は、また同時に無上なる建設力を有するのである。蓋し彼は現存の杜を毀すと共に同情的境遇に圍まれたる個人の優秀に基ける、健全にして理想的なる根底を形作るが故である。

四

英國にも此の數年間にショウ、ピネロ、ガルスワーシー、ローン・ケネデー等の作劇は、實には英國の大詩人の作にさへも曾だつた耳に急進思想を宣傳した。故にオーエンが貧困論を讀まず、シヨウが社會主義的論文に耳を傾けざる者と雖も、貧困を描いて痛切悲愴を極むる『バルバラ少佐』の爲には思索せざるを得ない。さればシヨウは、劇に依てのみ急進思想の傳播者と云ふを得べきである。シヨウは此の作に於て、貧困を以て基督敎文明の最大罪惡なりとして曰く、

「貧困は人民をして惰からしめ、卑屈ならしめ、優少ならしめ、貧困は疾病を作り、罪惡を作り、實淫を作る。實に地上の一切の惨事と惡業とに對して、貧困こそその責を負ふべきものである。」

ハウプトマンが『織工』に次で、最も重要なる勞働劇は、ガルスワーシーが『爭鬪』であらう。そは

910

881108010

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The drama: a powerful disseminator of radical thought. In Japanese] Kindaigekiron / Emma Goldman. – pp. 19-27 ; 22 cm. *In* Kindai Shisó [Tokyo]. – (Oct.-Nov. 1912)

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: East Asiatic Library.

優勢なる二要素間の爭鬪を描いたものであつて、一は會社の社長アンソニーと云ひ、勞働者が罷工を繼續する事既に半ケ月間、殆んど餓死の境遇に在るにも拘ず、些の讓歩をもなさゞる意志鐵の如き人物。他はダビット・ロバートと稱する革命家で、その勞働階級、及び自由に對する歸依、實に白熱の度に達して居る。而して彼等の中間に在つて、罷工者は激烈なる爭鬪の爲に疲勞困憊し、且つその家族の貧困と欠乏との恐ろしき光景に、狂せる如く苦悶して居る。『爭鬪』に於て最も驚くべく、また傑出せる點は、ガルスヲーシーが描ける群衆の輕燥と、その持久心の欠乏とに在る。

社長アンソニーとロバートとは、相反せる極、共に結び難き緣に依つて距てられたる極を代表して居る。アンソニーは保守主義、舊思想の權化である。

『俺は此の會社を三十二年間も管理して、四度勞働者と戰つたが一度も負けた事はなかつた。時世は變つたとはいふが俺は變らぬ主人と勞働者は平等だといふが、一軒の家に一人より主人が在るか？。資本と勞働は同じ利益を有つ筈だと云ふが、その利益は兩極の如く遠く別れて居る。勞働者を扱ふには鐵の鞭より外は無い主人は主人だ、勞働者は勞働者だ。』

其の古き、保守的思想に對する執着は別として猶その勇氣と堅實とは實に讃辭に値するものがある。斯の如き敵と戰ふ人は正々堂々の陣を以てせねばならぬ。ロバートの堅實も、またアンソニーに讓るものではない。

『吾々が戰つて居るのは目前の短い時間の爲ではない。又吾等自身の爲でもない。後に來る凡ての人類、凡ての時世の爲である。オー勞働者よ、彼等の爲に、彼等の爲に、彼等の頭上に他の石を卸すな。天を暗くするのを手傳ふな。』

牢獄と刑罰！、いかに多くの著者に依れる著述が此の社會的大問題を歷史的、心理的、及び社會的見地から評論し、いかに其の組織の不完全なる乎を示したであらう。然しその結果は、遂に殆んど何事も成就されなかつたと云ふも妨げぬ。然し遂に此の嚴肅なる社會的弊害は、ガルスヲーシーが『正義』に於て、その劇的解釋を發見するに至つた。

ジェームス、ハウ法律事務所の書記ウヰリアム、フアルダアルは人妻ルスと戀し、その殘忍なる夫から救はうとして、小切手を偽造した事が發覺する。是が法廷の場は、そのドラマツク、パワアと心理的確實とに於て、將にトルストイが『復活』の法廷の光景に匹敵する。法律の嚴重は容赦なく此の青年を襲き過ぎて、フアルダアは發後三年の宣告を受けて牢獄に投ぜられる。顏に罪人の印

を捺され、心に悲慘の鐵を置かれて、フアルダアが最後に獄を出づるや、ルスが懇請に依て養主はもしルスを捨てんには、再びフアルダアを雇ふ事を承諾した。而して此時また、フアルダアはルスが實の爲に途に身を賣つたといふ、恐ろしい報を初めて耳にしたのである。此の煩悶の刹那、フアルダアが自ら誤科者として報告しなかつたといふ故を以て、巡査は再び彼を牢獄に投じ去らうとする。憐れなる若きフアルダアよ。彼は牢獄に護送さるゝ途中に自殺して、人爲の正義よりも更に大なる平和を發見するのである。

現代社會生活を描いて痛切を極むるもの、他にケネデーが傑作『家の下僕』がある。劇中の主人公なる溝掃ひロバートは、社會から排斥された粗雜野卑なる醉漢である。然し彼はその仲間をして空氣と光とを得せしむべく、自ら進んで恐ろしい溝渠に降つて行く、眞實唯一の英雄である。勞働が社會的福利の贖ひ主たる事は、有ゆる語と有ゆる國とに於て叫ばれて居る處である。然もロバートの單純なる語はそれ等にも增せる大なる力を以て、勞働の意義とその使命とを表して居る。

五

アメリカは劇に於ては、猶未だ幼兒の時代に在る。彼女が有する唯一の眞の劇は、ユーゲン・ワルタアが『最も易き路』であらう。經濟的及び社會的狀態に於ける人力の罪惡的浪費は、多くの婦人を騙つて如何なる男子、如何なる家庭にも結婚せしむる如く、或は男子を騙つて、如何なる貧窮をも堪へしむる如く、またローラをも騙るのである

「お前さんは妾達が、こんな男達の生活を、馴れた獸ほどにも想つて居ない事を知らないの。實際勝負事見たいなものさえ、もし巧くやらなからうものなら、すぐ負けて了ふんだから。」生活場裡に立てる婦人が唯一の武器たり、唯一の商品たるものは、即ちセックスである。是れのみよく、「生存の勝負事に於てカードたるを得るのである。此の盲目なる宿命說は、婦人をして寄生蟲たらしめた。誰かいゝかでか、ローラが堅忍と精力とを期待し得やう。「最も易き路」は、古代から彼女に對つて示されて居た處ではないか。

此の他、チャールス・クレインが『第三等親』、デイル・バッターソンが『第四級民』、イグ・クロッチャーが『男の世界』皆な現社會の恐るべき不安を人民に示せる傑作であつて、漸くアメリカを照さんとする劇の曙光と云ふべきである。

之を要するに、無智と偏見と迷信との壞を超へて、澎湃たる不穩の潮流を天に沿せしむる、社會的不滿足の最も強き發達は、實に是を近代劇の力に歸せざるを得ぬのである。（エンマゴールドマン女史）

Copy for Personal Use Only The Library, University of California at Berkeley

911

890209022

The Emma Goldman Papers

Peter Kropotkin / Emma Goldman.— pp. 325-327 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 10 (Dec. 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Anarchy and affirmed the necessity for a new morality opposed to the pharasaical morality of bourgeois society. In "The Conquest of Bread," followed by "Mutual Aid" and "The Great French Revolution," he sets forth with luminous clarity the goal of the struggle: liberty and well-being for all; the ideal which, more or less imperfectly visioned, has been the aspiration of revolutionists of all ages.

One might well believe that his broad sympathies help to deceive him as to the innate force of the people by ascribing to them the energy and clearsightedness which he himself possesses, but the lines which he has written regarding the rôle of the revolutionary minorities demonstrate that his intellectual vision is not subservient to his humanitarian sensibilities. And the lecture, printed in pamphlet form, which he delivered on "The Place of Anarchy in Socialistic Evolution" testifies perhaps more forcefully than a large volume his wide knowledge of the laws governing social phenomena.

In our time, when the capitalist world is sinking into decadence and the proletarian is not yet entirely released from the swaddling clothes of ignorance and superstition; when parasitical renegades, ambitious and unscrupulous, seek under the cover of Anarchy to satisfy their bourgeois desires, it is encouraging to meet—and to salute—such a man as Kropotkin.

CHARLES MALATO.

* * *

WITH my whole heart I join with you in paying honor to our Comrade Peter Kropotkin. The libertarians of Italy owe him a great debt, and we all love him as our intellectual father. His life of labor and sacrifice for humanity is a potent example and a great inspiration to all in whom burns the fire of liberty and emancipation.

Fraternally,

LUIGI MOLINARI.

PETER KROPOTKIN

BY EMMA GOLDMAN.

THOSE who constantly prate of conditions as the omnipotent factor in determining character and shaping ideas, will find it very difficult to explain the personality and spirit of our Comrade Peter Kropotkin.

Born of a serf-owning family and reared in the atmosphere of serfdom all about him, the life of Peter Kropotkin and his revolutionary activity for almost fifty years stand a living proof against the shallow contention of the superior potency of conditions over the latent force in man to map out his own course in life. And that force in our comrade is his revolutionary spirit, so elemental, so impelling that it permeated his whole being and gave new meaning and color to his entire life.

It was this all-absorbing revolutionary fire that burned away the barriers that separated Kropotkin, the aristocrat, from the common people, and flamed a clear vision all through his life. It filled him, the child of luxury, of refinement, the heir of a brilliant career, with but one ideal, one purpose in life—the liberation of the human race from serfdom, from all physical as well as spiritual serfdom.

How faithfully he has pursued that course, only those can appreciate who know the life and work of Peter Kropotkin.

Another very striking feature characteristic of this man is that he, of all revolutionists, should have the deepest faith in the people, in their innate possibilities to reconstruct society in harmony with their needs.

Indeed, the workers and the peasants are, to Kropotkin, the ones to hand down the spirit of resistance, of insurrection, to posterity. They, unsophisticated and untampered by artificiality, have always instinctively resented oppression and tyranny.

With Nietzsche, our comrade has continually emphasized that wherever the people have retained their integrity and simplicity, they have always hated organized authority as the most ruthless and barbaric institution among men.

912

890209022
The Emma Goldman Papers
Peter Kropotkin / Emma Goldman.– pp. 325-327 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 7, no. 10 (Dec. 1912).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Possibly Kropotkin's faith in the people springs from his own simplicity of soul—a simplicity which is the dominant factor of his whole make-up. It is because of this, even more than because of his powerful mentality, that Revolution, to Peter Kropotkin, signifies the inevitable sociologic impetus to all life, all change, all growth. Even as Anarchism, to him, means not a mere theory, a school, or a tendency, but the eternal yearning, the reaching out of man for liberty, fellowship, and expansion.

Possibly this may also explain the truly human attitude of Peter Kropotkin toward the *Attentäter*. Never once in all his revolutionary career has our comrade passed judgment on those whom most so-called revolutionists had only too willingly shaken off—partly because of ignorance, and partly because of cowardice—those who had committed political acts of violence.

Peter Kropotkin knew that it is generally the most sensitive and sympathetic personality that smarts most under our social injustice and tyranny, personalities who find in the act the only liberating outlet for their harassed soul, who must cry out, even at the expense of their own lives, against the apathy and indifference in the face of our social crimes and wrongs. More than most revolutionists, Peter Kropotkin feels deeply with the spiritual hunger of the *Attentäter*, which culminates in the individual act and which is but the forerunner of collective insurrection—the spark that heralds a new Dawn.

But Peter Kropotkin does more. He also feels with the social pariah, with him who through hunger, drudgery, and lack of joy strikes down one of the class responsible for the horror and despair of the pariah's life. This was particularly demonstrated in the case of Luccheni, who was denounced and denied by nearly all other radicals. Yet no one can possibly have such an abhorence of violence and destruction of life, as our Comrade Peter Kropotkin; nor yet be so tender and sympathetic to all pain and suffering. Only that he is too universal, too big a nature to indulge in shallow moral censorship of violence at the bottom, knowing—as he does—that it is but a reflex of organized, systematic, legal violence on top.

Thus stands Peter Kropotkin before the world at the age of seventy: the most uncompromising enemy of all social injustice; the deepest and tenderest friend of oppressed and outraged mankind; old in years, yet aglow with the eternal spirit of youth and the undying faith in the final triumph of liberty and equality.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

OUR DEBT TO KROPOTKIN

WE Anarchists, whatever our particular interpretation of radical doctrines, we are the heirs of Peter Kropotkin, and we are all inspired by a strong sense of gratitude, of affection and admiration. It is because of his labors that Anarchism has won the "right of citizenship" among modern sciences and philosophies—we owe it chiefly to him, and we say this without the least wish to disparage the great services to the cause of liberty given by our other comrades the world over.

Especially do we love and admire our Comrade Peter, because he has most unselfishly devoted his whole life to the cause of human emancipation. He has given his great talents and all his wonderful energy to the service of the proletariat: his poverty is his greatest crown. He could have been one of the powerful of the earth, one of the privileged of the bourgeoisie. He preferred to cast in his lot with the oppressed and disinherited, preferred to be persecuted and imprisoned, rather than to be "the darling of the great." His vast learning and all the power of his intellect he has consecrated to the common people, and he has proved the greatest thinker and propagandist of Anarchism.

Pardon these words if they seem like adulation. They are the spontaneous expression of our deep love for our great teacher and comrade, to whom the Anarchists of the world to-day send their heartfelt greetings, in the hope that he may be preserved to us for many long years, to continue the great struggle for progress and liberty.

When we speak with our political opponents, it requires but a few words to convince oneself that even the bitterest among them speak in admiration of our good Comrade. It is with a sense of justified pride that we say to them and to ourselves, "He is one of us!"

LUIGI FÄBBRI.

Crespellano, Italy, November, 1912.

913

890209023

The Emma Goldman Papers

Comrades and Friends / Emma Goldman.— p. 358 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 7, no. 10 (Dec. 1912).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

COMRADES AND FRIENDS:

Next February MOTHER EARTH will close its seventh year of existence. I shall not burden you with a recital of what those years have meant to us—the struggle, anxiety and travail to keep the magazine above water. But I want you to know that if we did not fail or grow weary, it was largely due to your devotion and to our consciousness that MOTHER EARTH has endeared itself to you as much as to us. It is with this certainty that we turn to you again, as we often have on previous occasions.

To begin the eighth year of our magazine, we must increase our subscription by at least five hundred. To make this possible, we have decided to offer a premium with every new subscription or renewal. My book, "Anarchism and Other Essays," which, as you know, sells at $1.00, cloth, has been gotten out now in paper cover, and will be given as a premium with a year's subscription for the magazine.

Also, a copy of "Prison Memoirs of An Anarchist," by Alexander Berkman, will be sent to any one of you who will secure five NEW subscribers for the magazine.

This offer barely covers the cost of our publication; but we feel that an increase in subscribers means an increase in friends who represent in the struggle we are making, the only sustaining force.

Let us hear from you soon, dear friends. We need your cooperation.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

TO OUR CHICAGO FRIENDS

Wednesday, December 11th, 8 P. M., a Peter Kropotkin Seventieth Birthday Celebration will take place at the West Side Auditorium. Among the speakers will be Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.

Thursday, December 12th, 8 P. M., Emma Goldman will lecture at the West Side Auditorium Annex. Subject: Syndicalism in Theory and Practice.

Monday, December 16th, 8 P. M., Alexander Berkman will lecture at the West Side Auditorium Annex. Subject: Life in Prison.

All friends who wish to learn more about our visit to Chicago should communicate with Dr. R. M. Yampolsky, 801 South Ashland Boulevard.

EMMA GOLDMAN'S

last lectures at Lenox Casino, 116th Street and Lenox Ave

Sunday, December 8th, 8 P. M.
ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY—THE MODERN MENACE.

Sunday, December 15th, 8 P. M.
"DAMAGED GOODS," by Brieux.
(A powerful drama, dealing with the curse of venereal disease.)

Sunday, December 22d, 8 P. M.
THE BIRTH OF LABOR AND THE FAILURE OF CHRISTIANITY.

Beginning with the new year Emma Goldman will deliver a course of 8 lectures on the Modern Drama, comprising Ibsen, Strindberg, Hauptmann, Schnitzler, Wedekind, Rostand, Maeterlinck, Mirbeau, Tolstoy, Tchekhov, Gorky and Andreyev.

Price of course, $1.00. General admission, 25 cents.

The place will be announced later.

Subscriptions for the course may now be sent in to the Mother Earth office.

During January and February Miss Goldman will be open for lectures and debates outside of New York. Groups and organizations wishing dates will please communicate with us at once.

914

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 47

Goldman Writings

October 25, 1890 to December 31, 1912

Edited by

Candace Falk

Ronald J. Zboray

and

Daniel Cornford

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

Alexandria, Virginia Cambridge, England

16X

1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
4.5
5.0
5.6


END

